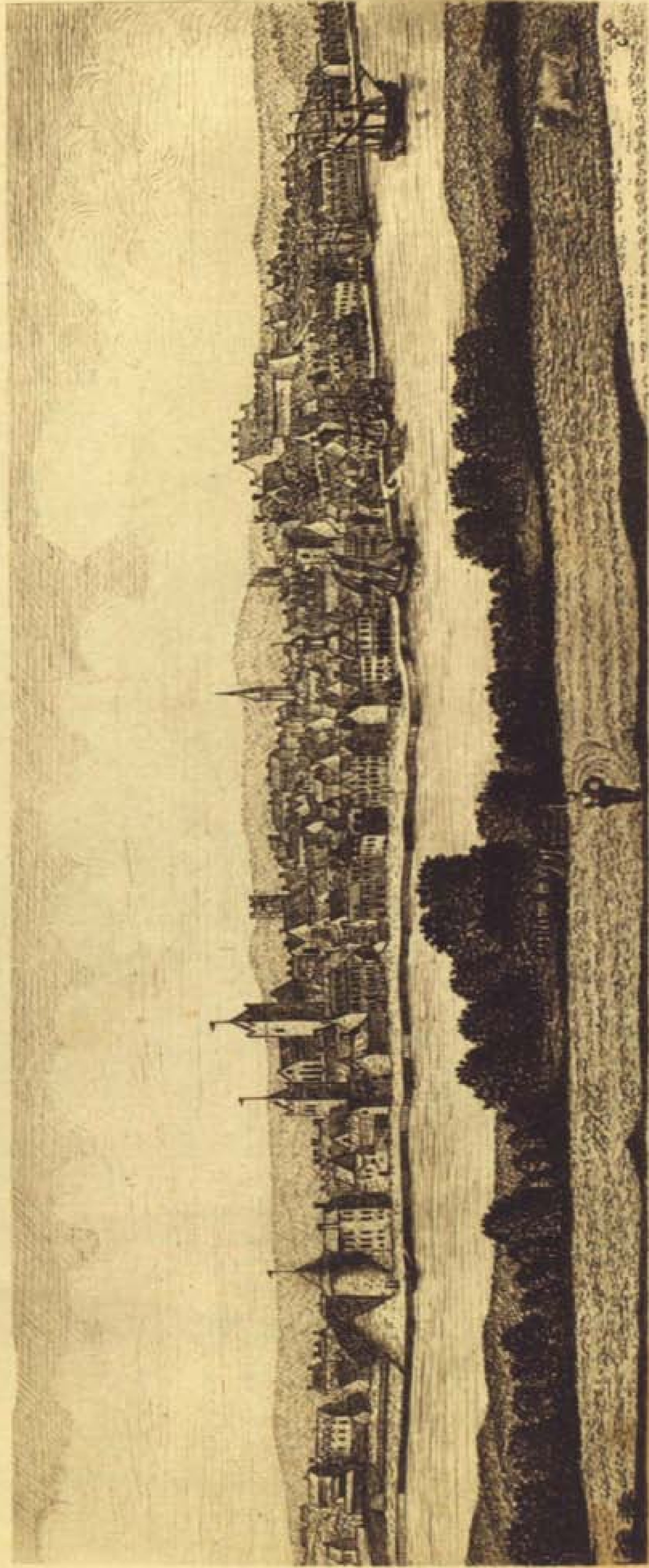


To Mr Hopkins  
with the sincere regard  
of his old friend Mr. Houston  
who is quite unable to explain  
why he has spell ~~Macanlagi~~  
Macanlagi's name incorrectly.

Walter W 1916

THE STORY OF WATERFORD



*View of the City of Waterford 1746.  
Drawn by C. P. Downey after the Etching by Charles Smith.*



# THE STORY OF WATERFORD ❀ ❀

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF  
THE CITY TO THE MIDDLE OF  
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By  
EDMUND DOWNEY



WITH SKETCHES, MAPS,  
PLANS AND PORTRAITS



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## PREFACE

Most of the English conquerors of Ireland entered this country by way of the Harbour of the Sun. All of them made Waterford City the base of their military operations, for its geographical position was such that the leader of an invading force having once secured himself in Waterford might be said to have his foot on the neck of the distressful country. It cannot be denied that the English settlers in Waterford went to work in masterly fashion. They converted Portlairge into an English town and held triumphant sway ere King John ascended the English throne, reducing the Irishry inside the walls to a condition of absolute serfdom. They made the city a garrison commanded by martial senators ever eager to go forth and give battle to the Irishry outside the walls.

The days of the Celtic and Danish occupation of Waterford are vague memories, but the English character of the city is clearly defined. Early Irish annals tell us little or nothing about Waterford, but with the advent of Ireland's first English invader we find the City by the Suir springing suddenly into importance. The mists of antiquity disappear and there arises before our eyes the picture of a walled town which henceforward plays a distinct and important part in the tragic story of the nation.



I have confined myself to the relation of the annals of the City and the chronicling of events connected directly with its history, and for the most part the present work deals with the period when Waterford was dominated by men of English birth or descent or by Irishmen imbued with English ideas. My original intention was to bring the narrative down to a recent date, but I found I could not accomplish this in the compass of a single volume of reasonable dimensions.

I intend to continue the Story of Waterford and I hope that those who possess any unpublished documents which would illuminate the history of the city or records of any of the many families identified with it will give me an early opportunity of examining such documents.



*∴ I desire to express my sincere thanks to Doctor Grattan Flood for the help he has given me in connection with this book. Not only has he supplied me ungrudgingly with valuable material but he gave me encouragement in the task I had undertaken and revised my proofs.*

*I have also to thank Mr. Patrick Higgins, J.P., and Mr. John Fleming, Borough Surveyor of Waterford, for their assistance and their courtesy, and my sons William, Edmund, and Charles for the help they gave me in the work of research.*

*I am indebted to the Right Rev. Doctor O'Hara, Lord Bishop of Cashel, for permission to reproduce the portrait of Bishop Foy; to Alderman Richard Power, Mayor of Waterford, for permission to reproduce the picture of the City by Vander Hagen and the portrait of George I by Sir Godfrey Kneller which adorn the Council Chamber; and to my son Charles for the sketch which forms the Frontispiece to this history of my native city.*

EDMUND DOWNEY.

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# THE STORY OF WATERFORD

## CHAPTER I.

### THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY.

IF we are to believe the narratives of some of the writers who have dealt with the history of ancient and mystic Ireland, a grand-daughter of the patriarch Noah was wafted into the river Suir, and either she or her companions made a settlement in the place where now stands the City of Waterford. The story of this lady's voyage to Ireland is told by the fascinating (but not wholly trustworthy) chronicler, Giraldus Cambrensis. "Caesara hearing that the Flood was near at hand, resolved to escape by sailing with her companions to the farthest islands of the West as yet uninhabited by any human being, hoping that where sin had never been committed the Flood, its avenger, would not come." The enterprising voyager sailed from the East accompanied by three men and fifty women, and she "was thrown by chance on the coast of Ireland." It is to be presumed that Caesara and her companions



did not escape the Deluge.\* In the Annals of Clonmacnoise it is stated that Waterford sprang up out of the ground some time before the Siege of Troy. Its earliest name was Loch Dacheach. In the Annals of the Four Masters mention is made of the murder of Flann, chief poet of the Gaeidhil, in 891, at Loch Dacheach.

That Druidism held sway at a remote period in the valley of the Suir is most probable, but it is not possible to give any trustworthy particulars about Druids or Druidism in this part of the country. There is a tradition that when the dwellers in Waterford were Fire or Sun worshippers it was their custom on days of solemn festival to march in procession to a high conical hill in the adjoining County of Kilkenny, where they offered worship to their deity. It is said that the hill-top indicated is the summit of Tory Hill. The town at this period bore the name of Cuan-na-Greine, signifying the Harbour of the Sun.†

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\* According to some Irish fabulists, long before Caesara voyaged westward a colony consisting chiefly of beautiful women, led by three daughters of Cain and their husbands, established themselves in Ireland.

† In a spirited sonnet the alleged naming of Waterford as "the Harbour of the Sun" is attributed by Mr. W. C. Bonaparte Wyse to Sitric the Dane.

"Let this be called the Harbour of the Sun,"  
Said Sitric, rushing to his galley's prow,  
As proud with waving arm and lifted brow  
He watched the orb whose day-march had begun:  
"Let here our wave-borne wanderings be done,  
In this calm firth, the sovran Harbour, now  
Here let us, landing, waft a grateful vow  
To Thee, Alfadir—Thee, Victorious One!"

Shagged to the water's edge with giant trees  
Shelved the lone land; and lit with silvery gleam  
The lake-like river wooed the taintless breeze,  
O'er the smooth mirror of whose brimful stream  
A stag was swimming low; and deep in shade  
Ten thousand birds were singing undismay'd.



In his "Waterford Guide" Mr. Egan says: "It would be an imaginative feat, not uninteresting, to picture the forms in which nature, aided by the crude primeval art of our earliest progenitors, decorated the plains and slopes of the site occupied by modern Waterford. The water's edge fringed the banks of a wooded slope adorned with tangled underwood which luxuriated from the place now occupied by Broad Street to the Mall, possibly surrounding an ancient holy well or shrine, upon the venerated site of which Trinity Cathedral stands. And as a highly probable feature of the landscape there would be the *rath* on the now-famed hill of Ballybricken, surrounded by its earthen breastworks and ramparts, behind which the primitive chieftain drove his cattle before retiring to rest. A cromlech, long since disturbed, may have indicated the site of his grave on the mound where indigenous thorns in after ages marked the spot, until commerce cleared the landscape and the gregarious habits of mankind made necessary the finding of homes for the increased population. . . . Usually the nucleus of a city was the site of Pagan or Christian worship, after which pilgrims flocked thither and settled down upon the spot where they came to offer their faithful orisons. That the site of Waterford city and its vicinity was originally peopled in this way there is little room for doubt. Numerous megalithic structures, cromlechs, etc., within a moderate radius from the city attest that long before the light of Christianity shed its genial influence upon the land an ancient people had settled down here, ruled by the unwritten law which gives power alone to the strongest."

Amongst early settlers were the Menapii, a Belgic tribe who founded the City of Menapia in the year 155. Whether this City was Waterford or Wexford is not a matter of certainty.

Smith, in his History of Waterford, says :—" We do not find these people mentioned in any history after Ptolemy ; and therefore it is probable that by incorporating with the more ancient Irish they lost their name, especially if they were only a slender colony and not of figure enough to give a demonstration to a people in a strange country."

Not long afterwards—some say in 270—the Deise tribe made a settlement on the banks of the Suir. Their name still survives in the present Barony of Decies. The town which they founded was called Port Lairge.\* These Deise enlarged themselves in the middle of the 5th century. Their territory comprised the present County Waterford, but they went farther afield and seized upon the vast plain lying north of the river Suir, including Clonmel. Their chieftains were the O'Faolains and the O'Brics. The former name is familiar in modern times as Phelan, O'Phelan, Whelan; the O'Brics died out about the 13th century. From 403 to 633 the whole of the Deise country was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishops of Ardmore.

It is not recorded when or where the Danes first set foot on Irish soil. Scandinavian rovers were

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\* There is a difference of opinion about the meaning of Port Lairge. Some argue that it means the Port shaped like a thigh ; others that it is the Port of the river fork ; others that Lairge or Largo was the name of a Danish chieftain after whom the town was called.



busy in England in the 5th century, but Keating declares that the Danes were strangers to Ireland until the beginning of the 9th century. We read that these Northmen plundered Innisdamble or Little Island, near Waterford, in 812. It is also set down that Sitric the Dane made a fortified town of Port Lairge about the year 853, and that he changed its name to Waterford, "Weather Haven" (Vedrafiordr). Others say that Waterford is Vader-fiord, a haven dedicated to a Norse deity.

Nor is it possible to put forward with anything like certitude the date of the conversion of the Waterford Danes to Christianity. Canon Gimlette (in a pamphlet entitled "The Annals of St. Olave's Church") says that one of the oldest foundations in Waterford is the Church of St. Olaf's (or Aulaf's) and that this was founded by Sitric after he had completed the walls of Waterford in 868.\* The theory generally accepted is that the conversion of the Danes was a slow process and that it was not completed until the 11th century. In the "Parochial History of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore" we read that the ancient diocese of Waterford . . . comprised in fact little more than the city itself and the adjacent cantred of the Danes, and owed its origin to the general conversion of the Danes of Waterford. Between these descendants of the Vikings and their Celtic neighbours of the Decies and Ossory little love was lost and the racial antagonism is reflected in the Waterfordmen's method of procedure, when towards

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\* This statement cannot be true, for St. Olaf was not martyred until 1030.



the close of the 11th century they determined to set up a cathedral and a bishop of their own.

The 10th century was marked by fierce and unceasing conflicts between the Celtic inhabitants of the county and the Scandinavian pirates who ravaged the district of the Deisi. In the year 910 a fleet arrived in Waterford harbour bringing to the Danes a fresh accession of forces. Jealousies broke out amongst the various tribes of Northmen, and in a massacre which took place in the church of Kilmallock a large number of Waterford Danes were slain by the people of Munster. We find the Waterford Ostmen in Meath a little later, and in the Annals of Innisfallen there is mention made of the defeat of the Danes in the Deisi country when two thousand of them were slaughtered. The conflicts between the Danes and the people of the Decies were carried on with unabated fury and were the cause of so much misery that the valley of the Suir was known as Gleann-na-Gleodh, the Valley of Lamentation. Nor was the fighting in the 10th century confined to struggles between Celts and Ostmen. The famous Brian Boru had a quarrel with Donal O'Faolain, King of the Deisi, and Brian made a descent in force on Waterford, killed his antagonist O'Faolain, sacked the city and burned it to the ground. This, according to the chroniclers, happened in the year 981.

The Annals of Tigernach tell us that Ivor, the Danish ruler of Waterford, succeeded Olaf in the occupation of Dublin in 995. He died in 1,000 and was succeeded by his son Reginald MacIvor, who is credited with the erection of the famous castle still standing at the south-western end of the Quay.

Over the quaint doorway, facing East, there is a stone tablet which states that "In the year 1003 this Tower was erected by Reginald the Dane."

Waterford, contained within its Danish walls, covered an area of about fifteen acres. Its northern boundary was the river which flowed up to the walls. It is very likely that the foundations of the Tower were laid in the water.

Notwithstanding the sculptured legend which names 1003 as the date of the foundation of Reginald's Tower, doubts have been cast by antiquarians as to the Danish origin of the building. Newenham in his "Antiquities of Ireland" says that judging from the resemblance it bears to the Norman towers of France he is inclined to think that it was not Reginald the Dane who built it but one of the early Anglo-Normans, possibly during the period when Robert le Poer was Constable of Waterford. In Hovenden's "Chronicle of the Reign of Henry II." it is stated that the King committed the charge of the cities of Waterford and Wexford to Robert FitzBernard, enjoining him to build castles for a more sure defence against enemies "This injunction," says Newenham, "would be superfluous if a building of such strength as Reginald's Tower had then existed in Waterford." The fact of Reginald's Tower being in existence before the Anglo-Norman invasion is evident from Gerald Barry's references to it in his account of "The Conquest of Ireland.\*"

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\* This work was written immediately after the author completed his "Topography of Ireland" (in 1187) and was dedicated to Richard, Count of Poitiers (afterwards King of England).



Reginald the Dane was the son of Ivor MacIvor. Mr. Wyse has given us a vivid sketch of this 11th century pirate prince:—

A mighty man was Reginald the Dane :  
Well could his axe the thickest helm indent ;  
The raven followed him where'er he went,  
And grim his laugh amid great heaps of slain.  
What time the seagull shrieked, and the tost main  
Becked him to battle joys, with fierce content  
He shoved from shore to shore his stranded armament,  
And hurried seawards, mad for blood and gain.

Returning thence, one lovely summer morn,  
Laden with spoil and many a golden torque  
Which from the wild O'Faolains he had torn,  
He bade his warriors pile this rude round work  
(With stairs enwreathing it between its walls),  
And still its sight his name to men recalls.

The 11th century was not, so far as Waterford and its inhabitants are concerned, remarkable for any cessation of hostilities. Another Ivor was slain, it is said, in 1022 by the King of Ossory. The chief Celtic families at this period—the O'Faolains and the O'Brics—were at feud, and it is recorded that Murray, the son of Bric, slew Diarmid, son of Donal O'Faolain, at the battle of Sliabhzcua in the County Waterford in 1031. In 1038 King Cumana was killed by the Ossorians, and in the same year the King of Leinster set fire to the city. And again was it burned by the Dubliners in 1087.

In 1096 the Danes selected for their bishop Malchus, a monk of Winchester who was of Irish birth. This selection was ratified by St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. During the episcopacy of Malchus (1096—1110) according to the best authorities Christ Church Cathedral was completed. On a tablet on the south wall of Christ Church or Church of the Blessed Trinity it is stated that “ The Danish Christ-



Church or Cathedral of Waterford was founded here by Reginald, son of Segtryg the Norseman, circa 1050." In his "Norman Conquest" Thierry says it was the Irish bishops who commenced to betray Ireland to England by obtaining their episcopal nominations from the English Archbishop. We see here that it was not the Irish who acknowledged the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury but the Danes.

In his History of Waterford Ryland says that the Danish Kings coined money in Ireland. . . .

"Whether the monarch of Ireland only or each petty king in his province or territory assumed a power of striking money does not clearly appear ; but we may well suppose that each prince in his kingdom, in imitation of the Anglo-Saxon kings in England, struck money of his own. Simon, in his admirable essay on coins, gives a description of a well-preserved silver coin of Aulaf which was in his possession ; he was of opinion that it was Aulaf, one of the Danish kings of Waterford, for so he read the word *Wadter*, which was on the reverse ; it weighed  $17\frac{3}{4}$  grains."

The late Dr. Ringrose Atkins, in the course of a lecture delivered in Waterford in 1894 endeavoured to describe the Scandinavian stronghold and its court in the middle of the 11th century. "Thus the city stood, a prosperous colony of the Danes, and we may picture to ourselves Ranald, the old king, descendant of the founder, seated in his house built of pine wood logs, beneath the shadow of the old tower, surrounded with his yellow-haired warriors, his house carles and maidens, drinking the wines of France and Spain from horns of ivory and cups of gold, wines for which he had exchanged Irish fish and

butter and honey ; and as they drank they listened attentively to the sagas of their native bards, and laughed loud and long as the Irish minstrel sang how, more than forty years before, King Ranald, seated there in life, had been slain on the bloody field of Clontarf by Brian the Brave."

This serves to remind us that the battle of Clontarf did not sound the death-knell of the Danes in Ireland.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION.

THE 12th century was the most important era in the history of Waterford. The Anglo-Norman conquest was an event of first magnitude, politically and socially, for England as well as for Ireland, and it cannot be said that the inhabitants of the City by the Suir displayed sufficient boldness, fortitude or foresight in dealing with the invaders.

At the time of the Anglo-Norman incursion the Irish are spoken of by Thierry in his "Norman Conquest" as "a people with strong passions, loving and hating with vehemence, yet of a social temper, and in many things—especially in religion—enthusiastic. They willingly mixed up the Christian religion with their poetry and their literature, which was perhaps the most cultivated in all Western Europe. . . . They were great travellers and always gained the hearts of those they visited." The fame of Ireland as a pleasant and fruitful land had attracted the attention of the Normans, especially of those who had been busy ravaging Wales. These freebooters were as idle—when they were not fighting—as they were vicious, and the territory they had acquired was allowed to go to waste. Their leisure hours were spent in gaming and debauchery, and instead of cultivating the lands



they had seized they allowed them to run to waste, relying on their gory weapons for further subsistence. Travellers from Ireland and merchants visiting Wales returned to their own country full of tales of the wondrous war-horses, the marvellous Gallic armour, the diabolical cruelty and the prowess of the Norman plunderers. Richard Strong-bohe, lord of Pembroke, heard that an Irish chieftain was quarrelling with other chieftains and this seemed to him a golden opportunity of acquiring new territory. At this period he was in sore straits for money, all his substance having been spent in "prodigall house-keeping and other royotous disorders." Negotiations with Dermot McMurrough were set on foot and it was agreed that Strongbow should for a stiff price furnish a number of mercenaries to support the amorous lord of Leinster. About four hundred armed men embarked under the command of Robert FitzStephen, Maurice FitzGerald, Hervey de Montmorency, and David Barry. They landed on the Wexford coast. The Irish who encountered them had only slender javelins and short arrows and these made no impression on the Norman suits of mail; and Wexford was captured by the invaders.

The particulars of the English invasion of Ireland are to be found in Gerald Barry's "History of the Conquest of Ireland," and later historians have for the most part relied upon the narrative of Giraldus. We learn from the account furnished by the famous Welsh ecclesiastic that Dermot McMurrough had a conference, in 1169, with Richard Clare, Earl of Strigul, better known as Strongbow, and it was agreed between them that in the ensuing spring the

Earl would aid the King of Leinster in an attempt to recover his territories, Dermot solemnly promising to give his daughter Eva to Strongbow in marriage, and to name him as the successor to his kingdom. At the time of this conference Robert FitzStephen, son of Stephen of Cardigan and Nesta, daughter of Rhys-ap-Tudor, happened to be available: he had just been released from prison. Dermot was introduced to him, and FitzStephen readily agreed to voyage to Ireland, the price of his services to be the town of Wexford. Robert mustered thirty men-at-arms of his own kindred, and about three hundred archers and foot soldiers, and, embarking them at the port of Milford in three ships—he speaks later of “two ships,” and some historians speak of five ships—he landed on the Irish coast about the calends of May, 1170. Leland and most other writers of Irish history adopt this date, but Ware puts it at 1169. Thomas Moore also adopts the earlier date, stating that although there is a difference amongst historians about the year, he considers the date given by Ware to be correct, and recent research confirms the fact that 1169 was the year.

In the company of Robert FitzStephen there came across St. George's Channel a bravo named Hervey de Mountmaurice, or Montemorisco, “a spy rather than a soldier.” This elderly adventurer was an uncle of Richard de Clare, and was, most likely, employed by Strongbow as a “watcher” of FitzStephen. The Norman pirates landed “at the Banne.” In Wright's History of Ireland we are told that it is difficult to point to the exact spot indicated by Cambrensis. There is a tradition, he says, which



places it on a small peninsula or promontory on the coast of Wexford, now called Baginbun. "Here it is pretended," says Wright, "that Robert FitzStephen ran in his ships, mooring them under the protection of the larger rock and landing his men by means of the low ridge. The cut between the last of these rocks, across which he is said to have jumped, is called popularly 'FitzStephen's Stride.' The invaders are supposed to have first occupied the esplanade of the smaller peninsula, where there are still traces of hasty fortifications which command the approaches and overlook the ground in the vicinity. In the middle of the rude encampment is a space like the foundation of a house, which is called 'FitzStephen's Tent.' Others, however, have been disinclined to believe the tradition which made the Anglo-Normans land on the promontory of Baginbun, and they think, from the identity of the name and its position with regard to Wexford, that the place now called Bannow, which may, from the known encroachments of the sea on this coast, have been formerly a peninsula, is the Banne of the ancient writers."

Dermot speedily joined the English expedition, and they marched on the town of Wexford—"distant" (says one writer) "about twelve miles from the Banne"—which surrendered after a stubborn resistance.

The Norman invaders were keenly alive to their own numerical weakness, and in order to recruit their forces some of their leading men were sent to England to enlist "all the vagrants, adventurers, and beggars" that could be induced to voyage to Ireland.



Thierry says that the standing of those who were picked up for the conquest of Ireland may be judged from the fact that one of them "who afterwards became a high and mighty baron on the coast of Ireland" was Raymond the Poor ("le Poure" according to the old French orthography).\*

Meanwhile Strongbow kept his eye fixed on Ireland. Having obtained King Henry's licence—"although," adds Cambrensis, "it was given in jest"—Earl Richard, suffering the winter to elapse, sent forward to Ireland, early in May, a young man of his own household, Raymond, with ten men-at-arms and seventy archers. This modest force landed "at the rock of Dundonolf, which lies on the sea coast about four miles† from Waterford and to the south of Wexford." Here they threw up a fortification made of turf and boughs of trees. This Raymond was Raymond-le-Gros, the youngest son of William Fitzgerald and a nephew of Robert FitzStephen. Mr. Wright says that Dundonolf was "eight miles from Waterford and twelve miles from Wexford." At this place—wherever it was situated—Raymond was joined by Harvey Mountmaurice and some Anglo-

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\* The origin of that branch of the Poer family which settled in Waterford is not very clear. Count de la Poer says there are two errors in Thierry's statement. "Roger, Robert, William, etc., le Poher," he writes, "came to Ireland in 1170, but no Raymond. None of these was called Le Pauvre. Le Poher, le Pohur, le Poer, are the oldest forms of the name. In Robert Wace's account of the Battle of Hastings 'li Pohiers' are mentioned as taking part on the Norman side in that battle." Robert le Poer, Custos of Waterford in 1177, was a son of Bernard le Poer and was generally known as Robert FitzBernard. He died in 1195. Roger le Poer was a member of quite a different family. He was killed in 1188.

† Modern authorities say that this is a misprint for 14 miles and that Baginbun is almost certainly the place where Raymond landed.

Norman adventurers. The lodgment of foreign troops so near their city was naturally viewed with apprehension by the citizens of Waterford, and it was thought advisable to attack the intruders before their numbers could increase. A comparatively large force, amounting, we are told by Cambrensis, to 3,000 men, which had been collected with the aid of O'Faolain, Prince of the Decies, and O'Ryan of Idrone, "crossed the Suir, which runs under the walls of the town on the east side, dividing Desmonia from Leinster." The Normans, better armed and better disciplined, proved too much for the valiant men of Waterford, and, after a brief struggle, panic seized them and they fled before Raymond's soldiery, and "were pursued and slaughtered in such numbers that upwards of five hundred quickly fell to the sword; and when the pursuers ceased striking from sheer weariness they threw vast numbers from the edge of the cliffs into the sea underneath."

"Thus," comments Giraldus, "fell the pride of Waterford, thus its power was lost."

Maurice Regan, the Rhymer, tells how the Normans, in order to break the Irish ranks and create a panic, scared the cows which they had previously driven into their fort, and owing to the tumult caused by this manœuvre they were able to rush upon the enemy, "the cows all in front." Regan says that a thousand Irish were left on the field. Seventy were given to a wench who beheaded them all with an axe made of highly tempered steel.

The Irish historian, Geoffrey Keating, gives a totally different version of this fateful encounter. Especially does he differ from Gerald Barry as to the



numerical strength of the force which sallied out from Waterford to oppose the Anglo-Norman invaders. It seems unlikely that a city so small as Waterford was in the 12th century could have mustered 3,000 fighting men, and it seems still more strange that, notwithstanding the superior equipment of Raymond's forces, 80 men could so easily have routed and slaughtered 3,000 native warriors.

Here is Keating's version of the engagement :

"When the inhabitants of Waterford and Maol-seachluin O'Faolain, King of the Deisi, received intelligence that the English had fortified themselves in their neighbourhood they apprehended themselves in imminent danger ; and summoning a council it was unanimously agreed to attack the fort, which was defended but by a handful of men, and put them all to the sword before they were relieved by fresh supplies. Accordingly a select party of 200 men under the conduct of an experienced officer was ordered to dislodge the foreigners and not to suffer a man of them to escape.

"Redmond le Gros, who had command of the foot, observing the Irish advancing towards him, resolved to oppose them before they came near the walls, and drawing out his small number of men, he led them on and with great indiscretion began the charge. But the Irish received them smartly, which soon convinced him of his mistake, and finding the enemy to be more numerous than he expected he sounded a retreat and thought to recover the fort with small loss. But the Irish fell upon his rear and pursued him so hotly that he was obliged to face about, and fighting with desperate courage at the head of his



company he so astonished the Irish troops that they were not able to stand the shock but gave way and fled for their lives. The slaughter in this action was terrible; for the English were a handful of brave, well-disciplined troops, and notwithstanding the disproportion of their numbers they broke the ranks of the raw, disordered Irish and gave them a general defeat."

Raymond, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, was a man of honour as well as a man of courage. He besought his comrades to restore to liberty the prisoners taken at the battle of Dundonolf. Speaking to his companions, he is reported to have said: "When the tumult of battle is ended, and the soldier has put off his armour, his fierceness should also be laid aside; humanity should then take its place, pity actuate a noble mind, and gentle feelings revive." Maurice Regan denies this and says it was Raymond who, in a fury because of the loss of a dear friend, ordered all his prisoners to be slaughtered. But, whatever may have been the character of FitzGerald, there is no doubt about the dastardly nature of Mountmaurice\*. He expressed the opinion that all emotions of pity should be stifled, that the English should strike terror into the Irish—"a wild and rebellious people"—and utterly subjugate them. Whoever may have been responsible for the crime, historians agree that the prisoners taken at Dundonolf had their limbs broken and were cast mutilated into the sea.

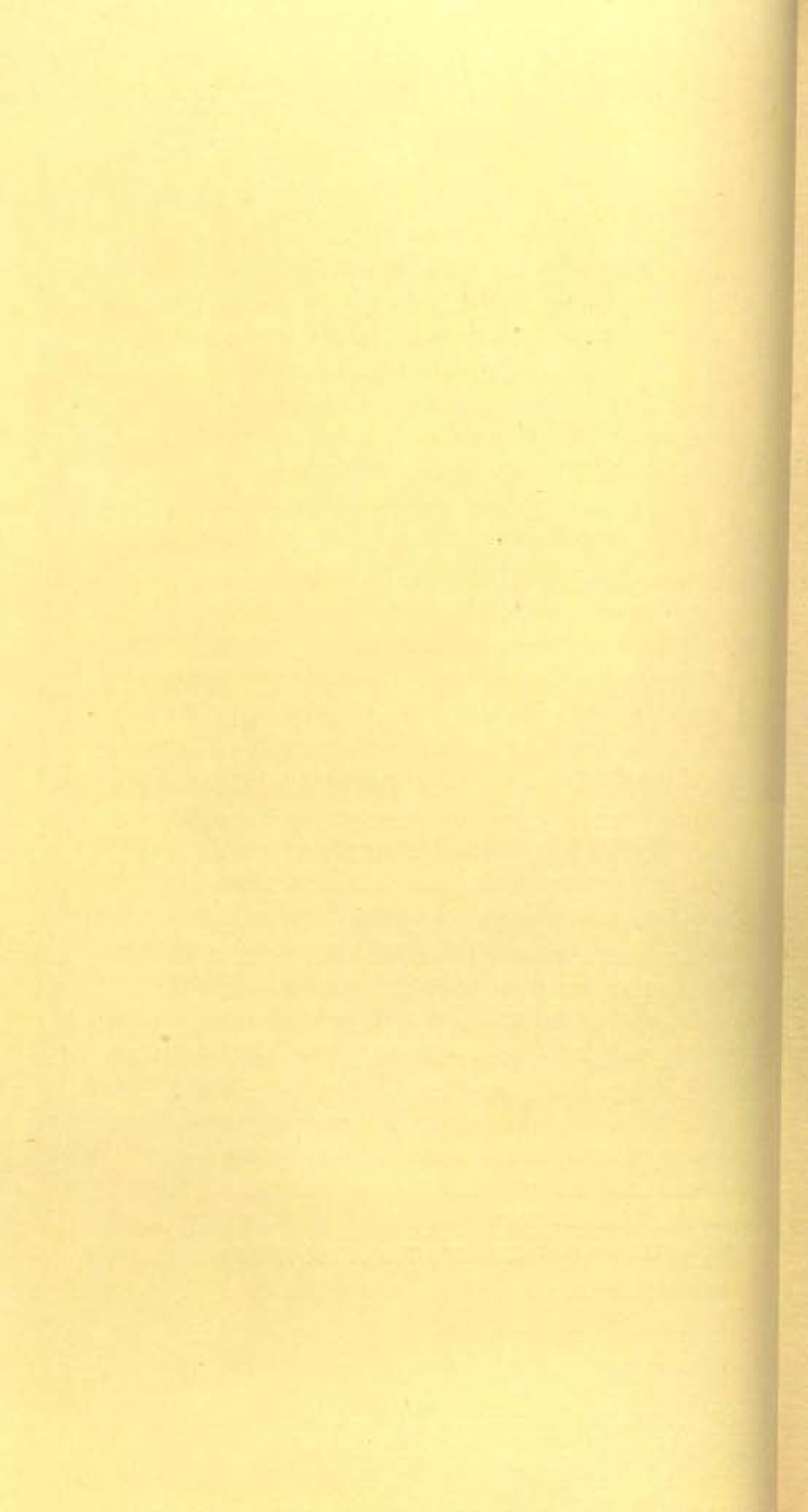
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\* Towards the close of his chequered career Hervey Mountmaurice retired from the turmoils of war and entered a religious order. He founded the famous Abbey of Dunbrody in the year 1182, thus atoning in some measure for the atrocities of his early life.



THE MARRIAGE OF STRONGBOW AND EVA





The way being, to a certain extent, cleared for him, Strongbow, in the month of August, set sail from Milford and arrived in Waterford on the 23rd of the same month, and joining Raymond's forces he marched upon the city of Waterford. A stubborn resistance was offered to the besiegers. They were twice repulsed. Then Raymond observing a house which projected over the walls supported by props, cut the supports away ; a large breach was effected in the walls and the besiegers got in, and the town was sacked and its inhabitants slaughtered.

Moore, in his History of Ireland, says :—" Though but little display of heroism could be expected from the people of Waterford, who had tamely suffered the murderers of their seventy citizens to remain three whole months unmolested in their neighbourhood, the defence of the city appears to have been spirited and vigorous."

It is recorded that when the Normans entered Port Lairge the two Sitrics were taken "in the Tower called Reginald's Tower and put to the sword." O'Faolain, Lord of the Decies, and his son, were also taken prisoners, and the invaders "slaughtered the citizens in heaps along the streets." Reginald, the Danish king, and Malachy O'Faolain were about to be put to death by the ensanguined Anglo-Normans when Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, arrived and put a stop to the slaughter of chiefs and people—almost the only act of his life which redounds to his credit. While the streets of the city were red with Irish and Danish blood, Dermot's daughter, Eva, was married in Christ Church to Strongbow, who presently had to set out



from Waterford in response to a summons from his suspicious, jealous, crafty, greedy monarch.

Henry by this time had decided to attempt not merely the conquest of Waterford but the conquest of all Ireland. He arrived in the harbour in 1171 with two hundred and forty ships: this fleet had on board some five hundred knights and about four thousand soldiers. According to tradition Reginald MacGillemory, a powerful lord, attempted to prevent the ships of the English King from sailing up the Suir by stretching across the river massive chains, but these were broken through. MacGillemory was captured and hanged; and the "natives," with some few exceptions, were banished. Strongbow made formal surrender of the city to his king, feeling that it was safer to do so than to run the risk of having his neck stretched on a block, and O'Faolain also made submission to the invader.

"On the morning of the eighteenth of October," says Thomas Francis Meagher," upon the broad waters of the Suir the spears and banners of a royal pirate were fluttering in the sun. Did the city of the Ostmen send forth a shout of defiance as the pageant moved up the stream and flung its radiance on our walls? No: from those walls no challenge was hurled at the foe; but from the Tower of Reginald the grey eye of a stately soldier glistened as they came, and whilst he waved his hand and showed them the keys of the city he had won, the name of Strongbow was heard amid the storm of shouts that rocked the galleys to and fro. He was the first adventurer that set his heel on Irish soil in the name of England; and he—the sleek, the cautious, the gallant Strong-

bow—was the type and herald of that plague with which this island has been cursed for seven desolating centuries."

During his sojourn in Waterford the Plantaganet monarch was acknowledged as sovereign lord by the chieftains of Cork and Wexford. We are told that "the men of Wexford, to court his favour, brought to him in fetters their prisoner Robert FitzStephen, excusing themselves because he had been the first to invade Ireland without the royal license and had set a bad example. The King having loudly rated him and threatened him with his indignation for his rash enterprise, at last sent him back loaded with fetters and chained to another prisoner, to be kept in safe custody in Reginald's Tower." It may be added that FitzStephen was speedily released from durance vile, and it is probable that the loud rating and the punishment caused Henry and the Anglo-Norman knights some private amusement.

The King granted many rights and privileges—subsequently confirmed by succeeding English monarchs—to the Ostmen of Waterford, and when he felt that affairs were shaping themselves as he desired, he set out from the city by the Suir and proceeded to Lismore. There the chief men of Munster, clerical and lay, waited upon his Majesty and acknowledged him as their king. Henry proceeded by easy stages to Dublin and remained there until the beginning of February, 1172, when he returned to Waterford and proceeded thence to Wexford.

The weather during the whole of the winter had been so tempestuous that communication with

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England had been interrupted, and the King was in a constant state of anxiety about the murder of Becket.\* About the middle of Lent intelligence arrived to the effect that the circumstances of the Archbishop's death were to be investigated and that Henry was to appear in Normandy before cardinals appointed by the Holy See. Henry placed Waterford in charge of Robert FitzBernard, Humphrey de Bohun, and Hugh de Gundeville, and on Easter Monday, 17th April, he embarked at Wexford for Wales. Strongbow was made Viceroy of Ireland and was also Lord of Leinster. On assuming office he found that Raymond and Mountmaurice were quarrelling. In order to conciliate Raymond, who was a favourite with the English soldiery, Strongbow placed him at the head of the army with full permission to ravage the county. Lismore was promptly sacked and the whole district surrounding it plundered. The English under de Rutherford had a brush at Youghal with the citizens of Cork, the result being a victory for the invaders, who returned by sea to Waterford with a large booty. Raymond, hearing that a portion of his marauders were in danger of being attacked by the M'Carthy of Desmond, hurried to their assistance, leading 4,000

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\* St. Thomas's Church (the ruined gable of which now stands on Thomas's Hill) is said to have been founded by Henry in expiation of the murder of Thomas a-Beckett; but in the "Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore" it is stated that the church is "evidently far the most ancient ecclesiastical structure in Waterford and appears to date from the later Danish period. Originally it may have been a Hiberno-Danish church, converted later by the Normans into a votive chapel and dedicated to St. Thomas, and finally made a chapel-of-ease to Trinity Within." Other authorities hold that the ruins are those of an early Anglo-Norman Church.

cows and sheep stolen in the district round Lismore. Arriving in Waterford he informed Strongbow that he wished to wed the Earl's sister Basilia. Strongbow declined to present his sister to Raymond and the latter in high dudgeon resigned his commission and retired with a number of his followers to Wales.\* Harvey Mountmaurice was then put in command of the forces and the elderly warrior attacked Donald O'Brien and suffered defeat. Strongbow had to shut himself up carefully inside the walls of Waterford, and feeling that he was in grave danger he sent a message to Raymond asking him to resume command of the troops and consenting to give him the hand of Basilia in marriage. Raymond quickly collected a force and arrived in the Suir with a fleet of twenty transports. So critical was the situation for the invaders of Ireland that, at the very moment when the ships hove in sight, the citizens of Waterford were about to rise and slay the strangers, but this project was defeated by the opportune arrival of Raymond and his followers. Believing that the citizens were completely cowed, Strongbow went with his future brother-in-law to Wexford, where the nuptials were duly solemnized.† After his departure from Waterford the Danes rose up and slew a considerable number of the English who had remained in the city, including Purcell the governor. The garrison in Reginald's Tower held out against the

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\* Smith in his History of Waterford says : " Raymond hearing of the death of his father passed over to Wales."

† Raymond died in 1186. His remains are said to have been interred in the Abbey of Saint Molanfide. In J. R. O'Flanagan's "River Blackwater" there is a sketch of an arched window of the Abbey and under it a funeral urn with an inscription to his memory, but this monument is comparatively modern.



citizens, and ultimately the English succeeded in regaining possession of the town.

In 1173 the Bull of Pope Adrian IV., granting to Henry the sovereignty of Ireland, was promulgated in Waterford.

In 1179 Robert le Poer was appointed Governor of the County Waterford and received a grant of the entire county with a reservation of the city and the cantred of the Ostmen. In his "Topography of Ireland" Cambrensis relates a curious tale in which this le Poer is mentioned. A frog was found in the grassy meadows near Waterford, and was brought alive to court before Robert Poer who was at that time warden of the city. Irish, English, and Danes were astonished at the sight of the frog, the first frog ever discovered in Ireland. Donald, Prince of Ossory, who happened to be present, "beating his head and having deep grief at heart," declared that "this reptile is the bearer of doleful news to Ireland": it foretold the subjugation of his country. The Welsh historian argues that the frog could not have been born in Ireland, and his opinion was that it was carried over by accident from England in a ship.

## CHAPTER III.

### JOHN, PRINCE AND KING.

JOHN was too young at this period to take any part in the intrigues of his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, and this led King Henry to form a greater affection for John than for his other sons, and in 1185 when he was anxious to send someone to Ireland to represent him, he selected John. The young prince, according to Holinshed, was then only twelve years of age. Thierry puts his age at fifteen. But this must be a mistake. The date of John's birth, according to Florence of Worcester, was 1166, which would make him nineteen years of age at the time he set out for Waterford. He sailed from Milford on Wednesday in Easter week, and arrived in the Suir at noon on the following day (April 25). He was accompanied by Robert the Poor, who had previously been military lieutenant or marshal, and Ranulf de Glanville, the King's chief Privy Councillor. Many other courtiers accompanied the royal youth and a considerable force of knights and archers. Several ecclesiastics were also with the expedition. Gerald Barry acted as Secretary to the Prince.

The Irish chiefs waited upon John on his arrival in Waterford in order to tender their submission to the English crown. The appearance of some of the chieftains amused the callow prince and his courtiers



and they laughed at them, mocked them, and pulled their beards. Ere long the royal party earned general contempt and detestation. Many of the Irish were dispossessed of their lands and their property was parcelled out amongst the more or less infamous companions of the English prince, and revenues collected for the defence of the county were also misappropriated. Henry grew uneasy when he heard of the scandalous conduct of his son and his son's dissolute favourites and recalled them and committed the government to John de Courcy.

Gerald Barry tells us that three castles were built in the neighbourhood of Waterford immediately after the arrival of the English prince. Three noble youths—Anglo-Normans—were killed:—Robert de Barri at Lismore, Raymond FitzHugh at Olechan, and Raymond of Cantitune at Odrone. Giraldus speaks in bitter terms of the conduct of some of the noble Anglo-Normans who were in the habit of "leaving the enemy uninjured and are always plundering the vanquished. The soldiers and serving men," he adds, "in the garrison also imitating their captains and masters, lead the same sort of life as their betters, spending their whole time in drinking and wantonness." And not only did the invaders neglect to make any offerings to the Church but they robbed the Church of its lands and other possessions. The Normans (Giraldus tells us) could not do without strong drink, "being accustomed to it from their youth. They were talkers, boasters, enormous sneerers, and held all others in supreme contempt."

The English prince's visit was marked by one event of importance which stands to his credit: St.



RUINS OF ST. JOHN'S PRIORY





John's Priory and Alms House was founded by him. To the monks was accorded the privilege of buying, selling and exchanging within or without the city gates and in all market towns, camps and villages, with every liberty and privilege that buyers and sellers ordinarily have. No one could exact tolls or tribute of them or impose any secular obligation.

John and his precious retinue returned to England in December, 1185. Four years later Henry II. died. Richard, who succeeded him, was too busily engaged in his crusading projects to give any attention to Ireland, and it was not until John came to the throne that English royal relations with Ireland were resumed. In 1204 a royal warrant permitted the citizens to hold a nine-days fair, and in the 17th year of his reign John gave Waterford a charter of incorporation, bestowing the city upon the citizens. It was also ordered that no itinerant justices or judges of assize in the county should for the future vex or disturb the residents. This charter expressly mentions the county of Waterford as a distinct district from the city.

On the 20th of June, 1210, King John landed at Crook. This time his conduct was marked by more sobriety and greater sagacity than he had displayed during his previous visit. While he resided in Waterford, in 1210, his palace was situated near Christ Church (where the building known as The Widows' Apartment now stands). He caused considerable stir in Waterford, enlarging the city and extending its walls and paying flying visits to various parts of the country, attended by a large body of knights and soldiery. He ordered silver and copper coins to be



minted in Reginald's Tower, which was then called Dundory or the Fort of Gold. The silver coins have on one side his head, full-faced, and the inscription *Johannes Dom.*, and on the reverse a double cross with a pellet or annulet in each quarter, and the minter's name and the name of the city. On the copper pennies, half-pennies, and farthings the King's head is also stamped with the inscription *Johannes Rex*.

The King fell ill as the result of indulging too freely at Lismore in salmon and cider. On his recovery, doubtless as a votive offering, he granted the towns and lands of Leperstown in the County of Waterford and the lands at Ballymacadane, in the city and liberties of Waterford, for the relief of leprous and other diseased persons. The first Leper House was founded in Waterford during his reign.

He saw to the completion of the new walls and to the strengthening of the city's towers and bastions. The old Danish wall (starting from Reginald's Tower as the most important point) ran along the quayside to the corner of Barronstrand Street. The wall then ran southward in a line parallel to Barronstrand Street and then shaped itself eastward by Peter Street and Lady Lane to Colbeck Street and on by the Mall to the Tower, completing a triangle. The Anglo-Norman wall had a more extended area. It ran from Barronstrand Street, through the present George's Street, on by Patrick Street, the Mayor's Walk and Castle Street, then dipped down to the Manor and round by the Castle in the Railway Square, over John's Bridge, across the Waterside and through where the Catholic Young Men's Society Rooms now stand to Colbeck Gate.

On August 25th, 1211, His Majesty departed from "the opulent City of Waterford."

In 1215 a royal command was issued to Geoffrey de Marisco, Justiciary of Ireland, "to permit shipping to come to Ross, the land of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, provided no injury shall thereby accrue to the port of Waterford."

The name of King John is more markedly associated with Waterford than that of any other English monarch. Many places in the city are still called after him and traditions of his visits abound. Nor are there wanting memorials more substantial. In the City Hall is preserved King John's mace, and there are the sword and cap of maintenance, presented by his 13th century Majesty to the citizens, all of which do duty to this day as decorations or trophies on public occasions.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE 13TH CENTURY.

JOHN's reign, none too glorious, ended with his death in 1216. His son, Henry III., was only ten years of age when he ascended the throne. The Irish barons at this period had come to the conclusion that the panacea for all the ills of Ireland would be to establish in the country a royal residence, and a memorial was addressed to the young king desiring that either the queen dowager or his Majesty's brother should be sent to Ireland.

In 1226 the Dominican Friars got a foundation in Arundel Square—the tower of the old Dominican Church is still standing in Blackfriars.\*

In 1240 the Holy Ghost Friary (known in more recent times as "the French Church") was founded by Sir Hugh Purcell. The Lady Chapel on the south side of the church was erected by the Poers, Barons of Dunhill. The Friary was richly endowed by the King in 1245 and 1246.

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\*In the year 1274 there were twenty-four Dominican convents in Ireland. Waterford was fourth in antiquity. The order was probably introduced into the city by Brother Gotofred, who was a native of Waterford. He was a man of great learning. At the time of the establishment of Waterford priory many of the chief inhabitants of the city were Normans or their descendants and spoke in their own tongue, and it is probable that the first of the Dominican friars were of French origin.

When Henry III. grew to manhood he sent a new charter to Waterford. This document is dated 16th June, 1232, and in it is made the mention of the election of a Provost, or Chief Magistrate.\* During this reign quarrels between Waterford merchants and Ross merchants became acute. An appeal was made to the King in the year 1219, and again in 1230, and his Majesty on both occasions ordered that all vessels coming into the Suir should load and unload at Waterford. It appears that "from the time before the memory of man" the provost, bailiffs and citizens of Waterford were accustomed to select two casks of wine to be taken from each vessel laden with wine entering between Redeback and Ryndowsy and going on to Ross. Henry III. gave a second charter on November 14, 1245, and a third on August 4, 1260.

The city was burned to the ground in 1252. This year was remarkable in Ireland for a great drought by reason of which multitudes of cattle perished.

Notwithstanding the King's command, the men of Ross continued to divert to their own port shipping which, according to law, should have come to Waterford, and again appeal was made to the Crown. The result of this appeal was that an Inquisition was held in Waterford "on Saturday next before the Feast of St. Nicholas, in the 51st year of the reign of the Lord King Henry"—that is on December 6th, 1266.

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\* In Smith's and Ryland's histories of Waterford the first name in the list of Mayors is that of William Lumbard, who was installed in 1377. However, there is a record of John Tyler as Mayor in 1295.



At this enquiry depositions were made by Richard de Valle, Geoffrey le Botiller, Matthew de Brues, Richard Whittey, Geoffrey Broun, Robert de Pocher, Roger son of James, Reymund son of Maurice, Maurice son of John, David de Neth, John son of Philip, Henry de la Bataille, John Aylward, John Scurlag, Simon de Karnetober, and Robert de St. Patrick, " Who, having sworn, say upon their oath that, when two ships belonging to Richard English, citizen of Waterford, and William Bouloun, burgess of Caen, laden with goods of the said Richard and William and of Thomas le Paumer, citizen of Waterford, within the port there, wished to transfer themselves to the parts of Caen, with the consent and command of the municipality of the town of Ross, the following men came to the larger ship of the aforesaid ships with armed force, to wit, Hervey Breton, Colyn de Moeles, William Pederinaur, John le Clerk, Thomas Benet, Richard Alurt, Robert le Norreis, Ralph Maydynnan and Henry Grym, and took the same ship with all things contained therein, and maltreated the men found in her. And immediately Thomas Ketyng, with his followers, went in aid of the said Hervey and the others. Who, when they saw that the said ship was taken, took the smaller of the said ships with all thing contained therein. And the said Thomas, and the aforesaid Hervey, and the others, with their followers, with armed force brought the said ships to Ross and caused them to be arrested there. And afterwards Maurice Fitz Maurice, by whose command the aforesaid Thomas, Hervey and others aforenamed asserted that they had taken the said ships, sent his letters to the Burgesses of Ross to

deliver the said ships and the goods contained in them, and altogether disavowed the aforesaid deed. Nevertheless, the said Burgesses, not wishing to acquiesce in the command of the said Maurice, caused the ships to be arrested for seventeen weeks to the harm of the aforesaid William, Richard, and Thomas, to the value of £100 sterling and more. They also say upon their oath that from the conquest of Ireland every ship coming from whatsoever land, unless it shall be of the land of liberty of the Earl Marshall, Lord of Leinster, or his heirs, after she came to the entry of the port of Waterford in the manner accustomed, landed at Waterford and not at Ross, until the Burgesses of Ross with armed force, equally to the disherison of the lord the King and of his heirs, and to the no small prejudice of the liberty of the lord Edward and the harm of the citizens of Waterford and of their compatriots, there brought certain ships—coming to the aforesaid port and wishing to have landed (their cargoes) at Waterford—to the town of Ross. Wherefore they say that the said Burgesses, with armed force and in manner aforesaid, brought more than fifty ships, in respect of each one of which the Lord the King, or the Lord Edward, ought to have had two casks of wine for 40s. of prisage. Moreover, they say that when a certain ship, which belonged to a certain Burgess of Bristol, came to the aforesaid port laden with merchandise, the citizens of Waterford sent a certain serjeant, called Brice, to her, with certain other men, whom the said Burgess of Ross struck, wounded and maltreated so that the said serjeant died; and a certain other being with him was thrown into the water. And they



brought the ship with armed force to Ross. And these two ships landed at the aforesaid port on the Vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle, in the 49th year of King (Henry III.), laden with wines, and the aforesaid Hervey and others went to them together with Robert le Clerk and Thomas Ketyng to whom (i.e., Ketyng) Maurice Fitz Maurice, at the time of the disturbance of the peace in Ireland, had delivered the town of Ross to guard, and brought them (the ships) with armed force to Ross, against the peace. This aforesaid Maurice nevertheless being ignorant, but the whole municipality of Ross consenting.

"Also they say that, unless a correction be applied for the aforesaid trespasses, the town of Waterford, within a short time, will seem to men to be evacuated, to such an extent that the Lord Edward could be deprived of his issuing from the said town (which God forbid).

"Moreover they say that when Henry de Coventry, a fellow-citizen of Waterford, came to Ross with his ship laden with salt, and had sold a certain part of the said salt there, the same Henry, because he sent his ship aforesaid to Waterford with the rest of the salt aforesaid, was corporally attacked and imprisoned by the municipality of Ross until he made a fine of £12 sterling."

Again on the 4th December, 1267, Prince Edward sent from Bristol the following letter patent :—

"Edward, the firstborn of the illustrious King of England, to all merchants and masters of ships who are not of the land of the heirs of Walter le Marshall, formerly Earl of Pembroke, in Leinster, coming with ships and merchandise into Ireland, greeting.

"Know ye that We have caused it to be proclaimed and prohibited throughout the whole of Leinster, that no ship which is not of the land of the heirs of the aforesaid, in Leinster, henceforth go to Ross or the Island, or land there with wines and merchandise to trade there, as the merchants whose wines and merchandise those shall be shall not wish to lose them ; and as the masters of the ships aforesaid which from elsewhere than from the land of the heirs aforesaid shall not wish to incur harm and injury, or hindrance in respect of their ships. And that our City of Waterford, whose port the ships aforesaid avoid and prefer to land at Ross and the Island that at Waterford, is very much deteriorated by the landing aforesaid, as We have heard ; and We consequently are losing very much thereby. And therefore We command you, firmly inhibiting, that henceforth, the port of Waterford being neglected, you presume to go with your wines and other merchandise to Ross or the Island, as you shall wish that the wines and other merchandise may not likewise be forfeited to Us."

And Edward I. in the third year of his reign (1275) addressed, to the Sheriff of Dublin, a further remonstrance, to this effect :—

"It is given to Us to understand that, although in parts of Gascony, England, Ireland, and elsewhere, by our power, in our behalf it is publicly inhibited that no ships entering into the port of Waterford go to the town of Ross, except only those which are of the land and liberty of the heirs of Leinster, but all others shall direct their course to the City of Waterford, there paying the due and ancient customs



and exposing their wares for sale. Nevertheless, some ships other than of the land of liberty of the heirs of Leinster aforesaid, are brought, in contempt, with wares, against our inhibition aforesaid, and to the grave harm and detriment of our City of Waterford aforesaid to the town of Ross, which affects Us heavily and anxiously. And therefore We command that you, notwithstanding the liberty of Carlow, you personally go to the town of Ross, and take into our hand, as forfeited to Us, all ships which by inquisition which you shall cause to be made, or in other lawful manner it shall appear to you to have landed there against our inhibition aforesaid (which, to wit, are not of the land and liberty of Leinster) with all the wares and merchandise being in the same, or which came in the same thereto, to the hands of whomsoever they came, and keep them safely in our prison until otherwise you shall receive in command from Us.

“Witness, Geoffrey de Geneville, our Justice of Ireland, at Ratoath, the 14th day of May, in the third year of our reign.”

The reason that a leaning so marked was shown by the Crown to the port of Waterford was that the customs from ships loading and unloading at that town went into the royal exchequer, while the customs levied at Ross benefitted the Palitanate Lord.

Ross at this period is said to have had an export trade of immense proportions. Returns of the customs paid by merchants in the port averaged over £600 a year, which would represent about £7,000 in money of the present time. Waterford at the same

period had an export trade of little less magnitude than Ross, its customs averaging about £500 a year.

When Edward Longshanks came to the throne he was too busy in other directions to pay marked attention to Irish affairs. However, it is recorded that in the early days of his reign he expressed his intention of making everything right in Ireland by the simple process of introducing English law. His Majesty declared that Irish law was "hateful in the sight of God and repugnant to all justice." Evidently this was also the opinion of certain Ostmen in Waterford, for they sought to obtain freedom from the Irish law, and the king in reply to a petition from the MacGillemorys, ordered that this family and its friends should have the law of England, and that they should be amenable to no other form of legal procedure. Gillechrist MacGillemory, William and John MacGillemory, and other Ostmen of the city and county of Waterford were graciously permitted to scoff at the Brehon or other Irish laws. This document is dated at Acton Burnell on the 5th day of October, 1277.

Money was coined in Waterford in the reign of this monarch. His pennies and half-pennies have the king's head in a triangle, full faced. They bear the inscription *Edw. R. Ang. Dus. Hyb.* and on the reverse the Cross and three pellets in each quarter, and round it the words *Civitas Waterford*. It is set down that in 1282 the cost of the Mint was £1,353 and the issue £1,415. At this date Roger Lamb and Walter Russell were keepers of the Assay and were empowered to use the Tower as a prison for the detention of anyone guilty of an offence against the



Mint. Stephen of Fulburn, Bishop of Waterford (1273-1286), who afterwards became Lord Justice of Ireland, coined money in Reginald's Tower. In 1314 Andrew Gerard, head of the Mint, lived "in a stone house opposite the convent of the Franciscan Friars," paying a rent of 4/-.

The frequent conflagrations in the city are a remarkable feature. In 1280 it was set on fire. "Some merchant strangers conceiving themselves to have been wronged by the citizens brought bags of gunpowder\* out of their ships and threw them by night in through cellar windows, and coals of fire after them, and so spoiled the city that it was long before they could recover themselves."

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\* This fire occurred prior to the date ordinarily accepted as the approximate date of the invention of gunpowder.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE 14TH CENTURY.

AT the close of the 13th century the Normans, who had proved themselves swift conquerors and invincible foes in Great Britain, on the Continent and in the East, had not succeeded in conquering Ireland. Feuds were continually breaking out between the Anglo-Norman chiefs, and when the rivals were at each others' throats the Irish seized the opportunity of attacking the tyrannical and detested invaders. In whatever part of the country English domination prevailed the native had practically no rights or privileges. He could not sue in a court where English law ran ; the will of an Irishman was not a legal document ; the murder of a mere Irishman was not punishable even by a fine.

In Waterford, notwithstanding the unsettled condition of the country, trades and crafts flourished. Ships sailed in and out of the port. Guilds of the English pattern were established and under their banner were enrolled the butcher, the baker, the tailor, the dyer, the tanner, the shoemaker, the smith, the mason, the carpenter. The stranger who visited the city in time of peace was free to buy or to sell without toll or tax.

Although the Irish were well aware of the immense superiority which the use of defensive armour gave to the Normans, they could not be induced to



clothe themselves in suits of mail. Armour of course was expensive, and this may have been one reason why it was not in general use amongst the Irish who warred with the Normans, but the principal reason was that the natives scorned defensive armour, regarding it as effeminate. Gilbride McNamee refers to this in a poem on the death (in 1260) of his patron King Brian O'Neil, and incidentally mentions the city by the Suir.

The foreigner from London,  
The hosts from Portlairge  
Came in a bright green body  
In gold and iron armour.  
Unequal they engage in battle  
The foreigners and the Gael of Tara  
Fine linen shirts on the race of Conn  
And the strangers one mass of iron.

Even at this time when Ireland outside the walled towns was still at war with the English invader, the citizens of Waterford had evidently adopted English customs and were in the main loyal servants of Henry the Second's successors, and doubtless they welcomed the precious gift of English law which Edward I. conferred upon his favoured subjects.

In the early part of the 14th century there was no cessation of hostilities on Irish soil. The Normans and the Irish rarely furled the battle-flag. Edward Bruce, too, waged war in various parts of Ireland in the first quarter of the century, and it is claimed that he defeated the English in eighteen battles. In 1327, the year in which Edward II. was brutally murdered, Lord Arnold le Poer and Maurice of Desmond quarrelled and a series of furious conflicts ensued. Le Poer, defeated, fled to England, and Desmond ravaged his estate. The following year Le Poer returned to

Ireland and was reconciled to his enemy, and it would seem as if this reconciliation had brought about peace for a short period between rival Norman chieftains.

And presently the Normans, the Flemings and the Welshmen, descendants of the hosts who had arrived in Ireland in the 12th century, began to realise that, in order to establish themselves securely in Ireland, the best policy would be to try to conciliate the natives, whom they had failed to subdue. Instead of marrying exclusively amongst themselves, as had been their rule, they sought for Irish wives and bestowed their daughters on Irish husbands; they learned to speak the language of Ireland; and they were willing to admit that the ancient laws of the country were more suitable for the Irish people than laws which were foreign to them. The English government did not relish this merging of the rival population of Ireland, and it was decided to split the country again into hostile camps, but this was found not to be too easy a task.

There were clerical quarrels as well as lay quarrels. In connection with disputes which arose about the church lands claimed by the Sees of Lismore and Waterford it is related in the Annals of Innisfallen that in the year 1350 on Thursday after St. Francis' day, a little before midnight, the Archbishop of Cashel entered privately into the churchyard of the Blessed Trinity at Waterford by the little door of St. Catherine's. He came with a numerous troop of armed men and made an assault on the Bishop of Waterford, Roger Cradock, at his lodgings and grievously wounded him and many others who



were in his company and robbed him of his goods. These extraordinary proceedings were, it is said, carried out by the advice of Walter Reeve, who pretended to be Dean of Waterford, and William Lendale, the Mayor. Bishop Cradock was translated to Llandaff in 1362, and in the following year the the dioceses of Lismore and Waterford were consolidated.

The third son of Edward III., Lionel, was despatched to Ireland in 1361. He did some mischief and he suffered defeat at the hands of the O'Briens, and in 1364 he returned to his native land.

The City of Waterford was not seriously disturbed by the struggles and intrigues which were in active force in other parts of the country at this period, nor did the citizens concern themselves with the extraordinary efforts of the Anglo-Irish to adopt the manners, customs, and language and laws of Irish Ireland. It was practically an English town; its merchants, who were not of Danish origin, were of English origin; their shipping trade was mainly with England. Why should they be concerned with matters which tended only to disturb the stream of commerce which flowed into the port and out of the port as regularly almost as the Suir flowed and ebbed underneath the walls of the ancient city?

But though they were not disturbed about the general condition of the country they had close at hand neighbours who were jealous of them and who gave them occasionally considerable trouble. On September 4th, 1368, the Poers of the County Waterford—"ever evil willers and enemies unto the citie"—having gathered all their forces were joined by the

O'Hedriscolls of the County Cork and sailed towards the city with the intention of plundering it. The Poers bore the city enmity because of its "fidelity and good government." John Malpas, the Mayor, accompanied by Walter Devenish, the Sheriff, and Richard Walter, Master of St. John's of Jerusalem, with a number of strangers and English sailed to meet the enemy. The Poers and O'Hedriscolls routed the forces of Waterford city at Glenoradmore and slew the Mayor, the Sheriff, the Master of the Hospital, and about a hundred others. The assailants did not escape lightly: the head of the Poers and many of his sept and numbers of the O'Hedriscolls were slain. The day following this sanguinary encounter—September 10th—the hacked body of the Mayor was conveyed to Waterford and was buried in Christ Church, and Richard Brusbone was elected in his place.

In the reign of Richard II. the Corporation decided to get their various charters embodied in one great charter roll. This precious document is preserved by the Corporation. Its beautiful marginal illustrations include a portrait of each king who gave or conferred a charter to the city, also portraits of bishops, chancellors, mayors and burgesses of Waterford, and of the mayors of Dublin, Cork and Limerick.\*

According to "*Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterford*," commonly known as "*The Great Parchment Book*" (also preserved by the present Corpora-

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\* In 1866 it was proposed by the late Mr. Du Noyer, of the Geological Survey, to ask the Kilkenny Archæological Association to provide £400 towards the cost of reproducing the illuminations in the precious document.



tion) it was enacted in the 6th year of the reign of Richard II. (1383), by common consent of the citizens, that all hogs, sows, boars and other swine that shall be found walking by day or night within the city or trenches or dyke of the same shall be slain by those deputed for such office. Also by right they may be slain by anyone finding them walking.

In the eighth year of King Richard's reign it was ordained that any man dwelling within the liberties of the city, who shall curse, defame or despite any citizen of Waterford in calling him an Irishman shall be convicted and shall give to him  $13/4$  without any grace. In the same year it was ordained that all mesuages and shops that are covered with straw, hay or herbage within the walls of the city shall be destroyed, the heads of said shops to pay forty shillings for every shop not cast down. And further, that thenceforth no mesuage or shop shall be covered with straw, hay or herbage within the walls of the city under a like penalty, and they that are roofed in this manner shall be cast down by the mayor and bailiffs.

Presently from over the seas came the news that the English King had decided to pay a visit to Ireland and would voyage direct from his own island to Waterford harbour. It was said that the motive which urged Richard to undertake this voyage was the desire to divert his mind from brooding over the loss of his queen ; but another reason given is that he had been taunted on the Continent for not being able to subdue Ireland, and he was determined to demonstrate to Europe that England had conquered the sister island.

On the second day of October, 1394, Richard

arrived in the Suir, bringing with him an army consisting of four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand archers. Ships of all sizes swarmed in the Suir, the royal galley leading. Attending on the King were his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, the young Earl of March, the heir apparent, and numerous other English nobles of high rank. High dignitaries of the Church also accompanied the fleet. Immediately after landing at the quays the royal party proceeded to the Cathedral, where a Te Deum was chanted, Bishop Reade intoning the anthem.

Richard remained in Waterford city for a week, giving splendid entertainments and doing his best generally to endear himself to the citizens. He presented gifts of value to various churches. He ratified the charter given by King John to the Abbey of the Holy Cross in Munster. The neighbouring Anglo-Irish lords, the Le Poers, the Butlers, the Graces, waited upon his Majesty. The King issued a summons to Gerald, Earl of Desmond, commanding that haughty lord to appear before him by the Feast of the Purification to answer to the charge of having usurped the manor, revenues, and honour of Dungarvan.

Having duly impressed the citizens with the magnificence and the potency of English royalty, the ill-starred King set out from Waterford in order to march to Dublin.

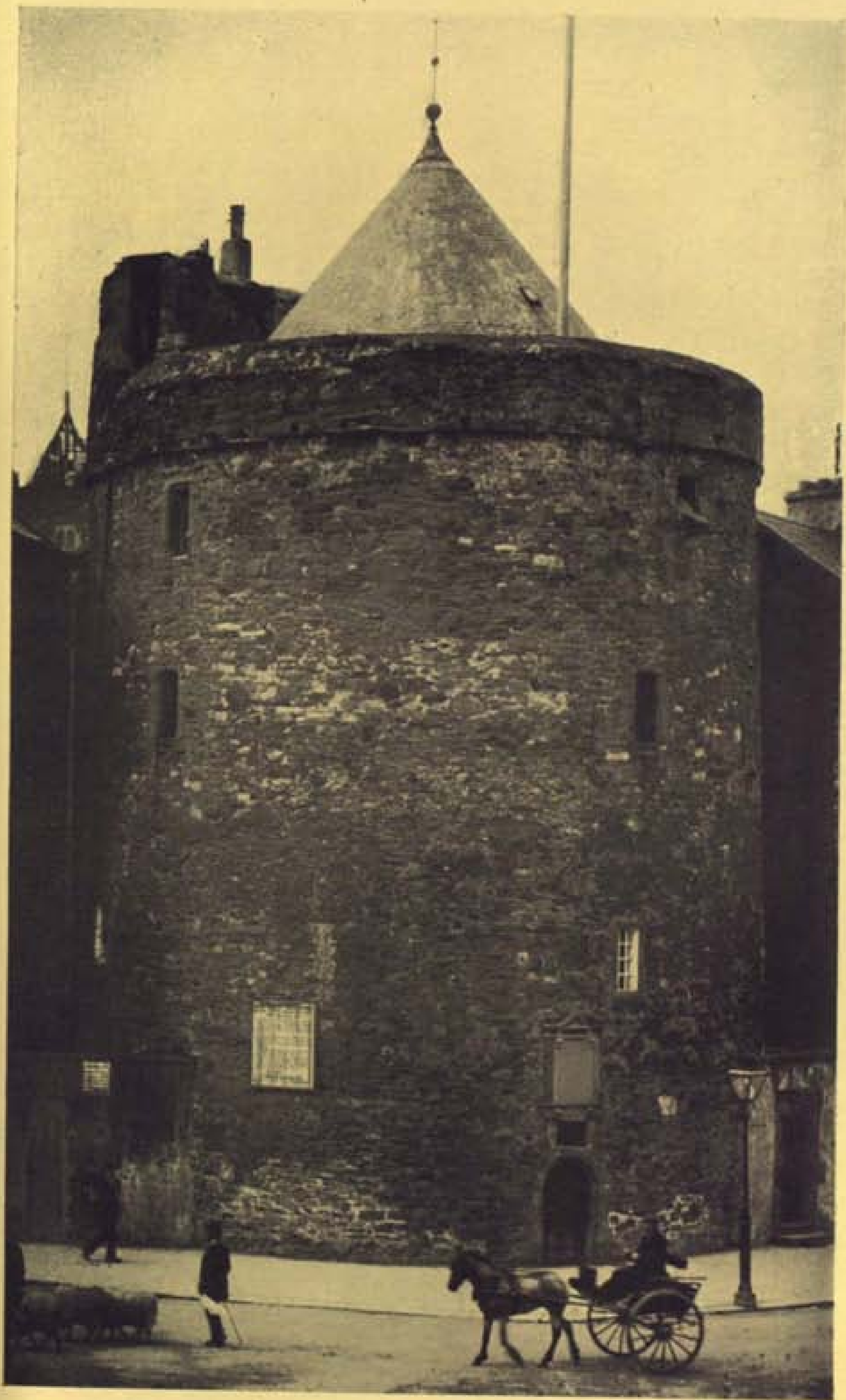
On the very eve of Richard's arrival in Waterford the Leinster chieftain, Art McMurrough, had captured the strongly fortified town of Ross, razed its walls to the ground, had ransacked the town and carried off gold and hostages. Arrived in the City of Kilkenny,



Richard sent his Earl Marshal to treat with McMurrough. A parley took place on the plain of Ballygorey, near Carlow, but the terms offered to Art and his companions were so harsh that McMurrough flatly declined to accept them, and boldly declared that if he made terms at all it must be with the King himself. There were with McMurrough at Ballygorey some southern lords who meekly desired to accept the terms proposed by the King: amongst these were "*Power cum filio suo juxta Waterford.*" Richard was indignant at the Leinster chieftain's message and decided to overwhelm this insolent Irishman in battle, but finding by painful experience that this was easier to contemplate than to accomplish, he finally consented to receive the victorious Leinster chieftain in Dublin.

There was trouble brewing for the English King in his own country, and he sailed from Dublin, leaving the Earl of March to act as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In the month of May, 1399, King Richard decided to pay a second visit to Ireland for the alleged purpose of avenging the death of his kinsman, the Earl of March, who had been slain in a battle with the O'Byrnes, which took place at Killystown. At Milford Haven a fleet of two hundred ships was assembled. The clergy were taxed to supply horses, waggons and money; the nobles, shires and towns had to supply the soldiery; the seaports from Whitehaven to Penzance were ordered to supply ships. Minstrels and camp followers of all kinds flocked to Milford, and the wind being from the North, "the vessels took in their lading of bread, wine, cows, calves,



REGINALD'S TOWER





salt meat, and plenty of water," and the king, bidding a graceful adieu to the ladies, set sail for Waterford. In two days the whole of Richard's fleet was in sight of Reginald's Tower. Amongst the royal retinue was a youth, Lord Henry of Lancaster, who was afterwards to become famous as Henry V. The recent wars had affected the people of the city considerably. The French chronicler, Froissart, describes their condition and the condition of the city as pitiable in the extreme. In order to land the baggage the soldiery had to wade up to their waist in ooze. Some of the citizens were in rags, others were girt with ropes; and the dwellings seemed to the visitors to be mere hovels.

Eager to overwhelm Art McMurrough, who now styled himself King of Leinster, Richard set out from Waterford on the march to Dublin six days after his arrival in the port.

After a fruitless campaign, lasting some six weeks, against the Leinster chieftain the King learned, in July 1399, that Henry of Bolingbroke had taken advantage of his absence and had risen out against him. Richard decided to return at once to England. Nearly three weeks elapsed before he reached Milford Haven, and during that time the last chance of preserving his throne, or indeed his life, had vanished, and the monarch whom Shakespeare has immortalized and who failed, as his predecessors had failed, to subdue the Irish, was destined to perish ignominiously in Pontefract castle.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE 15TH CENTURY.

THE opening of the 15th century showed no signs of cessation of hostilities of all kinds in Ireland, and the inhabitants of Waterford were not less disinclined than their neighbours to draw the sword.

In 1413 the citizens had another brush with the O'Hedriscolls. Simon Wickin, the Mayor, Roger Walsh and Thomas Sault, the bailiffs, surprised and took prisoners O'Hedriscoll, his family, and the rest of his followers in their castle at Baltimore. They sailed from Waterford in a ship belonging to the city and arrived at the O'Hedriscoll castle on Christmas Day. The Mayor landed his men and marched up to the gate, and desired the porter to tell his master that the Mayor of Waterford had just arrived with a ship of wine and would gladly pay him a visit. The gate was opened and the wily Mayor and his followers made prisoners of the dwellers in the castle; and singing a Christmas carol they came away, bringing with them O'Hedriscoll and his friends, "saying unto them they should go with him to Waterford to syng their caroll and make merry that Christmas." They arrived in Waterford on St Stephen's night, "where with greate joy received they were with lightes."

The English power at this period was tottering

and it seemed as if the English flag would cease to float anywhere in Ireland outside the walls of Dublin and Waterford. Art McMurrough, the ablest and most successful Irish chieftain who had battled with the invaders, died in 1416. The closing year of his life had been spent in comparative peace. At his death war broke out again all over the land.

Henry V. granted two charters to the City of Waterford. Under the first, dated at Westminster, May 6th, 1412, the citizens were incorporated under the authority of a mayor and bailiffs. The second, dated 15th January, 1415, granted the customs of the port for the support of the city.

In April, 1420, James Butler, Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, landed at Waterford, and shortly after his arrival he caused a combat to be held, *coram populo*, between two of his cousins. One was slain on the place of combat—and the other, sore wounded, was carried off to Kilkenny, the seat of the Butlers.

In 1446 John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent to Ireland as Viceroy, and in the following year he obtained a grant of the County and City of Waterford, and was created Earl of Waterford and Baron of Dungarvan, with the castles, honours, lands, and the barony of Dungarvan. Talbot was also granted "the wreckage, &c., from Youghall to Waterford because the country is waste, et non ad proficuum sed perditam nostram redundat."

Henry VI., in the year 1447, granted the citizens permission to assemble in warlike array before such traitors and rebels as the Walshes, the Powers, the Grants, the Daltons, and the O'Driscolls, "who continually prey and rob the King's subjects of Waterford."



During this reign, in 1452, Sir Richard Poer was created Baron of Curraghmore. The following illuminating document describes the aspect from which he was viewed by the people of Waterford:

"Whereas Richard Power is Sheriff of the County of Waterford, and has been so for more than twenty years past, and he out of his insatiable malice, as an enemy of God, and a rebel to the King, has by himself and people and other rebels made assault on the mayor, bailiffs, and commons of Waterford, both by sea and land, murdering and slaying divers of the citizens and spoiling and robbing them of their goods, and has put many to fine and ransom, and not only the citizens, but also foreigners resorting to the city for trade, as English, French, Spanish, Portugals, Britains, and Flemings, to the utter destruction of the said city, and as in all other countries round about said city there live no lords, gentlemen, nor commons, arrayed in English habit, nor submitting to the King's obedience, nor governed by his laws, but only the wicked and damnable called Brehon law; and as about the said city there is no rule or government but murder and spoiling, robbery and a universal rebellion; therefore it is enacted that the Mayor and Common Council of Waterford, for the time being, shall from henceforth have the full election of a Sheriff of the County of Waterford, for ever, annually, and that said Richard Power shall from this time be entirely divested of the said office."

On June 3rd, 1461, news reached Waterford city that the O-Hedriscolls had arrived at Tramore, invited thither by the Poers, "who always continued in their ranckor and malice towards the citie." The

Mayor set out with a company of the citizens and met the enemy at Ballymacdane. A battle was fought here, and the Poers and O-Hedriscolls were completely routed. One hundred and sixty were slain and some were taken prisoners, amongst them O'Hedriscoll Oge and six of his sons, who with their gallies were brought to Waterford.

In 1463 Dungarvan was incorporated by Act of Parliament and was restored to Desmond, the Earl of Shrewbury neglecting to fulfil his statutory obligations and thus forfeiting his claim to the barony. No citizen was permitted (by an enactment of 1465) to give, lend, or sell to anyone in the County Waterford cloth, wine, iron, salt, weapon or armour, corn or any other merchandize "during the tyme of thar unkyndnesse and thar warre with the citie," under pain of a fine of 20/- and the loss of the franchise. In 1470 it was decreed that citizens should be armed and "every man after his degree." Every freeman, "be he never so symple," was bound to have a coat of mail, a helmet, or a haubergeon and a sallet or basnet with sufficient hand-weapons.

On August 20th, 1474, Edward IV. granted to Richard Heron the Mastership of the Mints in Waterford and other towns in Ireland.

It was forbidden in 1475 to put dirt or filth into the river or into St. Mary Street or the king's ditches, or beside them from the Market Cross to Arundel Gate.

According to the Great Parchment Book it was provided, in 1477, that all the gates by all the keys of the city shall be made fast at 6 o'clock every night from Michaelmas to Easter, and at 9 o'clock from



Easter to Michaelmas. And that none of the gates be opened after these hours without license from the Mayor. Anyone found breaking this law was liable to pay to the Mayor and Bailiffs  $6/8$  for every offence. The election of the Mayor and the officials was made annually. It was enacted in 1480 that the members of the Council, having attended at a Mass of the Holy Ghost, solemnly sung, should proceed from church to the Guildhall, where the election would be held; and whoever did not attend the Mass, without a reasonable cause, should pay a fine of  $3/4$ . The authority of the Mayor in the city was supreme and his person was regarded as sacred: anyone who shed his Worship's blood was liable to be mulcted in a fine of £100 or to suffer the loss of the right hand.

The Earl of Kildare held a parliament at Dublin in 1483, at which it was allowed "that the Mayor and Bailiffs of Waterford might go on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella in Spain, leaving sufficient deputies to govern the city in their absence."

In 1484-5 fines were decreed against breakers of glass windows in churches or chapels. In the same year the English Bishop of Waterford was afraid to come to his diocese, and Richard III. appointed him Rector of Henton in the diocese of Salisbury. His lordship never came to Ireland. He died in 1486 and was succeeded in the episcopate by Thomas Purcell.

Henry VII. ascended the throne in 1485. In this year an assize of Bread was held in Waterford, and it was ordered by the Mayor and Bailiffs that if the bushel of wheat was bought for tweldepence then the penny loaf of white bread and of good paste shall

weigh "6 li and dimidium." It was further ordained that a ship loaf shall weigh a white loaf and a-half and the brown loaf shall be equal in weight to two white loaves. In the grant to the Guild of Weavers (in 1485) the Guild were bound to keep a light of twelve tapers burning before the altar of Saint Martin in Holy Trinity Church, and the Shoemakers' Guild had to burn twelve tapers before the altar of St. Blaise in said Cathedral.

Early in 1487 Lambert Simnel was presented to the citizens of Dublin as Edward Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence. The Earl of Kildare espoused the cause of Simnel and he was crowned in Dublin as Edward VI. King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. The citizens of Waterford remained firm in their allegiance to Henry VII. The Earl of Kildare peremptorily demanded them to proclaim the new king, and he ordered the Mayor of Waterford, John Butler, to receive and assist him with all the forces of the city. The Mayor sent a messenger with a written reply which was to the effect that the citizens of Waterford considered Lord Kildare and his adherents to be rebels to the rightful king. Kildare, we are told, commanded that John Butler's messenger should be hanged, but "not wishing to be outdone in dignity or splendour sent a herald in his coat of arms to deliver another communication to the citizens." When the herald appeared in a boat under the walls of Waterford the Mayor forbade him to land and desired him to convey the message from the boat. The herald then commanded the citizens of Waterford under pain of being hanged at their own doors to accept Lambert Simnel



as their rightful lord and to proclaim his sovereignty. To this message the Mayor replied boldly that the supporters of the impostor would not be troubled to hang him at his own door, for he, God willing, would go forth with the citizens and encounter the pretender and his adherents thirty miles from Waterford, and he promised them that he would teach them a lesson to their dishonour and infamy.

The threatened battle did not take place. Simnel passed over to England and there encountered the forces of King Henry, who defeated Simnel's adherents and took the youthful impostor prisoner.\*

In recognition of the loyalty of the citizens of Waterford Henry granted them a new charter, and addressed to them from Warwick Castle, on October 20th, 1488, the following flowery epistle :

Letter of Henry VII. to the citizens of Waterford, concerning the treasons of the city of Dublin, relating to the coronation of Lambert Simnel, in that city.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of our city of Waterford, in our land of Ireland, greeting :

Whereas, it is evidently known, that our rebel, the Earl of Kildare, not long ago, confederated with certain others our rebels and traytors, through the aid and assistance of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, in our said land, and others of their sect, made great rebellion against us, intending, as much as in them was, the destruction of our person, and

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\* A rhymed letter, dated March, 1488, was sent by the Town Clerk to the Archbishop of Dublin protesting the loyalty of the Waterford citizens. It refers to Lambert Simnel as "an organ-maker's son." The whole ballad will be found in Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland."

the utter subversion of this our realm, if they might have attained unto their malicious purpose ; whose malice, through the grace of God, and the aid of the loving subjects, we withstood, to the final destruction and confusion of many of them. And forasmuch as the said earl, with the supportation of the inhabitants of our said city of Dublin, and others there, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and contrary to the duty of their allegiance, will not yet know their seditious opinions, but unto this day uphold and maintain the same presumptuously, as we certainly understand.

We, therefore, for the good obeysance and loving disposition that ye, to our singular comfort and pleasure, have borne always towards us (whereof we heartily thank you,) and trusting firmly in the same, will and charge you, and by these our letters, give unto you and every of you, full authority and power, to arrest, seize and take, all such and as many of our said rebels, as ye shall now attain unto, by sea or land, with all manner of their ships, goods and merchandizes, as ye shall find to be carried or conveyed from any other place to our said city of Dublin, and to the parts thereabouts, and to employ the same unto the behoof and commonweal of our said city of Waterford : and that ye fail not daily and diligently to endeavour yourselves, for the execution of this commandment, until the said earl and the inhabitants of our said city of Dublin, with the parties thereabouts of the sequel, utterly and clearly leave and forsake the said rebellion and contemptuous demeaning, and shall be of good and due obeysance unto us, and stand in the favour of our grace.

Charging over this all manner of our officers, true liegemen and subjects, that unto you and every of you, in executing the premises, they be aiding, helping and assisting, in every behalf, as it shall appertain ; as they and every of them will be recommended of good and true obeysance unto us.

Given under our privy seal at our castle of Warwick, the 20th day of October, the third year of our reign.  
HENRY, REX.



The King forgave "our rebel, the Earl of Kildare," and the other Anglo-Irish nobles who had supported Simnel, and patents of pardon were sent by a special commissioner, Sir Richard Edgecombe, who sailed from Cornwall with four ships and five hundred men. Sir Richard arrived in Kinsale on June 27. At Kinsale the Lords Barry and DeCourcy and the citizens took the oath of allegiance and were restored to royal favour. The commissioner then proceeded to Waterford, where he arrived on June 30th about 9 o'clock in the morning. "On the same day," we are told, "at afternoon two boats came from the City of Waterford, and ther the Mayor and worshipful men of the same honourably recevyed hym, and the Mayor lodjed the seyd Sir Richard in his own house and made him right herty chere."

Having partaken of the Mayor's hospitality, and slept in the Mayor's house, Sir Richard arose betimes the next morning—July 1st—and the Mayor showed him round the city and pointed out the walls and the repairs that had been made in them. Then his Worship conducted his illustrious visitor to the Guildhall—situated near the Cross at the corner of Peter Street—where the Council in full assembly greeted him. The Mayor subsequently asked Sir Richard to beg His Majesty not to allow the Earl of Kildare or any other lord to have jurisdiction over the city and to command that it should be held immediately for King Henry and his heirs. Sir Richard said that the King had given him a special commandment to treat Waterford in a special manner and that he would see that the city should not be subjected to the power and jurisdiction of the Earl.

And having given these assurances Sir Richard broke his fast with the Mayor and then went on board his ship, and the same night he sailed out of the Suir, bound for Dublin.

In 1489 it was enacted that all foreigners dwelling within the city should wear gowns and appear in English attire, and that no house should be let to a foreigner unless the owner of the house presented the foreigner to the Mayor "to be sworne to the citie and also that he go in English array."

It was ordered in 1491 that no cook within the city or in the suburbs shall henceforward sell raw flesh upon pain of forfeiture of the same, and if convicted shall pay a fine of 12d., half to the king and the other half to the finders. In 1492 it was ordered that foreigners should sell their goods to the freemen of the city and to none others. In the same year it was enacted that the Irish language should not be spoken in the courts of law.

It was decreed by the Mayor and Council in 1496 that "whensoever it shall fortune any of the VI. Sondayes of the Lenten in which, by the old and laudable custome of the citie the drinking is holde and kepte, to fall voide by the deathe of ony person, or otherwise, than of the Maire for the tyme being, have none of the said drynking dayes the Council shall assyne the same day to the Maire"; and in 1503 it was added that no one should be allowed to come to these Sunday "drinkings" except members of the Council. In this year, too, it was ordained that every freeman not maintaining a household should be amerced annually to the extent of 6/8 until such time as "such freemen shall be married and kepe hospitalite."



No sooner was Lambert Simnel disposed of than another claimant to the throne arose in the person of Perkin Warbeck, who was at first received by James IV. of Scotland and acknowledged by him publicly as "the Prince of England." James's ardour cooled somewhat speedily, and Warbeck resolved to seek his fortune in Ireland. He arrived in Cork in March, 1496, and was well received; but on his next visit, in 1497, he was not a welcome guest. However, he was joined in Cork by the Earl of Desmond with a force of 2,400 men. As the city of Waterford was then regarded as the stronghold of loyalty to the English monarch the adherents of Warbeck decided to attack it. In addition to the soldiery who marched to invest the city a fleet of eleven (it is said) ships was despatched to make an attack from the river and to land additional troops. For eleven days the citizens defended themselves with unflinching courage. In order to prevent a junction between the troops who were investing the city and the troops on board Warbeck's fleet the ponds of Kilbarry were kept full, the besieged raising a large mound of earth to stop the course of the stream which flows from Kilbarry marshes into the Suir. Very fierce fighting went on, and at length the besieged attacked the besiegers in their own quarters and completely routed them. Returning victorious to the city they brought a large number of prisoners to the market place, where they cut off their heads. They stuck the heads on high stakes as memorials of the victory. Nor were the citizens less successful in attacking the fleet anchored outside in the river outside their walls. The cannon planted on Reginald's Tower battered in one

of the enemy's ships and the whole of the crew perished. Desmond then abandoned the siege (on the night of August 3rd) and retreated to Ballycasheen, and then proceeded to Passage East, where Warbeck embarked. The citizens pursued Warbeck with four ships, following him to Cornwall, where he landed. King Henry was at Exeter at the time and he ordered the chase to be continued.

Some historians are of opinion that these details of the siege and of the repulse of Warbeck give a distorted view of the happenings, and there are some who go farther and hold that the siege never occurred. Henry despatched two letters to the Mayor and citizens of Waterford in which he expressed his gratitude in connection with Perkin, and it is hardly likely that he would have expressed gratitude for services that were not of an exceptional and of a practical character. The first of these letters is dated at Westminster, August 6th, 1497, and it prays that the citizens of Waterford will use diligence in the pursuit and capture of "the said Perkin," and the sum of 1,000 marks sterling will be sent to them if he is captured. In the second letter Henry informs the citizens that Perkin has humbly submitted himself and acknowledged his name to be Pierce Osbeck and to be no Englishman born, but of Tournay, and son to John Osbeck. This letter is dated at Exeter, 18th October. Henry, it may be observed, makes no mention in these letters of the siege of Waterford,\* but in a

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\* It is remarkable too that the great Parchment Book does not contain any reference to the Simnel and Perkin Warbeck incidents nor to the "Urbs Intacta" motto arising out of the city's loyalty on these occasions.



Petition presented to His Majesty by the Mayor and citizens of Waterford in 1499 it is set forth that the King and his progenitors granted to Waterford the privilege of being absolved in time of peace or war to go out of the city in manner of war, but were to defend the city for the King.\* And they complained that they were not allowed to avail themselves of this privilege, but were commanded to go into the field in far countries and that this in process of time would mean that Waterford would be left desolate. Further, the citizens urged that as the revenues of their city, granted for the maintenance of their walls and fortifications, must be laid out in victualling men sent abroad, there would be nothing left for keeping up the defences. The petition further set forth that the city had been ever kept as a garrison for the King, and had never deviated from its allegiance since the arrival of Henry II.; that all kings and princes ever since had landed there; and that when all the rest of the kingdom was in rebellion Waterford stood by the Crown; that the citizens had pursued Perkin Warbeck in four great ships at their own expense. And, therefore, they pray that the city be kept whole in itself and no interest in it be given to the lords of the land.

The prayer was granted by the King on June 15th, 1499.

The first of the Tudor kings, in 1497, immortalized Waterford by conferring on it

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\*Grant of April 8, 1448. Patent Rolls.

the title or motto "Urbs Intacta Manet Waterfordia." \*

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\*The name of Patrick Strong, who was Town Clerk of Waterford in the reign of Henry VIII (in 1544), is attached to a poem of twenty-four stanzas congratulating the city on its motto, but it is not stated who the author was. The first stanza is :

God of His goodness prayed that he be  
For the daylie increase of thy good fame,  
O pleasant Waterford, thou loyal cytie,  
That five hundred yeares receivest thy name  
Er the later conquest unto thee came;  
In Ireland deservest to be peerelesse,  
Quia tu semper intacta manes.

The 16th century laureate endeavours to give a rhyming history of his city from the advent of Henry II. He says (amongst other things) that "Edward the First a maior to thee did grant," that Edward the Strong called the city "his chamber of allegiance peerles" and gave her a Sword of Justice. Henry VII. knew by experience "the great fydelitee in time of victorie." "Then only of the land thou were Empresse," adds the poet. He concludes with this stanza :—

Now God we pray that three art in one,  
Preserve his high Grace in royall estate  
And keepe this cytie from dyvisyon  
In true allegiannce without debate,  
And our hertes in the same to sociate,  
Then Waterford true shall never decrease  
Qamdiu vere intacta manes.

When the old meat market in High Street was demolished about thirty years ago a stone sculptured with the city arms (which formerly stood over the principal entrance to the market) was turned round and is now embedded in the wall of a store in High Street. It bears the lion and dolphin supported by the three gallies on a shield with the motto "Intacta Manet Scutu(m) Waterfordia" and the date 1593. This stone is the earliest specimen extant of the city arms sculptured after the city had bestowed upon it by Henry VII. its "Intacta" motto.



## CHAPTER VII.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.

IN the early years of his reign Henry VIII. paid little or no attention to Ireland. He was chiefly occupied in getting rid of the fortune which his father had laboriously amassed. In 1528, however, he sent a letter to "the Mayor and Comminalty of our Cittie of Waterford" by William Wyse, a high favourite at the English Court, thanking them most heartily for their "benevolence and loving acquitals" to himself and his army, assuring them that at the next sitting Parliament he would see that they were confirmed in their rights and privileges. "And now at this time," adds His Majesty, "as a remembrance and evident token of our favours we have sent you by the bearer (Mr. Wyse) a Cap of Maintenance to be borne at times thought fit by you, being our officer of that our said cittie, and our succession officers of the same." This letter is dated at Greenwich the last day of April, in the 20th year of Henry's reign (1528). Less than five years later, on February 26th, 1533, the King wrote to the Mayor and citizens promising them a continuance of the royal favour. His Majesty addressed similar letters to them on August 30th and November 9th, 1534, and on October 1st, 1535, and on 10th February, 1536, he sent "a sword to be borne from time to time before the Mayor."

Ryland, in his History of Waterford, says that in 1536 a very important Act was passed respecting the lands of Irish absentee landlords. Gerald Aylmer, who was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, during a visit to the English Court succeeded in getting himself appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland. The citizens of Waterford were displeased with this appointment and entrusted the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was also Earl of Waterford, to report to the King their opinion that Aylmer was not fit for the high position. The Earl complied with this request and the King consulted Cromwell, who begged His Majesty to summon Aylmer to his presence in order that he might satisfy himself that he was a worthy man. The King consented, and during the conference Henry asked Aylmer what was the chief cause of the eternal unrest in Ireland. The Chief Justice replied that the trouble might be attributed to the absence of the nobility and to their neglect of the property they had acquired, and he proposed as a remedy that it should be enacted that the lands of the absentee proprietors should revert to the Crown. Henry, it is said, eagerly fell in with this view of the situation and caused an Act to be passed on the lines suggested by Aylmer; and the lands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, situated in the County Watertord, were forfeited to the Crown. Thus was the biter (on this particular occasion) bitten. One can only regret that this Act was not religiously put into force in later years.

We are told that "the mere Irish" of this period were of a barbarous nature. It would be difficult, after centuries of unceasing civil war, to expect that



they could have adopted the manners and customs of courtiers, but "an ancient author," from whom Dr. Ryland quotes, describes these "barbarous" people as being possessed of many natural advantages of person and disposition. "The men are clean of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well-favoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion." The mere Irish are further said to be "religious, frank, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinite paines, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almsgivers, passing in hospitalitie." Dr. Ryland adds that they possessed one distinctive mark of the savage: they were perfectly contented with everything of their own and had an utter contempt for other people. They regarded the English as churls," "an inferior race and only to be named as second to the native of Ireland." This is an extraordinary form of savagery, surely!

It must be added that the Anglo-Norman lords treated their dependants as serfs. They quartered on these mere Irish at pleasure their horses, servants and guests. The barbarous people had to supply their lords with provender—with horse-meat and man's-meat; they had to provide for their cosherings, or feasts, at Easter and Christmas; they had to work in the fields for them; they had to hew passages through the woods for soldiery. When a Poer or a Butler gave one of his daughters in marriage he exacted a sheep from every flock and a cow from every village as a dowry. When he sent a son to England a special tribute was levied on every village

and every ploughland for travelling expenses for the young master. When there was a hunt the tenants had to supply food for the dogs. In fact the peasant in his relation with the lord was lower than the beggar at his gates. In the towns the artisan was taxed for coyne and livery\* ; " mustrons" were employed at the expense of the tenantry for all building operations of the lords of the soil.

The yoke of the Poers became intolerable to the citizens of Waterford and they endeavoured to shake it off, but the influence at Court of this family was difficult to undermine. The King, in 1535, showed special favour to Richard, Lord of Curraghmore, by creating him " Baron de la Poer and Coroghmore with place and seat in the parliament and councils held within Ireland amongst other barons." The Commyners of the Countye of Waterford complained to the Commission of 1537 that the system of coyne and livery was insufferable and that various branches of the house of Le Poer were harassing the people of the county and city by exactions of every kind and seizures of their cattle and corn. It does not appear that this appeal resulted in the governmental clipping of the wings of the Poers. Sir Richard was slain while on service for the Crown in 1538 by one Conor O'Callaghan, described as a traitor—that is to say, an Irishman who was not wholly subservient to the Crown or its satellites.

King Henry's affectionate messages to the people

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\* Coyne and livery meant food and entertainment for soldiery and forage for horses exacted from the people of the towns through which troops passed, or a chieftain's exaction of victuals from his tenants, especially for use of soldiery.



of Waterford were dictated, no doubt, by an anxiety for help in the carrying on of his wars in France. Recruits were raised and a considerable body of "mere Irish" were sent to England under the command of two gentlemen belonging to the County Waterford—Lord Power and Mr. Sherlock. Seven hundred "wild Irish" were reviewed in Hyde Park in May, 1544. In France they played the deuce with the enemy, plundering and burning all before them. The French were bewildered by the wild Irish recruits, and a herald was sent to King Henry to enquire if they were men or devils, for they could be neither won with rewards nor pacified with pity. The King made a jocose reply, and this so enraged the French that they treated with excessive cruelty any of the Irish who fell into their hands. At the termination of the siege of Boulogne\* a body of French soldiers were encamped on the west side of the town beyond the haven. One of them challenged any man in the English army to single combat. Every circumstance was in favour of the challenger. He was a man of great stature; he was on his own ground; the haven to be crossed was deep. Nicholas Walsh—presumably a Waterfordman—accepted the challenge, swam across the water, slew his antagonist, and swam back to his own party, carrying in his mouth the head of the Frenchman.

Ryland is careful to inform us that the Waterford people resembled in no way the native Irish who dwelt outside the walled town. "The citizens," he says, "differed in nothing from the English, from

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\* September, 1544.

whom many of them were descended ; they were never cordially united to the Irish people, but were compelled, in self-defence, to confine themselves within the bounds of their walls and fortifications."

On February 20th, 1537-8, four ships laden with Spanish wine consigned to Waterford merchants were driven out of their course by a tempest. One of the ships, the "Santa Maria de Soci," having on board 100 tuns of wine, found her way into the haven of Baltimore. The O-Hedriscolls went on board the "Santa Maria" and invited the merchants to dinner in their castle. Instead of giving them hospitable entertainment they clapped them in irons, manned their gallies, seized the ship and distributed most of the wine among their neighbours.

On March 3rd the news of this act of piracy reached Waterford. Twenty-four citizens promptly set sail in a galleon called the "Sunday," Pierce Dobbyn being their captain. The following day at noon they reached Baltimore, boarded the "Santa Maria," and captured her. There was still a goodly quantity of wine on board—upwards of twenty-five tuns—and having refreshed themselves they fired several guns at the castle of the O-Hedriscolls and set sail for Waterford.

But this bold adventure did not satisfy the outraged citizens. On March 27th the Mayor, Thomas Lumbard, fitted out a small fleet and with four hundred men, well armed, he sailed out of the harbour. The captains in command of this expedition were Bailiff Woodlock, Pierce Dobbyn, James Walsh, James Sherlock, Henry Walsh, and John Butler. They arrived in due course in Baltimore haven and



anchored near the O'Driscoll castle. They fired at the castle all through the night. Next day they landed and beseiged the fortress and the mariners entered it by the small port. The besiegers spent five days destroying all the villages in the neighbourhood. The fortress was pulled to pieces and the debris tumbled into the sea. On the island the Waterfordmen found and estreated large stores of malt, barley, and salt. Landing on the mainland they burned and otherwise destroyed Baltimore and broke down Teig O-Hedriscoll's\* good castle, and on Good Friday they arrived safely in the Suir, sated with wine and revenge.

Henry the Eighth had quarrelled with Rome in 1534 and had been named Head of the English Church by his own parliament. The first step taken to enforce the reformed religion in Ireland was in this year, when articles were entered into by the Earl of Ossory by which he received a grant of the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Ossory and Ormond on the understanding that he would reduce Desmond and resist the authority of the Pope. A Friar from Waterford was in 1539, by order of the St. Leger Commission, executed in the habit of his order on a charge of felony, and it was ordered that he should be left hanging "as a mirror for all his brethren," but this and other examples had little or no effect on the secular or regular clergy. The

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\*The power of the O'Driscolls of Baltimore was finally broken in 1601 after the Battle of Kinsale. Some of the more adventurous of them went to Spain, and those who remained in Ireland were, like many other Irish families of distinction, merged with the peasantry.

Act for the suppression of religious houses was passed in 1537, but it was not put vigorously into operation until 1540. On April 2nd, 1541, William Martin, the last Prior of the Dominican Abbey, surrendered the monastery to the crown. Later in this year, having played havoc with the property of the Church, Henry enjoyed the privilege of styling himself monarch of this country which the second Henry had invaded three hundred and seventy years previously. On Saturday, June 19th, he was proclaimed King of Ireland. Bonfires were lit in his honour. In Dublin guns were fired, wine flowed in the streets, prisoners were liberated, and the arms of Ireland were quartered with the arms of England.

Henry VIII. died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward. In the first year of this monarch's reign Sir Edward Bellingham was despatched to Ireland with an army of 600 horse and 400 foot. He landed these troops in Waterford. The only other matter of importance further about the history of Waterford during the reign of Edward VI., or of Mary who succeeded him, is the introduction of the art of printing. It is claimed that three books were emprinted at Waterford in 1555:—"The Acquital\* or Purgation of the most Catholyke Christin Prince Edward the VI," an "Epistle written by John Scorey," "Archbishop Cranmer's Confutation of Unwritten Verities." Some authorities on book printing are doubtful about the place of origin of the above-mentioned books, but recent experts are inclined to admit the claim.

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\* The Acquital and the Epistle were disposed of at the sale, in 1824, of Sir Mark F. Sykes's Library for £17 16s. 6d. Another account states the price obtained was £19 19s. 0d.



Whatever was the condition of the country generally, the seaport towns seemed to have thriven at this period. In the reign of Edward III. the king's staples had been established. All wools for export had to be brought to their staples to be assessed for duty. A Statute of Staples enacted that the towns where they shall be established were Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda, "and not elsewhere." During the reign of Henry VII. Waterford carried on a flourishing trade in wool with Brabant and enjoyed special privileges in connection with its wool exports. A Waterford vessel carrying wool to Sluice, the port of Bruges, was driven by stress of weather into Calais and was there seized by the governor. The owners of the ship pleaded that the merchants of Waterford had a license from the king to carry wool when they pleased and that there was a treaty of peace commerce and alliance between Henry VII. and the Archduke of the Netherlands whereby all manner of merchandize could be carried from Calais, England and Ireland to Brabant, Flanders, etc., without molestation. Canon Gimlette says that in the reign of Henry VII. the Irish traffic with the South of France for Gascoigne wines was almost monopolized by Waterford. Continental traders in the middle of the 16th century found the advantage of establishing business houses in the city and settled there.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH came to the throne in 1558, but though her representatives in Ireland and the Irish chieftains were unceasingly at feud, Waterford in the early days of her reign seems to have enjoyed a period of comparative freedom from political or other strife.

A charter was granted to the city by Elizabeth bearing date July 16th, 1574. In this charter the office of Sheriff was first created and the County of the City of Waterford formed.

About this time the municipality grew uneasy about the injury which was being inflicted on its freemen by reason of the competition of foreigners. The trade in Spanish wines had grown inordinately, owing to the fact that no restrictions had been placed on the trade, so it was ordered in the interest of those citizens whose living depended on the business that no foreigner inhabiting the city should bring or lade any Spanish wines to be transported to the city upon pain of forfeiture of the wine.

About the same time an order was issued that "no woman or mayde of what quality or degree soever shall on their premises retayle anye wyne, ale, beer or aquavitae, within this citie upon paine of forfeiting of twelve shillings sterling for every day that any such woman or mayde shall be founde by



due process before the Maior or Sheriff or by presentment that she did retayle the same."

Also it was proclaimed on October 27, 1576, that as great injury was being inflicted on the freemen of Waterford who traded in fish by the men of Passage and Ballyhack, and other places inside the harbour selling large quantities, no person or persons should be allowed to sell fish in any place inside the haven except at the fairs of Waterford and Ross, "save only so much fresh fishe as shall his or their present victualling serve."

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, marched through Waterford in 1575 on the way to attack the strongholds of the Desmonds in the neighbourhood of Youghal. Sir Peter Carew, who was slain at Glenmalure, was buried in Waterford in this year. Sidney, accompanied by Lord Ormond, came to the city in order to attend the funeral. He was hospitably entertained by the Mayor, and an address written in Latin was presented to him. There were pageants on land and water in his honour. The citizens of Waterford apparently thought it was the best policy to make a parade of their loyalty. In the course of a long letter addressed to her Majesty, Sidney says he was received in Waterford in a most honourable and princely manner. He informed the Queen that he sent for the lords and freeholders of the county. They were ready, according to the parable of the Scripture, "to play the parte of the Wasshed Swyne in returning to her foule puddell, unless contynuanee of Justice emonge them detayne them from it." Sidney learned that the countie was "much molested by certain disordered persons by surname Powers, all which

were wounte to depend on L(ord) Power . . . . I bounde the same L Power by a certeyn day to yelde himself a prisoner in the castell of Dublin."

The city of Waterford, we learn from Sidney's letter, flourished and was never in better estate since it was built. The people were very civil and, for Ireland, full of industry. The apprehension of Lord Power, he continues, has given great satisfaction, has animated the honest burghers and abashed the wicked. The Sheriff, an Englishman, and a right honest and wealthy citizen, was authorised to prosecute outlaws. Sidney condemns coyne and livery, they being not necessary for the defence of the country but a needless mischief, a maintenance of the tyranny of the great and of the idleness of the inferiors.

Diego Ortiz, an emissary whom Philip of Spain sent to Ireland about this time, says that the city of Waterford contained nearly a thousand houses. "It is surrounded by a stone wall something less than a mile in circumference with seventeen towers, a cannon on them to keep off savages. It is the richest town in Ireland after Dublin, and vessels of from three to four hundred tons lie at the quay inside the fortifications. The trade of the port is with Galicia, Portugal, Andalusia and Biscay, where they send fish, hides, salt meat, and at times wheat and barley. The towns control the adjoining country, for the people depend on them to buy such things as they need and to dispose of their flocks and wool."

Sidney resigned the office of Lord Deputy in 1578 and Sir William Drury was appointed Governor of Munster. He spent some time in Waterford seeki n



to recover his health, and while he was reposing in the city he endeavoured to encourage the citizens in the zealous discharge of their duties to the Crown; and in order to mark his appreciation of the loyalty of Waterford he conferred the honour of knighthood on its Mayor, Patrick Walsh. He also knighted many of the officers of the garrison stationed in the city. Sir William lingered for only a short time after the conferring of these honours: he died in Waterford on September 30th, 1579. In this stormy year Sir William Pelham, who was appointed Lord Justice on Sir William Drury's death, arrived at Ballyhack, where he was met by the Mayor, who had several well-appointed boats ready to accommodate him on the journey up the river Suir.

Previously to Pelham's advent the garrison in Waterford had a mock fight, and then retired to their quarters in order to prepare for receiving the Governor with full military honours. The municipality decorated the walls of the city with bunting, and the cannon in the fortifications fired a salute as he came up the river. When he landed the Mayor and Aldermen, attired in their rich scarlet robes, presented him with the keys of the city, and bearing the sword of State his Worship conducted Sir William to the Cathedral, two Latin orations being delivered in his honour en route. Returning from the church the Governor was favoured with another outburst of oratory—this time in the English language—and then he was conducted to his lodgings where Lord Ormond met him, informing him that rebels under the Earl of Desmond had advanced as far as Dungarvan. Pelham immediately despatched four hundred foot and one

hundred horse to oppose the Desmond forces, and Sir Warham St. Leger was empowered to treat with the rebels. The Lord Justice sojourned in Waterford for three weeks and then proceeded to Clonmel. The war with the Desmonds terminated only with the death of Desmond and his brother.

Sir William Pelham spoke in high terms of the Protestant Bishop of Waterford, Marmaduke Middleton. On June 29th, 1580, the bishop describes in a letter "the miserable condition of this wretched city," spiritually. "Massing in every corner—no burial of the dead according to the Book of Common Prayer. Rome-runners and Friars maintained among them. Public wearing of beads and praying on the same. Worshipping of images and setting them openly in the street doors with ornaments and decking. Ringing of bells and praying for the dead and dressing their graves divers times in the year with flower pots and wax candles"—in fact every kind of abomination that could rise the gorge of a reforming prelate. The churches, he further complains, were full of images, and he dare not deface them for fear of a tumult. None of the women of Waterford would attend his services. The greatest enemy of the Church and the State was Sir Patrick Walsh who, because he remained a Catholic, is referred to as "a counterfeit Christian." Speaking generally, Bishop Middleton describes the people of Waterford as stiff-necked and incorrigible Papists. It is somewhat surprising to learn that this pious and fault-finding prelate subsequently got into trouble for forging a will.

During the reign of Elizabeth particular attention



was directed to the lack of adequate facilities for education, and the Irish Parliament in 1560 ordered that Grammar Schools were to be set up in every cathedral town. A famous 16th century Waterford scholar was Peter White, born in the city but educated at Oxford, where, in 1551, he was made a Fellow of Oriel College and in 1555 obtained his M.A. degree. He returned to Waterford and set up a school in which he earned a reputation so great that he was styled the lucky (or happy) schoolmaster of Munster. Mrs. Green says "There was already a school in Waterford (probably the same as the later free-school in Christchurch yard) where the scholars were as numerous as poor, and apparently made their own candles, since the town was ordered that no freeman nor foreigner should sell no wax candles to scholars. Here the heirs of the O'Sullivan territory were sent to learn English, and for generations the children of the Irish gentry round came to be fostered or boarded with the merchants, their cousins and friends, and to learn Irish geography and history. One Fagan, Bachelor of Arts in Oxford, was schoolmaster there. Peter White, himself a Waterfordman, being called to his native town and then ejected from the deanery for his religion\* continued to teach school there beloved by all the Irish. . . . In forty years of devoted labour, till near the end of the [16th] century he sent out a long line of brave patriots, learned scholars and eminent divines." Amongst these were Richard Stanihurst and Peter

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\* He was made Dean of Waterford in 1566 and soon after was deposed because he would not conform.

Lombard. At this period it was no uncommon thing sent to a Waterford youth to Oxford University.

The following is a description given by Stanihurst in 1580 of the city:—"Waterford is properly builded and very well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thick buildings and their narrow streets. The citizens through the intercourse of foreign traffic in a short space attained to abundance of wealth. The soil about it is not all of the best by reason of which the aire is not very subtile; yea nathless the sharpness of their witts seemeth to be nothing rebated or dulled by reason of the grossnesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townsmen, and namelie students are pregnant in conceiving, quick in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are very heedie and warie in all their publike affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, loving to looke ere they leape. In choosing their magistrate they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their Maior neither a rich man that is young nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the entertainment of strangers, heartie one to another, nothing given to factions. They love no idle benchwhistlers nor lurkish factors; for young and olde are wholie addicted to thriving, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best aqua vitæ, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. The citie was never dusked with the least freckle of treason and therefore the citie's arms are decked with the words "*Urbs Intacta*."

This same writer who gave to the citizens of 16th century Waterford so good a character says that a



friend of his appeared in Paris garden in London enveloped in one of the famous Waterford rugs. Some mastiffs espied him and took him to be a bear, and were it not that the dogs were muzzled the wearer of the rug would have stood a good chance of being worried to death.

The Queen granted a third Charter to Waterford in 1583.

Some incidents that occurred towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth may be mentioned. In 1581 Matthew Lamport, a miller, was tied to a horse's tail, and then hanged, drawn and quartered because he had harboured the Baron of Baltinglass and a Jesuit priest. In 1592 Richard Comerford, a merchant, was "reported" for entertaining a priest, and the wife of Thomas Comerford was denounced for harbouring another priest. It was illegal at this time not only to worship in a Catholic church, but all who were absent from the Anglican church were liable to a fine of one shilling for each Sunday's absence.

In 1599 it was stated that the Mayor, Sheriff and citizens, considering how greatly the city was impoverished and likely to decay, that not only the ablest and wealthiest persons wore nothing manufactured in this city, as a remedy, and in order that the inhabitants might be withdrawn from idleness and made to work and to content themselves with home-manufactured garments, enacted on October 10th in the Guildhall at Waterford "that from henceforth no nurse, man servant or mayde servant shall weare in their attyre or garment any furr, frendge, lace, silke, or any woollen or lynnem,

save such as shall be wrought within the citie or realm upon payne of forfeiture of all such garments, and their boddies to be imprisoned there to remayne until they pay six shillings eight pence as a fine towards the reparacion of the walls of this citie as often as they or any of them shall offend in that case."

It is recorded that on April 16th, 1600, the Lord President (Sir George Carew) came to the city and received there the submissions of some of the Fitz-Geralds of the Decies and of the Powers.

The Privy Council, writing to Sir George Carew on September 30, 1600, complains "especially of the inhabitants of Waterford in matters of religion, and Her Majesty had been pleased in that behalf to hold a very remiss and favourable hand over them because they should not serve themselves with pretence of any matter of conscience to fall from their duty and obedience to Her Majesty." The Privy Council goes on to say that "in Waterford there are certain buildings erected under colour or pretence of almshouses or hospitals, but the same are in very deed intended and publicly professed to be used for monasteries and such like houses of religion, and friars and popish priests are openly received and entertained in them."

In reply to this Sir George Carew, on October 25th, 1600, says he believes the charges against the Waterford people to be true. He promised that as soon as he could spare time he would handle the matter ; "but," adds the wily Pacificator, "if it do appear in the least that any part of their punishment proceeds for matter of religion it will kindle a great fire in the kingdom."



In the latter part of the 16th century any individuals or corporate bodies that desired to curry favour with the powers at English court had to strengthen their petitions with a *douceur*. Even her most gracious Majesty expected a gift in return for favours or privileges accorded to her subjects. On July 15th, 1601, the Mayor of Waterford, Edward Gough, wrote as follows to that powerful Minister of State, Lord Robert Cecil :—" For some show of gratuity and yearly remembrance of our goodwills I have thought fit, on behalf of this Corporation, to present your Honour with a pair of bed-coverings [Waterford-made rugs] and two small rundells [kegs] of aqua vitæ of our town's making which you shall receive at the hands of the bearer present, our late and now agent Nicholas Wyse."

A plague ravaged Waterford in 1602.

In 1603—the year in which Elizabeth died—the principal towns in Ireland were taxed " according to ability." Waterford was noted for being ill-affected towards the English government and in " good liking" with the Spaniards. It was taxed £100.

In " The Present State of Ireland" (published in 1673) we are informed that " the common sort of people in Ireland" in the 16th century lived chiefly on butter, milk, oatmeal, bread, barley, pease, parsnips, potatoes, and watercresses. " The middle sort of the Irish gentry differs not much from the same kind of diet save only that they oftener feed upon flesh, eat better bread and drink beer more frequently." High and low, according to the same authority, were inclined to drink beer and usquebagh to excess, and

women as well as men were extremely addicted to the use of tobacco.

Trousers and mantles were up to the reign of James I. the general wear. "The common sort of people wear no English boots but things called Irish brogues. . . . The ordinary sort of Irish women wear a kind of loose gown, without stiffening, with petticoats and waistcoats without any bodys ; having linen kerchers about their heads, instead of head cloaths, and never using hats but covering their heads with their mantles to save themselves from the rain or the heat of the sun." As for the gentry, who dwelt outside the walls: their only forms of amusement were hard drinking and hard fighting. When they came into town to sell live stock or for other marketing they drank Spanish wine or Irish whiskey until they were able to hold no more. And it is stated that not only did the Anglo-Norman lords drink to excess but the ladies, and that both saw no harm in being drunk in their own houses.

The condition of the country at the close of Elizabeth's reign is thus described in Ryland's History of Waterford :—"Those whom the sword had spared were reduced to the extreme of misery by famine ; they were seen creeping out of the woods in search of the vilest food, and endeavouring to prolong a miserable existence by eating carrion, and in some instances human flesh. The land itself was become unfruitful ; deprived of its cultivators it resembled a frightful wilderness, and from one extremity of the country to the other, except in towns and cities, scarcely any living creature was to be seen save





wolves and beasts of prey.\* "If," adds Ryland, "the flattering historians of the reign of Elizabeth, who write of Ireland tranquilized, are to be believed their statements should be coupled with the fact that it was almost depopulated also. The Queen was ignorant of the cruelty of her servants until it was too late to check it. When these enormities were represented to her Majesty she expressed great regret and declared her fear that the same reproach might be made to her which was formerly made to Tiberius—'It is you who are to blame for these things, who have committed your flock not to shepherds but to wolves.' "

A famous Waterfordman, Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, tells us that after the suppression of the Geraldine rising people of all ranks, condition and ages throughout the country were forced into old barns which were set on fire, and all who attempted to escape were either cast back into the flames or stabbed. Mothers were hanged; babies often were strangled or hanged with their mother's hair or were tossed in the air, pinned on lances, or dashed on rocks.

Speaking, in his Introduction to the third edition† of "*Hibernia Pacata*," of the political state of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Standish O'Grady says: "Without exception the walled towns and cities, inland and seaboard, held by the Crown in all those wars—including the Nine Years' War—

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\* Holinshed says:—"Whosoever should travel from one end to the other of Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Limericke, about six score miles, he would not meete anie man, woman or child saving in towns and cities, nor yet see any beasts but the very wolves, foxes and other like ravening beasts."

† Published by Downey & Co., London, in 2 vols. in 1896.

Tyrone's War. It is useless to endeavour to upset this cardinal fact by reference to State papers, in which the disloyalty, etc., of townsmen is animadverted upon. The fact remains that not one of the walled towns declared at any time in favour of the insurgents . . . the walled towns represent commerce; and commerce cares little for right or wrong, but cares a great deal for peace, law and order . . . Indeed," adds Mr. O'Grady, "the walled towns of Ireland were so hot for the Queen that they frequently went beyond their duty and voluntarily advanced sums of money to the government to aid its efforts for the suppression of the insurgent great lords. So the Mayor and Burgesses of Waterford advanced £300 (some £4,000 of our money) to the Lord Deputy for the Queen's service and at their own cost maintained the garrison at Dungarvan. Yet in all Waterford at the time there were probably not a score of Protestants. The men of Waterford of this time used to speak of their city as the 'Queen's Bed Chamber.' The town was Royalist, and proud of the fact."

Nothing can more forcibly bring home to us how completely Anglicised was Waterford city than to read of the manner in which it lavished money upon the Crown, while outside its walls Irishmen and Irishwomen were in many instances endeavouring to support existence on nettles, on carrion, on human flesh.

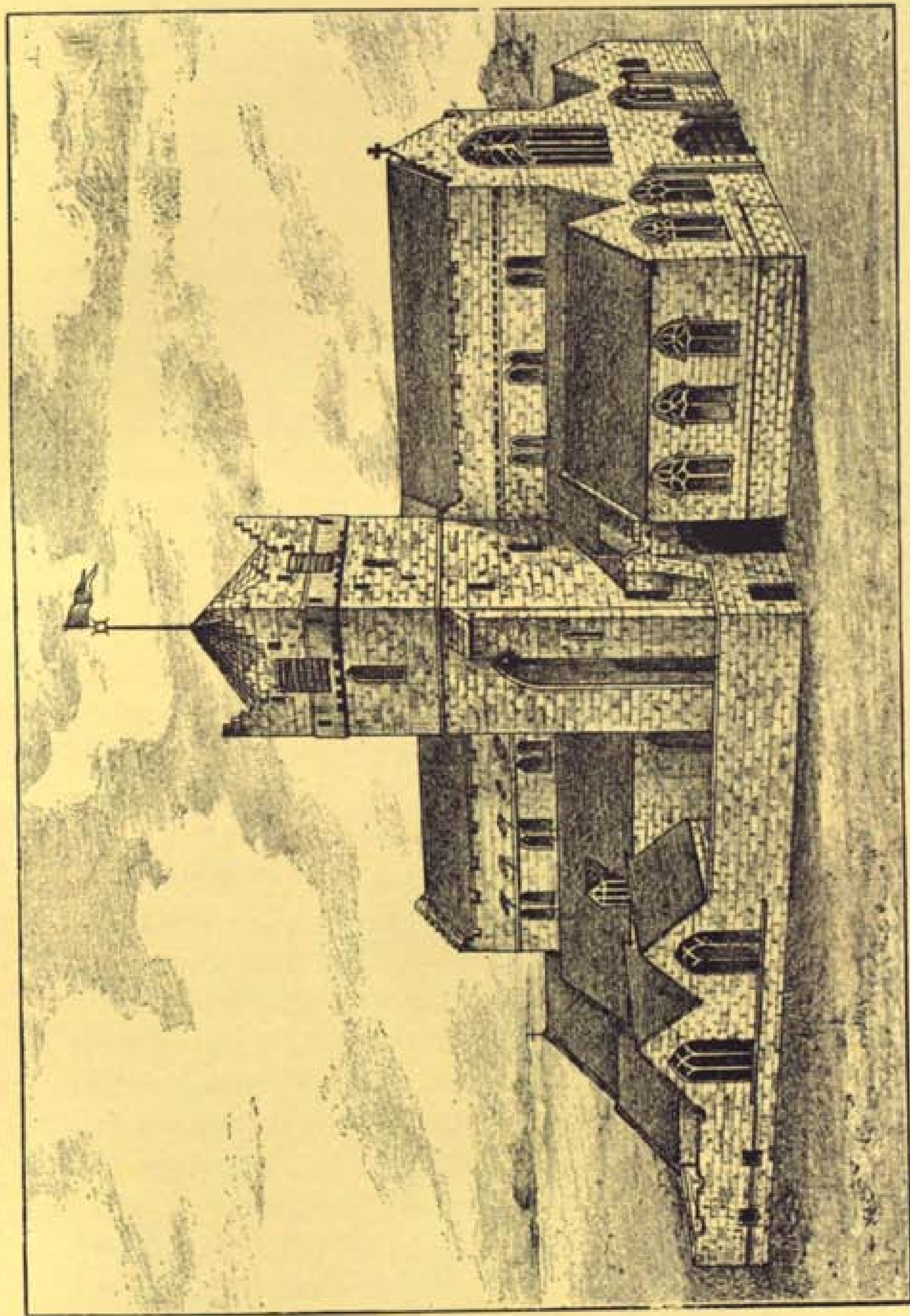


## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH TO THE CIVIL WAR.

AT the beginning of the 17th century Waterford held rank as a city of the highest importance commercially and politically. Its port was the resort of ships from every trading quarter ; its quay was packed with merchandize. Too often did its streets resound to the tramp of soldiery and the clank of the warhorse as expeditions were led against " the rebellious Irish" outside the walls. The houses were substantially built and displayed indoor comfort, and in many cases luxury. The churches were numerous, though some of the most splendid of them—taken from the Catholics—were suffered to lapse into a ruinous condition. Sir George Carew, the Pacificator of Munster, looked upon the city with a somewhat jealous eye. He writes :—" The people of Munster are Spanish at heart . . . The Spaniards would find at Waterford all kinds of conveniences—fortifications, artillery, portable rivers, salt, wine, iron, fish, etc. ; and there is more shipping in that harbour than in any part of Ireland."

After the horrors of Elizabeth's reign joy was felt in Ireland when it was announced that a son of Mary, Queen of Scots, had ascended the throne.



OLD CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL





The death of Elizabeth took place on March 24th, 1603, but the news of her decease did not reach Waterford until April 9th. Most of the citizens were Catholics, and they thought that the accession of a son of Mary Stuart afforded them an opportunity of again practising their religion openly. Peaceful possession of the Church of St. Patrick was taken on the evening of April 11th, and the following day Dr. James White, Vicar Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, celebrated High Mass there. After the close of Divine Service the congregation clamoured to have the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity restored to the Catholics, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the rite of lustration was performed in the Cathedral in the presence of Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a Privy Councillor. The Governor of Waterford, writing to Lord Deputy Mountjoy, excused himself and his brother townsmen for restoring the Catholic religion on the grounds that they presumed the King belonged to the faith of his forbears. To this Mountjoy replied that he marvelled at the simplicity of the people of Waterford.

Dr. White, in 1604, submitted to the Pope a narrative of the events which occurred in Waterford in connection with spiritual and temporal affairs at the accession of King James. "Having performed the rite of lustration," he says, "we all entered the Church of the Holy Trinity and then discovered, alas, that the Temple of God and our fathers had been kept by the heretics not like a church but like a pigstye, a receptacle of filth and impurities. By the pious labours of the Catholics during the entire of that day the church was cleansed, and during the following night



new altars were erected in all the side chapels. So zealously did they ply their work of reparation that next morning every part of the temple was in the most beautiful order. The bells were rung ; the Mayor and magistrates, all the respectable families, men and women, the whole population of the city, immediately answered the summons and walked in procession. So great was their joy that floods of tears streamed down their cheeks. Everything that could lend magnificence and external pomp to the most solemn ceremony of religion was lavished in profusion on this joyous occasion. High Mass was sung at the usual hour accompanied by a sermon, and many other acts of religion calculated to excite the people to piety and penance, for it was the Wednesday in Passion Week. As the heretical ministers and schismatics and athiests and temporisers were present we protested that in this public declaration of our faith our principal object was to intimate to him who was about to be proclaimed our king that all of us never wished to be anything but sincere and assured children of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The lay Catholics resolved that there should be no secret as to their resolve in this respect. A document, declaring their sentiments, was drawn out and posted on the doors of the church ; another sealed copy was transmitted to the Lord Deputy. That document contained nothing that could give just grounds of offence to the opposite party, as I will prove to demonstration in a larger treatise, which I am now composing on the subject."

"On that same day, after dinner, James, son of the martyr Queen Mary, was proclaimed in the market

place with the greatest solemnity. His accession was hailed with rapturous joy by all orders\*—a long life and happy reign was the general acclamation. Cannons were fired, bonfires lighted, money liberally distributed among the people, and the prisons in the palatinate liberties of the most illustrious the Earl of Ormond were thrown open, as a sign of exultation and joy. The mayor, magistrates and nobles, and the whole body of the citizens proceeded to the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, and having taken their places according to their rank, the hymn of St. Ambrose, *Te Deum Laudamus*, was entoned and chanted by a choir as a thanksgiving. Complin followed, and the ceremony was closed by the Litany of Loretto of the Blessed Virgin Mary. These religious services performed, the people retired from the church to celebrate the festivities of so great a day. And no wonder, for of all festivals, this was most anxiously desired: it was one of the greatest, and of the first class, on which all without exception, from the highest to the lowest, discharged a double office by professing the Catholic faith and receiving the most Holy Eucharist, that is, God and man, in the morning, in His holy temple, and by pledging in the evening their allegiance to their lawful king, his serene majesty King James.

" On the following day the intelligence of these extraordinary events had spread through the whole province; the people flocked in from all quarters to see this great sight; so great was the multitude that

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\* Smith, on the other hand, states in his History of Waterford that the Recorder was pulled down from the Market Cross when he was proclaiming James I as King.



the city could scarcely contain them. But their exultation ! O, none but He who gave it can conceive. Messengers and deputations speedily arrived from various cities and towns, begging me to go and reconcile their desecrated churches, for there were very few in the kingdom at that time invested with faculties to purify a church. I consented with all my heart by purifying personally with my own hands as many churches as I could visit, and by granting faculties to several of my clerical brethren to perform the same duty, whenever it was necessary, in several parts of the kingdom.

“ I myself reconciled the following churches : The beautiful Church of St. Patrick, and the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, in the City of Waterford ; the churches of Clonmel, in the diocese of Lismore : St. Mary's Church, in the City of Kilkenny, and by the ministry of another, St. Patrick's, in the same place ; the Monastery of St. Dominic, in the diocese of Ossory ; St. Mary's Church, Ross, in the diocese of Ferns. All the churches of Wexford, in the diocese of Ferns, were reconciled by the Rev. John Coppinger ; the Church of Thomastown, in the diocese of Ossory, and the churches of Carrick-on-Suir by the Rev. Thomas Woodlock ; St. Mary's, of Dunkit, in the diocese of Ossory, by the Rev. William Nangle and Peter Strange. The Rev. Thomas Rachtur (*sic*) reconciled the Metropolitan Church of St. Patrick's, in Cashel, and the grand church of the Holy Trinity, at Fethard, in the same diocese. The Rev. Robert Meade reconciled the cathedrals of Cork and Cloyne ; and the Rev. Richard Arthur the cathedral and all the churches of the City of Limerick. Throughout

the entire kingdom many parochial churches and Franciscan convents were also reconciled at the same time, but for brevity sake I omit to mention them here.

" All these churches, both in the country and cities, and most remarkable towns, were reconciled with the approbation, and at the request, of all the inhabitants of the respective localities.

" But in the midst of those proceedings, so conducive to the glory of the eternal God, the consolation of the Catholics and the conversion of the heretics, some false brethren, and especially Sir Richard Ailleward, knight, who was only a Catholic in name, invented certain stories, which no sincere Catholic had ever dreamt of, and communicated them by letter to some members of the Privy Council. When his Excellency, our Lord Deputy, Lord Charles Mountjoy, now Earl of Devon, heard this report, he instantly despatched couriers to all the above-mentioned places, cities and towns, with letters, all breathing the same spirit of stern remonstrance and terrible threat, ordering all the churches to be closed, the rites of religion to be suspended, priests to be not only prohibited from performing their religious functions, but arrested and detained in custody on a charge of high treason.

" On receipt of those letters, the magistrates and governors of the different localities answered that the Catholic clergy had done nothing contrary to their duty ; that on the contrary, both in their sermons and religious instructions their constant theme was to retain the old faith of their fathers to God, and sincere, unalterable allegiance to their natural sovereign, his Majesty King James ; that not one act had been



committed by any of them which could justify a suspicion of their allegiance, that it was their duty not to do otherwise, and that should any person be guilty he should be speedily punished. But as to suppression of Catholic worship, the arrest and imprisonment of the priests, they, the magistrates, could not attempt it consistently with their own conscience and faith, because they professed the same faith as the priests; and they urged their petition with greater confidence, because they had undoubted evidence that the priests were most loyal to the king and offered up daily prayer and supplications to heaven for his majesty.

“ But, notwithstanding these legitimate and well-grounded representations and petitions, the Lord Deputy having called a council in Dublin, placed himself at the head of a great army and resolved to raze the city of Waterford to the ground, and to put all its inhabitants to the sword.

“ At the head of this immense army, which was composed of troops draughted from the different garrisons, he set out on his march from Dublin to Waterford during the Easter days, and arrived in sight of that city about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st May, which fell that year on Low Sunday. When the citizens beheld his army, they humbly recommended their case to the great and merciful God, the comforter and help of the afflicted. Accordingly at eight o'clock that evening, solemn supplications were offered up, the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession through the streets, the market place, and all the public parts of the city; the poor people inflamed with devotion declared, with stern intrepidity, that now they were satisfied, as they had once

seen at least before their death, their heavenly king, Christ our Lord, borne in procession.

“ A Solemn High Mass was then celebrated, the enemies of our faith and creed in the mean time crossing over the Suir from the manor, commonly called Grenagh, to the castle on the opposite bank, called Grace Dieu. Immediately after the offertory a sermon was delivered, in which the Catholics were exhorted not to lose courage ; and that if they wished to have the protection of the Pastor of princes in heaven, they were bound now, if ever, to acknowledge their true pastor on earth, whom the wicked arts of heresy and during so many years endeavoured to render odious or suspected to the inhabitants of Ireland.

“ In compliance with my exhortation, all the magistrates without exception, all men of family, and all who had come to man's estate, made a solemn and public profession that the Holy Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, was the one, only, true, visible, and indisputable head of the whole Church of Christ on earth ; they added, moreover, that to no other mortal man, either lay or clerical, however he might be called apostolical, could this dignity and authority of headship belong, unless a direct successor of St. Peter, Prince and President of the Apostolic Senate, and derived from him all jurisdiction and spiritual authority. Not content with this confession of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, they protested that they resolved to live and die in the saving faith of the Holy Roman Church. To the head of that Church, the true Vicar of Christ our Lord on earth, they promised full obe-



dience and entire submission in all spiritual things; but to his majesty, King James, they promised due and perfect submission in temporal things, and in all other points in which Catholic subjects are bound to obey their temporal and natural sovereign. This solemn oath they confirmed by kissing the crucifix which I presented to each of them before the high altar, and during the celebration of Mass. The women and boys earnestly begged to be allowed to take the oath, but I was obliged to refuse their request, so great was the multitude of grown men who pressed forward to take it.

“ Having made this solemn and striking declaration of their Christian and Catholic faith, the faithful people of Waterford, strong in their own honesty, resolved to admit the Lord Deputy into the city, but they deputed three ambassadors, Paul Sherlock, Paul Strange, and Nicholas Wyse, to request the Lord Deputy not to bring in more troops than the citizens could feed and lodge with convenience. Their petition was instantly rejected, the Lord Deputy declaring that he would make no conditions, but at once take possession of the city.

“ On the following morning, the 2nd of May, the camp was pitched near the city; the soldiers received a promise that they should be allowed to plunder all the inhabitants and put them to the sword without distinction of age or sex. Accordingly the citizens, who had great apprehensions of the treachery and evil dispositions of the heretical soldiers, kept watch all the night, lest some part of the city might be carried by surprise. In the evening they had sent out their ambassadors a second time, begging the Lord

Deputy to have their case submitted to a legal investigation, and, in the meantime, not to suppose that they were other than loyal subjects of his majesty the King of England.

"While these negotiations were passing between the camp and the city, a wish was expressed both by the soldiers and citizens, and (as I hear) by members of the Privy Council also, that I should go out in person from the city to the camp, and plead the common cause before the Lord Deputy. Having received his assurance of protection from personal injury, and being encouraged by the unanimous approbation both of clergy and people, I went forth to the camp, accompanied by my kinsmen, Father Thomas Lombard, of the Order of St. Bernard, and nephew of our Most Rev. Primate, the Archbishop of Armagh.

"Having received the Lord Deputy's word for my own and my companion's security, through Richard Power, Baron of Curraghmore, Sheriff of the County and City of Waterford, George Sherlock, and Nicholas Madan, I proceeded from the mansion house (*domus civica*) to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and taking down the crucifix from the high altar, carried it in my hands through the city, and thence proceeded to the camp, accompanied by Father Lombard and the above-mentioned distinguished individuals. My companion wore the religious dress of his order, his tonsure was also such as they wear; I was dressed in a long soutan, my square cap on my head, and a stole hanging over my shoulders.

"As soon as we arrived in the camp, the heretical and ill-mannered soldiers burst into fits of immoderate laughter when they beheld our unusual and un-



pretending dress, and our shaven crowns, as if no man could be a Christian who had not his hair frizzled and oiled like a woman's.

"Some of the highest rank in the army, especially Richard Wingfield, an English heretic, flew into a rage and were scandalized, they said, because I had dared to carry an idol (so they called the crucifix) into a Christian camp, as if they were not Christians (and truly they were so in name only). So ungovernable was the said Wingfield's choler, that he certainly would have driven his sword up to the hilt in my body, had he not been prevented by some kind-hearted and noble men, who seized his hand and restrained his rage. But when he could not despatch me as he intended, he poured out a volley of abuse, calumny, and curses, denouncing me as a turbulent and seditious disturber of the public peace, a seducer of loyal subjects, and a capital enemy of the Gospel. There was no remedy at the moment but to listen in peace and subdue by patience a man who had lost all control of his temper.

"But when this storm had blown over, I and my companion were placed in the middle of the whole heretical army, where we were exposed to all sorts of ribaldry and insult. The Lord Deputy and his Privy Council, in the meantime, had decided that I was guilty of high treason; that a proclamation to that effect should be published in my own hearing and before the whole army, and that after thus being placed under ban, I should be reconducted safe and sound to the city; this proclamation was actually drawn up in that council held in the camp, and was

signed by the Lord Deputy and all the members of the Privy Council then present.

"The deliberations of the Lord Deputy and his council being over, the groom of his excellency's bed-chamber summoned us to an audience. We went forward with joy, for the Lord who giveth help to the weak had imparted to us confidence and strength. Colonels, lieutenants, and a large throng of common soldiers followed us to the Lord Deputy's tent.

"Having presented ourselves before his excellency, and paid to him all the customary honours in due form, he instantly asked me "what are you?" I answered that I was a Christian, a firm Catholic, a servant and most loyal subject of his majesty King James. He interrogated me closely, not only on the meaning but even the etymology of that answer; but having explained myself to the best of my power, I perceived that his passion was rising, and he called me 'traitor.' "

Dr. White gives a lengthy account of his disputation with Mountjoy's officers. Amongst other things the crucifix which he carried in his hand excited raillery, but the scoffers were silenced by the intrepid priest.

"The profession of faith," continues Dr. White, "which the Catholic citizens of both orders had made in the city they now solemnly renewed in the camp by their deputies. . . . I myself was called out to the camp a second time on that day and on my bended knees I earnestly sued for free exercise of our religion; that if this liberty was now granted or promised to us I pledged myself by the grace of Christ—first, that whatever had been or might be



taken by robbers should be restored to the rightful owner; secondly, that we would take care that those who were led by idleness in many dangerous proceedings should now devote themselves to agriculture and other laudable works and mechanical arts; thirdly, that if his Majesty ever required an army to enforce his just rights in a just war the Irish would give their gratuitous and zealous armies for those rights in such a war; fourthly, that without any expense to his Majesty all the soldiers who might be injured or wounded in the war should be supplied with all things necessary for the health both of soul and body until they had either recovered or passed into another world; fifthly, that Catholic priests would attend that army, would be present in the hour of danger to encourage and console the soldier with the word of God and the Sacraments; sixthly, that these conditions would at once cut off all pretence or fear of foreign invasions. . . . .  
Seventhly and lastly, that some of the ruined churches be given to us; that we would rebuild them at our own expense and pay for them a yearly rent into his Majesty's exchequer."

Mountjoy's reply to Dr. White was that the King alone could grant liberty of conscience and that at the moment his Majesty's orders were that all things should remain as they had been under the late Queen. The Lord Deputy added that he himself was willing to tolerate the exercise of Catholic worship until such time as his Majesty made an order to the contrary. Priests could wear clerical dress and could say Mass in private houses. Dr. White and his followers seem to have been fairly content with

Mountjoy's reply and the Lord Deputy and his troops entered the city on May 3rd. Here Mountjoy received a formal assurance that the citizens were Catholics and good subjects of the King. A document to this effect was signed, and Robert Walsh, Knight, Mayor of Waterford, was informed that permission to celebrate Mass privately was given to the clergy.

The garrison which the Lord Deputy placed in Waterford amounted to 1200 men. A good many of these had been expecting that they would have been permitted to plunder the city and were deeply disappointed at the peaceable turn matters had taken.

Mountjoy marched out of the city on May 5th, all things having been arranged to his satisfaction.

The Catholics all over Ireland despatched deputations to King James to congratulate him on his accession and to pray for the restoration to them of full religious liberty. Dr. White was chosen as a delegate to go to England and he at once started on the journey. But the ship in which he embarked was driven back by contrary winds. Presently other deputies were returning from England announcing that "no person could get an audience of the King in consequence of the ravages of the plague and the multitude of traitors prowling about England." Dr. White made his way back to Waterford only to realize that he was likely to be assassinated. His enemies, he says in his narrative, began to invent calumnies about him. Especially did Richard Aylward, who was in the army, endeavour to persecute him. On the eve of Corpus Christi the energetic priest went to Kilkenny, and during his sojourn there Aylward accused him of high treason.



Apprised of this accusation Dr. White without a moment's delay returned to Waterford.

"But while I was remaining at Kilkenny, the aforesaid Richard Aylward accused me of high treason. I had intimation of his proceedings by an express messenger, and without a moment's delay I started for Waterford, the day after Corpus Christi, and with the greater haste because it has been alleged my object in coming to Kilkenny was to seduce the numerous population of that place, and excite them to revolt on the evening of that day. About six o'clock in the morning I arrived at Waterford, and the first man I met on the quay or mall was the same Richard Aylward, who welcomed me home with the usual forms. But though his words to me there were words of peace, during the whole of that night he was plotting snares and pitfalls. For next morning, when he came to the place where the Mayor and magistrates were assembled, waiting to go in procession to the Monastery of St. Francis, for the anniversary of a respectable gentleman named Nicholas Dobbyn, his constant theme during the whole time was, James White is a traitor, and that the whole kingdom ought to be on its guard against his wiles and machinations. As witnesses of this odious calumny, I appeal to the Mayor and magistrates of the city, for they were present. They unanimously protested that they had never seen any grounds for that charge either in my conduct or sermons. 'Oh,' exclaimed Aylward, 'you do not know the man.' But finding that he could not persuade the Mayor (a very sensible man), nor the magistrates, to adopt his opinion, he proceeded straight for Kells on that very

day, to the house where Sir Richard Morrison, commander of the garrison, was lodging, and tried every means to induce him to have me brought to trial and condemned to death ; for that he had evidence more than enough to convict me before any tribunal. But finding it difficult to bring round the governor to his opinion, he visited him again after supper, when after dancing for a couple of hours, he retired to the governor's bed-chamber, and held a long conversation with him there until midnight, the result of which was that I was to be imprisoned and speedily brought to trial.

" From that day, namely, the 26th of June, down to the 29th of the same month (the festival of SS. Peter and Paul), Aylward never departed from Morrison's side.

" Morrison accordingly sent directions to the Mayor that I should be summoned about 10 o'clock in the afternoon, to appear before the council and the officers of the garrison, to answer for certain grave charges touching my loyalty. The Mayor and magistrates of the city, according, having assembled, Morrison came, attended by an English captain named Josias Bodley (who had formerly been in the holy inquisition here, and renounced his heresy), and a lieutenant called Litchfield. Morrison having ordered me to be called in, the Mayor of the city sent one of his bailiffs, named Nicholas Lombard, who asked me in the name of the Mayor to appear. There were with me at that moment two Jesuits—one the Rev. Father Richard Field, Superior of the Society in Ireland, and his companion, Father Patrick Lenan\*

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\* Fr. Patrick Lenan, S.J., was an M.A. of Oxford. In 1615 he resided with Sir Nicholas Netterville.



both of whom recommended me by **all** means not to appear, but to abscond without delay, on the grounds that from the well-known principles of the judge, and the wickedness of my accuser, I would in all probability be condemned to death, as innocence could be no protection. But I answered, that as the glory of God and honour of the Church were at stake, I would certainly stand forward, even at the imminent risk of my life. Flight, I declared, would be in the circumstances, equivalent to a confession of guilt. Accordingly I appeared at the appointed hour; but the event proved that it was only a mountain in labour, delivered in the end of a ridiculous mouse.

"The two witnesses named were Nicholas Power and Thomas Butler, the latter a nephew, the former a servant of my accuser. But so great is the power of truth, that my accuser himself was struck dumb, and neither of his false witnesses ventured to appear. Now I take God to witness that I never spoke to either of the witnesses, except once to Power, and that by mere accident, at Kilmedan, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (the 8th of September), when on my return from Wexford, after renouncing my intended application to the king, in consequence of the impediments already mentioned."

The magistrates decided unanimously in favour of the accused priest, but his enemies despatched Lieutenant Litchfield to Dublin with a request to the Lord Deputy, Sir George Carew, that a warrant should be issued for Dr. White's arrest. The Vicar Apostolic took precaution to evade arrest for a time and led a most anxious life, and eventually, seeing no prospect

of escaping from the toils of his persecutors, he succeeded in getting on board a vessel bound for Bordeaux, at which port he was safely landed, and eventually he found his way to Rome. His narrative gives a remarkably lurid picture of the state of Waterford at the opening of the 17th century.

A decree dated April 20th, 1608, condemned James Sherlocke "to pay a fine of £100, to stand in the pillory in Waterford on market day, to lose his ears and to have his nose slit and scared, and to be imprisoned during pleasure, for forging and publishing a supposed roll of attainder against Richard Condon, alias McManell, father of John ; which roll did purport that on July 7, 13 Elizabeth, the said Richard was indicted of high treason at the Guildhall of Waterford for receiving James Fitzmoris Fitzgerald, alias James of Desmond, knight, knowing him to be in actual rebellion, and that the said Richard having pleaded not guilty and put himself upon the country, another jury found him guilty and sentence of death was passed upon him ; by pretext of which false attainder John Condon was like to be disinherited of divers castles, lands, etc., in Co. Cork. With further order that the roll as regards Richard Condon, being declared utterly void, is to be endorsed to that effect."

In this year the city submitted to the King's pleasure as to customs and poundage, and his Majesty ordered its charter should be renewed. About the same time the Lord Deputy was petitioned to ease the city of the burden of finding quarters for one hundred soldiers. King James's new charter is dated July 10th. It confirmed previous grants of lands, privileges, and freedom to the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens.



It is reported in the "Royal Visitation Book" that at the time of the visitation—on reports made to the King on the state of the church in different dioceses—at Waterford in July, 1615, there was in that city a public schoolmaster named Flahy who had a great number of scholars. "Upon our coming to Waterford (says the report) we first sent for him, but could not get him to come before us. We then required the Mayor and Sheriffs of the Citty to bring him before us, which they answered they could not do by reason that the said Flahy did fly out of the Citty a little before our coming. Whereupon we left a letter with the Lord President of that province under our hands praying and requiring him in his Majestie's name to take order to suppress him from the exercise of teaching and instruction of youth, for he traynes up schollers to become seminarists"—that is to say, ecclesiastical students—"beyond the seas and ill-affected members, which the Lord President did undertake to perform."

On March 5th, 1616, the Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster, and Sir William Jones, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, seized on the liberties of Waterford with all their rent-rolls and revenues amounting to £304 10s. per annum, and held Assizes in the city for the county of Waterford. The seizure was made because Nicholas White, who was mayor from Michaelmas, 1615, to the following October, refused to take the oath of supremacy. Upon his refusal John Skiddy had been elected mayor, and held office until May 1st, 1616. Mayor Skiddy also refused to take the oath of supremacy, and Alexander Gough was put in his place. Mayor Gough also refused

to take the oath ; and so matters stood until April 1st, 1617. Then Walter Cleer was made mayor. The city had no Recorder since the death of Sir Nicholas Walsh in 1615. John Skiddy had held a general gaol delivery without a Recorder, and had taken it upon himself to condemn one William Pierson to be executed for felony. There had been in Waterford no government of a settled form acknowledged by the Crown in consequence. Messrs. Skiddy, Gough, and Cleer are not mentioned in the official list of mayors for 1615-1616 of various mayors refusing to take the oath of supremacy, but in the Egmont Papers there is an entry dated November 13th, 1616, which says that John Skiddy, mayor of Waterford, alias Cuffe, late Mayor of Waterford, and Patrick White, late sheriff, were amongst those fined for executing their several offices without taking the oath of supremacy.

James died in 1623. His successor, Charles I, found that amongst his inheritances was a heavy load of debt. A solemn contract was entered into between the King and the Catholic lords of Ireland by which in consideration for the redress of grievances a contribution of £120,000 should be paid to the Crown in three instalments for three successive years. On May 26th, 1626, the King restored to the citizens of Waterford their former privileges by a new Charter—known as the Great Charter.\* This voluminous document arrived in Waterford on July 25th and cost the city the sum of £3,000. On the 19th February following another charter was received from the

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\* The text of the Great Charter of the Liberties of Waterford (with Explanatory Notes by Timothy Cunningham, made in 1752) was reprinted in 1881 at the Office of "The Waterford News."



King. This related chiefly to the admiralty of the harbour and fishery rights.

It is recorded in the State Papers that James Woodlocke, mayor, wrote on November 3rd, 1626, to Lord Conway thanking him for expediting the new charter to the city, and on behalf of the burgesses he sent him "a present of our country gratuity of Waterford *usquebaugh*." Robert Leonard and Matthew Grant, the sheriffs, append their name to the document which accompanied the *usquebaugh*.

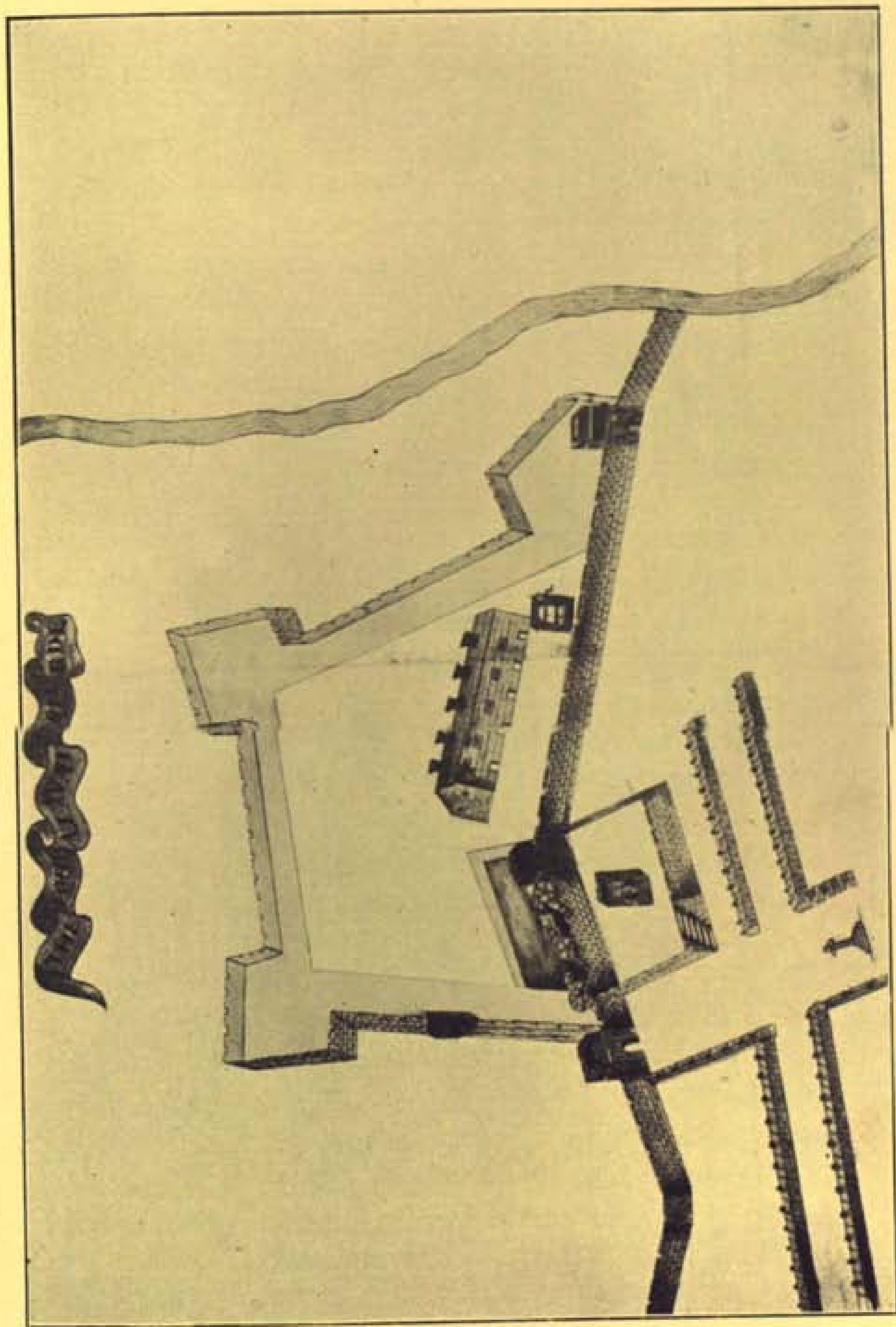
On December 26th, in the same year, Captain Pinner reported that the Fort at Waterford was almost ready for occupation. A stone and lime house had been built for 120 men and Captain Pinner "had taken into the Fort three castles of the Town Walls" and had roofed two of them. "I have mounted some guns," he adds, "on a wooden platform, and they overlook the town."

On March 22nd, 1629, Robert Lombard, of Waterford, wrote to Viscount Carleton, one of the Secretaries of State, sending him "a small runlett of *iskybahi* (whiskey) against your Lordship's old enemy ye strangulian."

On November 13th, 1630, Robert Wyse, Mayor of Waterford, informed the Earl of Cork that "Cornelius O'Driscoll, an Irish pirate (from Baltimore), having his rendezvous in Barbary (Algeria), is in the neighbourhood, with a ship of 200 tons and 14 guns."

William Dobbyn and Richard Strange were elected Members of Parliament for the city of Waterford in 1634.

It is recorded under the date of May 25th, 1637, that Sir Beverley Newcomen and his son Arthur were







drowned at Waterford "coming from the ship to the shore."

Descriptions of the city about this period from the pens of distinguished strangers are interesting. Luke Gernon, second Justice of the Province of Munster, thus describes it in 1620 :

"Waterford is situated upon the best harbour, and in a pleasant and temperate air. The buildings are of English form and well compact. There is a fair cathedral, but her beauty is in the Quay, for the wall of the town extending for near half a mile along the water, between that and the water, there is a broad Quay, mainly fortified with stone and strong piles of timber, where a ship of the burden of 1,000 tons may ride at anchor. It was famous for merchandize, but her high stomach in disobeying the State, deprived her of her magistrate, and now she is in the government of a soldier. In her prosperity there was a league between her and Bristol that their merchants respectively should be exempted of custom, but now she complains that Bristol refuseth her."

And Sir William Brereton, who visited Ireland in 1635 (the 12th year of the reign of King Charles) tells us that he came to Waterford from Milford via Ballyhack. He arrived in Ballyhack on July 21st, and we learn from his narrative that "the passage across the river here to the Waterford side is very troubled when the wind is high. Here, last day, the boat wherein my Lord of Kildare came over was in danger to bee runne under water by carrying too much sayle and running foul upon the Passage boat. Down the river come all the shipping for Waterford. Here wee see the 9th whelpe lying att anchor to guard the fleete which



now is readie to goe hence to Bristolle Faire. They saye there are about fifty sayle to go to St. James's faire at Bristoll."

The traveller arrived at Waterford and put up at the King's Head, kept by Mr. Wardes—"a good house, a very compleate gentlemanlike hoste." The town, he tells us, is reputed to be one of the richest in Ireland. The quay is the best and most convenient he has known or observed in all his travels. "A ship of 300 tons may come close to it. It is made all along the riverside without the walls, and divers buttresses made about twenty yards long go towards the channel. I saw the river att a spring tide even with the toppe of this key and yet neere unto the quay a shippe of 300 tunne fully loaden may floatte at low water. Upon this river stand divers forts and castells which command it. . . . The cittie is governed by a Maieor, Bayliffes, and 12 Aldermen. Herein are 7 churches; there have been many more; one of these Christ Church, a Cathederall: St. Patrick's, Holy Ghost, St. Steven's, St. John's. But none of these are in good repaire, nott the Cathedral, nor indeed are there any churches, almost, to be found in good repaire. Most of the inhabitants Irish, not above 40 English, and not one of these Irish goes to Church"—that is to the Protestant church.

"The town," continues Sir William, "trades much with England, France, and Spain, and that which gives much encouragement hereunto is the goodness of the haven. This town is double walled and the walls maintained in good repaire. Here wee saw women in a most impudent manner treading cloathes with their feete; these were naked to the middle

almost. Here the women of better rank and qualitie weare long high-laced cappes turned upp round about, these are mightye high; of this sort I gave William Dale money to buy mee one. Here is a good handsome markett place and a most convenient prison that I ever saw, for the women a part, and this a great distance from the men's prison. Herein dwells a juditious Apothecarye who has been bred att Antwerpe and is a traveller; his name is (as I take itt) Mr. Jarvis Biliard by whose direction and good advice I found much good and through God's mercye recovered from my sickness. After I had dined here I went about 4 or 5 houres towards Carrick, where I staid at a ferrie about a mile from Waterford a whole houre for the boate wherein wee and our six horses were carried over together."

The traveller visited Carrick-on-Suir and returned to Waterford on July 22nd. On the 23rd he rested at the King's Head where the host, Mr. Wardes, prepared for him barley water, cordials, and perfumes to take to sea with him. He spent a considerable portion of the afternoon with Mr. Biliard the Apothecary. Next morning he proceeded to Passage East which was so thronged that he could not obtain a comfortable lodging but had to put up with a hard bed without curtains, fire, or casements." The charge for accommodation was, however, not too severe—a "6d. ordinary." On July 25th the traveller embarked in one of the king's ships carrying 16 pieces of ordnance. He states that the function of this warship was to protect Waterford's merchant fleet from "the Turkes of whom there was here a



fear, and rumour that they were very busie uppon the coast of France."

Sir William gives the price of some articles of food which he consumed during his visit to Waterford—"half a mutton cost 3s., and eggs 7 a pennie, and 3 pullets at 3d. a piece."

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CIVIL WAR.

AND presently came the Civil War which added bitterness to the relations that existed between England and Ireland, between Catholic and Protestant. The accounts of this war are of such a conflicting character that it is not easy to speak with certitude about it. Race and creed fought against race and creed, and, as is the case in every civil war, atrocities were committed on both sides; but recent research has made it plain that every effort was employed to magnify the turpitude of the Irish Catholics and to minimise the turpitude of their opponents. A study of the depositions taken in 1642 and again in 1644 shows that the charges brought against the Catholic residents in Waterford are built upon evidence of a very flimsy, indeed occasionally of a ridiculous, character.

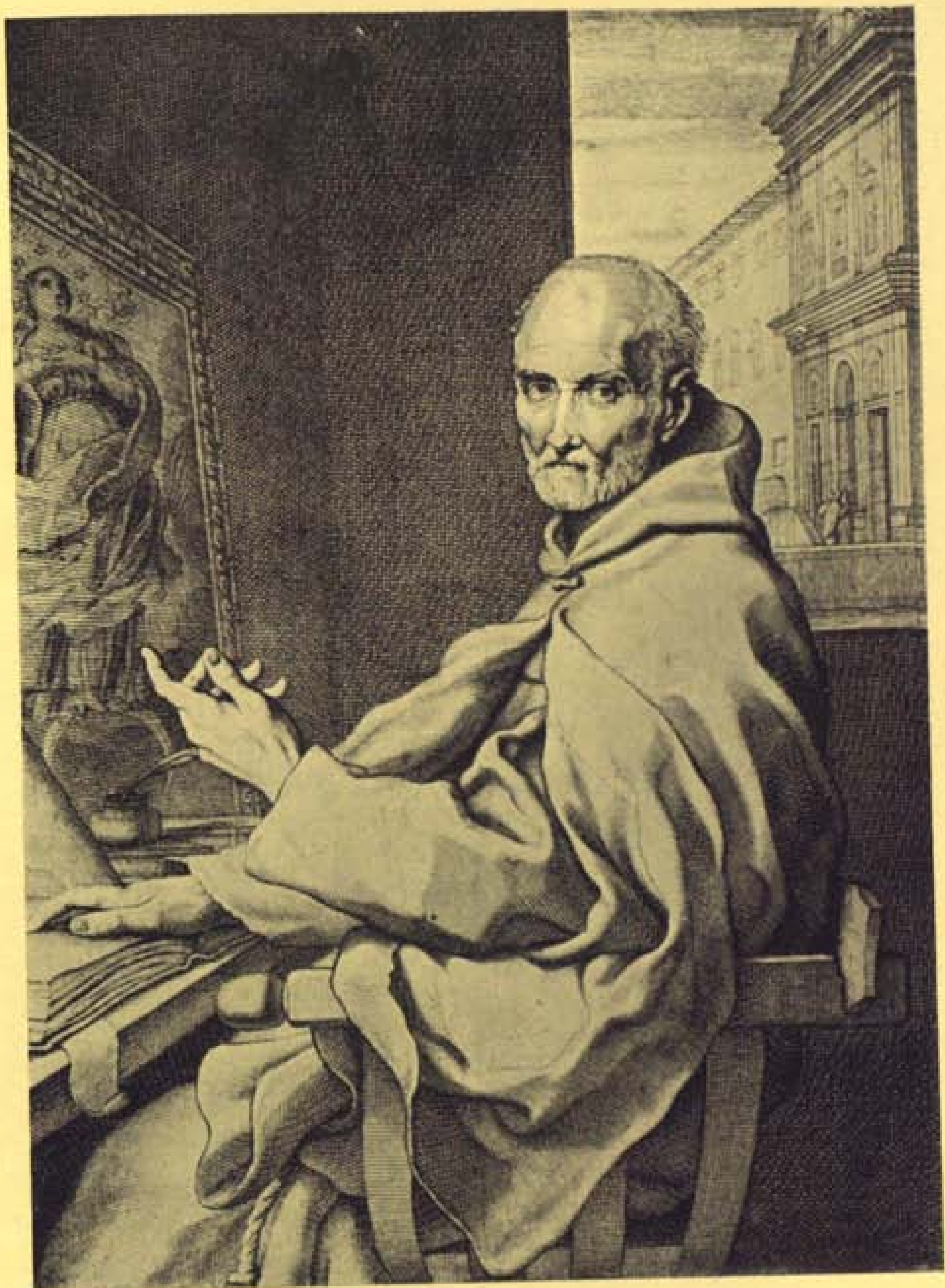
The Earl of Clarendon in his "History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland" contends that Ireland enjoyed plenty, peace and security until the year 1641, when the people wantonly flung those blessings from them. Everything that was profitable or pleasant was, he adds, acquired by the skill and labour of the English planted and living charitably, friendly and hospitably among the Irish. Emulating the example of the lady in Moore's melody, "Rich



and rare were the gems she wore," men travelled all over the island unguarded with immense sums of money. No man could say he suffered on account of his religion! "In this blessed condition of peace and security the English and Irish, the Protestant and the Roman Catholic lived mingled together in all Provinces of the Kingdom, quietly travelling with one another during the whole happy reign of King James. . . . On a sudden upon the 23rd October, 1641, without so much as the least pretence of a quarrel or hostility so much as apprehended by the Protestants, great multitudes of the Irish Roman Catholics in the Province of Ulster, and shortly after in other Provinces and Parts of the Kingdom, simultaneously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized upon the Towns, Castles and Houses belonging to the Protestants which by their force they could possess themselves of, and with the most barbarous circumstances of cruelty within the space of less than ten days murdered an incredible number of Protestants, men, women and children, promiscuously,"

Anyone who has studied the history of this country, especially the history of the reign of Elizabeth, will not have much difficulty in arriving at an opinion as to the character of Clarendon's description of the blissfulness which the Irish and Anglo-Irish enjoyed and flung wantonly away.

Another English historian, Dr. Lingard, takes a different view of the situation. He says:—"The proceedings of the English Parliament and the success of the Scotch Covenanters had created a deep and general sensation in Ireland. Could that be



PORTRAIT OF LUKE WADDING





blameable in Irishmen which was so meritorious in others? Had not they an equal claim to extort the redress of grievances and to repeal religious persecution? . . . Why should not Irishmen unite in their own defence? Why not assert their rights and establish their religion?" Lingard says, in another place:—"I am perfectly well aware that Clarendon speaks of forty or fifty thousand murdered and that others even enlarged upon these figures. . . . "Such assertions," he adds, "appear to me to be rhetorical flourishes. They are not founded on authentic documents. They lead the reader to suppose that the rebels had formed a plan to surprise and murder all the Protestant inhabitants; whereas the fact was that they sought to recover the lands which in the last and present reign had been taken from them and given to the English planters. They warned the intruders to be gone; they expelled them from the plantations; they seized their goods and burned their houses. . . . That no premeditated design of a general massacre existed is evident from the official despatches of the lords justices during the months of October, November and December."

At the outbreak of the Civil War Luke Wadding was one of the most popular as well as one of the most learned of the churchmen who resided in Rome. No account of Waterford in the 17th century could claim anything resembling completeness without a mention, and more than a mention, of this her most illustrious citizen. He was born on October 16th, 1588, the son of Walter Wadding and Anstice Lombard (a near relative of Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh). He first studied in Waterford



under the tuition of his brother Matthew, subsequently going to Portugal and Spain. He was sent on a mission to Rome by Philip III. of Spain, and in the Eternal City he remained until his death in 1657. He wrote a number of valuable books and treatises, amongst them his immortal "*Annales Minorum*," or *Annals of the Franciscan Order*, of which he was a member. He also edited the works of John Duns Scotus.

Wadding\* was deeply interested in the cause of Catholic Ireland, and he succeeded in interesting many Catholic princes on the Continent in the struggle for religious liberty which was being fought out in his native land. He found funds and soldiers to prosecute the revolt against the brutal tyranny of the predominant powers.

The plans of the Irish Confederates were to rise suddenly as soon as the harvest was gathered in, to attack simultaneously all the fortresses of the enemy, and to surprise and capture Dublin Castle.

At the outset the brunt of the battle fell upon the Northerners and the Leinstermen, but towards the end of the year Munster was involved and suffered heavily.

Sir William St. Leger was President of Munster. In December, 1641, he marched from Clonmel to Waterford. Writing on December 4th to Sir Philip Percivalle he says:—"I must needs give you an ac-

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\* John F. O'Donnell refers to this patriot friar thus:—  
 Where looms the Tower of Reginald  
 Luke Wadding first saw star and sun,  
 And there he grew till he became  
 A glowing light of that stern host  
 Who deemed not Ireland's future lost  
 Nor triumphed in her passing shame.

count of my last days with the rebels. At Mothill I took about twenty Irish prisoners." He pursued the rebels to Passage, where the main body of them was hastening to cross the river. Then St. Leger fell upon them—about three hundred—and killed nearly seven score of them, the rest or many of them he took prisoners and carried to Waterford. "Forty ring-leaders" were promptly hanged in the city.

There was no rising or rebellion of any account in the County Waterford at this time: the "rebels" were mainly terror-stricken peasants whom the advance of St. Leger had driven from their homes.

In his "History of the Civil War in Waterford" the author, Dr. Thomas Fitzpatrick, gives a number of interesting depositions taken in connection with the progress of events in Waterford at this troubled time.

Jane Wright, alias Pearse, says that "Ffrancys Wise of Newtown marched with 200 rebels against the Lord President and was a chief instrument in stirring up the city to rebellion." The same witness states that the Town Clerk of Waterford, one John Lee, set open the city gates in order to allow the rebels to come in.

The Comptroller of Customs of the port, Minard Christian, deposed that he was despoiled of the profits and perquisites of his office and of his four farms in the county worth £300 sterling; also his household furniture and his farm stock were seized. The parties who despoiled him were John Poore of Kilmeyden, Nicholas Madden of Downing, Joseph Grant, Francis Wise of Waterford, John Bryner of Garran, John Bouly of Waterford, Andrew Morgan





("a bloody villainous rebel"), George Skiddy, Garrett Lincolne, and divers others. The Comptroller\* adds that 120 English Protestants came to the city for relief but were promptly stripped and turned out of the town.

Benedict Claybrooke deposed that he was robbed of cows, horses, and household stuff, part of which were taken away by John Poore, of Ballykyney. He further states that "one Francis Wyse, of the city, gent., was a notable and prime robber, and takes of the goods of the English in these parts." Claybrooke says that the mayor, Francis Briver, and the aldermen protected him and all the rest of the English for three months. "In all the time," he adds, "there was not one drop of Protestant blood there spilt but many relieved with money and victualls in and about the city." The mayor succoured some hundreds of distressed English.

John Collins, of Ballirobert, yeoman, deposes that about the 10th December (he being then in the city of Dublin serving under his captain) the servants of Redmond Fitz Nicholas, of Waterford, merchant, and the servants of Robert Galle, of Balliescobb, took his cattle and his corn. His wife brought all she could save into the city, where she was again "despoiled and robbed by the rebels, viz:—By the servants of Fierse Dobbin of Waterford, alderman, James Walsh, of the same, alderman, and John Lum-

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\* Mr. Christian was a Protestant native of Denmark. Canon Gimlette in his "Hugenot Settlers" says that he was rewarded at the Restoration, was made Recorder of Waterford, and represented the city in Parliament. His seat at Waterford was known as Christendom, a name which the place still retains.

bard, of the same, gent." This lady deposes that she was further threatened with being hanged, killed, drowned, burned, or blown up with gunpowder.

Laurence Hooper, late of the city of Waterford, glover, and a soldier at Duncannon Fort, deposed that bodies of Protestants were dug up and converted into gunpowder. The bodies were boiled in furnaces "till they came to saltpetre." Hooper declared that there were a thousand armed boys in the city. Francis Powell, a smith, was busy making guns; John Sanders, plumber, making bullets, and John Collins, making troop saddles. Hooper's narrative continues: "About the 18th day of March last, and the same day the battle was fought at Ross, by ye Marquis of Ormond, one of the country people, called Edmund Boy, running to Waterford from the battle with newes, was presently brought before Thomas White, now Maior of the said cittee, and for relating the said overthrow, caused him to be committed, intending to hang him next day, of purpose (as the deponent conceiveth), notwithstanding the truth of the said Battle, to encourage the inhabitants of the Citty to persist in their rebellious courses."

Also does Hooper declare that the Aldermen and Council were appointed to look after a new coinage of half crowns, pence and halfpence.\*

Elizabeth Hooper, wife of the previous deponent, declares that at the beginning of March, 1641-2, her husband was coming along with the women and children through St. John's Gate, when one Carey,

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\* There are no Waterford coins of this period known to numismatists.



formerly a Protestant and free schoolmaster, of the Decies, "but turned Papist," struck her husband with a halberd saying, "Ah Traitor! you would fain goe to see the ould Traytour to Duncannon Forte (Lord Esmond), but I will stop your journey."

It must be remembered that Laurence Hooper was a soldier as well as a glover or skinner.

And thereupon he was committed prisoner. Mrs. Hooper concludes her deposition with the statement that there was a common report at Waterford and at Passage "that they had the king's commission for what they did. And that shortly they would rise upp in armes in England one against another."

Mrs. Hooper must have sniffed the Commonwealth.

Another married lady, Judith Phillips, speaks on behalf of her husband John Williams, "now a soldier in his Majesty's army." She says the citizens of Waterford appointed constables in every parish to fetch the English Protestants, and had some of them committed to the City Hall and the rest in several other places within the city "and soe kept them in the nature of prisoners for foure days and seized upon all their goodes. And afterwards they commanded that all the women and children should be led away guarded with halberts and pikes through the said citty and to be turned out of the gates towards Passage" Mrs. Phillips adds that about forty eight persons perished, but she could remember the names of only two—"the widow Joice and the widow Juan."

Mrs. Phillips goes on to say that John Louth, of the parish of Christchurch in the city, a shoemaker,

"formerly an English Protestant but since the rebellion turned Papist, himself and his wife," had declared that King Charles lost his crown by losing Ireland. She concludes her deposition by stating that fourteen men and nine women were killed by the rebels at Dungulfe, near Tintern, County Wexford, but she did not know the names of any of the rebels.

Jeanne Flavin, widow, deposed that she heard one Gerald Money, a Waterford merchant, say that the king didn't care if the people of Waterford made pies and pastry of the English in the city.

It is on evidence of this kind—all the principal evidence relating to the city of Waterford given in Dr. Fitzpatrick's book is quoted or summarized—that the legend of an unexampled series of savage atrocities was built up.

On Shrove Monday, February 20th, 1641, Captain Anthony Weldon and Captain Thomas Aston set sail from Bristol with two hundred men in the good ship the "Lambe," having for their convoy the "Fellowship" of Bristol, a man-o'-war. On the evening of Thursday the "Lambe" came to anchor outside the Fort of Duncannon, where the men were landed and where Lord Esmond, the governor, with one hundred men, received them, the enemy being within musket shot under the command of "the Lord Mongarret" and Colonel Butler. A truce for five days had been arranged before the "Lambe" arrived: this expired on Sunday. On Wednesday the troops in the Fort set out to encounter the enemy, intending to fire their quarter and bring away such necessities for lodging as they could get for their soldiers. But the enemy



received them smartly, and Captain Aston's forces were obliged to retire. Another sally was made the following day when the troops from Duncannon Fort succeeded in bringing away the enemy's "Court of Guard, made of Deal boards which served very well to make Huts for our soldiers." A third sally was made on Sunday, March 6th, when it was found that the troops of Mountgarret had disappeared. A pinnace arrived this day in the harbour, and it was decided by Lord Esmond, Captain Aston, and Captain Weldon, together with the captain of the man-o'-war, "that on Monday morning, at break of day, the Ship together with the Pinnace should go up the river about two miles distant from the Fort, and then lie between a Town called Passage and another small Town called Ballyhack, the one having a Fort with four gunners in it, the other a strong Castle, but no Artillery in it."

At Passage the man-o'-war was fired at from the Fort. The fire was replied to, and presently the Fort hung out a flag of truce. Ballyhack was then attacked, but no breach could be made in the walls of the Castle, so Captain Aston commanded twenty musqueteers to go ashore and set fire to one side of the town. This manœuvre failed, but the investing forces were not disheartened. They sent a further batch ashore to set fire to the other end of the town. This time the besiegers were successful, and Ballyhack was ablaze.

Francis Briver was Mayor of Waterford in 1641. While the ship was lying off Ballyhack a letter from him was sent to Captain Aston. This letter was dated March 7th, and runs:—

"I understand you are come with ships to the haven of Waterford. The King hath granted the port protection and jurisdiction of it to our Corporation, and I would be glad you would give us an account, why you came so far to the port and what your intent is, and why you would not acquaint me with your purpose before you came, and sought not my licence, I desire an account rather that I am informed you offer battle and offence to the King's subjects. I writ an answer to my Lord Esmond what my reason is the English went not down, and infer the effect was their fault not ours. I would desire to know by what Commission you come as well as the rest."

Captain Aston sent a defiant reply, saying he utterly denied the right of the Mayor to describe himself as one of His Majesty's faithful subjects.

Another account of this incident is given in a letter sent by Lieutenant Haward (or Hayward) to Mr. Walter Fitzwilliams in Whitehall. In the course of this letter Hayward says: "Waterford is revolted: and the River of Waterford is of that large extent that it runnes through 9 severall Counties in 3 severall Armes; and all these 9 Counties are in Rebellion."

Mrs. Briver, wife of the Mayor, addressed to Captain Evling (Evelyn) who was in charge of Duncannon Fort, some letters. In the first of them, written on March 14th, 1642, she makes bitter complaint of "a horrible affront done to the Maire in his own house by Alexander Leonard," a base Turck of a fellowe and an unchristian-like boore in my opinion." It appears that the Mayor and Corporation had ordered that broadcloth to the value of



sixty pounds should be sent to a ship to make up a freight for the benefit of the distressed English, who came from Kilkenny, Ross and other places. Alexander Leonard protested against the transaction and was ordered by the Mayor to be put in prison, but Leonard objected, and the Mayor laid hands upon him in order to take his sword from him. Leonard stoutly resisted, and in the contest which ensued he bit three fingers of the Mayor. Mrs. Briver, hearing that her husband was in danger at the Market Cross, ran out "without either hatt or mantle" and dragged his worship home. But for her prompt action, she doubted not that there would have been a mutiny in the town. She declares that if she had her way she would hang Leonard at the Market Cross.

In a subsequent letter to Captain Evling Mrs. Briver tells that the Irish—that is to say the Confederates—attempted to surprise the city three times from Christmas Day to Twelfth Day. She declares it has been very hard for the Mayor and Council to keep the town from being rifled, and the Mayor fell ill owing to the anxiety of mind and the bodily labour he had endured in his efforts to keep watch by day and night upon the sentries at the gates.

On December 2nd, 1641, his worship addressed a letter to Lord Ormonde in which he informs the Earl that six or seven hundred Leinstermen had crossed the ferry the previous day notwithstanding the care that was taken to prevent them from crossing the river. The Leinstermen landed at Faithlegg and were ranging about the country in pursuit of goods and cattle belonging to the English ; "and so daring

are they," adds the Mayor, "that this day morning they came almost within musket shott of our gates in pursuit of some cattle driven under our walls by the English for shelter, but withdrew, frustrated of their purpose, being frightened with sight of men placed on our bulwarks and ordnance which we have mounted on them; yet have they taken the cattle of the English in places within view of the cittie unto which theire insolence, though we would willingly give repulse, yet considering our owne nakednes of armes and municions wee durst not disfurnish the cittie of that little we have or leave it unguarded." Mayor Briver also informs Ormonde that the thronging of strangers into the city daily makes him fear that they will be driven to extremities for want of provisions, and he prays for a continuance of his honour's wonted favours.

With the exception of the biting of the Mayor's fingers there would appear to have been—considering that it was a time of civil war—a surprising lack of bloodthirstiness inside the walls of Waterford in the year 1642.

The defection of the Untouched City caused grave anxiety to the English garrison in Ireland. We find Sir Percy Smith in March, 1642, lamenting that Waterford was "out." In April of the same year St. Leger, writing from Cork, says :—"All that is left in this Province (Munster) is the City of Corke, the tounes of Kingsale, Youghall, and Bandon Bridge, the cities of Limericke and Waterford being fallen into defection." About the same time Sir Percy Smith, writing from Youghal to his brother-in-law, Sir Philip Percivall, in Dublin, declares that his



withers were unwrung by a spectacle he had witnessed—"above four hundred persons all stripped and robbed," who had landed in Youghal from Waterford. "This wind," he adds, "they set sail for England."

Thomas White was Mayor in 1642. He is described as a cowardly and temporising individual.

In the British Museum there is preserved a rare tract entitled "Victorious News from Waterford." This is a copy of a letter sent from Dublin on April 18th, 1642, by Andrew Williams, merchant, to Adam Atkins, of London. The text of the letter has been printed in the "Waterford Archæological Journal."\* Sir Christopher Loftus, "lately come out of the Low Countries," was in the neighbourhood of Waterford. He learned that the principal portion of the garrison had gone out of the city on a foraging or pillaging expedition, leaving only about two hundred soldiers to guard the town. Sir Christopher gave command that the drums should be unbraced and that his troops should march silently and speedily on Waterford. They reached the town without any difficulty and were not suspected until they drew nigh the court of guard, who immediately fired at them and retired to the town, giving the alarm. Loftus's cavalry—some five hundred strong—followed them closely and fired at them with such deadly effect that of fifty persons only eight reached the city. The alarm being given the town took to arms, but the enemy had possession of the court of guard and had dismounted all their ordnance. The citizens were informed that if they

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\* An Account of the Taking of Waterford in 1642. By James Buckley, M.R.I.A., 1897.

yielded up the town to the king they should have fair quarter. The town seeing no hope of fighting the foe, yielded. Thus, Sir Christopher placing some of his troops in charge of the town, went out to meet the foraging party. He encountered them just at the entrance of the town. Fierce fighting ensued, but the cavalry proved to be too much for the Waterfordmen—who numbered, it is stated, fifteen hundred—and they were almost all slaughtered. Mr. Williams says "only some three score, which were taken prisoners, eleven of which officers, though but inferior, as corporals, sergeants, and the like. Thus was the great victorie obtained by the valour of this noble and heroicke gentleman and the toun of Waterford brought into subjection to the king."

In July, 1643, an envoy from the Pope arrived in the person of Father Peter Scarampi. He brought supplies of armes and a large amount of money, but these proved to be of little avail. The Supreme Council of the Federation sent, early in 1645, to Rome and Spain for further assistance. The Secretary of the Council was introduced to His Holiness, Innocent X., by Father Luke Wadding. The Pope was considerably impressed by the struggle the Irish were making for religious independence, and he resolved to send to Ireland an ecclesiastic of high rank with the title and powers of Nuncio. The churchman selected for this office was John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo. Travelling by way of France the Nuncio reached Rochelle, where he purchased a frigate of 26 guns. the "San Pietro," and he set sail for Ireland accompanied by his Italian suite, many Franco-Irish officers, and Sir Richard Belling. He



had on board a large quantity of arms and ammunition and a considerable sum in Spanish gold, including a contribution of 36,000 dollars from Luke Wadding.

Rinuccini's destination was the river Suir, but during the voyage to the Irish coast a Parliament frigate, commanded by Captain Plunket, gave chase. Just as Plunket was ready to board the *San Pietro* a strange accident occurred—the frigate's kitchen chimney took fire. In order to quench the flames the captain was obliged to lay his ship to, and the Nuncio was enabled to make his escape. On October 21st (1645) his ship cast anchor in the bay of Kenmare.

In February, 1646, four months after his arrival in Ireland, he paid a visit to Waterford and was received with enthusiasm by the Catholic clergy and laity. The citizens presented him with an address on the steps of Christchurch, which had been restored to the Catholics. During his stay in Waterford the Nuncio was the guest of Thomas Wadding, a cousin of Luke Wadding. The Catholic Bishop was Patrick Comerford, who had been consecrated by Pope Urban VIII, and the Mayor in this year was Paul Wadding. During his stay in the city the Nuncio was so struck with the number of churches it contained that he described it as "a second Rome."

The following month, in Kilkenny, a modification of the treaty entered into with Glamorgan before the arrival of Rinuccini was arranged. This took the form of Thirty Articles, and its principal clauses secured equal rights for Irish Catholics with their Protestant fellow-countrymen and the independence of an Irish Parliament.

On June 5th, 1646, the battle of Benburb was fought. The overwhelming victory of O'Neil strengthened the hands of the Nuncio, who had been considerably irritated by the intrigues of Ormonde and by the insincerity of King Charles, with whom he had been in correspondence. He was determined to push the cause he had at heart to a conclusion. There was a peace-at-any-price party, however, who was anxious that the Thirty Articles should be published, and with Ormonde's consent copies of the treaty were despatched to the mayors and sheriffs of the various counties with instructions to proclaim the peace. Upon hearing this Rinuccini and his supporters held a council in Waterford on August 12th and there solemnly declared that they would give no consent to any form of treaty that did not grant further surer and safer considerations for their religion, king and country, according to the original oath of the Confederacy. A rupture between the laity and the clergy was unavoidable, and the prelates who signed the decree of Waterford retired from the body, whose policy and action they condemned.

The Ulster King-at-Arms sent to Waterford to proclaim the peace was not received with cordiality. It is recorded that he was unable to discover the residence of the Mayor until a little boy, for a fee of sixpence, showed him the residence of his worship. Paul Wadding was the Mayor, and he declined to have any peace proclamation shouted from the housetops of the city. He asked why the proclamation had not been made in Kilkenny, and the mollifying reply was that Waterford was the most important place.



Valentine Savage, writing from Dublin to Edmund Smith in London, on April 2nd, 1646, says:—"On Saturday last (March 28) the articles of the peace were signed (as we hear) with the proviso that they are to be confirmed in case they send ten thousand men into England before some time in May next, to which end Col. Flower, Capt. Thomas Harman, Dr. Roberts, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Tallis, and Mr. Brian Jones went towards Waterford the same day to see them mustered and shipped."

Lord Inchiquin was distinguishing himself at this time by carrying on in the South of Ireland a campaign remarkable for its craftiness and cruelty. In May, 1647, we find his lordship writing from Cork to Sir Philip Percevall in Dublin to say that "if anyone procured a license from Parliament to carry Irish into France he thought it might facilitate work here very much. "I know not," he added, "whether in other respects it might not prove dangerous to strengthen France with this sort of cattle. The gaining of the men to go, I am sure, is very feasible, for the French agent has the officers and soldiers of the rebels' army flocking to him at Waterford, where they hide themselves, some of them, because the Irish do forbid the going of above one thousand, which they have granted leave for, but their grant was to the agent to raise men, not to take any of their army."

On June 9th, 1647, Arthur Annesley informs Sir Philip Percevall that "the Lord Inchiquin loses no time in Munster. He gave the beginning of this month such a smart knock to the trained bands of Waterford that an act of Common Council followed against the citizens being valiant without their walls,

and to make them the completer soldiers his lordship took from those quarters three thousand cows and two thousand sheep. He hath since taken Kilmacthomas Castle."

The party which stood for England was extremely anxious to get Waterford in its grasp. In a letter from Colonel Thomas Pigott, written on September 17, 1647, to the Lady Phillips we learn that while Lord Inchiquin "lay before Waterford he heard that the enemy was drawing towards Cork," but he was so anxious to get Waterford into his grasp that he professed to consider the possibility of an attack on Cork as an affair of little consequence. He wrote to the governor warning him to be on his guard, saying he thought the rebels would do nothing more than burn some corn and plunder a few cattle, which losses "he had rather suffer than abandon the design he was about." Colonel Pigott's letter contains this pious ejaculation: "I pray God bless him to take Waterford and 'twill make amends for these petty losses."

On May 20th, 1648, a treaty was made in Dungarvan between Inchiquin and members of the Supreme Council of the Confederates. On the 27th of the month Rinuccini promulgated a sentence of excommunication against all cities, towns and villages which recognised this treaty. This was the Nuncio's last move in the struggle. Ormonde arrived in Ireland soon afterwards, and proceeding to Kilkenny he was received in State by the Confederates, and on January 17th, 1649, a treaty of peace was signed the terms of which conceded to the Catholics full religious liberty and civil equality.



Rinuccini realised that his mission had failed: he had no confidence in treaties made with Ormonde or Inchiquin. He was arrested in Kilkenny and his papers were seized. He escaped to Galway, ordering his ship the "San Pietro" to be sent round from Waterford harbour. An attempt was made to seize the Nuncio's ship, but under the protection of the guns at Duncannon Fort she succeeded in getting clear of the harbour. On February 23rd, 1649, the Nuncio sailed out of Galway, grim despair possessing him as he reflected on the failure of the cause he had a few years previously espoused with ardour and confidence.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT.

No sooner was the treaty of peace at Kilkenny promulgated than the news reached Ireland of the beheading, on January 30th, of the King.

The failure of Rinuccini's mission and the execution of Charles Stuart involved Ireland and Waterford City in fresh trouble. The English Parliament promptly came to the conclusion that the best policy to adopt towards Ireland was to stamp out ruthlessly royalism, Catholicism and Irishism. On August 15th, 1649, Oliver Cromwell landed in Dublin with 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse soldiers. After the capture of Drogheda, Trim, Navan and smaller towns General Ireton was sent by the Protector to attack Duncannon Fort, while the main body marched on Ross. When Ross surrendered Cromwell fell ill, and he sent Colonel Reynolds and Major Ponsonby to Carrick, which was taken after a stubborn resistance. Recovering from his illness the Protector joined his forces at Carrick and marched towards Waterford along the southern bank of the river; and on November 24th he appeared before the Untouched City. His intention was to take up his position on the heights of Bilberry, but he was deterred by the fort situated on Thomas's Hill, the most elevated position inside the walls of Waterford. The troops encamped on the



south side of the city. It was expected that an instant surrender would be made, but the citizens were encouraged by Lord Ormonde to offer a vigorous resistance. It is said that the Mayor (John Livet) and the wealthy citizens were desirous of accepting terms from Cromwell, but they were overborne.\* Ormonde advanced from Kilkenny to Carrick and subsequently took up a position on the hill at the north side of the river Suir. The Waterford citizens did not wholly trust Ormonde, and at first they declined to admit his troops inside their walls, but subsequently they accepted the aid of General Farrell, who entered the city with 1,500 Ulstermen and was made military governor of Waterford.

Cromwell pursued the siege with vigour. He sent a body of soldiers, horse and foot, to Passage East and took possession of the fort there, cutting off communication by the river with Waterford. The citizens realising the seriousness of losing command of the river, determined to make an effort to dislodge the enemy at Passage. General Farrell marched there, expecting to be assisted by the royalists, who held the fort at Duncannon—which is situated at the opposite side of the river from Passage, a few miles farther down—but Farrell's attempt proved a failure, and only for the timely assistance of Ormonde, who

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\* Clarendon declares that, instead of regarding Ormonde as a friend, "it was proposed in the Council of the Town to seize on his Person and to fall on all belonging to him as an enemy: which advice met with no other Reprehension than that for the present the major Part did not consent to it. Of all of which, when the Marquis was fully informed, he thought it time to depart from thence and leave them to their own Imaginations, and so marched away with his Army."

had crossed the river higher up with fifty horse, his forces would have been annihilated.

For eight days Cromwell battered at the walls of Waterford, but failed to make a breach in them. On December 2nd he decided to raise the siege and go into winter quarters in Co. Cork. His forces were considerably reduced and were beginning to show symptoms of disaffection. It is said that a thousand of the investing forces died of sickness outside the walls of the city. The Protector set out in the direction of Dungarvan, and he declares that it was as terrible a day as he had ever endured in all his career.

But though Waterford did not fall before the Puritans in 1649, the citizens had only staved off the evil day. Early in June, 1650, the Protector's troops encamped themselves in front of the city. Cromwell had been summoned to England on urgent business, and he left Ireland at the end of May, 1649, deputing the command to Ireton.

General Preston was now the military governor of Waterford. He was an able soldier with considerable experience of warfare on the Continent, but the city was not strong enough to resist a determined attack upon it. The garrison held out bravely for a long period, but they were reduced to such straits, owing to lack of provisions and ammunition, that they offered to agree to capitulation, and after protracted negotiations it was arranged on August 10th, 1650, that the city should be delivered up to Ireton. The terms of the treaty were favourable to the citizens: their persons and their property were not to be molested.



In his "History of Waterford" Smith says it appears from Lord Orrery's memoirs that the city was in the hands of the English before the capitulation above mentioned, which was only for the citadel (where the Barracks now stand), and that the town was taken in the following manner: Soon after Ireton summoned it to surrender—that is on July 25th—the Irish made a sally, but were repulsed with loss. Presently the English sent one Lieutenant Croker and his brother Sergeant Croker, with about thirty musketeers with instructions to set fire to the suburbs and to make their approach to the town walls under cover of the smoke which the conflagration would create. The lieutenant and his party set fire to all the houses and stacks of corn near the city. A westerly wind carried the smoke into the town, and the terrified inhabitants thought the Cromwellians had made a breach in the walls and set fire to one end of the city. Many of the besieged fled precipitately out by the eastern gate.

While the English were setting fire to the suburbs one of the Crokers spied some ladders near the wall and, calling his brother, said to him what a daring deed it would be to scale the wall and by the help of the smoke to get possession of the city. The brother agreed and, the pair calling their thirty men together, the ladders were mounted. There was only one man guarding the portion of the wall which the besiegers scaled and he was immediately killed. The Crokers then marched to the main guard, putting to death everyone they encountered in the streets. The noise of their musketry and the smoke made the Waterford people think the whole English army was in the town

and most of them fled, leaving their arms and ammunition behind them.

Lieutenant Croker and a few of his men were killed in the exploit, but Sergeant Croker succeeded in reaching the main guard, where he and his companions seized the great guns. They then marched to the west gate (St. Patrick's gate) in order to open it and allow the besiegers to come into the city.

In the meantime the English outside the walls were wondering what had become of the Crokers and their men, and they feared that they had perished in the attempt to set fire to the suburbs. Lieutenant Broghill was presently informed that a small army was marching out through the west gate. He rode forward and recognized Sergeant Croker and his musketeers. Approaching the sergeant he learned what had happened. Immediately the Cromwellians were ordered to pour themselves into the city, and as they entered they saw the Irish troops marching away on the other side of the water. The citadel held out until the terms of capitulation were agreed upon. Preston came outside the walls to a place on the south-east side called New Cross and had a parley with Ireton, when terms were agreed on. Accordingly, on August 10th, 700 fighting men and a large number of the citizens marched out.

Although the property and liberties of the citizens had been guaranteed, the base Cromwellians destroyed everything they thought it worth while to lay hands on. "Their violence was directed chiefly against the churches, works of art, and remains of antiquities, and not even the tombs of the dead were spared," says Ryland. Archibald Adair, Bishop of



Waterford, was turned out of his palace and Ireton took possession of it. The soldiery quartered themselves in the aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, where dinner was prepared and served, whilst Captain Bolton (wearing jack-boots) mounted to the pulpit and harrangued the troops.\*

Ryland, in his interesting description of Christ Church, says :—" The conduct of Cromwell, and of those under his authority, was particularly reprobated ; they pursued the Church with the most unrelenting hatred, and plundered or spoiled whatever came within their reach. In a parchment roll of depositions, taken before the Commission in Dublin, a variety of articles are enumerated said to have been taken from the Cathedral in the year 1650 when the city was surrendered to General Ireton. Amongst the property which appears to have been most regretted are the brazen ornaments of the tombs, grave stones, and altars ; the great standing pelican to support the Bible, the brazen eagle, two great standing candlesticks above man's height, and the great font of brass, to be ascended unto by three degrees or stairs of massy brass, together with sundry gold and

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\* In the " *Archæological Journal*" (1904-5) there is the following extract from a letter in possession of Mr. C. P. Bolton :—

" Waterford, December 14th, 1804.

" My great great grandfather, the father of Sir John Mason, charged his son to transmit to posterity the following tradition :—Mr. Mason, when a boy in Cromwell's time, saw the Bishop of Waterford turned out of his place and Ireton lodged in his place. Dinner dressed for the soldiers in the aisle of the old Cathedral. My ancestor got a roast chicken from one of the cooks, whilst Captain Bolton, a fanatic, and ancestor of the present family, was preaching in the pulpit, attired in jack-boots.

" FRANCES ALCOCK."

silver-gilt vessels, the forms of which are minutely described. The members of the Cathedral were loud and persevering in their complaints, as well as in seeking redress and the restoration of their rights; and there are numberless documents which show that their claims met with the most prompt and serious attention from the government of the restored monarch. . . . Some portion of the property of the Cathedral was thus recovered, but in consequence of the loss of title deeds and other instruments, much inconvenience and confusion still prevailed."

One of the sequelæ of the Cromwellian campaign was an outbreak of the plague. We find John Hodder writing thus to Lady Perceval on August 16th, 1650:—"Waterford is in our hands, but the sickness hath been there a long time. As long as it reigns amongst us there is little hope of getting much out of the lands, but it is better to keep the tenants on them if possible to plough them and give a chance of making some profit hereafter." It was not out of mercy the tenants were not exterminated, but only because for the moment they served a purpose.

Where there was a deficiency of agricultural labour the conquerors were equal to the occasion. Amongst the military weapons and munition issued from the store at Waterford in 1650, in addition to swords, pikes, powder, shot, bandoliers and matches were "eighteen dozen of scythes with handles and rings, forty reape hooks, and whetstones and rubstones proportional." The latter articles were employed to cut down the growing crops. If the Irish were not permitted to work for their English masters neither should there be any chance left to them



of obtaining any benefit from the crops they had sown.

The government did not temporise with the townsfolk: there were no lands to plough in Waterford city, no crops to cut; the simple and direct plan was to clear the towns of the people who inhabited them. So the order was given in March, 1651, that the burghers of Waterford should within three months be clear of the borough bounds. They would be permitted to provide for themselves either by hiring or building places of habitation in some place adjoining the city, to be allotted to them for that purpose, or they could go wherever they pleased by land or sea. Members of some of the families who had resided for generations in Waterford, such as the Aylwards, the Lincolns, the Brivers, families that had displayed so much fervour in their heyday in upholding the cause of English royalty, settled in the neighbourhood of the city. They built cabins wherein to shelter themselves, and rapidly passed from penury to pauperism. Others, more adventurous, took advantage of the permission to travel whither they liked, and in France, Spain, Portugal and the Low Countries they sought a haven. Some ventured, or were driven, even farther afield, and voyaged to the West Indies or to Mexico. The dispersal of the Jews in the time of Tiberius was not more thorough than the scattering of the people of Waterford in the middle of the 17th century.

Prendergast, in his "Cromwellian Settlement," says:—"For such a scene of desolation as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at this period recourse must be had to the records of antiquity. Five-sixths of the people had perished. Women and children

were found daily perishing in ditches, starved. The bodies of many wandering orphans whose fathers had embarked for Spain and whose mothers had died of famine were preyed upon by wolves."

The Cromwellians abolished the Mayors and Sheriffs and put in their places Commissioners who were entrusted with the charge of municipal affairs. It was ordered on March 1st (1651) that £100 be issued out of the customs and excise (over and above £100 formerly ordered out of the same receipts) for the repairing of the quays. It was further ordered that £100 should be paid to the governor, Colonel Richard Lawrence, in consideration of his services, and that the weekly sum of £3 should be paid to him by the Treasurer of the Public Revenue until further notice. Mr. John Mills, Impost Master, was appointed to receive rents of houses and lands belonging to the Commonwealth within the town and precincts of Waterford, and his emolument was fixed at £100 yearly, to be paid quarterly. In January, 1652, Capt. Hally, one of the Commissioners of Public Revenue at Waterford, having represented that the platforms in the fortifications were in very bad repair, it was ordered that he should be supplied with whatever money was necessary for the repairing of the same. Courts of Justice were held in Waterford for trying of the Irish who had been implicated in the "massacres" of 1641, but it is recorded, naively, that "so many of the murderers had been destroyed by sword and pestilence," that a mere handful—only about 200—suffered death at the hands of the executioner.

The character of Ireton and his Irish policy may be judged from the following proclamation issued by



him at Waterford on May 1st, 1651:—"Whereas, divers officers and soldiers of the army doe daily intermarry with the women and children of this nation who are Papists or who onely for some corrupt or carnall ends (as it is to be feared) pretend to bee otherwise, and who while remaining in or not being really brought off from those false ways in which they have or doe walk are declared by the Lord to be a people of his wrath. And though a reall change in the blinde deluded people of this nation were to be wished and ought to be endeavoured by all good people (it being joy and delight of any that God hath brought home to himselfe to see the like worke upon other hearts also, which frame of spirit I trust all Christians in this army have towards the people); yet that none be left to their own misguided judgments in things which usually blinded affection makes them take any pretence for the reall work of God in the heart, I think fitt to let all know that if any officer or soldier of this army shall marry with any women of the nation that are Papists, or have lately been such, and whose change of religion is not or cannot be judged (by fitt persons such as shall be appointed for that end) to flow from a reall work of God in their hearts, convincing them of the falsehood of their owne ways and goodness and truth of that way they turn to, or that from any circumstance accompanying that action it shall be judged to be but from carnall ends that they have made this change, I say that any officer who marries any such shall hereby be held incapable of command or trust in this army, and for any soldier, etc. (as above), unlesse God doe by a change wrought upon them

with whom they have married take off this reproach."

John Percevall wrote from Kilkenny to his cousin, Thomas Pigott, on September 25th, 1652:—"Indeed poor Ireland has lost much blood, and I cannot wonder it shall be pale-faced now. . . . There hath been shipped to Spain 7,000, and Grace is now at Waterford with 900 more." The Irish were regarded by the English or Anglo-Irish, merely as one might regard cattle.

In 1652 an Act of Parliament was printed at Waterford. It was entitled "An Act for the Settling of Ireland, Thursday, 12th August, 1652; ordered by the Parliament to be printed and published."

The town was now in ruins. Such of the houses as had not fallen down were being pulled down by indigent people, in order to use the timber for firewood. The once proud and prosperous city and port was regarded by the English only as a convenient place for harbouring soldiery. The Governor, Col. Lawrence, endeavoured to raise in England a regiment of 1,200 foot to garrison the town, but the project failed.

In the early part of the war, in hopes to induce traders, English and foreign (provided they were Protestants), to whom houses in seaport towns were more useful than lands, to advance funds, the Parliament of England offered the principal seaport towns in Ireland for sale. In virtue of an Ordinance dated July 14th, 1643, granted by the Committee of Adventurers, Waterford, with 1,500 acres contiguous, was offered, in 1652, for £30,000 and a rent of £625. But this offer found no bidders. English people evidently



regarded the town as Irish "and merchants of all others are least inclined to buy the bear's skin before the bear be dead." The cities and towns that fell into the hands of the Parliament, could, shortly after the settlement, boast of a population almost entirely of English descent. Waterford was declared to have "no natural Irish in it, nor would admit any during these troubles."

And in 1654, as if to ensure the completion of the work of wreckage, it was ordered that no Papist be permitted to trade in the city of Waterford within or without doors. Nor was it the extermination only of the Papist which was determined upon. On January 30th, 1656, it was ordered that "the Governor, Col. Leigh, and the Justice of the Peace at Waterford, do apprehend forthwith all persons who resort there under the name of Quakers; that they be shipped from Waterford or Passage to Bristol and be committed to the care of that city or other chief magistrate of the place or other convenient places to which they are sent, in order to their being sent to their respective places of abode; and that they be required to live soberly and peaceably and make honest and due provision for themselves and their respective callings."

So strong was the desire to banish the Catholics that even Irish caretakers of property belonging to Englishmen were not tolerated. In 1656 Richard Christmas, of Bristol, merchant, petitioned the Crown desiring that one Edward Browne, an Irish Papist, who had charge of his affairs in Waterford, might be permitted to remain in the city. It was ordered that permission be given to Browne to remain in Water-







ford for six months and no longer, and that he was to give good security meantime to the Governor.

The Puritan Government was not unheedful of the spiritual necessities of its own flock. Edward Worth, D.D., who had been Dean of Cork, was appointed Independent Minister at Waterford in 1655. His salary was fixed at £200 a year. In the parochial registry of the Cathedral in Waterford there are entries of a considerable number of baptisms by him. Dr. Worth returned to Cork in 1658 and resumed his former position of Dean of the Established Church in that city. Daniel Burston, D.D.,\* was Independent Minister at Waterford in 1657. His salary was fixed by the Cromwellians at £120 a year.

Presently new settlers began to arrive—disbanded Cromwellian soldiers, scallywags, fortune-seekers, cautious traders from the south-west of England, and some "merchant adventurers" more or less respectable. The new arrivals after a short time appear to have set to work with energy to repair the ravages created by the war. Breaches in the quays were repaired, warehouses were built, the Guildhall was restored. To so high a pitch did the civic fervour of the freshly-imported merchants rise that it was proposed in 1656 to start a Joint Stock Company for the purpose of enlarging and enriching the city; but nothing seems to have come of this commendable project.

When the Corporation was re-established (in 1656)

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\* Dr. Burston was one of the first to conform to the Established Church on the restoration of Charles II. He was finally appointed Dean of Waterford. In 1662 a work from his pen was published in Dublin: it was entitled "The Evangelist Yet Evangelising, Submitted to the Judgment of the Churches of England and Ireland." According to an inscription on a copper plate fixed on the outside of the south wall of the old Cathedral Dr. Burston died on December 8th, 1678.



amongst the Comwellians who became members of the body were John Heavens and Thomas Noble.\* They were made freemen of the city and they settled in two of the best houses in the North Ward. Heavens occupied the house of Richard Strange and Noble lived in the house of John Lee, then a wanderer in the Low Countries.

The hunting of priests became a lucrative pastime. Twenty pounds reward was offered for the discovery of a Papist in holy orders; to harbour a priest was punishable by death. On 13th April, 1657, ten pounds apiece was paid to Sergeant Humphrey Gibbs and Corporal Thomas Hill "for apprehending two Popish priests, Maurice Prendergast and Edmund Fahy, who were secured in the gaol at Waterford."

Cromwell died in September, 1658. His two sons, Richard and Henry, survived him. Richard was appointed his successor in the Protectorate. Henry had accompanied his father to Ireland, had assisted in the despoiling of the country, and had been made Lord Deputy. Each of the brothers retired into private life after a brief and inglorious period of office.

On the 23rd March, 1658, Richard addressed a letter, under the seal of the Lord Protector, to "our well-beloved Sr. Hicrom Sankey, Knt., Custos Rotolorum of the County of Waterford, the Maior of Waterford for the time being, John Cooke, William Leigh, William Halsey, Henry Alland, Thomas Watts, Thomas Hanley, and George Cawdron, Esquires," declaring that as it was found that much mischief

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\* Both were nominated Aldermen, and Heavens became Mayor in 1668 and 1669. These gentlemen were permitted to coin money or tokens, and specimens of their pennies, dated 1656, are extant.

and inconvenience arose from the excessive number of alehouses, unfitted for the most part to entertain travellers decently, the Government had decided to reduce the number. It was ordered that in future no one should be entitled to keep a "Tipling House" unless he held a license. The gentlemen to whom the document was addressed were appointed Commissioners for the granting of such licenses. Every keeper of an alehouse was bound to enter into a Recognizance with a good surety of £10 and should bind himself to observe the Assize of bread and ale and beer and to sell these commodities and all other victuals and provisions for travellers and strangers at reasonable rates. Further, no drunkenness was to be allowed on the premises, nor any form of gaming, nor was any suspected person to be harboured. The form of the license set forth that "A. B. is Lycensed to keep an Alehouse or Tipling House and to sell beere and Ale by retaile within the Parish of C., at the place where hee now dwelleth for one whole yeare next ensuing the date hereof for which he hath payd five shillings and sixpence sterling current money of England unto T. E., the Collector to His Highnes' use and hath entered into Recognizance, according to the Statute."

Richard Cromwell's document was confirmed by "our Dearley Brother Henry, Lord Cromwell, our Lieutenant Generall and Governor Generall of our said Realme of Ireland at Dublin."

The Cromwellian campaign in Ireland had destroyed every vestige of prosperity and had otherwise inflicted unspeakable miseries on the inhabitants of the country. The people had been either



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slaughtered, pauperized, or had suffered banishment. Every manufacture had been annihilated; and the island which had abounded in cattle and provisions was after the "settlement" obliged to import provisions from Wales. A census taken in the year 1658 furnishes striking evidence of the pitiable condition to which the Cromwellian wars had reduced Ireland. Inside the walls of ancient Waterford there were only 950 people. Of these no less than 538 were foreign adventurers—mostly English—the rest being natives who because they were labourers and menials—and therefore could not be dispensed with—had been permitted to remain in the conquered, plundered, and degraded city.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE RESTORATION.

THE restoration of Charles II. was accomplished in 1660; and presently his Government was busy beheading traitors, issuing pardons, restoring to favoured individuals or communities their property or rights, confiscating the property of the enemy, rewarding loyal Britons, and endeavouring generally to straighten out the affairs of a distracted nation. Ireland presented to the new Government problems of even greater difficulty than those which had to be solved in England. Especially did the settlement of landed property cause the gravest trouble.

A Court of Claims was established in connection with Irish estates, and claims from all sorts and conditions of landholders were put before it. While these were being examined a report of an intended rebellion of Irish Catholics was circulated. It was a false report, but it gave an excuse for laying violent hands on priests, for banishing Catholic traders and mechanics, and for instituting galling searches in the houses of Catholic gentry for arms or for some tangible evidences of treasonable plots against the State. When the panic created by this report had subsided the Protestant and Puritan settlers showed their teeth. Those who felt that their claims to property were in danger of being set aside declared that what they had won with the sword they would



defend with the sword. Associations were formed ; plots against the Crown were hatched ; and many people suffered death on the scaffold. Eventually a considerable number of Irish Protestant families and a sprinkling of Catholic gentry were restored to their mansions or lands or confirmed in the possession of them. But nothing was done for the Irish gentlemen who had in the field and elsewhere on the Continent identified themselves with the fortunes of the exiled Stuart.\* Dr. Lingard, speaking of the "settlement" under Charles II., says :—"A measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilized nations. The injustice could not be denied ; and the only apology offered in its behalf was the sharp necessity of quieting the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers."

A good many Puritans had established themselves in Waterford after the Cromwellian *debacle*, and intercourse with the Calvinistic reformers of Holland, France and Geneva kept alive the unity which existed in their religious feelings and opinions. Notwithstanding this strong leaven of Cromwellianism, the city by the Suir seemed to have enjoyed considerable favour at the hands of the Merry Monarch in the early days of his reign. On March 3rd, 1661, the King wrote to the Lord Justices in favour of the loyal merchants of Waterford, expressing a desire that they should be restored to their estates and be permitted

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\* The profitable lands forfeited in Ireland under the Commonwealth amounted to 7,708,237 statute acres, leaving undisturbed to the Protestants about 8,500,000 acres. Upwards of 3,000,000 acres were granted by the year 1675 to Adventurers and Soldiers. More than 3,000 Catholic claimants were condemned to forfeit their estates without even a shadow of an enquiry.

to trade freely. Nor was a general recommendation of this kind sufficient, Under date March 9th it was ordered by his Majesty that Matthew Everard, merchant, be permitted to return to Waterford for the purpose of trading in that ancient seaport ; and on March 18th it was decreed that Patrick White, " a loyal Protestant," should be restored to his estate. Royal pardons were granted in April, 1661, to William Halsey (who was elected Mayor for the year 1661-2), to Sir Thomas Dancer (who was Mayor for the previous year) and to Captain William Bolton, of Faithlegg ; and in 1662 the property of John Fitz-Andrew Galway in the liberties of Waterford was restored to him.

The family of Power, so long and so intimately connected with the fortunes of Waterford, came into prominence again, Richard Power being made Governor of the County of the City on March 25th, 1661. In the following year John Wright was appointed Collector of Poll Money for the County.

That there was no lack of civic fervour at the time is sufficiently evident. In 1661, an Inquisition was taken at Waterford before William Halsey, Sheriff of the County and Mayor of the City, Richard Power, Member of Parliament for the County, and James Briver, concerning the Leper Hospital.\* The

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\* This document was transcribed some years ago at the request of the Lord Bishop of Waterford by the Rev. Father Cooney, O.S.F., from a manuscript preserved in the Franciscan Convent, Clonmel. It was published in the 1st Vol. of "The Waterford and South East of Ireland Archæological Journal."

The old Lazar or Leper House was situated in Stephen Street, close to St. Stephen's Church, and partly on the site occupied by Messrs. Keily's brewery. A chamfered lintel bearing the date 1632 forms an arch over one of the windows of the brewery : this belonged to the old Leper House.



following is a copy of this very interesting document :—

“ We find that the Lazar House in the suburbs of Waterford, in St. Stephen's Parish, was erected and founded by King John, and hath given the said house immunities and a charter to a Master, Brethern, and Sisters of the said House for the maintenance of the Leapers for ever, and of which immunities they had a liberty that if any assault, battery, or bloodshed was committed within the precincts of the said Lazar House, the Baron or Master of said House were sole judges of any such fact. We doe find also that it is further part of the immunities of said House, that if any man or woman in the City or County of Waterford be infected with the Leprosie, and not taking their licence and freedom of members of the house to live abroad, and soe dying, their estate is forfeited to the said Leaper House. And we also find that there appertains to the House aforesaid as part of the perquisites thereunto belonging, the oblation of St. Mary Maudlin's Chapel and the oblation of St. Stephen's Church, together with all the christnings, marriages, and burials within the said Parish of St. Stephen's Church, the house allowing to the vicar of the said Parish a competent annuity in consideration thereof, and the Mayor of Waterford did appoint a trusty man to oversee and receive the revenues and part out leases, by name of Senescall in these latter adges, by what authority we know not.

“ We find that Leaperstoun, in the Barony of Galtier and Parish of Kilmacom, esteemed were plough lands, with the tythes thereof, great and small, to belong to the said House, valued in the year 1641 at £106 sterg. a year, and so yielded for two or three years, recd. then by Francis Bryver, being Senescal of the said House, to the use of said Master, Brethern, and Sisters of the said House. And since sometimes wast by reason of the wars, and sometimes sett at £50 a year, and sometimes more or less, which was received by the said Bryver during his life, and after him succeeded Baltazar Woodlock, he died in the year of the plague 1650, as Senescall,

at which time the city was surrendered to the usurped power, who settled and received the revenues of the estate of the said House, since which to Colonell Laurence for 3 years at £30 per annum, after to Mr. Andrew Lynn for 3 years at £70 per annum, having the tythes of Kilmoyhabe and a garden in Colpeck belonging to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, to help him in his rent, and after Mr. Thomas Watts, from Mr. Lynn's times until May last, at £80 per an., and after Mr. Andrew Lynn who enjoys it to this day, by commission from Dublin upon what account we know not. We find that in the year 1641 there was £10 per annum out of the several houses and gardens in St. Stephen's Parish coming yearly to the said Leaper House, and since these times several of the said houses were ruined, we find that they had tythes of the said Parish of St. Stephen's besides. We find that the old House of the Leapers is ruined, and the timber and materials thereof were taken away by Ensign Smart. Robert Woods and others, and the same with the new House, a thatch house and a garden were sett by the then Commissioners of Revenue to Col. William Leigh at forty shillings a year, who sett them all to Mr. Hall at £4 st. per ann. We also find that Roger Coats, Walter Cantwell, and Edmond Leary, masons, took away the tomb stones and paving stones that covered the graves of dead bodies in St. Stephen's Church, and brought to Lott Leigh's house to floor his kitchen therewith, and also brought some of the said stones to John Morris' house and also some of the stone to Leftenant-Coll. Leighs Wheeler's house, where now liveth Coll. Mullor, and also that William Cooper took away the stones of the said church yard. We find and present that Mr. John Williams had a parcell of hay in St. Stephen's Church, and the rooffe of the said church fell upon the said hay, and he converted the timber thereof in creating a barne near it to his own use. We find and present that the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the tythes of Kilbeartane and Ballymoris, in the Parish of . . . . . and Barony of Middle third, in the said County of Waterford did belong to the said House. We find and present that the whole tythes of Brittas,



in the Parish of Drumcannon, doth belong to the said House. We find and present that the parcell of land of Ballycadelan, leading from the Bridge of St. John upon the right hand leading to the meare of Ballytruckle containing . . . acres in parcell of the said Lazar House, with all the houses upon the Hill, and the two parcells called Parckcarraghmore and Parckcarraghbeg, and with all the tythes, great and small belonging to the said Leaper House. Also that a Chapel called St. Mary Maudlin's Chapel in possession of John Hevens, who yielded a considerable profit to the sd. Leaper House by the oblation thereof, and turned and converted by John Hevens to a house, which lands and houses were sett for long leases at small rents by the said Lazar House in ancient times, and after when the leases came to be upurped authority they disposed of all these estates as we find to Coll. Laurence, Capt. Warde, Thomas Watts, who held from the Commissioners of Revenue, at what rents we know not, but how they converted the same we know not, but only this. Thereafter, at present we find Butler's mill, with the small meadow thereto adjoining in the possession of Samuel Browne, at the rent of 30s. per annum. We find a house and garden next to the said mill in the possession of Nicholas McEdmond Cottner, tenant of Capt. Thomas Bolton, at the yearly rent of 50/-. We find a tan house, garden and yard of tann pitts, late in the possession of John Davis at the rent of 20/- per ann. A house of Richard Farrell at the rent of 30/-. We find that John Hevens holds several tan pitts, and several houses and  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of land at 20/- per ann. William Hevens, house and garden at £3. Thomas Sherlock, house and garden at £3. Several other cabins, valued at 30/- per ann., upon the hill. A close called Parckcurraghmore, set to Widow Reidy, at £3 per ann. Nicholas Lea pays Parckcurraghbegg and for the house thereon 40/- per ann.; Walter . . . for one cabin, 4/- per ann.; Llacherne Cuffe, for one cabin, 9/- per ann.; John Deimis, for one cabin, 4/- per an.; Nicholas Power, for one cabin, 20/- per an.; Edmond Walsh FitzRichard, one cabin for 4/- per an.; Nicholas Murphy, for one cabin, 4/6; Richard

Phelan, for one cabin, 4/- per an. ; John McMorris, for one cabin, 4/- ; Bartolomy White, for one cabin, 20/- per an. ; James Purcell, for one cabin, 10/- ; five pieces of land going down to the new mill, valued . . . per an., £3. All the grounds between that and Ballytruckle is set by Capt. Thomas Boulter, at eleven pounds per an. Lazart Park, held by Mr. Watts, and Little March, beyond it, southward of, we esteem to be worth £4 per an. Two small pieces of ground adjoining the new mill, with the small island adjoining, we esteem to be worth per an. 20/-. We find that the Widow Ruddy pays for her cabin 6/- per an.

" We also . . . there are two Leapers in the Barony of Gallyen, one in Ballynelly, named Juan McNicholas, and one Denby O'Flyne, of Ballyne Kill, who would not obey.

" We find and present that Juan Murphy, servt. unto the Widow Bennett, was enfectet with Leprosie, and in the time of the usurped power was presented to the then Commissioner of Revenue, who denyed to give her any releefe, wherefore she miscarried, and dyed in a miserable condition. We have summoned Nicholas Walshe and Paul Aylwarde, who denyed to appear before us, as concerning they had most testimony . . . concerning our charge.

" We find and present we have seen . . . past by the Master Brethern, and Sisters of the Lazar House unto John Butler and Nicholas Madden, in fee farm, bearing . . . 1477, of the mill commonly called Butler's Mill, with the . . . small meadow and all the land from the Bridge to Mary Maudlin's Chapel, at 5/- per an., excepting a bean garden which was reserved for the use of the said Leapers' House."

In his "History of Waterford" Smith says that "the Leper-house or Hospital of St. Stephen, situated in Stephen Street, was first endowed by the family of the Power's with the lands called Leper's-town, in the Parish of Killea, about five miles from this town . . . it is also endowed with other lands and tene-



ments in and about the city." Smith mentions that in his will dated 1663 William Dobbyn left ten barrels of wheat yearly for ever to the Leper House or the Hospital which adjoined it. Mr. Dobbyn ordained that his body should be buried with his ancestors in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity in Waterford, and that his executors should cause two Masses to be said monthly for the repose of his soul during their lives and the life of the longest liver of them.

Towards the close of 1661 the Irish merchants of the city, in the course of a petition to his Grace of Ormonde, made complaint that William Bolton—who was Mayor in the year 1662-3—seemed to take no notice of them as freemen of the city and forced them to pay duties for goods as if they were strangers. The Viceroy requested William Bolton to furnish an immediate answer to this complaint, and his worship replied on January 3rd, 1662, as follows:—

"That the petition was not shewn him nor his Grace's order till the 26th December last. That the persons complaining set not their names to the petition. That they have not a just right to freedom, being not Protestants, refusing the oath of supremacy, etc. That since His Majesty's restoration they have not been looked upon as freemen as appears by several acts, orders, etc., to the contrary. The Mayor does not force them to pay out of any disrespect, etc., but according to his oath and duty seeks to advance the King's cause by reviving the worthy customs of some of their ancestors, etc. As they are not subjects on oath they cannot be freemen; and they without such oath may and do harbour not only goods of strangers

in His Majesty's dominions but of the subjects of other Princes; and if this course was revived Wool and other staple commodities had been yet in great quantities in His Majesty's dominions to the general advance of trade and relief of the poor. If they are freemen, it is upon their old pretence or upon His Majesty's declaration; but upon the old pretence they (it is presumed) will not adventure, and if they plead the acts, orders, and proclamations since His Majesty's restoration it cannot be of any effect to them until they are Protestants and declaim foreign jurisdiction, etc."

On January 7th, 1662, a congratulatory address was presented to the Duke of Ormonde from the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Council of Waterford on the occasion of his appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. This address was signed by William Halsey, Mayor (who was also Chief Justice of the Province of Munster), George Waters and Richard Wilkinson, Sheriffs, and others, including Messrs. Turbridge, Basset, Johnson, Nowell, Exton, Brinsmead, Claybrooke, Lapp, Seager—all Cromwellians. It set forth that "we look forward to your Grace's protection of the Church and of the good old Protestant interest in this kingdom."

In this year a Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament, then sitting in Dublin, entitled "An Act for encouraging Protestant strangers and others to inhabit Ireland." It received the royal assent on September 19th, William Halsey and John Eyre, the Members for Waterford, assisting in its becoming law. No doubt his Majesty's advisers had by this time felt that the King was firmly established on the



throne and that having solved the difficulty about the parcelling out of land there was no further occasion to shower upon Ireland or upon Irish Catholics any favours which might in any way interfere with the welfare of England, or with the cause of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. In 1663 an Act was passed prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of cattle, sheep, and swine (dead or alive), beef, pork and bacon. It was also forbidden to export butter and cheese to England. Horses were added to the list later. Wool and woollen materials could be exported only by special license from the Lord Lieutenant. These restrictions dealt a severe blow to many traders in Waterford who were just beginning to get their heads above water.

Amongst the communications from the Court in the year 1663 was a letter authorising Patrick Archer of Waterford to receive £205 a year out of the customs of the port. Also it was asked that special favour should be shown to his agents, Luke Maylor and Thomas Walsh. A more important and more significant communication from the King was one dated August, 5th, 1663: this was a letter to the Lord Lieutenant ordering that no Papist Corporators of Waterford should be restored to favour. Apparently local influence was at work here as well as wire-pulling in Dublin Castle.

In the lists of the favoured ones who were in the service of the Crown during the Viceroyalty of Ormonde is to be found the name of Frederick Christian, son of Meinhart Christian, of whom mention is made in a previous chapter. His patent as Customer is dated January 24th, 1663. Sir John Stephens was Cus-

tomers of Waterford and Ross in 1666 with Christian as Comptroller and Thomas Trynte as Searcher. Captain Nieüport settled in Carrick-on-Suir, which was Ormonde's town, and subsequently removed to Waterford. Andrew Ricard obtained 3,425 acres in Waterford and Tipperary, and Robert Mercier got 240 acres in Waterford and Kerry.

Mention has been made previously of the city's Guilds. On May 13th, 1663, the Mayor of Waterford John Eyres, and the Sheriffs, Matthew Johnson and Zachary Clayton, issued a proclamation setting forth that King John of famous memory had at Mallridge, on the 3rd June, in the 7th year of his reign, granted to the City of Waterford the privilege of enjoying their Guilds and Fraternities in manner like unto that of the burgesses of Bristol. The Corporation for the general good of the kingdom, "which cannot subsist without artificers and manufacturers," granted and confirmed to all Tailors, Clothiers, Hatmakers, Haberdashers, Hosiers, Broiderers, Bakers, Chirurgeons, Weavers, Tallow Chandlers, Soap-boilers, Tobacco-spinners, Rollers and Cutters of Tobacco residing in the city, that for ever hereafter they should be one body politic and one guild in name and substance with one Master and two Wardens, and "that they shall be for ever known and esteemed and reputed by that name and by that name shall have perpetual succession within the liberties, precincts, franchises and suburbs of the said city. And that one of the said Guild or Fraternity shall be yearly chosen and elected by the said Guild or greater part of them to be Master of the Society aforesaid for one whole year, and also two discreet persons shall be chosen and



elected Wardens of the said Guild for one whole year and the said election of Masters and Wardens for ever hereafter in the Tailors' Hall or other convenient place within the city shall be yearly upon the Thursday night before the Feast of St. John the Baptist and from thenceforth shall take upon the regimen and disposition of said Guild, but before the said Master and Wardens shall take upon them the exercise of the said offices, shall make and take their corporal oaths before the Mayor of the said City of Waterford for the time being to discharge, use, exercise and perform all and singular acts and things appertaining to their several offices to the utmost of their power, discretion and understanding." Samuel Hurst was appointed Master of the Guild and John Waller and Abraham Carter were named as Wardens to continue in their respective offices for one whole year. They were empowered to make reasonable laws and conditions for the better government of the Guild, and they were authorised to impose fines and amercements upon members of the Fraternity and "collect and levy and convert the same to their publick and common uses so that the said bye-laws and constitutions be ratified, allowed and confirmed by the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens of the said city before any such fine and amercements be levied and collected from any one serving in the said City of Waterford seven years apprenticed to any of the Company aforesaid or other the Trades and vocations in this Charter mentioned may after that time be admitted free, the party or parties so admitted free by the said Company shall for his said freedom pay unto the Master for the time being to the use of

the Company aforesaid Twenty Shillings sterling and unto the Mayor and the Sheriffs of the said City of Waterford for the time being to the use of the Corporation the sum of Two Shillings and Sixpence sterling.

“ And if any man of the said Company of Tailors, etc., do or at any time hereafter depart his shop or standing to work in any man's house in Waterford without it be in the house of an Alderman and that in time of extremity, that then it shall be lawful to and for the said Master of the said Company of Tailors for the time being to commit such person to the City Gaol, there to remain until he satisfy and pay to the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being for the use of the Company of Tailors, &c.,  $\frac{6}{8}$  sterling. And that if any man of the said Company of Tailors, &c., shall at any time hereafter upbraid, scandalize or speak unbeseemingly of the Master or Wardens for the time being or to any other Master that served heretofore, the party or parties so offending shall forfeit and pay to the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to the use of the Corporation the sum of  $\frac{6}{8}$  sterling and to the Master and Wardens for the time being to the use of the Company of Tailors  $\frac{6}{8}$  sterling. And that the Master of the said Company for the time being and all other ensuing Masters and Company of Tailors, &c., shall and may keep and detain for their wages all or any work or works done by them for the Inhabitants of the City of Waterford until they be satisfied and paid for their work and works so done by them or any of them. In consideration whereof, if the said Master, Wardens and Company or any of them for the time being do or shall



at any time hereafter spoil or misdo any work put into their hands to make or do, then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master of the said Company for the time being to compel the said party or parties so offending to make due and full satisfaction to the Owners for the trespass by them committed. And moreover the party and parties so offending shall forfeit and pay to the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to the use of the Corporation the sum of 6/8 sterling and to the Master and Wardens of the said Company for the time being for the use of the Company aforesaid the sum of 6/8 sterling."

It was further enacted "that no person whoever being a Tailor or any other trade within this Charter mentioned shall or may work in Passage or in any part of the liberties of the said City of Waterford aforesaid, but that first he shall repair to the Master of the said Company of Tailors for the time being in Waterford aforesaid, and pay to the said Master and for the use of the Company of Tailors Twenty Shillings sterling and to the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to the use of the Corporation 2/6 sterling. And if any work contrary to any thing herein that then it shall and may be lawful for the Masters and Wardens for the time being to enter into any House within the liberties aforesaid and finding any Tailors or others working in any of the Houses aforesaid being not free nor prenticed, then to apprehend and bring before the Mayor of the City of Waterford to be committed to the Gaol until the party so offending pay unto the Mayor for the time being for the use of the Corporation 6/8 sterling and to the Master of the Company for the time being for

the use of the Company for the like sum of 6/8 sterling."

Waterford can claim special pre-eminence in the matter of furnishing to the Church men who distinguished themselves by their piety, their learning, their ability, and their character. The names of the Waddings, of Lombard, of the Whites, the Barrons stand out in the records of the days when the Penal laws dealt heavy blows at Catholicism. The persecution which Catholics endured during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. were intensified when the Cromwellians came into power ; and it must be admitted that Puritan enmity to the Protestant Church was quite as marked as the enmity displayed towards the Catholic Church.

At the Restoration Irish Protestants were put in possession, for the most part, of the churches which they had occupied previous to the Puritan invasion. In 1663 an ecclesiastic of high character, Hugh Gore, was made Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral, in 1664 Dean of Lismore ; and in 1665 he was appointed Bishop of the See of Waterford and Lismore. His consecration took place in the parish church of St. Mary's, Clonmel, on March 25th, 1666.

Shortly after Dr. Gore's elevation to the Episcopate Parliament was dissolved and was not again summoned during the reign of Charles II. The Act of Uniformity and an Act for Establishing Ministers' Money had been passed during the session of 1666, and the latter tax was introduced into Waterford and Clonmel. The other corporate towns in the diocese were exempted from the tax. Dr. Gore devoted



himself to deeds of piety and beneficence. Especially did he concern himself with the restoration and the beautifying of his cathedral, which had suffered so severely at the hands of Ireton's soldiery.

The Catholic diocese of Waterford had been governed for some time by Vicars Apostolic, but the Episcopate had been restored in 1629, when Patrick Comerford was appointed Bishop. He died in 1652, and for twenty years the system of governing by vicars was resumed. The Holy See nominated John Brenan, a native of Kilkenny, Bishop in 1671. This distinguished ecclesiastic was made Archbishop of Cashel in 1677, but was permitted to retain the administration of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. The year which followed his election to the Archiepiscopacy was marked by the culmination of the Titus Oates plot. Amongst those who were accused of being mixed up with the plot was Archbishop Brenan. In his efforts—fortunately successful—to elude the authorities, he endured extraordinary vicissitudes and privations. He died in 1693 and was buried in the tomb of Geoffrey Keating in the chapel of Tubrid, Co. Tipperary.

In November, 1670, the Corporation considered the replies of Captain Thomas Bolton, Mr. Edward May, Mr. Paul Aylward and Mr. Nicholas Lee to seven questions put in connection with the Leper Hospital. The questions of most interest were: How many poor people are maintained in the house? Is the same number maintained out of its revenue as antiently was accustomed? Is any part of the revenue set apart by way of accruing for the

sustentation of the house? The replies were that two men and three women, all Lepers, and one servant, were maintained within the house by its revenue as antiently was accustomed, their names being Philip Walsh, Philip McGrath, Ellen Grant, Joan Garvey, Joany Shea and Margaret Walsh. To the question as to setting apart any portion of the revenue the reply was: "We say the house is not yet settled nor the revenue certain, and further to this article we cannot answer." The Corporation declared that it approved of the replies.

The Holy Ghost Hospital was another of the Charities which engaged the attention of the new City Fathers. The right of nomination of Master of the Holy Ghost House belonged to descendants of Henry Walsh, son of Patrick Walsh, who, in 1545, had been granted by Henry VIII a patent entitling him to erect an almshouse on the grounds of the ancient convent of the Grey Friars. Almost all the members of the Walsh family had migrated to Spain or to some part of the Spanish dominions before the Restoration. Ignoring the Walsh claims to nomination, the Corporation in 1672 dismissed Andrew Lynn from the office of Master and appointed in his place Henry Seager, and in 1684 Thomas Christmas was made Master.

In September, 1672, the Dublin Council Chamber again advertised its anxiety to procure "Protestant foreigners." New rules were issued in which special mention was made of Waterford as a fit and alluring place for Protestant strangers to make a settlement. In this year the Mayor of the city was Henry Aland (or Alland). Ten years previously he had been re-



ported as a suspicious person, "a captain in the late Usurper's army," and had been committed to the Sergeant-at-Arms. In 1664 he resided at Crooke and in 1668 at Corballymore. Subsequently he came to Waterford city, where he entered into commercial pursuits, became wealthy, and took an active part in public life. In his will (dated 1681) reference is made to his interests in the lands of Leperstown. He died in 1691 and one of the executors of his will was Major Andrew Ricard,\* also formerly a Cromwellian officer, who resided at Williamstown. Alland's eldest daughter, Sarah, married Edmond Fostescue of London. She died in 1681 leaving three sons. The youngest, John, became Sir John Fortescue Alland, Justice of the Common Pleas in England, and subsequently was raised to the peerage as Lord Fortescue of Credan.

A scarcity of standard money at this period was causing considerable inconvenience to the citizens. It is mentioned in a footnote on page 142 that John Heaven (or Heavens) and Thomas Noble, merchants, were permitted to coin money or tokens in Waterford. They were the principal private "moneymen"† who flourished during the Commonwealth regime. In 1667 the Corporation decided to enter on the business of minting, and on the 17th March in that year they proclaimed that as there was not "a

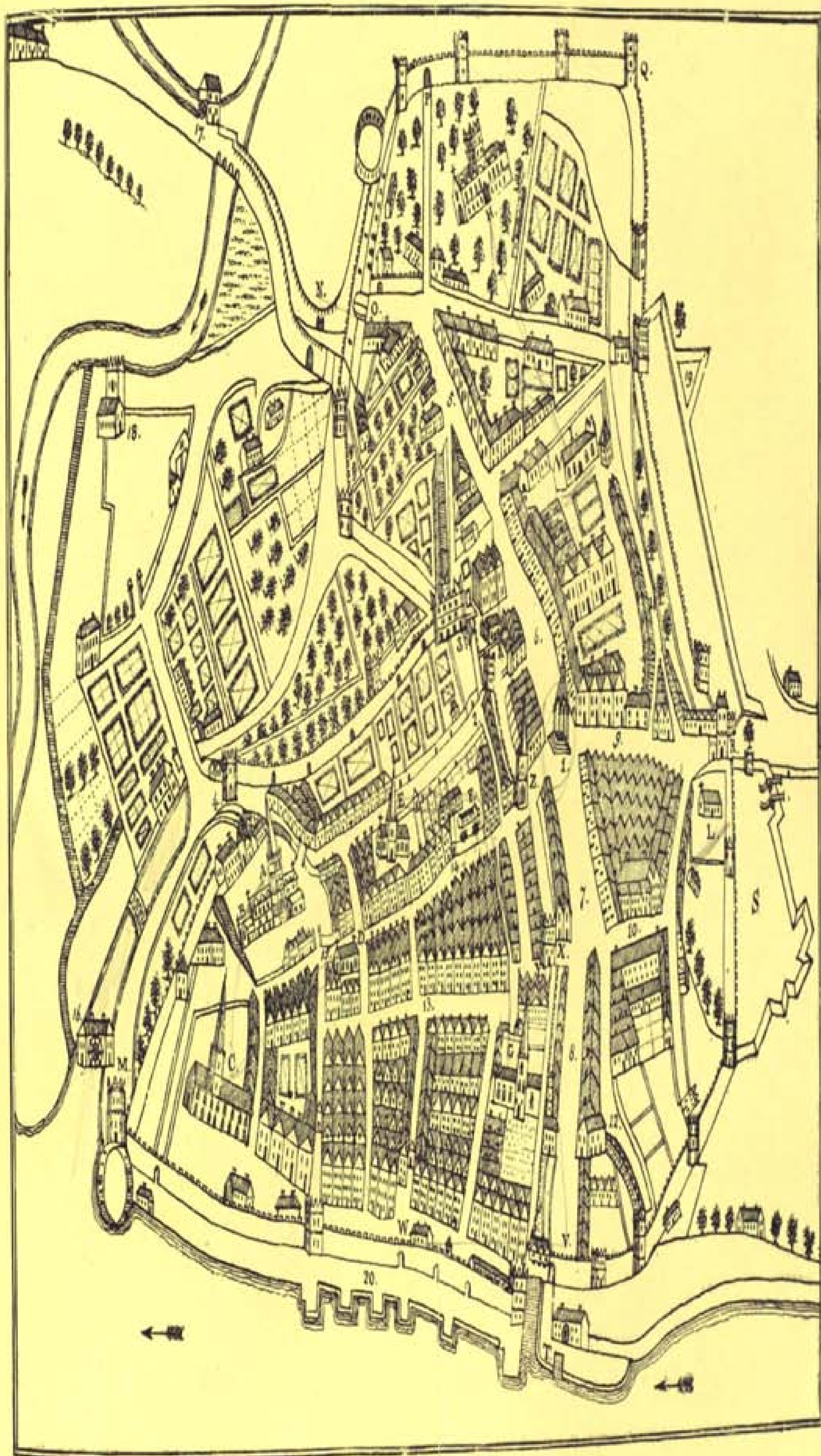
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\* Under the Cromwellian settlement Major Ricard obtained possession of a considerable amount of the property of the Dobbyn family.

† In 1907 Mr. Grubb, of Carrick on-Suir, communicated to the Editor of "The Archæological Journal" the news of the discovery by him on the banks of the Suir of a Waterford tradesman's token which bore on one side the three galleys and along the outer margin the legend: "Proceed and Prosper, 1659," and on the reverse the words "Waterford's Safety Wished."

competent number of pence within the citty for managing exchange between party and party by reason whereof divers forreigners and other persons have by their owne authority and for their private gaine and advantage made and rendered generall pence and halfe pence in the citty to the great prejudice and damage of ye same" the Council had decided to stamp and issue a reasonable quantity of pence. The Corporation coins, it was stated, would be exchanged at any time for sterling money by the Sheriff. It is doubtful that the pennies announced in 1667 were coined in that year: none are to be found in any collection; but coins issued by the Corporation in 1668 and 1669 are extant. These bear on the obverse the City Arms. Mrs. Mary Stephens issued brass pennies in 1667. The obverse bore her name, with a pestle and mortar, and on the reverse was the legend "The Citty of Waterford (M.S. 1d. 1667)". Evidently the Corporation did not approve of Mistress Stephens' coinage, and in August, 1671, it was ordered by the Council that Mr. Richard Morris and Mr. William Foye "become bound in £200 for exchanging ye brass pence putt forth in the name of Mrs. Stephens." Thomas Exton, Vintner, who was Mayor in 1667, issued pennies about this time; also Zachary Clayton, who was Sheriff in 1663 and Mayor in 1680, and Daniel Owen (or Owens) who was Sheriff in 1669. Peter Crainsborough was a member of a family long resident in Waterford. He had been restored by the Duke of Ormonde to his old house in High Street and made free of the city. In 1671 he issued pennies. The Corporation was wroth at this action on the part of one who was not of





MAP OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD IN 1673

Cromwellian origin and issued a decree that Crainsborough's coins should not pass current in the city. In 1672 the Corporation notified the public that as "some person or persons unknown, out of a wicked covetous design" had counterfeited the stamp of the Mayor and Council it had been decided to call in and redeem the municipality's tokens. Pennies stamped with the City Arms began to pour in, the number being out of all proportion to the number officially issued, and disputes about genuine and counterfeit coins arose. In February, 1673, the Council was obliged to announce that as many people had declared their intention of suing the Corporation it was "ordered by way of prevention that ye Sheriff receiver doe fee Phil Harris and whom he thinks fitt at meeting ye Judge to appear for ye citty this assizes in any cause that may come up against it." The circulation of coins or tokens seems to have ceased at this period. Only one further issue was made—Edward Russell, who appears to have cut the stamp for the Corporation, struck pennies which are dated 1673. They bore on the obverse the Russell arms—a lion rampant, on a chief three escallops—and on the reverse "Of Waterford (E.R. 1d. 73)." Presently the State resumed its duty of supplying sterling money, and proclamations from the Lord Lieutenant made illegal the manufacture and distribution of private coins or tokens.

A Map of the City of Waterford published in 1673 gives us an opportunity of viewing the city while it was still surrounded by its walls on which at inter-



vals were to be found forts and towers and of giving some brief information about the principal public edifices marked on the Map.

Near Reginald's Tower—then styled the Ring Tower Fort (marked M)—stood a half moon or some kind of outwork built as a defence. This was mounted with cannon.\* Starting from the Ring Tower we proceed up the Quay until we come to a building, Barry's Strand Mill (marked T), which stood at the foot of Barry's Strand Street (now Barronstrand Street).† Continuing in a south-westerly direction we come to the place marked S on the Map: this is St. Patrick's fort, and a little above it (marked R) is St. Patrick's Gate. In his History of Waterford, Smith (writing in 1746) says: "Where the barracks now stand was the site formerly of a square fort consisting of four bastions or curtains mounted with great guns and encompassed with a moat except on the sides next to the town wall and that side where the gate of the Barracks now stands. By the bastion next to St. Patrick's Gate there was a communication between the Fort and the town. On the north side of the Fort towards the river were several outworks, as ravelins, half moons, &c., and this piece of fortification served the town as a citadel. From St. Patrick's Gate towards Newgate Street there was formed an earthen work raised on the outside of the moat to the height, it is said, of 12 feet; with a ravelin that defended Newgate and another which defended St.

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\* The platform and the rest of the fortification was dismantled in 1711, and the cannon was transferred to Duncannon Fort.

† In former days Turgesius's Tower was situated at the corner of this street.

Patrick's gate and the Barrack gate." This work was known as the Butt-works (marked 19). There was another glacis to defend the ditch and the wall.\* From Newgate to the French Tower (marked Q) there was no moat, the ground being so rocky that it was impossible to make one. From the French Tower (which is still standing) the walls of Waterford ran for a short distance in a south-easterly direction passing by Close Gate (marked P) or Bowling-green Gate, and then by St. John's Gate (marked O) to St. John's Fort and Bridge (marked N). At the south-eastern side of St. John's Pill stood a building, St. John's Mill (marked 17). St. Catherine's Abbey (marked 18), considered to be the most ancient religious house in Ireland, was founded by the Ostmen and it is conjectured that it was built previous to the year 1,000, for in the year 1381 a dispute having arisen about ten acres of land in possession of the abbey it was proved that the grant of this land had been made prior to the Statute of Mortmain, which is supposed to have been in force more than sixty years prior to the Norman Conquest of England. It was endowed by Elias FitzNorman about the year 1210, and in the following year Pope Innocent III took it under his special protection. Edmond Poer (or Powere) was the last Prior. He was possessed of extensive estates, advowsons, etc., all of which were granted to Elizabeth Butler, otherwise Sherlock, for a term of twenty-one years. The Prior, with the consent of the Community, surrendered on October

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\* The last of these works were demolished in 1710 or 1711 when the Mayor, David Lewis, was remodelling the boundaries of the city.





RUINS OF THE FRENCH TOWER





6th, 1539, and in 1540 he was granted by the English Government a pension of twenty pounds a year. The Abbey stood in that part of the city which is now occupied by the new City Court House and its grounds. Cole Pit Mill (marked 16) was situated where now is the entrance of the Mall.

Having gone round the outer boundaries we can take a peep at the interior of the city.

Christchurch Cathedral (marked A) consisted of a large nave 45 feet long by 66 feet wide with a choir 66 feet long and two lateral aisles. The roof was supported by large gothic columns and arches. Alongside it at the back of the altar was the original building, Trinity Parish Church (marked B), and on the north side of the church was the vestry or chapel of St. Nicholas. On the south side was the Bishop's consistory court; and on the north side a chapel, 22 feet square, was erected in the year 1482 by James Rice and was dedicated to St. James the elder and St. Catherine. St. Francis's Abbey (marked C)—known later as the French Church—founded in the year 1240—was confiscated in 1539. The Holy Ghost Hospital (built over the cemetery attached to the church) was established for the support of sixty sick or vagrant poor of the city. St. Olave's Church (marked D) was one of the oldest foundations in Waterford. The Danes in the 11th century had built a church here and the Anglo-Normans had rebuilt one on the same site. "The seats in this church were so disposed that the congregation could face only the east." The Lady Church (marked E) was in Lady Lane close to where the present Franciscan Friary stands. St. Peter's Church (marked

F) occupied the site of the present dispensary in Peter Street. The Dominican Abbey (marked G), founded in 1236, was situated in that part of the city now known as Blackfriars. It was surrendered to the Crown on April 2nd, 1541. It then contained within its site a church, with chancel and belfry, a chapel called Our Lady's Chapel, a cemetery, cloister, dormitory, chapter house, library and hall. Beneath the hall were two cellars, a kitchen, a store, a bake-house and a chamber called "the little hall" with two cellars beneath it, a chamber called "the Doctor's Chamber" and a cellar adjoining same, a chamber called "the Baron's Hall," with three cellars beneath it. There were also three small gardens with two cellars beneath them. At the time of surrender the building was in a ruinous state and was reported to be of no value. It was afterwards granted to James White, in capite, for ever at the annual rent of four shillings, Irish money. Since the suppression of the Priory the building had been used for various public purposes—as a town hall, a sessions court, a prison, and a barracks. Nothing remains of it now except a tower and portion of the monastic church. The burial ground attached to this ancient abbey lay to the south-west of the building and covered a considerable area, extending to the houses which faced the Quay between Barry's Strand Street and Conduit Lane. St. John's Church\* (marked H) was a large pile built in

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\* In a note in the "Waterford Archæological Journal," Vol. XII., the Editor says:—"In the interval between the occupancy of St. John's by the Cistercians, in the mid-17th century, and the erection of Bowling Green Chapel, the Catholic Parish Church of St. John's occupied a position on the present South Parade, near the site of the Turkish Baths. This was a small thatched building approached by a narrow laneway from Johnstown."



Gothic style with a tasteful tower or steeple. The Priory of St. John the Evangelist was founded by Prince John, Earl of Morton, in 1185 (or 1191) for the use of the Order of St. Benedict. In his charter conveying certain lands to the Abbey the founder called it his almshouse and made it a cell to St. Peter and St. Paul's Abbey in Bath. It received many charters and grants from English monarchs, and at the close of the 15th century it was possessed of large estates in the Co. Waterford. In 1536 a jury was empanelled at Passage to enquire into the extent of its property and other matters and it was found that there were then living in the Priory Nicholas Batte (the last prior or warden) and that it further contained one regular monk with four sisters and three brothers commonly called the Brethern and Sisters of St. Leonard. They were removed to other religious houses. In 1563 an Inquisition found that a grant of the lands, titles and other possessions of the Priory of St John had been granted on November 15th, 1536, to William Wise (or Wyse) and his heirs male for the annual rent of a Knight's fee\*. Ryland says that the final suppression of the Priory took place in 1577. In the Parochial History of Waterford we read that "the Superior Council of the Confederate Catholics is alleged to have handed it over to the Cistercians in some time between the years 1641 and 1653, but the truth seems

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\* The property of the Wyse family was confiscated during the Cromwellian era, but in the year 1684 Thomas Wyse succeeded in getting his claim to the family estates settled in his favour. He was then empowered "to keep a prison and appoint senechals in soccage for ever."

to be the lay impropiator had forcibly taken the keys from the vicar of the ordinary on the ground that the latter had not been duly presented to him." Bishop Patrick Comerford interdicted the monastery and its inmates, and the Cistercians refusing to obey the case came before the Supreme Council and was decided in the Bishop's favour. The ruins of this church and its cemetery (in which are buried many distinguished citizens) lie between the present John's Lane and Parliament Street. St. Stephen's Church (marked I) was in St. Stephen's Street where the present brewery stands. St. Michael's Church (marked K) stood in the grounds in Lady Lane which are now in possession of the Sisters of Charity. The western gable of this ancient edifice is standing to this day. St. Patrick's Church (marked L) was situated close to the site occupied by the present Protestant Church of St. Patrick. It was a plain building. Arundell's Castle (marked X) stood on the Danish wall almost exactly in the middle of the present Arundel Lane. Almost in the centre of the city, near the entrance to Peter Street, was the Guildhall (marked Z), and in the middle of Broad Street at the junction of the street with St. Peter Street and St. Patrick Street was the Market Cross (marked 1). The Cross was demolished in 1750. Colbeck's Gate (marked 4) was in Colbeck's Street. There was a gate and castle here opening into the churchyard of the Cathedral. Ryland says that the entrance at this place was intended as a private way to the bishop's palace and to the church, and from its contiguity to St. Catherine's Abbey was sometimes called St. Catherine's Gate. In Colbeck's Street was



"the Chamber of Green Cloth," where the Mayor frequently confined refractory citizens. The Green Tower is marked 3, and the Lady's Gate 2.

In addition to the castles originally connected with the fortifications of the city there were other towers and fortifications erected at the gates and in some cases to perpetuate the names of the founders. It is supposed that there were at least twenty castles or towers of which no trace or record exists. Mr. Fleming, the present Borough Surveyor, says that the towers on the walls were all built in the immediate neighbourhood of wells and that those wells were situated outside the walls.

The principal streets in the city were St. John's Street (5), St. Michael Street (6), Broad Street (7), Barry's Strand Street (8), St. Patrick Street (9), Little Patrick Street (10), St. Stephen's Street (11), King's Street (12), High Street (13), St. Peter Street (14), St. Olave's Street (15). The Quay is marked 20 and "the Great Quay" W. The Quay proper extended at this period from Reginald's Tower to Barry's Strand Gate. In former times its eastern extremity was opposite the present Grey Friars, and the portion there was used by the brethren as a landing place. Beyond the western extremity of the Quay was a beach upon which ships were sometimes built.

A letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council in 1676 ordered that all Popish inhabitants, except some trading merchants, artificers, and other necessary for the town and garrison, should be removed. Many citizens were expelled from Waterford under this edict, but some were subsequently re-admitted, the

new settlers probably finding it inconvenient to carry on the business of the city without the help of the Catholics.

The wool trade seems to have been brisk in the year 1678. Licenses were granted to the following traders to export wool from the port of Waterford on payment of £20 each:—William Dennis, Thomas Faux, John Murphy, Michael Head, William Vaughan. A proclamation was made this year to the effect that all fairs and weekly markets should be held outside the walls. The object of this was to prevent the city from being contaminated by the presence of the Irishry who were in the habit of attending the markets held inside the walls. Rewards were offered for information about military men who could be convicted of attending Mass—£10 for an officer, £5 for a trooper, and 4/- for a common soldier.

It is recorded that in the year 1679, in the month of November, the soldiers of the garrison at Waterford killed the High Constable, Mr. Browne. This tragedy arose out of an *émeute* of the soldiery—a drunken freak—and the offenders were duly punished by the authorities.

When the panic created in England by the absurd "Popish Plot," invented by Titus Oates, had subsided the venue of suspicion was changed to Ireland and strict search was ordered for ecclesiastics who had not yet fled from the country. Oliver Plunkett, Primate of Armagh, was the most exalted of the victims: he was executed at Tyburn. We have seen that the Catholic bishop of Waterford had to fly from the city in consequence of being accused of complicity in the Plot, and in October, 1680, a warrant



was issued for the arrest of Robert Power, Dean of Waterford, and for Richard, Earl of Tyrone.\*

Whatever disturbances and miseries were caused through religious rancour, it is apparent that towards the close of the reign of Charles II. the port of Waterford had again come to the front as a prosperous centre of trade. The customs inwards and outwards for the year 1681 amounted to £14,826, a very large sum as compared with the present value of money. And it is evident from a passage in the Ormonde papers that even this amount did not satisfy representatives of his Majesty's government who visited the city in 1683. Under date September, 1683, there is in an account of "Lord Longford's and Lemuel Kingdom's Circuit" the following note:—"At Waterford. Mr. May, the Collector here, understands his business indifferent well, but having trusted much to his clerk, who is greatly addicted to the merchants' interest, and the Surveyor likewise having been imposed upon by the merchants in valuing of goods, the revenue has suffered much. But the best instruction we could give for amendment of these abuses were left, and we hope the effect will be answerable. This being a port of great trade there are two landwaiters with whom we were forced to leave instructions likewise, and we ordered all the tidewaiters to attend at Passage, which is the mouth of the harbour both to this port and Ross. At Passage Mr. Prime is Surveyor, who is a good officer, and with him were the tidewaiters of the port of Waterford, who had not

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\* Lord Power's outlawry was removed on November 8th, 1692. He died, without issue, on October 14th, 1693, and was buried in Carrick on Suir.

their books in so good order as they should, but being instructed promised to amend. There are likewise two guagers in the city of Waterford who are good officers. Yet the revenue of Excise declines there, the reason of which is that there are four of five companies of foot drawn out of this city which were formerly quartered there."

Charles II. died in 1685. Some historians tell us that the disposition of this monarch towards his Irish Catholic subjects was benevolent. If this is true his Majesty practised with remarkable success the art of dissimulation. He acquiesced, apparently with cheerfulness, in the plundering and banishing, and even in the murdering, of Irish Catholics. If he is to be judged by his actions with regard to the city of Waterford, what can the unbiased historian urge in his favour? His edicts banished Catholics from the town and despoiled them of their property. The Catholic bishop was persecuted and had to fly from the city to the woods and the fastnesses; prices were put on the heads of priests; Catholics were forbidden to exercise their religion in public. Restitution of any portion of the property stolen from the Church was not even mooted. It may be that the laws forbidding Catholics to exercise their religion were not always carried out to the strict letter, but the laws were in existence, with the consent and approval of the King, and were enforced ruthlessly whenever occasion required. An order from his Majesty forbade the entry into the City Council of anyone professing the abhorred religion—though having already despoiled and banished those who belonged to the ancient



faith there was hardly any necessity for a special order of exclusion from the Corporation. The royal assent was given to an "Act for Encouraging Protestant Strangers to Settle in Ireland," and this at a time when Irish Catholics were being banished wholesale from their country.

Possibly Charles would have refrained from inflicting the gravest injuries on his Irish Catholic subjects had he not been overborne or alarmed by his advisers on both sides of St. George's Channel. Like most of the royal Stuarts he was gifted with a plausible manner. In the bestowing of gifts he was generous rather than just. It might be conceded that in matters of State policy his instincts were fairly good, but he was not to be depended upon when it became a question of his own or of the Crown's interests as against the welfare of any subject or of any section of his subjects. He was one of those rulers whose sympathies always leaned to the side of the larger battalions. Gratitude was not one of his outstanding virtues, and his word, as a politician, was worthless. Above all things did he court his own comfort, and he recoiled from any action which might be calculated to interfere with his popularity or his pleasures. Instead of punishing the Cromwellians in Ireland—the followers of the leader who had brought his father to the scaffold—he bestowed upon them prodigious gifts. Instead of rewarding his Irish Catholic adherents, who had stood by him and his house when his English subjects had snatched his kingdom from him, he suffered them to be plundered and pauperised.

The only members of the community in Waterford who had any reason to be grateful to the Merry Monarch were the strangers and adventurers who battened on the property of the banished burghers.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### MUNICIPAL LIFE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

DURING the reign of Charles II. civic life ran a course which would not indicate that any violent condition of unrest existed in Waterford. The municipal records show that for the most part the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors devoted themselves to their own interests and to the interests of their town and took comparatively little heed of anything occurring outside the walls.

One who views the work which falls to the lot of a modern Corporation is amazed when he comes to examine the burdens which the City Fathers of Waterford carried on their shoulders a couple of centuries ago. In addition to administering the property of the Corporation (which comprised most of the City and Liberties and extended in one direction to Rosbercon and in another direction to Thomastown) and the affairs of the city generally, the Council had to look after and regulate the entire business of the port—the collecting of customs, of the dues payable by ships, of the dues levied on imports and exports. They had to provide accommodation for troops and to keep in repair the walls, the forts and the gates of the city. The Court House, the prisons and all public buildings were in their hands. It was their duty to conserve and dis-

tribute the water supplies, to supervise the various city guilds and the various city charities, to keep a watch on those who were free of the city and to uphold their privileges. Not infrequently were they obliged to curry favour with Dublin Castle, and occasionally the English Court had to be placated. And in addition to these multifarious and onerous duties the Council had, practically, to administer the finances of the Church. In the municipal records entries are numerous of repairs to churches, especially to Christ Church ; and the bestowing of advowsons and other privileges were in the hands of the Corporation.

Civic pride was manifested in many ways. On September 29th, 1670, it was "resolved that Aldermen and Common Council Men that have not gowns shall provide themselves thereof by Christmas Day next—viz., every Alderman a Scarlet Gown on pain of twenty pounds sterling and any of the Second Bench a Black Gown on pain of ten pounds sterling." Nor were the sartorial requirements of certain Corporate officials forgotten, for it was ordered on September 21st, 1674, that the Master Porter be required to see that all Porters provide themselves by the 1st December with "Frocks all alike at their own charge," the Council providing at the charge of the Corporation badges which took the form of the City Arms.

It was the custom to lease at intervals—mostly to members of the Council—by public cant\* the property or perquisites of the Corporation, but there are records of many transactions in property arranged

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\* An obsolete word (used chiefly in Ireland) meaning to sell by auction.



at meetings of the Council. Here are some entries:—

Oct. 15th, 1669. "Ordered that the City Auditor do give Mr. Clayton a proportionable allowance in the City Langable for the waste spott of ground leased him by the City and not enjoyed by him, the same being in Patrick Street and lately built upon by Richard Walridge."

Feb. 7, 1670. "William Wickham, granted a lease of a plot of ground in Saint John Street, at two shillings per annum. Lessee to build a thatched cottage thirty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth thereon."

Feb. 18th, 1670. "Joseph Barr, Glover, to have a plott in Peter Street, at ten shillings per annum, on the covenant that he shall build a Tyled House with a chimney two stories high."

April 11th, 1670. "Lease of the Petty Customs, Cockett Customs, Keyage and Tonnage (excepting the Water Bailiff's Fees), granted to Alderman George Deyos at one hundred pounds yearly rent for three years."

10th December, 1672. "Alderman Rickards proposed to become tenant for the cabbins in the lane leading to Kilbarry, a cabbin and garden at Kilbarry bridge, one other cabbin in the middle of St. Patrick's Green, the cabbin in which the Tinker liveth and the small gardens joining on the east of Gough's Park and the black house in Stephen's Street."

8th January, 1674. "Andrew Lloyd to have lease of the cabbins in Barronstrand Street."

April 30th, 1675. "Concluded that the Common Inclosed by Mr. Thomas Eyres in Bricken's Green [Ballybricken] shall be thrown down and that upon his application to this Board he shall be considered for his Improvements thereon."

"That part of the street before the White Tower Gate walled in by Mr. Eyres shall be forthwith pulled down."

It was ordered that Alderman Seager and others to view and report on this property, and we find in an entry under date 14th March, 1673, that the Council ordered all the cabins\* lately built on both sides of the broad road leading to Kilbarry to be pulled down as they were encroachments on the common and highway. The tenants were notified "to provide habitations for themselves elsewhere as soon as they can."

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\* These "cabins" must have been mere hovels: we find a reference to similar cabins in the city let at four shillings a year.

Reference has been made in the previous chapter to differences which arose between William Bolton and the Council. It is set down, on September, 1669, at a meeting of the Corporation, that having been elected Mayor he had contemptuously refused to appear before the Council and had withdrawn himself out of the city. It was ordered that he should pay a fine of Twenty Pounds for his contumacy, "which sum, if he shall refuse to pay," the Sheriff of the city was empowered to levy off his goods and chattels. John Heaven, at the earnest request of the whole Council, "condescended" to take upon him the office of Mayor for the year ensuing and was sworn accordingly.

Considerable anxiety existed about the city's charter and it was deemed prudent to stand well with Dublin Castle. An entry on October 10th, 1669, shows that it had been decided to present an address to the Lord Lieutenant and to give his Secretary "a piece of plate of Sixteen Pounds value." It was left to the discretion of the Mayor and Recorder "whether the said present should be made in plate or gold." During the same month a letter from Richard Stephens, Recorder of Dublin, was received by the Mayor advising his worship to come up to Dublin the following week—that is the first week of November—in order to present the address. The Council ordered that Five and Twenty Pounds be paid to Mr. Mayor "for and towards the present to the Secretary and procuring the Charter or an authenticated copy and Travelling Expenses."

This visit to Dublin and the presentation to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary was apparently not ap-



proved of by William Bolton, for on November 26th, at a meeting of the Council, "the letter and complaint of Captain William Bolton to the Lord Lieutenant was read together with the answers put in by Mr. Mayor, Mr. Recorder, etc., and by general vote of the Council said Answers were approved of." It was also concluded "that Richard Stephens, Recorder, and Alderman Thomas Watts be desired and are authorised by this Board to put in an Answer for this Council to the second scandalous Petition exhibited to the Lord Lieutenant against the City by Captain William Bolton." On February 26th, Captain Bolton was suspended from his Aldermanship for his "scandalls" and it was ordered that he appear before the Council to purge himself of his misdemeanours. In default of his appearance proceedings were to be taken against him.

In March, 1670, the following entry appears in the municipal records :—For as much as it appeared this day by good proofs and is too notoriously known that William Bolton, one of the Aldermen of this city, as well by severall speeches as letters, hath raised and dispersed abroad many haynous, false and malicious scandalls of and concerning the Mayor and Council of this city, and in particular that the Mayor and Council have also ruined the city, that out of dishonest intentions they did present Mr. Secretary Ford with Ten Pieces of Gold to the end that he might be corrupted and smother such complaints as should come against them unto His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom. That the Mayor and Council did only present unto his Majesty's Authority and did abuse the Authority they pretend

unto the damage of his Majesty's Loyal subjects in and near the said city, and many other false and malicious scandalls and reproaches which had not the least colour or ground of truth. And for that it did appear that the said William Bolton hath written a most factious and seditious letter unto the Grand Jury of the County of this City the last Quarter Sessions, thereby endeavouring to insinuate himself into their favour and to incense them against the Mayor and Council and to draw them unto his party, thereby to overturn the government of this city." Captain Bolton was further charged with endeavouring to "destroy the liberties and privileges of this Ancient City" and particularly that he was endeavouring to take from the Council the privileges granted to them under their Charter of electing magistrates. Captain Bolton had declared that there were no lawful Justices in the city. It was decided that he be dismissed from his Aldermanship and struck off the roll of Freemen.

Notwithstanding the adverse criticisms of Alderman Bolton in connection with the alleged tampering with public officials, eight members of the Council were on January 11th, 1672, instructed to "attend Mr. Mayor to Charleville to receive my Lord President's directions about renewing the Charter," and on January 21st it was "concluded that Sheriff Lambe do pay out of the city revenue four pounds sterling to be sent to my Lord President's Secretary for his pains and respects to the Corporation."

William Bolton was not the only troublesome member of the Council. On April 11th, 1670, Sheriff Osborne was ordered "to go to Colbeck's Castle



Chamber and there to remain until he had given in his accounts as Sheriff Receiver of the city which was occasioned by the said Sheriff's refusing to pay the soldiers for Fire and Candles for the Guards and to charge the city pence." Osborne was also fined £50, but this fine was remitted on June 4th. Five years later he was again at loggerheads with the Council: there is an entry dated April 16, 1675, which states that Joseph Osborne, of High Street, was removed from being a member of the Council for disobeying the commands of the Mayor in reference to an encroachment he had made on the street and for saying that "he was glad to be rid of a pack of fools or knaves, meaning the Council."

Andrew Lynn, Master of the Holy Ghost House, was another of the public men who gave the Council trouble. Mr. Lynn refused to furnish any account of the revenues of the hospital, and on October 28th, 1672, the Council declared that he was dismissed from his office, and Alderman Henry Seager was appointed in his stead.

William Maber, Taylor, was reported on June 24th, 1675, for misbehaviour, his offence consisting of the use of an expression unfit for publication about the Mayor (Michael Head). He was fined £5 and bound to be of good behaviour.

Another member of the Bolton family, although he had been elected Mayor in 1671, seems not to have been *persona grata* with the Corporation. On February 11th, 1673, Alderman Thomas Bolton's application for forty shillings "for his Horse several Journeys in his Mayoralty about the city business ridd by himself" came before the Council for consideration,

and it was decided not to pay Alderman Bolton this forty shillings.

Oddly enough, the Council was disturbed occasionally by the conduct of citizens who, being elected to official positions, declined to act. Amongst these recalcitrants was Richard Morris, who was appointed High Constable. Refusing to serve he was on October 2nd, 1673, fined £20 (which was subsequently paid) and Henry Mann was elected to the office.

We find that on May 26th, 1677, a question was raised at a Council meeting as to whether Alderman Ivie's cattle "shall be released out of the Pound till the Account be settled between him and the Corporation. It was ordered not to release the cattle unless Ald. Ivie paid to the Sheriff Receiver half a year's rent, £10 10s. od."

So fearful were the burgomasters of the native Irish that the High Constable was instructed, towards the close of 1678, "to bring in a list of such persons in each Parish as are fit to be sworn constables and are English in place of the Irish petty constables."

Possibly one of the most unpleasant cases which came before the City Fathers during the reign of the Merrie Monarch was that of Alderman Rickards, who was a prosperous draper and one of the auditors to the Corporation. On July 30th, 1680, Captain Christmas charged Alderman Rickards with cozening the Council in connection with house property, rents, tithes and cash belonging to the civic body. Amongst the many charges made by Captain Christmas was that Rickards had pretended that six pounds or thereabouts of public money entrusted to him for the use of the Bridewell had been stolen from him.



It was ordered that the accused Alderman should put in an answer in writing to the charges made against him.

On the 9th September the Council met to consider Alderman Rickards' voluminous reply. To the charge of stealing £6 and pretending he had been robbed of it Rickards declared that the money had been stolen by Alderman Head's brother (who was probably an assistant in Rickards' shop). He stated that the purse which contained the money had been found with Mr. Head, and at the request of Ald. Head's wife he left his brother with her that night, she promising he should be forthcoming next morning. The bird had flown next morning and Alderman Head had asked Alderman Rickards not to trouble himself further, that he would get the money from his uncle and pay up. When Alderman Rickards returned home and when his shop was opened he examined the place where he kept his rich Ribbons and he found that £80 worth had been taken and a large quantity of Cambricks, Hollands, Stockings, Gold and Silver Buttons, and Silks to the value of £200. "For his wordsake," he added, "to Mr. Head when he discovered his great Loss and for the Esteem he had for him and his wife he would not make any further search after the thief."

Alderman Christmas then reiterated all the various charges he had originally made against Alderman Rickards and endeavoured to substantiate them with documentary proofs.

The Council assembled on September 23rd and it was solemnly declared that all the charges against Alderman Andrew Rickards had been duly

Again on September 29th the Council found that Ald. Rickards' conduct was scandalous, dishonourable, mercenary and deceitful, and it was ordered that he be suspended from office until he gave satisfaction to the Council.

In the year 1680 Richard Morris and John Lloyd were each fined £30 for refusing to become members of the Council. They petitioned for a reduction of the penalty. Lloyd's fine was reduced to £10, but the Sheriff was ordered to exact the full penalty from Morris and his plate was seized and disposed of. He was subsequently refunded £10. Each of these unwilling citizens was "excused from being again called on to serve for fifteen years."

In October, 1681, the Council found it necessary to renew a former regulation for dealing with Absentees by inflicting fines upon them, and it was also decreed if a member of the Council spoke while another member was addressing the chair he had "to pay to the box every Alderman one shilling and every Assistant sixpence for each offence."

At a meeting of the Council held on November 29th, 1684, a debate arose "upon the Question whether any member of the Board did hear any such words spoken by any Alderman as that he had rather the Devil should come sit here than a Blackcoat it was resolved in the negative that no such expression had been used, Alderman William Fuller dissenting from this resolution."

During the reign of Charles II. the Corporation displayed particular anxiety about the enrolment of freemen. We find that in 1672 it was enacted that



all English Protestants living in the city or neighbourhood would be admitted to the privileges of freedom on moderate terms, and early in 1674 it was ordered that all persons inhabiting the city who kept shops or were engaged in any craft or trade were required to purchase their freedom forthwith. As many did not comply with the request, the Council on June 22nd ordered that the Sheriff should shut down the shops of all persons "driving trade in the city and not free of the same." On June 29th the Sheriff was commanded to shut down the shop windows of Mr. Benjamin Powell for refusing his freedom. On May 14th, 1672, the shop of Mr. Richard Murphy was ordered to be closed because he was not a freeman. On May 26th, 1677, William Bowles appeared before the Council and explained that if he were made free troublesome and chargeable offices would be put upon him, "and he loved his peace and quiet and could not take the necessary oaths." Here was the rub: not only had the freeman to take the oath of allegiance but he was obliged to take an Oath of Abhorrence. Non-juring Mr. Bowles was fined £20 and the Sheriff was ordered to levy on his goods. The following month the fine was reduced to £10. Benjamin Powell received his freedom about this time "for a Boat Load of Stones."

In January, 1682, notice was given that under pain of a penalty of £20, no Guild in the city should admit any freeman or laybrother into its Society until such freeman be sworn free of the city or such laybrother be approved of by the Mayor and Council. And further that no apprentice should be taken unless he is bound by the Town Clerk, the penalty for non-

compliance with this order being that the indenture should be void.

Edward Pelling and other shopkeepers not free of the city were on January 15th, 1684, sent for by the Corporation in order that they might explain what authority they had to keep a shop in the city.

There are frequent references in the civic records as to the quartering of troops :—

29th July, 1670. "Ordered that William Wickham, High Constable, do cause his petty Constables to bring in an account of the names of all persons in their respective Parishes capable to Quarter soldiers and that he prepare billets for Quarters of four companies of foot containing two hundred and forty men besides officers expected in Town To-morrow."

3rd April, 1672. "The High Constable be requested to quarter the soldiers of the Garrison more Contiguous and not to quarter fewer than two in any publick house."

The upkeep and the supervision of the soldiers quartered on the city involved the Council and a section of the citizens in considerable trouble, inconvenience and expense. Soldiers were freely billeted on owners of licensed houses, and butchers and bakers as well as inkeepers had to provide quarters for troops. On March 19th, 1677, it was ordered that "such soldiers as drive a Trade and follow their callings in this city shall pay such reasonable tax and Tollage as has been accustomed."

Concerning the murder of the High Constable (referred to on page 172) a petition was sent to the Lord Lieutenant setting forth the grievances of the citizens and asking that a Commission be appointed for the trial of those who were charged with the alleged murder. The Lord Lieutenant promised "Justice and protection." On November 27, 1679, it was arranged that the Garrison should have the use of the



old Market House near the Great Quay Gate for a Guard House until the Market be again brought within the gates. On December 28th, 1679, the Council ordered that Mr. Mayor should be reimbursed the sum he had paid on a visit to Dublin concerning the dispute between the citizens and the military. In July, 1680, upon reading the deposition of Margaret Goodrick demanding satisfaction of Col. St. Leger "for his ensign breaking open Captain Seymour's Chamber Door in said Goodrick's house," it was decided that in case the Governor did not give satisfaction for the outrage that application should be made to the Lord Lieutenant. On December 8th, 1681, the Mayor was desired to endeavour to obtain assurances from the Government that satisfaction would be given to the citizens for the abuses committed by the soldiers, "especially Benjamin May, Abraham Harris, Thomas Morgan and the Corporal that carried the Master Wardens and some of the members of the Hammersmen Company to the guard and one Reddiman." Probably that form of military practical joke now known as "ragging" was practised occasionally by the soldiers of Charles the Second.

With a view to the fostering of a citizen army the Council on November 27th, 1678, decreed "that every man hereafter admitted into the City Freedom shall be sworn in his Bodily harness and Arms and shall swear the same Arms to be his own Goods." In connection with this citizen army it is interesting to note that in May, 1679, a meeting was held in the Guidhall to consider a way of providing arms and ammunition for the Waterford militia. At the meeting it was set forth that arms had arrived and

were ready for distribution, but there was no demand for them and the city was thus left at the mercy of any foreign invasion or intestine disturbance. The cause of the citizens' apathy was declared to be due to a certain extent to lack of money, and it was decided to procure a sum of £262 10/-, to be raised by a levy off the City and its Liberties. The money was to be expended as under :—

One hundred firelocks @ 18/-	...	£90	0	0
Eight hundred pikes @ 7/-	...	28	0	0
Ten Barrels of Powder @ £5	...	50	0	0
Ten Barrels of Ball @ 9/-	...	9	0	0*
Twenty Cases of Pistolls and Holsters	20	0	0	
Two Hundredweight of Pistoll Bulletts	1	10	0	
Five Hundred of Match, etc.	...	10	0	0
Twenty Carbines @ 24/-	...	24	0	0
One Hundred and Fifty Collers of Bandeliers	...	18	0	0
Charges, Ten Pounds	...	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£262 10 0		

On June 25th, 1679, Alderman Hunt was instructed to supply arms and ammunition to the value of £16 9s. 6d., to be lodged in Arundell's Castle ; and on October 7th it was ordered that the ammunition belonging to the city should be stored in the garret of Colbeck's Castle and that Alderman Seager should keep the key of this storeroom.

Amongst the many quaint and interesting items recorded in the municipal records of the period are the following :—

29th July, 1670. "Concluded that the Petition of John Carthwithen, Chirurgen, for three pounds due to him for Cure of a Child, bitt with Dogg, be granted."

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\* It may be seen that someone had blundered : the £9 should be only £4 10/-. Also the items are added incorrectly.



14th Nov., 1670. "Concluded that in regard to the Age and inability of John Tyrry to perform the Office of Common Cryer, the Cryer's Bell be conferred on James Leece, one of the Sheriff's Yeomen, who is going about every morning and evening as antiently accustomed and to receive fees and perquisites due and antiently received from the same."

18th Nov., 1671. "Ordered that the Constables attend at the gates and go about the Town every Sabbath day to see to the better Observation thereof."

29th Sept., 1672. "Being Sunday, Henry Aland sworn Mayor the ensuing year and Michael Head and Richard Seay Sheriffs."

16th December, 1672. "Concluded that Mr. Fuller be allowed on his account for Ferrying the Judge's horses the first Assizes twelve shillings and for horse hire to the Court of Admiralty six shillings, and for Ferryage of the Judge's horses the last assizes in his year eight shillings and sixpence, and for half a Rem of paper sent to the Council Chamber by the Mayor's Order four shillings and sixpence, and fifty six shillings paid to Robert Bradford about pleading of the city fines, all of which are charged in his account as Sheriff and were not allowed by the Auditor."

14th October, 1673. "Is is ordered that the Sheriff for the time being do collect and receive for the use of the Corporation the Duty of Fish called Castlemeash for this season."

June 18th, 1674. "Concluded that the Padlock on the Iron Chest (the key whereof Major Rickards hath forgot to leave at his going for England) shall be taken off and a new Lock be put on and that Alderman Zachary Clayton do keep the same key."

Feb. 24th, 1677. Warham Jemmett, Collector and Farmer of the Petty Sessions, to have abatement of twenty-five pounds off the present year's rent of the said Duties in consideration of the Deadness of Trade.

3rd April, 1677. Ordered to repair and cleanse the city swords. Upon reading the Water Bailiff's Petition it is ordered that the Ferryman shall be prohibited from Landing any person or commodities at any other part of the Quay than the Ferry slip unless he pay to the Water Bailiff so much for each time as he demands each time from the Mill Boats.

5th March, 1682. Upon hearing the petition of Elizabeth Knowles it is desired that four of the Aldermen should go about and raise what money they can towards redeeming Mr. Francis Knowles out of Slavery with the Turks.

27th March, 1682. Letter from Lord Lieutenant (dated 27th February, 1681½) directing Mr. Mayor and Sheriff to make a house to house collection for the relief of fugitive French Protestants.

19th June, 1683. That Alderman Fuller, Deputy Recorder, Ald. Deyos, Ald. Head, Ald. Seay, Ald. Aland, Mr. Dapwell and Town Clerke do attend a Jury of Enquiry at Rosbercon to-morrow to assert the Liberties of this City on the River Noar.

29th Nov., 1684. Upon petition of Thomas Adamson,

Master of the House of Correction, to have a place made up in the cellar for Madd People committed to him, it was ordered that he do the work and be reimbursed by presentment and order of next Quarter Sessions.

The water supply was a matter of constant anxiety. On October 4th, 1670, it was reported to the Council that the water in the conduits was much abused by infectious matter washed into the fountains and spring heads. This trouble was stated to arise from the abundance of filth in St. Stephen's Street occasioned by the slaughtering of cattle there and the keeping of swine. It was ordered that "no Butcher or other person presume to slaughter any cattle in the said street nor to keep any swine there on pain of five shillings apiece, to be levied on the offenders' goods and chattels, for the least breach of this order after one hour of due notice and publication hereof in the said street, and that the several owners of the slaughterhouses and hog styes there do cause the filth and Dung to be forthwith carried thence on pain of five pounds or Imprisonment."

On January 8th, 1674, it was ordered that the brass tokens in the Iron Chest be delivered to Bartholomew Butler at one shilling per pound in order to encourage him "to go on with the waterworks."

The Corporation was keenly alive to the necessity of keeping the thoroughfares clean. It was ordered on 2nd October, 1671, that the Clerk of the Market should twice a week thoroughly cleanse the shed for the cornmarket and that the inhabitants of the city should every Wednesday and Saturday "clear and carry away all dirt before their houses as far as the middle of the street on pain of one shilling sterling



every default." On December 15th Richard Jennings was appointed to apprehend any person committing nuisance on the Quay "and to have twelvapence for every man and sixpence for every boy, the forfeiture to be divided between the Water Bailiff and him or any other that shall hereafter find Man or Boy offending hereon." On September 18th, 1673, it was ordered that each carman who foddered a horse on the Quay "shall clean the same and carry the dirt away occasioned by such foddering."

The city had reason to dread fire. One of the ways in which danger might arise was in the minds of the Mayor and Council when they confirmed, in July, 1675, a rule that no ships be graved near the quay upon pain of a £5 fine. The habit of burning pitch on the quays or on the decks of ships made it necessary to put this rule in force. It was also forbidden to pile deals on the quay without a license from the Mayor or to lodge firewood there for a longer period than twenty-one days. For every bag of wool deposited on the quay for more than twenty-four hours the owner had to "pay to the use of the Corporation threepence sterling *Toties quoties*."

An examination of the Directions for the Collector of Customs, promulgated on Nov. 7th, 1676, throws some light on the privileges enjoyed by freemen and denied to those who were not free of the city:—

1. That you [the Collector] receive from every alien the full custom of fourpence per pound's worth.
2. That for every person of England, Ireland and Scotland not free of the city you do also receive the Custom [antiently received].
3. That all persons Inhabiting in any City or Town

antiently free of the Petty Customs paid to this City be allowed the benefit of such freedom, they first producing a copy of said freedom of the place which they do Inhabit.

4. That you do receive from the merchants of Kilkenny as follows—twelve pence for every Bag of Wool and twelve pence for every twenty shillingworth of goods.

5. That John Booth and his three nephews and Luke Wall be free from paying the above Customs.

6. That Cocquett Customs and Keyage be paid by all persons free or not free of the city as has been formerly accustomed.

7. That Martin Walsh do pay as a Merchant of Kilkenny as above expressed.

8. That whereas there are several Merchants that do Inhabit within this city which are not free of the same and for as much as they do as Inhabitants pay all charges and are liable to bear some offices of trouble and charge in this city, we do think fit for the better encouragement of such Inhabitants that you do receive from them no more than twelve shillings value of their Goods and Cocquett Customs and Keyage, they producing an order from the Mayor and Council to that effect.

Martin Walsh rebelled against clause 7, which singled him out as a Kilkennyman, and he took proceedings against the Corporation. There is an order dated August 10th, 1677, that the Town Clerk should accompany three Aldermen and the Sheriff to Wexford Assizes and that he should carry with him "The Great Parchment Book." The result of this action is not recorded in the municipal records, but apparently Walsh gained his case, for it was ordered on May 23, 1678, that £23/18/- be paid to him by the Corporation for his costs in his suit against that body.

Amongst the municipal Bye-Laws is one dated October 7th, 1680, in which it is laid down that the Company of Butchers take no more than sixpence a head for cattle bought by a citizen and a Freeman and twelve pence for foreign-bought and foreign-sold for slaughter and transportation, the one moiety to go to the Corporation the other to the Company. In January, 1682, laws relating to carmen were promul-



gated. Any carman found driving a horse along the street without leading him by the head was to be fined one shilling, half the fine to go to the informer and half to the poor of the parish in which the offence occurred. It was also laid down that every local carman should "carry away the dirt and dung and rubbish of the city at one penny per load in close carts upon pain that any carman refusing to do so shall not be suffered to work or carry anything in their carts on the Quay or any part of the city." Carmen were also forbidden to carry water for sale from any of the conduits "upon pain of one shilling for each Hogshead, whereof one half to go to the informer and the other half to the poor of the parish."

A lengthy notification dealing with Quayage was published in December, 1681. It set forth that the following dues were to be paid to the Sheriff Receiver :

For every Puncheon or Hogshead of Tallow lying above forty-eight hours any part of the Quay belonging to a freeman or foreigner sixpence sterling, for every Barrell of Tallow threepence, for every Cask of Butter threehalfpence, for every Barrell of Beef, Pork or Mutton which may require time for rebarrelling, hooping, and pickling which shall be on the Quay above four days and four nights to pay threepence per Barrell, for every Tierce of Salmon that shall be on the Quay above four days and four nights fourpence sterling, for every Barrell of Herrings lying above four days and four nights threepence sterling, for every pack of frieze, leather, or skins lying above four and twenty hours twopence sterling, for every Hogshead or Barrell staves lying above two days to pay threepence sterling, for every thousand of hoops, lathes and slates lying above three days eightpence sterling, of all which the Master Porter is from time to time to give an account to the Sheriff Receiver or to the Mayor and Council.

An order was issued on March 27th, 1682, that "the hucksters who forestall the markets shall be fined."

In 1677 the people of St. Olave's wanted a new

church. The Corporation was appealed to, and in the month of March it was arranged that a deputation should wait on the Lord Bishop of the diocese in order to discover some means by which the parish of St. Olave's could be relieved financially in the matter of building their church. The lay officials of the church too were occasionally reminded in a forcible manner of their duties. In March, 1682, the churchwardens of each of the city parishes were notified that within fourteen days they should "provide Badges for their Begging Poor according to former order on pain of forty shillings." In June a letter was read from the Lord Lieutenant to the Mayor about the condition of certain French refugees and it was ordered that a house to house collection should be made in each parish for the relief of certain French Protestants who had flown to Ireland for protection. The following January the Sexton of Christ Church was instructed by the Council that he should "not break ground in the Body or Outstalls or Quire of Christ Church belonging to the City or Lady's Chappel without order from Mr. Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being and that every foreigner pay fifty shillings and fourpence for burying a Man, Woman or Child in the Body, Outstalls or Chappel, and in the Quire double."

The Great Duke visited the city in 1677. We find in the municipal records an entry dated August 27th, in that year, ordering that "a bonfire by made at the Cross this evening for the Arrival of His Grace James, Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at the city charge." Two years later he favoured the



untouched city with another visit. On September 16th, 1679, the Mayor was desired to provide a dinner for him "on Monday sennight," and his worship was voted £25 out of the public purse for the due entertainment of His Excellency. Subsequently £8 3s. was added to the original grant of £25. The following March a demand of one Andrew Keating for £3 19s. 2d. for "the ferryage of His Grace and Attendance upon him," was referred to the ex-Mayor and ex-Sheriff, and these gentlemen awarded Keating £2 15s.

On April 18th, 1682, a letter from Ormond to the Mayor was read at a meeting of the Council, and it was resolved that an Address be forwarded to his Majesty "in imitation of Dublin." The address, like most of the communications sent in these days from the Council to the Court or the Castle, is not a particularly edifying document. It reeks of fulsome adulation of the Merrie Monarch and of exaggerated professions of loyalty. The King is told that Ormond's prudent management of affairs is largely responsible for the peace and prosperity enjoyed by his Majesty's Irish subjects. The object of the address seems to have been to sound the praises of the Lord Lieutenant and at the same time to alarm his most sacred Majesty about the possibility of seditious outbursts. The King is informed by the Waterford burghers that they are ready on all occasions to sacrifice cheerfully their lives and their fortunes for the defence and preservation of English Rule and the Protestant religion. They promise to oppose to the death "all Combinations and Confederacies and associations whatsoever which shall be contrived and entered

into by any Papists or sectarian or other factions." The profligate monarch is told that he is an especial favourite with the Almighty, and the pious hope is expressed that He who has so long watched over him "shall reach out his everlasting Arm" over him and give his Majesty "to see the greatness of his divine power exalted in the confusion of your Majesty's enemies."

The next recorded attempt to curry favour in high places was when the Council on March 27th, 1683, decided to send to Secretary Ellis a present of "Ten guineas for his good services in the Dungarvan business, etc." The following July it was decided to forward another royal address to Ellis with the object of having it presented to the King. The address is a lengthy one and it is a remarkably tedious and sugary document. It pours benedictions not only on the annointed head of Charles II. but on the head of "your Dear and only Brother James Duke of York, who has been miraculously preserved from the seditious and horrid designs of Rebellious and profligate wretches, men of such debased principles as not contented to act ordinary crimes do strive to exceed all the common measures of wickedness." After acknowledging the blessings of peace and "the exercise of the true Protestant religion established by law, all of which blessings do flow mainly from the hands of His Grace the Duke of Ormond," the perfervidly loyal citizens of Waterford "pray that none may be found so audaciously wicked as to stretch forth his hand against the Lord's annointed and sacriligiously attempt to quench the light of our Israel."



One wonders what object was desired to be gained by the concoction of addresses couched in this absurd language. Charles II. was not a gullible personage nor could he be regarded as witless. If he did peruse the addresses he received from Waterford, one can only suppose that "Old Rowley" heartily enjoyed the over-ripe phrases and that he recognized in them the fine Roman hand of the Great Duke from whom (according to the Corporation of Waterford) all blessing flowed.

It is almost unnecessary to add that the City Fathers were, practically, all Protestants. On December 15, 1683, a resolution was passed that "no person hereafter be admitted to sit as Member of this Council but such as are of the Communion of the Church of England as Established." An entry under the date of December 20th, 1684, runs: "That Mr. Mayor and all the Council and Mr. Recorder declared their intention to receive the Sacrament next Thursday, except Mr. Hitchens and Mr. Faukes."

Amongst the Aldermen and Councilmen of this period there is not to be found one bearing an Irish name: municipally Waterford remained *Urbs Intacta*.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### JAMES THE SECOND.

WHEN James II. ascended the throne the hopes of Irish Catholics ran high and the "planters" experienced a corresponding feeling of depression. Many of the landed proprietors despoiled during the Cromwellian era, or their children, still lived; and seeing a Catholic King on the throne they not unnaturally expected that restitution in some shape or form would be made. The air of Ireland again became thick with rumours of intended massacres: Protestants and Catholics being alike implicated. Each side watched the other like hostile armies. Business was dislocated and for a time industry of every kind was once more brought to a standstill.

One of the first acts of the King was to recall the Duke of Ormond and to appoint the Earl of Clarendon Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The new Viceroy was instructed to devise some means of rewarding many of the plundered Catholics who had done service to the Stuart cause. But Clarendon was a Protestant, and although he was a submissive courtier and anxious to please the King, it was hardly to be expected that he would carry out with thoroughness and enthusiasm a programme calculated to injure the cause of Protestant and Puritan ascendancy in Ireland. However, Catholics were permitted to practice their religion openly and freely and they were entitled to be appointed equally with Protestants to all offices of State and to the freedom of corporations. A few Catholic lawyers were raised to the bench; the revenues, amounting



to £2,190, of two vacant Protestant Sees were appropriated for distribution among the twelve Catholic prelates of Ireland. Further evidences were forthcoming that the King meant to treat fairly his Irish subjects, irrespective of creed.

The Corporation of Waterford does not seem to have suffered from panic at the prospect of having to deal with a Catholic King. On March 4th an address to the new monarch was read in the Council Chamber and was approved of by the assembled senators. It began by styling James "Most Dread Sovereign," and it assured him that the "Ancient and Loyal City of Waterford having duly lamented the death of our late Sovereign Your Majesty's Deceased Brother of ever Blessed Memory, do as truly Rejoice at your Majesty's quiet and peaceable possessing of your Lawfull and Hereditary Throne." Also it was set forth that the lives and the fortunes of the Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs and Citizens "shall ever be ready against all opposers whatsoever." This address is dated March 3rd in the first year of the reign of King James the Second.

After signing this reassuring document the Council turned its attention promptly to local affairs and ordered the Water Bailiff to fix iron staples "on the outside of the Cole and Salt Barrells to prevent the deceit by knobbs of ropes on the inside thereof." And the Sheriff Receiver was ordered to provide forthwith hinges for the Market House windows at the city charge. On the last day of the month of March the Council again assembled and amongst the matters discussed was the Sheriff's bill of costs for proclaiming the King. The sum of £7 2s. 2d. was

awarded to him. At the same meeting £2 5s. od. was ordered to be paid to John Towell for keeping the Town Clock in order ; and hats and cloaks for the Bailiffs and coats for the Beadles were ordered to be provided against next Assize.

The Council did not assemble again until May 3rd. On that date Alderman Goodrick's account for wines, amounting to the respectable sum of £55 11s. 4d., was allowed, and it was ordered that Sheriff Barker be paid £4 3s. 5d. for beer and firing supplied to the solders on April 23rd.

The records of the next Council meeting—on May 14th—show that public business was not very brisk. The only items of interest are orders that Bartholomew Butler (the Corporate official who looked after the water supply) should "finish his digging\* in Dr. Madden's garden" within two months; and that hucksters and others who sold victuals shall be held liable to quarter soldiers.

About this time the Council evidently began to grow a little anxious concerning the turn public affairs were taking outside the walls of Waterford, for on June 10th Captain Christmas, Alderman Denis, Alderman Seay, one of the Sheriffs and Mr. Jones were asked to make by the following Saturday a "Return of the names of such Conformable persons as are fit to be brought into the Council."

Sunday, 23rd August, was set aside as a Day of

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\* Bartholomew Butler's digging must have resulted in the discovery of a fresh supply of water, for it was ordered on June 10th that certain members of the Council do view the new spring discovered by him, and on the 13th the Sheriff Receiver was instructed to pay him forty shillings "towards the work of finding out the summer spring."



Thanksgiving. It was ordered that the usual "solemnities of scarlet" should be observed in the forenoon "and after the Companys to attend bone-fires, etc., and to meet at the Mayor-Elect's after sermon, etc." Amongst other items concerned with purely local affairs recorded under the date 18th August, 1685, is an order to mend the steps of the Cross. On January 22nd, 1686, it was arranged that the city should purchase King John's House\* of Edward Brown for the sum of £30 and that the said House "should be conveyed to the Right Reverend Father in God, Hugh [Gore] Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore by the said Edward Brown." On the same date it was ordered that "Mr. Recorder be desired and impowered to inquire after and receive into his hands the Charter of this City from the Executor of Mr. Thomas Watts late deceased or other person."

Considerable trouble was now brewing at Dublin Castle and at the English Court. The original intention of James was to divide the administration of Ireland, an English Protestant to be Viceroy and an Irish Catholic to have charge of the Irish army. The military command was entrusted to Colonel Richard Talbot who was created Earl of Tyrconnell. Having shaken the soldiery into shape, Tyrconnell repaired to London and urged upon the King the expediency of repealing Charles the Second's Act of Settlement. His Majesty would not consent to adopt this course but he gave ear to another suggestion made by the Earl, namely that

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\* Upon this site has been built the present "Widow's Apartment."

Clarendon should be removed from the Viceroyalty of Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant realised that "Dick Talbot" was likely to prove too powerful for him. However he decided to make a progress through Ireland, but this tour only confirmed his fears of being supplanted: almost everywhere, except in Waterford, he met with the cold shoulder. In September the Waterford Corporation made him an honorary Freeman of the city. At the same time the same honour was conferred on Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, Sir Paul Rycott, Knight, Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Totherby and thirty-four others. And presently Clarendon was duly entertained by the City Fathers. On October 6th the Council passed over to its Auditor the Mayor's bill of his expenses in connection with the Viceregal visit.

The year 1687 opened inauspiciously for Protestant Ireland. On January 8th it was formally announced that Tyrconnell would assume the government of Ireland within a month. The civic authorities in Waterford were keenly alive to the situation, but they adopted the prudent policy of being all things to all men,\* and on February 10th they issued an order that

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\*As an instance of the manner in which attempts were made to bring pressure to bear in high station in the matter of preferments in the Catholic Church we find in the Ormond papers a copy of a letter dated December 15th, 1686, addressed by James Strange, Town Clerk of Waterford, to the Duke of Ormond, in which it is stated that the Roman Catholics of the city desired to have Father John Everard, a regular of St. Francis' Order, appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Most likely as Ormond was at this time out of royal favour, the petition of the Town Clerk did not reach King James. Father Everard lived in London from 1662 to 1680—he was one of the twenty-three "exiled Irish priests" in London in 1662—and from 1687 to 1689. His name appears as one of the four witnesses to the retraction of Father Peter Walsh—also a member of the Order of Friars Minor—on March 13th, 1688. He died in 1690.



"bells and bonfires be made this evening" to celebrate the arrival in Dublin of the Lord Lieutenant. Renewed anxiety about the city's charter began to disturb the burgomasters. On April 6th it was concluded that "the city should appear and plead to the order of Quo Warranto returnable in the Irish Exchequer this ensuing term and that Mr. Mayor, Alderman Denis, Alderman Barker, Sheriff Smith and the Town Clerke do go towards Dublin to-morrow with the city charter now in Mr. Mayor's hands." On the 23rd of the same month the Council declared its approval of the Mayor's proceedings in Dublin and of the Letter of Attorney sent under the city seal to Mr. John Forster, Attorney in the Exchequer for the Corporation.

The last meeting during the reign of James the Second of the Protestant Corporation which governed the city from the Restoration was held on March 27th, 1688. At this meeting the business done was to pass to the Sheriff Receiver £2 14s. 3d. for wine spent at his house on the 17th and 26th February, 1687, and to pay £2 to Joseph Cooper for a hogshead of Beer given to the soldiers on February 26th; also to pay Alderman Goodrick £4 18s. 10d. expended by him on February 6th, "being the day of his Majesty's happy accession to the throne."

At the close of the month of March came the revolution for Waterford. A new charter from his most sacred Majesty arrived in the city. It is stated that in the charters granted to Irish cities during the Viceroyalty of Tyrconnell a clause was inserted that at least two-thirds of the freemen should be Catholics. This clause was not embodied in King James's

charter to Waterford (dated March 22), but certain gentlemen were named in it as fit and proper persons to administer the affairs of the city. Richard Fitzgerald was made Mayor and the following 24 gentlemen were nominated Aldermen :—Richard, Earl of Tyrone, Sir S. Rice, Chief Baron, Peter Walsh, Thomas Wyse, Garrett Gough, Thomas Sherlock, James Sherlock, William Dobbin, Nicholas Fitzgerald, Thomas Christmas, Edward Browne, Robert Carew, Francis Driver, Richard Madden, Nicholas Porter, James White, William Fuller, Michael Head, Richard Say, Nicholas Lee, Dominick Synott, Martin Walsh, Abraham Smith and Peter Cransborough. There were also nominated twenty-four " Assistants " :—Thomas Dobbin, Patrick Troy, Richard Aylward, Victor Sall, J. Aylward, Edward Collins, M. Sherlock, S. Leonard, Matthew White, Francis Barker, Thomas Lee, John Winston, A. Brown, Thomas White, Jos. Hopkins, William Dobbyn, Henry Keating, Bartholomew Walsh, James Lynch, Patrick Wise, Richard Morris, Thomas Smith, Joseph Barry and John Donnaghow. James Strong and Paul Sherlock were named as Sheriffs, and John Porter was appointed Recorder, and Daniel Mollony Town Clerk, Prothonotary, and Clerk of the Peace.

The municipal records contain no account of the proceedings of this body or of the Councils which succeeded it in the year 1688 and 1689. Thomas Wise was Mayor for 1688 with William Dobbyn and John Aylward as Sheriffs, and Nicholas Porter was Mayor in 1689 with Thomas Lee and Thomas Donnaghow as Sheriffs. During these years serious difficulties were confronting King James. In Ireland the ap-



pointment of Tyrconnell to the Viceroyalty caused grave alarm to the Irish Protestants and some of the bishops and a considerable number of clergymen fled to England. Tyrconnell had raised a considerable army in Ireland and at his suggestion large numbers of Irish troops were drafted to England for the purpose of overawing the King's enemies there. The light in which the Irish were viewed by the English is described by Macauley: they are represented as being "almost as rude as the savages of Labrador . . . they were sunk in idolatry and superstition. . . . The English felt as the white inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans would feel if those towns were occupied by negro garrisons." In like manner did the English and foreign settlers in Waterford view the native population, and it is not to be wondered at that disturbances arose in the city when the so-called "savages of Labrador" began to enjoy a faint glimpse of emancipation. In England the slightest disturbance in Ireland was magnified into a murderous riot in which the whole Catholic population was implicated. As an instance of this it may be recorded that in the month of July, 1689, a pamphlet published in London gave "a full and true account of the late horrid massacre of the Bishop and Dean of Waterford by the French and Irish Papists." The narrative of these horrid massacres was in keeping with the narrative of the horrid massacres in Waterford during the Civil War. The truth was that some inebriated ruffians set upon Bishop Gore, but there was no massacre either of his lordship or of the Dean. According to Sir James Ware the worthy prelate was "seized in his bed,

stript and beaten," but it is very likely that even this is an exaggerated account of the outrage. It is stated that his lordship, after the attack upon him, concealed himself for some days in the crypt beneath the Deanery. Eventually he was conveyed to Swansea in a sailing ship. Ware adds that in the decline of his life the Bishop had been "spirited away with most of his effects into Wales, where some men in great power persuaded or forced him to make a will contradictory to all former wills which he had made in his perfect senses in favour of the Poor. But though his fortune was by these means got into such hands yet his true and worthy executor, Sir John Mason, of the City of Waterford . . . after a long and expensive lawsuit, supported at his own cost, recovered a great share of the Bishop's effects and laid them out pursuant to the intentions of his will."\*

At length came the stirring news that the King had to fly from his son-in-law and from his own country. On 12th March, 1689, he landed at Kinsale. He held a Parliament in Dublin at which John Porter and Nicholas Fitzgerald represented Waterford, repealed the Act of Settlement, passed an Act of Attainder, and issued an immense quantity of coin. William of Orange landed at Carrickfergus on June 14th, 1690, and on July 1st of the same year the

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\* Dr. Gore bequeathed £200 towards providing bells for the Church of Lismore and beautifying the choir, £100 for bells for Clonmel Church, £20 to the English Poor of Waterford, £1,200 for building an Almshouse for ten poor Ministers' widows, to each of whom was allotted £10 a year. The residue of his estate he bequeathed for "the repairing of old ruined churches in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore."



Battle of the Boyne was fought. King James was amongst the first who fled from this memorable battlefield. He arrived in Dublin the same evening, leaving the capital on the following morning.

For upwards of two centuries the people of Waterford have held fast by the tradition that after his retreat from the battlefield the last of the Stuart kings rode directly from Dublin to the Untouched City, that he was sheltered under the roof of the scion of an old Waterford house who resided on the outskirts of the city, and that he proceeded down the river the morning after his arrival here and embarked at Duncannon on board a French ship which conveyed His Most Sacred Majesty to France via Kinsale. Colour is given to the story of the flying visit to Waterford by the indisputable fact that one of James's most valued officers, who accompanied him in his flight, died, doubtless of his wound, in this city, and was buried in the French Church. The inscription on the tombstone runs:—"Here lyes the body of Sir Neale O'Neill,\* Baronet, of Killelag, in the County of Antrim, who dyed on the 8th July, in the year 1690, at the age of 32 years and six months."

Further there is a story in Waterford—and traditional tales go a long way in this country in the establishing of historical theories—that riding along the Quay the King's hat was blown into the river

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\* We learn from Clarke's "James the Second" that at the Battle of the Boyne "Sir Neale O'Neill's Dragoons did their part well and disputed the passage with the enemy almost an hour till their cannon came up and then retired in good order with loss of only 5 or 6 common men, but their Colonel was shot through the thigh and an officer or two wounded."



Suir. An officer handed his own hat to his Majesty, who said, epigrammatically :—" Well, if I have lost a crown I have at least gained a hat."

Sir James Ware in his "Gesta Hibernorum," published in 1705, says :—" July 2nd. King James flees to Waterford and thence to France."

The earliest of Waterford's historians, Charles Smith, writing about half a century after the Battle of the Boyne, appears to have entertained no doubt that James was inside the walls of Waterford in the year 1690. He mentions the matter casually, giving in a foot-note his authority :—" Story's History of Irish Wars." Story's account says that going towards Bray the King "scarce looked behind him afterwards till he got to Waterford and so on shipboard for France, leaving his poor Teagues to fight it out or do what they pleased for him, and what was more remarkable, finding some of the Frigats at Waterford that were to go upon the project of burning our ships he told them all was lost." In the narrative of Colonel O'Kelly the names of places are printed cryptographically. There is a passage referring to the Battle of the Boyne and to the King's flight which runs :—" He rid before with a select party of Horse for his Guard and arriving that night at *Salamis* he went off next morning by break of day and never stopt till he came to the seaport town of *Marium*,\* 100 leagues distant from the place of

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\* O'Kelly gives *Marium* for Kinsale, but possibly this may be some confounding of things. The ship which started from Duncannon called at Kinsale.



Battle, where he no sooner arrived than he got on board a *Syrian* vessel which he found in the Harbour and setting sail for *Syria*, was the first man who brought to that country the unwelcome news of his unhappy Defeat."

The story which is generally credited in Waterford is that on the second night after the battle the King slept in the residence of the Dobbys, a family honourably associated with Waterford's history for many centuries.\* A room is still shown in this house as "King James's room." Also in Bessborough House there is a black table fashioned out of oak grown in Ballynakill demesne. This was presented to one of the Earls of Bessborough by William Dobbyn of Clonmore with the statement that King James ate his last dinner in Ireland off this table.

Mr. W. A. Dobbyn writes in February, 1913:—"The tradition has always existed in our family that King James II slept at Ballinakill after the battle of the Boyne, and I think it is most likely that he did occupy the room known there as King James's Room. My ancestor who lived there at the time—William Dobbyn—was the son of Peter Dobbyn, who had fought on the royalist side at the time of the Commonwealth and had to fly to France in 1649. (He died there in 1651). William got back his estates

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\* In January, 1696, an Attestation was signed by Anthony Knowles, Jesuit Superior in Ireland, Bonaventure Mandevil, Franciscan Friar, John Coghlan, Prior of the Franciscan Order, Richard, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Paul Bellew, Vicar General, declaring that Thomas Dobbyn was the son of the noble and generous William Dobbyn and was descended from the illustrious family of Dobbyn and from the noble family of the Waddings. Thomas Dobbyn was then living "at the Harbour of St. Mary."

under the Court of Claymes at the Restoration on the recommendation of Ormonde, who described him as 'an innocent Papist.' He would be known to the Stuart party in 1690 as a safe man for the King to entrust himself to and his house was a most convenient place for James to escape from. He is supposed to have been rowed in a small boat in the early morning to Duncannon, where he embarked."

Mr. John A. Blake, in his "History of the Sea Fisheries in Ireland" (published in 1868) contends that King James in 1690 "was indebted to the fidelity of Irish fishermen for his escape. There are many versions," he adds, "of the route the unfortunate monarch took to reach the French vessel that awaited him in Waterford harbour. Ballinakill House claims the honour of having sheltered him during his last night on Irish soil. The people of Duncannon, on the Wexford side, point to a now walled-up doorway whence it is said he issued on the morning of the embarkation. The following account, which may be relied on, must deprive Duncannon at least of the distinction it claims. It was related to the present writer by a valued friend some years ago who heard his great-grandfather, then a very aged man, recount it when the former was a boy:—

"Very early, on the morning of the King's flight from Ireland, he saw from his father's fields a party of horsemen proceeding to a small fishing hamlet two miles north of Duncannon; a fishing boat and crew having been procured there the chief personage and some of those who accompanied him were conveyed on board. The former proved to be King James."



In an anonymous history of the reign of William III, printed in 1703, it is stated that "he went away [from Dublin] next morning for Waterford, and so on board a French man-o'-war for France." Nor does this exhaust the list of tales and traditions. We are told that before the engagement of July 1st, 1690, the King had prudently sent Sir P. Trant to Waterford to have a ship in readiness for him there in case the result of the battle was adverse to the Stuart cause. There is also a tradition that his Majesty passed through Kilkenny en route for Waterford on the 1st of July.\*

One might say that, like the seven Grecian cities that vied for Homer dead through which the living Homer begged his bread, about half a dozen Irish counties claim to have harboured the monarch who on July 2nd, 1690, was fleeing through these counties in terror of his life, finding few indeed who would care to run the risk of giving him a meal or a bed.

These various statements and legends would seem at first sight to be fairly good authority for stating that the last of the Stuart Kings paid a hurried visit to Waterford City; but we have another and a more weighty account of his Majesty's flight. In the "Life of James the Second collected out of the Memoirs of his own Hand, Together with the King's

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\*It might be mentioned that the writer of "The Story of Waterford" published in 1886 a book entitled "Through Green Glasses" in which there is a fantastic account of "The Escape of James the Second." This story or legend was based on the supposition that the King had visited Waterford. Mr. Gladstone in a letter to the author declared he had derived especial amusement from the reading of two stories in "Through Green Glasses": one of these was the account of the escape of the last of the Stuart kings from Waterford City.

advice to his son published from the original Stuart MSS in Carlton House. By the Revd. J. S. Clarke "we are told that "setting out about five in the morning (the King) marched leisurely to Bray, about ten miles from Dublin, where he ordered the two troops he had with him to stay till twelve at noon, to defend that bridge as long as they could if any partye of the enemy should fortune to follow them ; and then continued on his journey through the hills of Wicklow with a few followers till he came to one Mr. Hackett's house near Arclo where he baited his horses some two hours and then followed on his journey to Duncannon.

"The King had scarce got two miles from Mr. Hackett's house when four French officers he had left in Dublin overtook him and assured him that if he made not haste he would certainly be taken, for they had been pushed by a party of the Enemy who had pursued them very hard for about a mile and that they could not be more than a mile behind. The King said he could not believe it, that it was impossible any body of the Enemy could be got so far, that probably it was some of the country people they took for troops ; to which they replied, They hoped his Majesty believed they knew troops when they saw them. . . . The King upon their positiveness mended his pace and by their advice left La Rue and a Brigadier of the Guards at a bridge when it began to be dark to stop the Enemy in case they pursued, where they stayed about half an hour and hearing no Enemy followed the King who travelling all night got to Duncannon about sunrise.



"Monsieur La Hougette and his companions went straight to Passage, where they found the *Lauzuna de Malouin* of 28 guns newly come in there laden with corn and other goods for Ireland; they prevailed with the Captain to get under sail and fall down with the tyde to Duncannon and came to the King there to acquaint him with what they had done, advising him it would be easier to go on board of her and so pass by sea to Kinsale rather than by Waterford, the wind being good and the coast clear, and that if his Majesty could get out that evening he might be in Kinsale early next morning. The King liked the proposition and went on board as soon as the ship fell down and got over the bar before night. As soon as he was at sea these gentlemen would have persuaded him to have gone to rights for Brest, but the King did not think fit to do that, so he got early next morning to Kingsale, where he found Mons. Foran, a Chef d'Esquadre, with a squadron of seven small French ships, with some merchantmen laden with corn and wine, together with Mons. Du Quesne, who had 3 small frigates likewise."\*

In the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Society for April, 1877 there is a communication from Dr. J. Martin of Portlaw, who says: "The first doubt raised in my mind [about King James's visit to Ballynakill] was by Mr. T. Jacob, of Waterford, who told me an anecdote of

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\* The French frigates were sent over by the Queen, who was then in France. James sailed from Kinsale to Brest.

some Friends in the Co. Wexford\* being disturbed in the early morning by a party of horsemen who demanded breakfast, of which having partaken they hastily departed on the way to Duncannon, and who were afterwards believed to be the King and his followers; but the following extract from the King's Memoirs† which I find at page 354 of the notes attached to '*Macariæ Excidium*‡ of the Irish Archæological Society' I think decides the question against the authenticity of the tradition of the oak table (at Bessborough House)." Dr. Martin then gives some passages from Clarke's "Life of James the Second" showing that his Majesty travelled to Duncannon by way of Wicklow and Wexford counties.

Plunkett in his "Light for the Blind" a Jacobite narrative, says that "James came to the extremity of Wexford, viz., the fort of Duncannon, where he took shipping for France." There is a tradition in Enniscorthy that he slept a night in the Abbey House (the old Friary), but this is probably merely one of the tales which is not based on anything very substantial.

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\* This tradition is from the Randalls, a Quaker family of the Deeps Castle, near Killurin, where James is said to have supped and then journeyed to Duncannon.

† The Memoirs of King James II. are really Clarke's "Life of James II."

‡ "*Excidium Macariæ, sive Cypri Ruina*" is a small MS volume written in Latin. It was sold in 1842 by the Revd. James Scott of Clones to Mr. McCullagh, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who presented it to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The Irish Archæological Society printed the "*Excidium*," edited by John Cornelius O'Callaghan, from this manuscript. Crofton Croker made a translation of this work which was published by the Camden Society in 1841.



Macauley bases his account of the King's flight on "The Life of James, Orig. Mem." He says that after his departure from the capital James "crossed the Wicklow hills with all speed and never stopped till he was fifty miles from Dublin. Scarcely had he alighted to take some refreshment when he was scared by an absurd report that the pursuers were close upon him. He started again, rode hard all night, and gave orders that the bridges should be pulled down behind him. At sunrise on the third of July he reached the harbour of Waterford." It will be seen that Macauley did not place credence in the narratives which made Waterford city a resting-place for the last of the Stuarts in his ignominious flight.

It must be admitted that the circumstantial narrative related in Clarke's "Memoirs of His Own Hand" bears the impress of truth. At the same time it is not easy to disturb a tradition which has existed in Waterford for upwards of two centuries. It will be argued that in his pitiful plight King James would have considered Waterford as a seaport town not too far distant, and peopled for the most part by sympathisers with the Stuart cause. From the city there would be opportunities of immediate escape to the Continent. Duncannon was a Fort, and shipping did not, to any extent frequent it. In fact we see in the principal narrative which tells us the King did not visit Waterford, that a search had to be made at Passage for a likely vessel to carry his Majesty out of the reach of his pursuers. There is no municipal record in Waterford City about a visit from King James; but in the disturbed condition of things this omission would not be evidence for either side. It

might be asked: if the King did not spend a night at Ballynakill House how did the legend arise of his having slept there? This is the chief difficulty which has hitherto confronted those who are desirous of arriving at the truth about the route taken by the fleeing monarch, but I think some further light can now be thrown on the subject. Dr. Grattan Flood sends me an extract from the pedigree (printed in 1860) of the family of Hay of Ballinakeele (near Enniscorthy):— "The second night after the Battle of the Boyne, 1690, King James II slept at Ballinakeele from whence he was accompanied in his flight to Waterford\* by the brother of William Hay." It would be quite easy to confound Ballinakeele with Ballynakill, and the tradition that the King slept in the Enniscorthy mansion might very easily have been twisted into a tradition pointing to the Waterford mansion, especially as one thing was certain and that was that James had got on board a ship in Waterford harbour. Of course the mystery still remains: how the Dobbyn family could have held all through undisturbed faith in the belief that the King had found refuge in their house at Ballynakill, and how it was that trustworthy historians in the 18th century should have cast no doubt on the tradition that on the night of July 2nd, 1690, his Majesty in his dire extremity honoured Waterford by entrusting himself to one of its prominent Catholic citizens.

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\* In this, and in some other cases, Waterford probably meant Waterford harbour.



## CHAPTER XV.

### WILLIAM III.

AFTER his epoch-making victory King William displayed considerable caution and for some days he did not move southwards in pursuit of his royal father-in-law. He kept his whole army together, but hearing of the defeat off Beachy Head he feared for the safety of his transports in Dublin Bay and he determined to secure Waterford as a place of refuge. Taking with him the greater part of his troops he set out for the city by the Suir. The Irish soldiery abandoned Kilkenny and Clonmel as soon as they learned that William was on the march. Kilkenny—or to be more precise, the Butlers—received him with open arms. On July 19th he was entertained by the Duke of Ormond in Kilkenny Castle. Carrick-on-Suir was the next town occupied by the new king. Here he established his headquarters. Major-General Kirk immediately set out from there for Waterford, and the city, after a spiritless defence, capitulated.

Smith gives the following account of the surrender: "Major-General Kirk with his own regiment, Colonel Brewers, as also a party of horse, marched from Carrick towards Waterford, more forces designing to follow. The Major-General sent a trumpet to summon the town, who at first refused to

surrender, there being two regiments then in garrison ; their refusal however was in such civil terms that their inclinations were easily understood ; for soon after they sent out to know what terms they might have ? which were the same with those of Drogheda. But not liking them they proposed some of their own, which were that they might enjoy their estates, the liberty of their religion, a safe convoy to the next garrison, with their arms and proper goods. Those would not be granted, and then the heavy cannon was brought down that way, and some more forces ordered to march. But the Irish, understanding this, sent to ask liberty to march out with their arms, and to have a safe convoy, which was granted them. And accordingly on the 25th they marched out with their arms and baggage, being conducted to Mallow."

The day after the surrender King William took a peep at the Untouched City. A contemporary account has it that he did not go inside the walls, but rode around them and then retired to Kirk's tent, where he dined. He is said to have expressed a desire that no person in Waterford should be disturbed in his house or goods.

Colonel Michael Bourke surrendered the Fort of Duncannon to Brigadier d'Eppingham on July 26th.

The struggles which tore Ireland asunder in 1690 do not seem to have inflicted such deadly injury on Waterford as might have been expected. The manner in which the municipality (according to its written records) conducted its business after the short struggle for King James would lead one to believe that the Williamite siege had affected the city or its



Protestant freemen hardly at all. In the municipal records (as has been already stated) there is no entry relating to the proceedings of the Corporation nominated by King James II or to the siege. Immediately following the entries dated 27th March, 1688, come the records of proceedings dated 27th July, 1690. Nor is there any reference to the inter-regnum.

The first duty of the new Corporation was to consider a document signed "By His Majesty's Commands, Robert Southwell." This document ran :—

" Upon application made to us by the Protestant Aldermen of our City of Waterford who were displaced by the late King praying that they might be authorised and made capable to serve us in the government of the said city and in all things appertaining thereunto and representing that Alderman David Lloyd might be Mayor of our said city, Richard Cox, Esq., Recorder, Captain Thomas Christmas, Joseph Ivie, Michael Head, Richard Leay, George Deyos, John Mason, Andrew Rickards, William Denis, Richard Christmas, William Goodrick, James Mallow, Zachary Clayton, William Smith, Jos. Hopkins, Edward Collier, Abraham Smith, Thomas Smith and Francis Barker be Aldermen thereof our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby constitute and appoint for the peace and present government of the said city and until further consideration may be taken thereon, that David Lloyd be Mayor of our said city and Richard Cox, Esq., be Recorder, and others above mentioned be Aldermen thereof and Benjamin Bolton and Benjamin Lamb be Sheriffs of the same to exercise and Injoy all the antient privileges and jurisdiction of their Charter whereof they were illegally deprived and particularly to oversee the marketts and regulate the price of things which are now exorbitant that all things may be done in good order and as to justice and good

government shall appertain. Given at our Royal Camp at Carig the 26th day of July, 1690, in the second year of our Reign."

After reading this communication the Mayor and Sheriffs were sworn, and Alderman Clayton was appointed Coroner, Robert Bradford Town Clerk, Robert Harsnipp Water Bailiff, John Roche and John Giles Sargents-at-Mace, John France High Constable. Alderman William Cooper was restored to his place as Clerk of the Markett. The Aldermen were sworn on the two following days (29th and 30th). Alderman Denis was reinstated as Master of the Leper House of St. Stephen's and he was authorised to demand and receive from Councillor Porter all papers and writings touching the Hospital. It was also ordered that Alderman Barker and Alderman Samuel Taylor "do attend at the Tholsel this afternoon and receive the Irish Arms according to the drift and purpose of the proclamation." Luke Mason was chosen Measurer and Samuel Hearn Notary Public. The English Protestant Porters were restored to their places and benefits and Mrs. Bishop was appointed to "keep their accounts as formerly." Robert Bowen was restored to the office of Pound Keeper, and James Flaskett was the new Beadle.

On August 7th the Corporation decided to present an address to King William, and the clergy were invited to join in the address. This document was of the usual kind—a mixture of flamboyant loyalism and self-belittleing. The tenderness and clemency of His Majesty to the city during the severities of the late war were dilated upon and the pious hope was expressed that the citizens might be enabled to follow



their callings, merchandize and trades in such a manner as to render them more serviceable to His Majesty.

The next meeting of the Corporation was held on August 19th. Some orders were made about minor local affairs, and the Sheriff Receiver was ordered to pay the Mayor £6 7s. 6d. for monies "disbursed for His Majesty's order of Restoring the Corporation." Complaints about depredations on the part of the soldiery quartered in the city were discussed at this meeting. One of these complaints came from John Norrish, who said that the soldiers had broken open his doors and taken away his goods.

On September 2nd the Council ordered that Mr. Carew, Master of the Holy Ghost Hospital, be asked "to find out a place for the poor to be removed unto that the Abbey may be used to lay up the King's hay to be imported into this harbour" and that Mr. Carew be also asked to consider where the wounded and sick soldiers may be received. On the 29th of the month the Board approved of the payment of £10 for the subsistence of the Prince of Whittenberge's barge's guards, "being one hundred and twenty of them." On November 18th it was ordered that the Mayor be desired to advise the Master of the Hospital and the Leper House and to write Major-General Siranemore's letter "touching the fund of £600 per annum for the maintenance of the Hospital." It was also concluded that £144 should be lent to the Duke of Whittenberge "for present subsistence of the soldiers till they receive pay."

In the month of August when Sarsfield blew up William's guns in the neighbourhood of Killaloe a

new siege train was ordered up from Waterford and its fire was directed on the beleagured city. The siege was raised at the end of August, and William proceeded to Callan on September 1st. From Callan he went to Clonmel and from Clonmel to Waterford, which he reached on September 4th. He embarked at Duncannon on September 5th (with Prince George of Denmark, and others), and arrived next day at King's Road, near Bristol.

King William's last document in Ireland was written "from Our Court at Duncannon, 5th Sept., 1690." The King adds:—"We are here attending till the wind may favour our passage unto Bristol."

On March 12th, 1691, an order was read from the Lord Justices "for a collection throughout the city and county of Waterford to relieve the poor distressed people of Limerick, now in the city." In the month of May in the same year it was decided to ask William Rogers to inspect the fortifications and guns of the garrison and to recommend that Rogers be appointed gunner. The anxiety of the City Fathers was also indicated in a resolution authorising the Mayor "to furnish carriages for the guns and all other fortifications for the necessary defence of this city." And we find the Mayor in the month of June asking the Council to have his salary enlarged in consideration of "the vast trouble he had undergone this year and expecting little better in the next year coming." The Council promised to give this application full consideration. The damage done by the army of King William to the citizens was a matter which came up for discussion in August and it was left to the Mayor, Sheriffs and three Aldermen to ascertain



what compensation the tenants of the Corporation ought to be allowed. Lieut.-Colonel Syfert von Oertzen was granted a certificate that during the time he was governor of the city he had carried himself courteously towards the citizens and had governed the garrison in an orderly manner. Also a little later a certificate was issued to the Duke of Whittenberge approving of his and his regiment's behaviour and stating that the Duke and the soldiers' quarters were paid off "excepting only £319 10s. od. borrowed of the Corporation."

It is apparent that the intensely anti-Irish feeling of the English settlers was wearing itself down at this time, for it was decided by the Council in August to establish a City Watch both of English and Irish and that those who hired the Watch should pay sixpence for twenty-four hours' watching.

In 1692 an Act for the encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in Ireland was rushed through the Irish Parliament, Anthony Luxberry and Henry Nicholls, the citizens representing Waterford, giving aid to the rapid passage of the Bill. On March 27th, 1693, the Corporation of Waterford adopted the following resolution:—"That this city and liberties do provide habitation for fifty families of the French Protestants to drive a trade of linen manufacture, they bringing with them a stock of money and materials for their subsistence till flax can be sown and produced on the lands adjacent, and that the freedom of the city be given them gratis and that Mr. Mayor and Mr. Recorder are desired to acquaint the Lord Bishop of the diocese therewith." The Lord Bishop was Nathaniel Foy, who had

been consecrated Protestant bishop of Waterford in 1691 on the death of the benevolent Hugh Gore. Canon Gimlette in his "Huguenot Settlers in Ireland" says that Bishop Foy, Daniel Lloyd (the Mayor) and Minard Christian (the Recorder) were "all three remarkable for their Protestant zeal." The Huguenots were desirous of adhering to the Genevan form of worship but they saw the wisdom of conforming to the discipline of their Waterford patrons. David Gervais was appointed pastor, and the Corporation guaranteed him a stipend of £40 a year. The choir of the old Franciscan Abbey was allotted to the Huguenots for a place of worship.

On May 9th an interesting Dearn (or Dern) Hundred was held at the Tholsel. Amongst the properties leased to citizens were the Bowling Green Gardens, which were let to John Hicks at ten shillings per annum with the proviso that if Hicks neglected to keep the Green in order for the recreation of the citizens his lease should be forfeited. "Barron Strand Mill and House and Garden Lane above High Water Mark" were set to Sheriff Austin for £23 fine and £13 annual rent. A shed by the Ferry was set to Capt. Christmas at 6/- fine and 6/- yearly rent. Three parks under St. Thomas's Hill were let to Alderman Barker for £5 fine and £5 yearly rent. "Three ruined houses joining to Lady's Church in Lady Lane" were set to Alderman Thomas Smith for £2 fine and £2 yearly rent. The shop and cellar under the Tholsell was let to Aaron Norrington for £5 and £3 yearly rent.

That the Corporation was imbued with Puritanical ideas is evidenced by a resolution passed in





RUINS OF HOLY GHOST FRIARY





June, 1692, whereby the inhabitants of Waterford were commanded to observe with due solemnity the Sabbath, "forbearing all manner of manual labour, gameings, plays, revellings, swearing, cursing, unnecessary walking abroad or to publick places except the church;" and renewed tokens of loyalty to the throne were evidenced on November 4th, when the King's birthday was celebrated by the ringing of bells and the lighting of bonfires.

Amongst other local regulations ordained in the year 1693 was one which forbade any lay brother of the Clothiers Company to have more than one loom. James Walsh was granted permission to sell meat in the shambles every day. Mr. Graves's bill for "the speer over the Ring Tower" was left to the auditors. The Revd. John Congreve was to have the city's presentation to the Bishop of Ossory for the vicarages of Poleroane, Illud and Portniscolly. A new whipping post, ducking stool, and pillory were ordered to be provided at the county charge and not out of the revenues of the city. "James Roche the swimmer" was granted the ferry at Waterford.

In the records of the House of Lords under the date November 8th, 1692, there is to be found a note of the reversal of the decree of outlawry pronounced against Richard, Lord Tyrone, of Curraghmore. The reversal was granted by his Majesty's favour in order to preserve the honour of the name to Richard's son John, who had "always lived a Protestant zealous for their Majestys' government and for the Protestant interest." The reversal of the outlawry of Nicholas Fitzgerald of Waterford was pronounced on November 11th, 1694. And on July 2nd, 1697,

pardon was granted to James Earl of Tyrone, "educated as a Protestant."

1694 seems to have been a dull year in Waterford city. Almost the only item of interest in the municipal records is one which appears under the date of October 1st. On that day the Council "concluded that the grievances and discouragement of Trade by the exactions of the Governor of Duncannon Fort [Sir James Jeffreys of Blarney Castle, Co. Cork\*] be laid before the Government in order to get the abuses revised and the dues of the Fort ascertained."

Towards the end of this year small pox raged in England and the Queen fell a victim to a malignant form of the pestilence and died of it in Christmas week. On January 28th, 1695, the Waterford Corporation sent a message of condolence to their sovereign. The message was charged with extravagant declarations of mingled grief and loyalty. His Majesty was told that the citizens were deeply sensible of God's displeasure against them for their unthankfulness and their other grievous sins which made itself manifest "in depriving your Majesty of the most precious and pious princess, the Queen."

In the month of November, 1695, the Council declared its intention of parting with the new Court House and Arundel's Castle to the County for the purpose of enabling the County to build a house for its Sessions and Assizes. The County, in lieu of this were to give to the City the whole of its interest in Blackfriars and to bind itself to procure an

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\* Sir James Jeffreys was Governor of Duncannon Fort until 1698, when he was superseded by Col. Toby Purcell.



Act of Parliament at its own cost. It was subsequently agreed that the cost of pulling down Arundel's Castle should be borne by the municipality.

Efforts were made at this time to improve the condition of the city. Richard Christmas, who was Mayor in 1695, and John Mason were conspicuous in exerting themselves in the endeavour to advance the interests of the citizens. Ryland quotes from "an ancient MS." the following description of the city in 1696 :—" The houses were in ruins, the streets uneven, full of rubbish and dunghills : he (Mr. Mason)\* caused these nuisances to be removed—the high roads leading to the city to be levelled and newpaved, and bridges made in many places of the said roads, to carry off the sloughs and superfluous waters, insomuch that they were a pattern for the whole kingdom." The Market Cross was repaired this year. John Eeles was fined £10 for opening a well in his malthouse, thus lessening the city's water supply. On his agreeing to close up the well and to have the water "converted to the antient and publick use of the fountain" the fine was reduced to sixpence. Sheriff Lewis was paid £40 for fitting up the dock near the Custom House buildings and "for other works in connection with alterations." A public scavenger was appointed to look after the streets.

Other local matter which engaged the attention of the Council in 1696 were the providing of a Quilt, Bolster, and Rug for the Captain of the Guard; the

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\* John Mason was Mayor of Waterford in 1696 and was knighted in that year. He was Mayor in 1697 and in 1709. He was M.P. for the County Waterford from 1695 to 1714.

settlement of Captain Richbell's claim for damage done to his house by the pulling down of Arundel's Castle (this claim was settled for 3s. 6d.); the payment of two guineas to the Dean of Christ Church for Communion wine (arrears), on the condition that the city should not again be charged in this respect; and Mr. Richard Graves was ordered to "show his right to receive money at the Strand of Barronstrand."

A notice dated March 27th was posted on the city gates intimating that all who were "friends to the government and desirous and qualified by law to sign the Association against the late King James and the pretended Prince of Wales should repair to the Tholsel and subscribe their names to the Association on before the Monday following." The Association, originated in the English House of Commons, was intended to furnish a means of combining the greater part of the nation into one vast club which would uphold the Protestant succession. The Corporation of London City led the way in giving support to this movement, and municipal bodies all over the kingdom promptly fell into line. The anti-Jacobite pledge was signed by English merchants in Genoa and New York, by tobacco planters in Virginia, and by sugar planters in Barbadoes, as well as by the settlers in Waterford.

One of the troubles which gave uneasiness to the adherents of King William was the number of plots which were hatched (or which were alleged to be hatched) in England or at St. Germain's to assassinate his Majesty. Of these the most serious was the Barclay conspiracy, for which many Jacobites were executed. On April 17th the Mayor of Waterford



ordered " that there be ——\* on Thursday next, the 23rd instant, being a publick day of Thanksgiving for his Majesty's preservation from Assassination, intended to be managed by the Sheriffs the best they can at the city charge." (This order must not be read as implying that there was any intention to assassinate the King at the charge of the city of Waterford).

The final entry in the civic records for the year 1696 is dated the 10th of December in that year, and it runs :—" Mr. Mayor having received orders from the Government to continue the Priests in custody and to bail others, it is ordered that there be a watch of the Citizens, eight men and a Constable every twenty-four hours with Arms, and those that cannot so appear to employ others at eightpence a turn and that the Sheriffs see to the well ordering of it."

In the spring of 1697 the municipality became anxious about a proposed reduction of the city's defences, and on March 8th the Mayor was desired to cause a petition to be sent to the Lords Justices and Council that the guns, artillery, and stores may not be removed but that " the same continue here at the charge of the Government." Nor was this the only cause of trouble in the matter of dealing with affairs military. In June Samuel Austin was accused of having grossly misbehaved himself by the contemptuous manner which he exhibited towards the Mayor and the civil authority in refusing to quarter an officer of the garrison billeted upon him. Austin was a distiller and a retailer of strong waters and was also a member of the Council. He had fortified his house and had threatened the magistrates by word

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\* There is a word illegible here in the records.

and in writing. The civic authorities decided to expel him from membership as a mark of its grave displeasure. This decision tamed Austin's rebellious spirit: he acknowledged his misbehaviour, begged the Council's pardon and was re-admitted a member. In the same month of June it was resolved by the City Fathers that "the militia arms, to wit, eighty matchlocks and fifteen firelocks in Lieutenant-Colonel David Lloyd's hands and custody" should upon Alderman Lloyd's removal into the country be lodged in the keeping of Sheriff Weekes, and that David Lloyd should be indemnified by the city in connection with his bond for £300 given to Sir Thomas Jeffreys.

The prices of corn advanced considerably in the spring of 1697 and the Mayor was desired to call the attention of the Government to the enhanced prices in order that the exportation of wheat might be forbidden except to the merchants of the city who had already obtained a license to ship wheat out of the harbour. A rule was made later that permission be granted to the market people of the city to use the cellar of the old Custom House to keep their corn dry without paying anything for the privilege beyond the customary toll.

The municipality evinced civic pride in a variety of ways, some of which have been noticed in a previous chapter. In 1697 the Council gave instructions to Bartholomew Butler to make (at the city charge) badges which were to be worn by the poor of Waterford so as to distinguish them from the poverty-stricken strangers that found their way into the city.



Amongst the property dealt with in this year by the Corporation was Lombard's Marsh. Theodore Jones surrendered his old lease of the Marsh and was granted a new lease for 21 years at a yearly rent of £4 for the purpose of "building (reparing) the old bridge and making the banks fit for the Mayor and Council to walk upon." Three years were allowed for the completion of this work. Robert Bradford was granted a lease of St. Martin's Castle for twenty nine years at ten shillings per annum. Captain Christmas was to have "liberty to build a place for his chariott at the end of the Herring-houses before his stairs."

James, Duke of Ormond, was admitted a freeman this year. His freedom paper was presented to him "at his lodgings" in Waterford on October 21st. At the same time Charles, Marquis of Worcester, one of the Lords Justices and Governors-General of Ireland; Sir Henry Wemys, and Thomas Lambe, Ormond's Secretary, were made free of the city.

In this year (1697) William Penn, the famous Quaker who founded Pennsylvania, set out from Bristol for Ireland. He landed in Dublin in the month of May and from there he proceeded to Wexford and subsequently to Waterford. His horse and the horses of his companions were seized on the journey to Waterford by dragoons who claimed that a Quaker was no better than a Papist and could not own a horse of the value of more than five guineas. Penn made complaint to the Lords Justices of the outrage, and the soldiers were punished. The principal object of the visit to Ireland was to spread the Gospel. Penn attended in Waterford a meeting

of Friends which is described by his biographer, Janney, as a large and most successful gathering.

In a petition dated November 19th, 1697, John Newport claimed some forfeited Estate on the score that he had "supplied the timber to make up the broken bridge over the river Suir." This was a temporary bridge or pontoon which was thrown across the river by Cromwell in 1649 and was in 1690 made staunch and strong "to carry the army and carriages to reduce Waterford." Some time before Newport's petition was forwarded to the Lords of the Treasury, James Roche, "the Swimmer," had got a grant of the ferry of Waterford [in 1693]. He sold the right in 1698 and was given forfeited lands to the value of £50 a year. Sir John showed his anxiety for the welfare of the city in many ways. He proposed in March, 1698, that "the £50 in lieu of his last Michaelmas dinner should be laid out in clearing the Ford in the river offensive to shipping." It was also decided to repair the quay wall.

On August 27th, 1698, permission was granted to Patrick Moore to build a ship at St. John's Bridge in the waste ground over against the Mill. Any other citizens desirous of constructing ships were to have liberty to do so, "on the other side of the River especially." Alderman Benjamin Bolton and Alderman Thomas Smith (who was Mayor in the following year) were, as shipbuilders, to be free of Water Bailiff's fees. All other persons were "to pay only fees due to the Water Bailiff for building or loading any such ships." At the ensuing meeting of the Council Alderman Thomas Smith expressed his desire to have a lease of the Strand behind the Ring Tower



in order to make a quay there. It was decided to view the place and report to the Council.

The razing of Arundel's Castle involved the Council in trouble with Bartholomew Butler. Some of the debris did damage to his water pipes, and it was ordered that £4 10s. od. should be paid to him by way of compensation.

The Government decided in 1698 to build suitable barrack accommodation for the officers and soldiers of the Garrison, and the Corporation agreed to hand over to the military authorities the grounds and holdings of the Widow Osborne, that good lady to be duly compensated. There is an entry on July 7th to the effect that the King's Engineers had arranged to proceed with the work of building, and that part of the ground or garden on the west side of St. Patrick's Churchyard was required to be added to the fort where the barracks were to be built. It was also agreed by the Council that "Mr. Mayor shall be in tenancy of the Round Tower at Lady's Gate and that it shall be lawful for him or any other to pull it down in order to provide stones for the barracks."

As so much has been placed in Ireland to the debit of William III. and his Government it should be mentioned that one of the beneficent Acts\* of his reign dealt with the destruction of Ireland's forests. In order to remedy the evil it was ordered under a penalty that on and after March 25th, 1703, every resident freeholder having estates to the value of £10 and upwards and all tenants for years at a rent exceeding that

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\* "An Act for Planting and Preserving Timber Trees and Woods" (1698).

sum should plant every year for thirty-one years ten plants of oak, fir, elm, ash or other timber, that occupiers of five hundred acres and upwards should plant and enclose within seven years an acre of timber and preserve it as a plantation for at least twenty years. Waterford County was to plant in all 6,550 trees, and of these the number allotted to the City and Liberties of Waterford was 1,050. It may be added that this Act was a dead letter. In dealing with the leasing of its properties at this period in the neighbourhood of Waterford the Corporation not only, apparently, ignored this re-afforesting order but gave specific permission in some instances to denude its estates of their timber.

The growing dearness of provisions was a matter which was causing grave anxiety to the citizens at the end of the 17th century. The butchers' and bakers' guilds were ordered early in 1699 to be suspended from putting their charters or bye-laws into force until further orders, and it was declared that the market should be open and free for all persons trading in provisions.

As the 17th century was drawing to a close a strong effort was made in Irish trading centres to counteract the losses sustained by reason of the restrictions on cattle shipments by increasing the production of wool. Observant French soldiers who came to the Emerald Isle in the train of James II. saw that the country possessed an ample supply of sheep, and they carried away immense quantities of yarn. France was sorely in need of wool and a large and lucrative trade with that country sprang up in Ireland. In a former chapter mention was made of the marked



increase in the exports of wool from Waterford.

Newfoundland is the most ancient of England's colonial possessions. James I. "planted" the island somewhat in the same manner that he planted Ulster, though not perhaps quite so successfully. In the 17th century Devonshire ships controlled the trade between England and Newfoundland and looked with a jealous eye upon intruders. Irish woollen goods and Irish provisions were plentiful, good, and comparatively cheap, and the men of Devon visited Waterford and Cork on their way to America in order to purchase Irish produce. Large numbers of Irish people, mostly youths, were carried across the ocean by the Devonshire ships, and settling in Newfoundland, many of them in course of time prospered and entered into trading operations with the old country, especially with Waterford. During and after the Williamite wars in addition to the youths, a considerable number of Irish peasants of every class, seeing no hope of ekeing out an existence in their own country, flocked to Waterford and other seaports and set out for Newfoundland.

England was disturbed to her depths about the smuggling of French silks, but the progress of the woollen manufacturers of Ireland excited even more alarm than the contraband trade with France. As evidence of the temperament of the Englishman of the period we learn from Macauley that "the clothiers of Wiltshire and Yorkshire were weak enough to imagine that they should be ruined by the competition of a half barbarous island . . . the aboriginal inhabitants, more than five-sixths of the population, had no more interest in the matter than

the swine or the poultry." It is not therefore surprising to find the historian (dealing with the close of the 17th century) saying that "from the basaltic pillars of Ulster to the lakes of Kerry the Saxon settlers were trampling on the children of the soil." And in no place in Ireland could stronger evidence be found of this than in Waterford City. To quote again the words of Macauley, the Cromwellian settlers regarded the native Irish with feelings "compounded of hatred, fear, and scorn." The small glimpse of sunshine which had heartened the Catholics during a portion of the reign of King James had only helped to intensify the bitterness of the dark days (for them) which followed.

The Treaty of Limerick guaranteed to Ireland the right of controlling her trade and manufactures, but the provisions of the famous treaty were shamelessly ignored. When trade began to revive in England at the conclusion of the Williamite wars the English manufacturers exhibited anxiety about their Irish trade competitors, and the Lords and Commons urged upon the King the advisability of discovering a means of destroying the obnoxious trade in wool which was being carried on so successfully in Ireland. King William assured his faithful Lords and Commons that he would do all that within him lay to discourage and destroy the Irish woollen industry. In 1699 an Act was passed by which the export of all goods made or mixed with wool was prohibited except to England and Wales; and heavy duties, amounting to prohibition, were imposed on exports to England and Wales even though it was stated that in such places as Waterford the



wool trade was practically in the hands of English colonists.

In order to avoid paying the heavy duties imposed by the Act of 1699 wool-smuggling became a popular and a flourishing industry. The wool was screwed into butter firkins or beef or pork barrels which were weighted with shot and passed through the custom-houses as provisions. Waterford merchants made sales in the open markets in Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo and Bordeaux. Froude says the entire nation was engaged in an organised confederacy against the law and that even distinctions of creed were obliterated. The Government, he adds, substituted English for Irish custom-house officers at the port of Waterford and stationed cruisers along the coast. This did not stop the wool-smuggling. Packs were stored in caves in the cliffs and small crafts took the contraband material away as opportunity arose, or French traders on a signal from the shore sent in their boats for the wool.

Reviewing the condition of affairs which existed in Waterford at the close of the 17th century, we see that the control of municipal affairs was wholly in the hands of the Protestant settlers and that the leaders of commerce in the city were all of English extraction. Those who adhered to the Catholic faith experienced on the whole very troubled times during the 17th century. Especially in the latter half of it were they made to feel that no matter what their social station might be they were regarded by their Protestant fellow-citizens as pariahs.\*

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\* In 1699 the municipality of New Ross ordered "that all Papists in this town, without exception, be quartered upon, as is done in Waterford and other good towns."

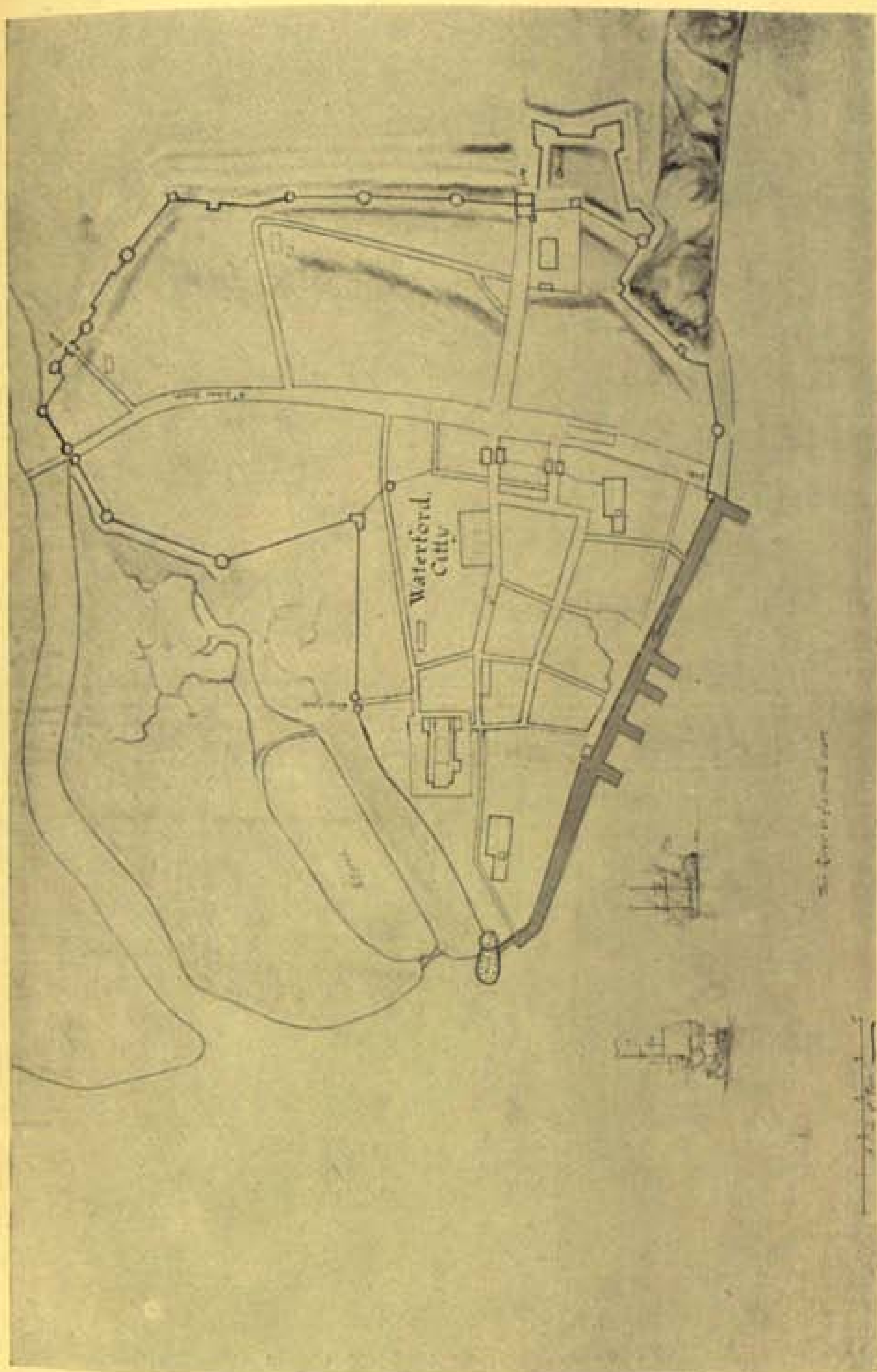
A company called the Hammermen collected a tax called Quarterage from their Catholic fellow-citizens, and about the end of the century the right to extort this tax was called into question. Quarterage was collected at Assize time, the Hammermen parading the streets and nailing up the doors or windows of the houses which refused to pay the toll. A petition from the Masters, Wardens and Assistants of the City Guilds was sent to the Mayor in which it was held that Quarterage was unlawful. The petitioners also declared that the practise of making up and sending fraudulent goods, wares or manufactures was an injury to the fair traders and artificers of the city and brought discredit upon the city in foreign markets, and they prayed that the Corporation should make application to Parliament to have the Guilds and Fraternities better regulated.

The Revd. Father Bellew, Parish Priest of Waterford, was elected Vicar Capitular on the death of Archbishop Brennan in 1693, and he continued to rule the Catholic diocese of Waterford until the appointment of Bishop Pierce in 1696. Dr. Pierce had been previously nominated for the bishopric by King James. He had been an army chaplain in James's service on the Continent. He was only thirty-five years of age when he was appointed Bishop of Waterford. Shortly after his consecration he had to fly to France in consequence of the statute of 1697 which decreed that all Catholic bishops and regular priests should quit the Kingdom.†

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† Dr. Pierce died at Sens in 1739.





MAP OF THE CITY IN 1700





Some idea of the abject position to which Catholics in Waterford were reduced in the last decade of the century may be obtained from a perusal of a petition presented by them to the Corporation in 1693. Dispossessed of their Cathedral at the Reformation, they were for some time prevented from having any public place of worship. They had, as we have seen, a brief enjoyment of their rights and property in the early days of the reign of James I. and during the Viceroyalty of Tyrconnell. Later they were allowed to meet in an old building situated at the rear of a house on the western side of Barronstrand Street. The prayer of their petition in 1693 was that they might be allowed to build a chapel in Bailey's Lane, which they described as "an obscure passage not much frequented by the citizens." They promised that if they were permitted to build a chapel they would take care that it was hidden from the view of their sensitive Protestant fellow-citizens. The petitioners were graciously permitted to erect a place of worship in the obscurity of the passage at the back of the houses in Bailey's Lane.

The 18th century did not open brilliantly for Waterford. The restrictions placed on trade by English law affected in one way or another the whole community. The city had received so many cruel shocks during the 17th century that it is not surprising that recovery was tardy even when peace reigned. A striking feature in the civic records during the first years of the 18th century is the number of applications made to the Corporation for

monetary assistance. In some instances small sums of money were given to enable the applicants to get out of the city. Amongst the benefactions was one to Elizabeth Byrne, widow, who was granted two shillings a week "for the support of her son that is a fool." A similar dole was one to Alderman Barker, who was authorised to lay out ten shillings "to cloth Nicholas Burne, the fool."

Notwithstanding the dulness of trade the City Fathers were undaunted and indefatigable. In June, 1700, Alderman Joseph Ivie was authorised to make an addition to the west end of the quay beyond Barrystrand Gate "as far in length and breadth as can be conveniently built." He was also permitted to pull down Barrystrand Gate for the purpose of rebuilding it "large and fit for coaches or any carriage to go through." He was further permitted to pull down the Castle at the west end of the quay for the more convenient carrying out of his plans. So pleased were the Council with Alderman Ivie's spirit of enterprise that they voted £30 to him as an encouragement.\* It was also decided in June to fit up a new bridewell in the house in which Thomas Adamson dwelt. Later in the year, in October, "the presentment made against the Mass House" was ordered to be prosecuted at the city charge.

A variety of entries about the water supply are to be found in the municipal records for the early years of the 18th century. A committee was appointed in

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\* Seven years later Alderman Ivie proved to be an awkward person to deal with. We find that the Recorder was instructed in 1707 to sue him for the debt he owed the city by bond, and it was ordered that distraint be laid upon the lands he held from the Corporation for arrears of rent.



August, 1700, to discuss with William Boulton the feasibility of bringing the water from Bricken's well into the city. Also that some fit person be employed to furnish pumps to St. Michael's and St. Patrick's wells. Mr. Lambe was permitted to have a branch or pipe to convey the water from the public pipe into his dwellinghouse; and a like permission was given to Mr. Evans and from time to time to other citizens. A spring was found in the grounds belonging to the Black Boy hostlery and it was ordered that this spring should be carried to the well "near the same for the conveniency of the inhabitants."

The Corporation itself undertook at this time the work of clearing the Ford and the docks of the quay, and of setting up posts to preserve the piers from the tide. The merchants who sat at the Council Board focussed their attention on portal affairs: in their eyes everything hinged on the maritime traffic.\* So intent were they on guarding jealously the interests of Portlairge that renewed attempts were made to do mischief to Ross: we find that Alderman Abraham Smith, in 1701, paid Five Guineas to the Collector of Minehead for his trouble in opposing the petition of Ross to have its port opened. This five guineas, it may be added, was duly repaid to Alderman Smith by the Corporation.†

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\* The number of seamen, fishermen and boatmen belonging to Waterford in 1695 was 169.

† A petition from Ross protesting against the closing of the port for the exportation of wool was forwarded in 1700. Ald. Smith's Five Guineas was apparently laid out to no advantage, for in 1705 an Act was passed establishing Ross as a wool-exporting port.

Nor did the City Fathers allow themselves to be engrossed with projects merely utilitarian. Towards the close of 1701 a Committee was appointed to view the walk from the New Quay to the garden of William Bowles and from thence as far as the Committee thought fit, for the purpose of marking out a new promenade, trees to be planted on each side of it.

Another perfervidly loyal address was forwarded to the King in the month of October, 1701. The Mayor and Council declared that they were keenly sensible of the many blessings they enjoyed, the chiefest of them being that they had been rescued from Popery and Slavery. His Majesty was assured that the ire of the untouched city had been raised by observing that the French King had by acknowledging "the pretended Prince of Wales not only violated our liberties but what was more tender and dear" to the citizens, the just rights and dominion over them of his Majesty, and they begged King William to believe that he could rely upon them to hazard all that was dear to them in order to uphold the succession of the Protestant line.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### QUEEN ANNE.

WILLIAM III died on March 8th, 1702, and on the 21st it was ordered by the civic authorities that the solemnity of proclaiming Queen Anne should be performed on the afternoon of that day, pursuant to the mandate of their Excellencies. The Mayor was empowered to "treat" the gentlemen who might take part in the celebrations. Two hogshead of Ale were ordered for the soldiers and a barrel of Ale for each of the city guilds. On April 4th the address to the Queen was forwarded. After condoling in general terms with her Majesty on the death of her brother-in-law "of glorious memory" it was declared by the signatories to the address that nothing could more effectually allay their grief or compose their minds for the loss of so great a prince than the agreeable thought that they had in her Majesty so zealous a supporter of the Protestant cause. Assurances of stern resistance to the Pretender were also volunteered.

The practise of encroaching upon the streets or roads was becoming very common at this period and the Council began to view these encroachments with a jealous eye, especially in cases where the offender was not a member of the municipal body. In 1702 Alderman William Jones was allowed to place a

railing in front of his house one foot and a half from the wall, but he was obliged to enter into a covenant to give the market people liberty to lay their bags of corn against the proposed railings. On June 5, 1703, an order was made to inspect the encroachment made on the road by the Miller of Colbeck Mill and that a stop be put to his proceedings. A few weeks later the Council came to the conclusion that "the ground going to Colbeck Mill on which the Miller is now building and so to the Waterside is a Common belonging to the City and that the said building is an Incroachment and the City will assert its rights thereto."

It cannot be charged against the Corporation which governed the city in the *olden time* that it displayed lavishness in its manner of dealing with officials or employees. In 1702 Thomas Adamson was allowed £2 a year for Keeping the House of Correction. This post was by no means a sinecure, for Adamson was commanded to use all diligence in arresting vagabonds and carrying them before the Mayor "that they might receive due punishment." Adamson's perquisites were fixed at sixpence for each person flogged by him by order of the Mayor; and he was compelled to keep an account in writing of each flogging, giving the name of the person and the time of the punishment. The Mayor in the same year was voted £4 for treating the Judges, but it was added that this was not to be made a "president"—a slip of the pen or tongue for "precedent." The salary which the city should pay its Coroner was for some time a debatable point: it was arranged in 1706 that the salary should be fixed at forty shillings



a year, the Coroner undertaking to defray the whole charge of the office.

There is evidence that in the early days of the reign of Queen Anne the Protestants were growing nervous about the manner of treating Catholic traders and others who did not belong to the established church. We find that a Jew, one Jacob Nunes, was admitted to freedom in 1702. He had to produce a letter from the Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Gore, recommending him to the favourable notice of the Waterford Corporation. In September, 1703, the Council declared that its members "viewed with alarm the decay of trade in the city and have decreed that all persons whatsoever being wholesale Merchants shall pay no duties other than those paid by sworn freemen—"wool only excepted"—and that all such persons should be under the same restrictions as to colouring foreigners' goods "as sworn freemen are"; that no person was to benefit by this decree until he had first subscribed to an oath that he would be faithful to her Majesty, that he would obey the Mayor, that he would not colour the goods of any foreigner or stranger nor assist or abet any other person in so doing, thereby defrauding the Corporation of its just rights. Another order issued about the same time made it lawful for all persons to slaughter cattle in the city for any foreign market or for the purpose of selling the carcase to the merchants without having to pay any dues or money to the Butchers' Company.

In 1702 the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His Grace inherited amongst other things that antagonism to Catholicism which

had distinguished his famous grandfather. The Viceroy visited Waterford in June, 1703, and the Mayor was duly recouped by the Corporation for "the receiving and entertaining His Grace." In 1704 a Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery in Ireland became law. The Bill did not pretend to be an effort to save the souls of Catholics: it was aimed directly at plundering them and making it impossible for them to prosper.

The manner in which the Catholic clergy were persecuted may be judged from the fact that at a General Sessions of the Peace held for the County of the City of Waterford at the Tholsel on July 11th, 1704 (pursuant to a clause in the late Act of Parliament entitled *An Act for Registering the Popish Clergy*\*) the following list of "Popish Priests" was published so that they might be easily pounced upon as occasion required:—

1. Philip Hacket, age 72, living at St. John's Town, in the Liberties of the City of Waterford. Parish Priest of St. John's. Ordained in 1666 at St. Malo in France by Francis de Villemont, Bishop of St. Malo. [Dean of Waterford from 1686 to 1720].
2. John Tobin, age 62, living in the City of Waterford. P.P. of St. Peter's, Waterford. Ordained in 1667 at Lisbon by Bishop Francisco de Targo. [Still living in 1713].
3. Paul Bellew, age 47, living in the City of Waterford. P.P. of Holy Trinity of Waterford. Ordained in 1682 at Salamanca by Bishop Don Pedro de Salazar. [Vicar Capitular of Waterford and Lismore from 1693 to 1696. Was P.P. of Holy Trinity from 1686 to 1732.]

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\* Dublin: Printed for Andrew Crook, Queen's Printer, on the Blind Quay.



4. Edmond Everard, age 45, living in the City of Waterford. P.P. of St. Patrick's, Waterford. Ordained in 1682 at Braga in Portugal by Verissimus de Alencastro. [Father Everard was still living in 1710.]
5. John Higgins, age 48, living in the City of Waterford. P.P. of St. Olave's, Waterford. Ordained in 1689 in Portugal by the Bishop of Coimbra. [Father Higgins was a Jesuit and was *socius* to Father Anthony Knowles, S.J., from 1694 to 1697. P.P. of St. Patrick's and St. Olave's from 1710 till his death on January 6th, 1733.]
6. Anthony Martin, age 38, living in the City of Waterford. P.P. of St. Michael's and St. Stephen's, Waterford. Ordained in 1691 in Antwerp by Ferdinand, Lord Bishop of Antwerp. [His successor, in 1720, was Rev. John Prendergast.]

Notwithstanding the No Popery Act and in the face of the fact that the governing body in Waterford was exclusively Protestant we find that in October, 1704, some Kilkenny merchants were admitted to the freedom of Waterford city, "as Roman Catholic Inhabitants, Traders, are." They were to pay sixpence per pound duty on goods until further order. In 1706 it was ordered that "all Popish merchants inhabiting in this city be exempt from paying any other city duties on wool or other goods than Protestant freemen pay from 25th March next"; and that merchants of Kilkenny were also placed on the same basis.

It would seem as if the English colonists who ruled Waterford could not resist the temptation of sending bombastic addresses to their King or Queen on the slightest provocation. On October 2nd, 1704, the Mayor (William Jones) and Council forwarded to

Queen Anne a document in which she was congratulated on "the victory on the Banks of the Danube. . . . We are ravished and transported with joy," added the Mayor and Council, "when we consider that this most signal advantage was obtained over a numerous and gallant army consisting of choice Troops and headed by the Elector of Bavaria and two Marshals of France. The Bravery and Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough on this and several other occasions manifests his own consummate skill in the Art of War beyond the contradictions of the envious and at the same time recommends your Majesty's judgment in choosing so great a General to the universal applause of the whole Christian world. May the only giver of all victory reward your Majesty's tender concern for Church and State and prudent management of both with further Triumphs on earth and with Immortality in the Heavens."

The Corporation was now busy endeavouring to rehabilitate the city. The quay—the first consideration with the merchants—required enlargement. Extending it at each end was insufficient : the Great Quay had to be dealt with, and the principal difficulty in the way of development here was the existence of the outer walls and fortifications. The walls ran somewhat in a line with the present shops, thus separating the quay from the town. Communication was by three gates, one of which was situated opposite Conduit Street, another at the foot of Exchange Street, and a third about midway between these. It was feared that if the fortifications were tampered with the Crown might set up an objection, and the Council was particularly anxious to keep clear of disputes with the



higher powers. An opportunity of dealing with the difficulty arose accidentally. The Lords Justices, the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earl of Gallway, visiting Waterford at Assize time, strolled along the quay and observed the ruinous, indeed dangerous, condition of the wall fronting the river. The matter was reported to the Grand Jury, and the Lords Justices advised that the wall should be taken down. The work of destruction was presently carried out, and on the site of the demolished wall ranges of buildings were erected.

The municipal records abound in entries which show the earnestness with which the Corporation laboured in order to get the city and its inhabitants into better shape. In 1703 William Geale petitioned for liberty to build a thatched house. The Council decided that it would adhere to a former order that no thatched houses were in future to be built inside the walls, but in order not to discourage Geale they voted him forty shillings to help him to slate his house. In 1704 the Butchers were commanded to keep their stalls in High Street "from the Blackfriars to Mr. Synnett's, and not elsewhere." The following year a new Ducking Stool at the west end of the quay was provided. In the same year the Guildhall was condemned and it was arranged to build a new hall in its place, and the west end of the quay was extended. In 1706 an application was made to the Government for a patent for two new fairs, and it was subsequently arranged that these fairs should be each held for three days, one commencing on April 23rd and the other on October 14th. Efforts were made in the same year to establish a linen factory; and "perches" were

placed in the King's Channel "for the safety of ships coming up the river." On September 2nd it was ordered that the Mayor Elect should be excused from "treating" at Michaelmas and on St. Peter's Day in consideration of his allowing £50 to be deducted from his salary towards the cost of building the new Courthouse. It was also decided to rebuild the Gaol.

Concerning the proposed new public buildings there is an entry in the municipal records under the date March 22, 1707: "Concluded that Mr. Zachary Clayton, Mr. William Clayton and Mrs. Joanna King shall have an annuity under the city seal for £18 per annum out of the lands of Woodstown belonging to the Corporation during the lease of Alderman Clayton's house at the Cross in consideration of their assigning their interest in the said house to this city." It was further concluded that the Guildhall and the Gaol should be rebuilt where the same stood before, Alderman Clayton's house to be added, and that the Tholsel be repaired and continued where it was. Also that the Cross and Conduit near the Tholsel be removed. In the same year (1707) it was arranged to make the Bowling Green Gate higher and wider; that the "Quay Gate over against Alderman Lapp's with the frame be placed there at the charge of the city Revenue"; that the arches in front of the new Courthouse "be forthwith built and carried on as far as the season will admit and that the front do range to the street with Mr. Evans house."

In 1708 Mr. Mayor was empowered to cause a wall to be built at the New Quay to prevent the



tides from carrying away the rubbish. A new clock\* for the Guildhall was ordered in 1709 and the Mayor and a Committee was authorised "to discourse and treat with some skilful person to cut the Arms in stone for the Guildhall."

There are numerous records of complaints made about damage done to property by the pulling down of walls and of public buildings at this period and of applications for leases of property in the neighbourhood of the walls. In 1706 the executors of Thomas Eyres made complaint of the damage done to their shop under the Clock Gate by the pulling down of the Guildhall and the castle over the gate.

On September 6th, 1707, it was "ordered that the Water Bailiff's Castle and the City Wall from John Aikenhead's Coffee House to Alderman William Jones's new house near Goose Gate be pulled down before May 25th next at the city charge and that stones thereof be employed in building a new Corn Markett House where the old Custom House now stands."

In 1708 Richard Mayne's application for a lease of an old castle behind his house as also for the old stairs leading to Arundel's Castle was referred to a committee; likewise James Whitty's petition for a lease of an old house at the east end of Aikenhead's Coffee House and the small yard commonly called Colonel Hubblethorne's Incroachment. Edward Fitzgerald, who was paying 5/- a year for the liberty of building on the new Town Wall at the Quay, had his rent reduced to 1/- a year, Fitzgerald covenanting

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\* The making of this clock was entrusted to Mr. Mansell.

to build a house to front the Quay "with sash windows regular with the buildings intended to be made adjoining." Richard Mayne was also granted "a lease of the City Wall behind his new house wherein Edward Syrrup lives adjoining to Mr. Goodrick's stable for 99 years at 2/- per annum." Aaron Norrington petitioned at the same time for "an allowance for the damage done him in his new house under the Tholsell occasioned by Mr. Stephen Worthwales' building on the wall of the Tholsell." The Council ordered Worthwales to give just satisfaction to the injured Norrington. Matthew White encroached on the wall at the west end of the quay. His incroachments were inspected and a lease was granted to him at 18/- a year on the understanding that he built "the front wall thereof uniform with what Mr. Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Philip Walsh shall build their adjoining fronts suitable to a Draught now in Mr. Mayor's hands." Mrs. Catherine Strange obtained a lease of the old city wall behind Messrs. Goodrick's and Rice Arthur's House for 6/- a year. Permission was granted to Rebecca Davis to have a lease of the Rampart and the liberty of building on the City Wall from Bowling Green Gate to the County Gaol.

The Recorder was instructed in 1708 to consult the Statutes about the weirs on the river and to report to the Council so that proper means should be taken to destroy the weirs. It was also arranged that vessels anchoring in the Suir should pay a fee—all ships belonging to Great Britain of the burden of fifty tons 1/6, and all British ships above fifty tons 2/6 "and no more be the ship never so great." Foreign vessels were to pay double these rates. All open



boats trading coastwise were exempted from anchorage fees.

It was ordered in the following year that "the Docks of the Quay be forthwith cleansed and that the money received on account of Anchorage be applied towards the said work."

In 1710 it was found that a passage made through the city wall into Barronstrand Street would be very convenient to all people that had occasion to pass that way, and in order to have the passage made the Corporation decided to take down the garden wall of William Jenkes (formerly in the possession of Own West) and "to carry a wall straight from thence towards the Slaughter House and the adjacent road." A committee was appointed "to discourse Mr. James Francis and Mr. John Blair and wife and all others concerned about purchasing their interest in the House and shed near the Iron Quay Gate that the same may be pulled down." A passage was ordered to be made "thro the Ring Tower to Colbeck's Mill."

The waterway was not forgotten. In 1711 buoys were placed near Duncannon in order to indicate to mariners the position of banks or shoals in the river. Posts were erected at the Graving Bank and at each corner of every quay-head for the purpose of affording moorings for ships. Forty thousand oysters (at a cost of £12) were put in convenient places in Passage River to renew the old Oyster Bank. The Ford near the little Island was ordered to be cleared during the summer of 1712, and marks were ordered to be placed on the sunken rocks in the King's Channell "to prevent ships miscarrying thereon."

How the burgomasters of the period could have had the heart to indite flowery addresses to the Crown in which it was implied that all was well with Waterford is a matter for wonderment. Some idea of the appalling condition of the city, from a sanitary point of view, may be had from a perusal of reports dealing with drainage, etc. Here are some samples from the bulk :—

24th June, 1712. We find a great nuisance in Mr. Timothy Wales' house and Mr. William Eales' house near the wall in Patrick Street by two houses of office which empty the excrements into Patrick Street when it rains, and that Richard Parker's house and Sam Walsh's house and other houses near Patrick's Gate do also want shoares to convey the water, etc., out of their backyards, that the said nuisance has often been presented at Sessions. Also it has been presented at Sessions that a common shoare be made from Patrick's Gate thro' the street downwards to receive shoares from the severall houses aforesaid. We recommend that the said common shoare ought to be made forthwith at the city charge and the severall small shoares ought to be made by the Landlords or Lease Tenants of each houses on the south side of Patrick Street from the well to the gate to run into the common shoare.

28th August, 1712. We find a great nuisance in Broad Street leading from Paul Keating's house down to Francis Annesley's by reason of the common shoare which was stopped and which ought to be cleared at the charge of the City Revenue. All adjacent Inhabitants on the side of the street ought to clear all the By-shoares until they come to the common shoare at their own cost. We find that there is a common shoare leading from Charles Murphy's in St. John Street down to the Waterside at the foot of the Bridge which is a great nuisance.

2nd March, 1713. We find that there is a very great nuisance from Messrs. Norrington's slaughterhouse and the yard behind the same lying in St. Patrick's Parish joining to the Town Wall, which is occasioned by the great number of cattle standing in the yard and the cattle killed in the slaughterhouse which excrements runs into one of the Castles and the first story of the same is generally full of said excrements and has no other way of venting it but out of the windows of the said castle which [filth] runs down the walls into the garden formerly Alderman William Fuller's into the Spring of Water, all over the said garden under the castle by which the water is corrupted as well as the ground annoyed by the same. And likewise that all such Filth as comes from the slaughterhouses and passes by the said castle (being much) runs down by the Town Wall and vents itself thro' the said wall into the said garden, all which runs above ground and



is very noxious to behold as well as infectious to the air for the Inhabitants of the city more especially for all such as live near the same.

And likewise the Filth that comes from the Barracks runs all above ground and soaks into the aforesaid springs. And that the sum of Six Pounds ten shillings sterling will make sufficient shoares with the help of some spare stones that's on the wall to carry the nuisances under ground and also under that part of the water shoare which supplies the conduits near the Quay which now at present lies under that which was made to carry off the filth from the Barracks.

12th May, 1713. Ordered that the great shoare running by the house where Garret Fitzgerald, cooper, lately dwelt be viewed to consider whether it will be thought fit and proper to make a shoare there to prevent the Spring Tythes [? Tides] from running into the merchants' cellars.

If the condition of affairs set forth in these reports, existed in Patrick's Street and Broad Street, then amongst the principal thoroughfares in the heart of the town, what must have been the condition of the "slums" ?

The Council from time to time ordered that the necessary work should be done to abate the abominable nuisances. In the particular case where £6 10s. was allotted for the purpose of making improvements in St. Patrick's Parish, it may seem that very little could be accomplished with this comparatively small sum, but it should be borne in mind that in these brave days the wages fixed for Corporation (and other) labourers was "Twopence per diem."

Going backward a little we find that a "Docket of Fees to be taken by the Clerke of the Market for the City of Waterford" was drawn up in 1704-5. This docket was engraved upon a stone placed in the Market House and ran as follows :—

1. For every barrell containing four Winchester bushells each Bushell containing eight Winchester gallons of all sorts of grain or corn brought to be sold in the city, one third part of a Winchester gallon.
2. For every Butcher not being free, One Penny per Market Day.

3. For each Baker, Broagmaker, Tobacco-seller, Salt-seller, or Glover that sell any ware or have stalls in the Markett, One Penny per Market Day.
4. For every stone of ruff Tallow brought to the City Market to be sold, One halfpenny per stone.
5. For every quarter of an hundredweight of Butter brought to the City Market to be sold in cask or pot, One halfpenny and so proportionably two pence per hundredweight for greater quantities.
6. For each Gallon of Honey, One halfpenny.
7. For all Gardners, Costermongers and all others selling in the Markett, One Penny per Markett Day.
8. For everyone that sells Cheese, One halfpenny per hundredweight and so proportionably for greater quantities.
9. For every Twenty Bandles narrow linen cloth commonly called Bandle Cloth One Penny or two pence piece.
10. For every Twenty Bandles white woollen cloth, One penny, and if coloured above a bandle broad then Twopence.
11. For every piece of cloth either white or coloured that comes to be sold tho' sealed in another market, the same.
12. For every Horseload of Fish brought to be sold here, Twopence.
13. For every Burthen of Fish brought to be sold, One Penny.
14. For every Horse or Garron sold here, Fourpence.
15. For every Cow Ox or Bullock sold here, Threepence.
16. For every stone of wool sold by any foreigner in the markett, One penny per stone.
17. For every Heifer or Steer two years old, Twopence.
18. For every Calf, Sheep, or Hogg, One Penny.
19. For every Rugg brought to be sold here, One Penny.
20. For every Cow Ox or Bullock hyde sold here, Twopence, every Steer or Heiffer Hyde being two years old, One Penny, every yearling hyde, One Halfpenny, for every Bull or Horse hyde, One Penny.
21. For every Load of Wooden Ware, Twopence.
22. For every salmon brought to be sold in the Markett, One halfpenny and for every salmon peall one Farthing.
23. For every Dozen pair of Stockings brought to be sold here, Twopence.
24. For every Truckle or Carr load of Furze, One Faggot.  
Nothing else liable to pay anything to the Clerke of the Markett but what is mentioned in this Docket.

The forwarding of protestations of loyalty had become so fixed a habit that it must have occurred to some members of the civic body that Waterford was overdoing this particular form of challenging attention to their city's attachment to the throne, for we find that an address to Queen Anne dated July 16th,



1706, opens with an apologetic observation that if the addresses sent to Her Majesty seem to be "too many and frequent it is because your Triumphant victories are so." The document goes on to say that "such early and glorious advantages do loudly proclaim the effectual care of the prudent Mother of her Country." Her Majesty is told that her own people admire her administration at home and her enemies are compelled to acknowledge the valour and skill of the great generals she employs abroad. The astonishing deeds performed by the Duke of Marlborough quite exceeded the hopes of the Corporation of Waterford, and the address sets forth that eulogy of the Captain-General's deeds "are beyond our expression, they want not any artificial flourishes being set off with their own Lustre." The address concludes with the following paragraph:—"Thus we shall pursue our own Interest and compleat the felicities of your Reign thus agreeing amongst ourselves when the warr is honourably ended we shall under the best of Queens enjoy without any Alloy the blessings of Peace."

The Union of Scotland was brought about in 1707. The Corporation could not afford to let the occasion pass without letting Her Majesty know that Waterford City approved of the Union. The Queen was informed that the citizens did not envy their neighbours the Royal favours bestowed upon them in so plentiful a manner. "We shall esteem ourselves happy enough," said the burgomasters, "if our just and common Parent has reserved in store a Blessing for us who stand so much in need of it." They had to wait nearly a century for this particular Blessing.

Nathaniel Foy, a Yorkshireman, succeeded Dr. Gore in the Protestant bishopric : he was consecrated on August 9th, 1691. He had distinguished himself in Dublin as a pulpit orator who had "made a glorious stand in defence of the established religion" during the reign of King James. "No sooner was his Majesty (King William) happily settled on the throne," says Ware, "but he rewarded this successful champion of the Protestant cause by nominating him to the united Sees of Waterford and Lismore."

In 1704 Bishop Foy signified to the Council his intention of founding a free school within the city. His lordship asked for the waste piece of ground on which the County Court and Gaol was intended to be built. This piece of ground was situated on the east side of Barronstrand Street. The Council ordered that the plot desired by the Bishop should be given to him.

Nathaniel Foy died on Dec. 31st, 1707, and was buried in Christ Church, a white marble tomb marking the place of sepulture. He bequeathed £20 to the Poor of Waterford, and he mentions in his will that he had expended £800 on the improvement of the Episcopal house at Waterford. He directed that whatever should be obtained out of that sum from his successor should be handed to the Mayor and Corporation to be laid out by them on good security, the yearly income to be applied for putting out as apprentices Protestant children belonging to Waterford. He further appointed a fund for building and maintaining the Free School. Three months after his lordship's death the Corporation ordered that





THE RIGHT REVD. NATHANIEL FOY





"the tract of ground formerly Arundell's Castle be added to the ground given to Bishop Foy to build a schoolhouse on." His executors, the Revd. Thomas Francis (Chanter of the Cathedral) and James Medlicott, we are told, erected a noble building of hewn stown adorned with a cupola and a clock.

In November, 1711, the executors of Bishop Foy applied to the Council to be relieved of the payment of salary to the master of the Foy School, Mr. George Lackey. The Council resolved that the free teaching of poor children was of such singular advantage "tending not only to the advancement of Literature but also of Piety, such children being enabled to inform their parents and the meaner parts [of the household] of the principles of the true religion by reading unto them the Bible and good books" that they agreed to indemnify the executors "for such salary as they might pay to the schoolmaster until the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Moore" (Mrs. Gibbon being already dead)."

Ware, in his account of the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore, says that in order "to frustrate and subvert the glorious design of the Founder [of the Foy School] a Popish school, supported by subscriptions, was erected, which gave the same encouragement by teaching children gratis to read, write and cast accounts. This project had the effect

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\* It appears that the executors were not obliged to pay the schoolmaster's salary until the deaths of Mrs. Elizabeth Moore and Mrs. Cassandra Gibbon, sisters of Bishop Foy and beneficiaries under his lordship's will.

it was intended for: the number of Boys daily decreased in the Bishop's school, and for many years together three score could not be had, while the Popish school had its full compliment of four score Boys. . . . To remedy this evil the Reverend Nathaniel France, executor of the surviving Executor, petitioned Parliament for a Confirmation and Settlement of the [Foy] School and Estate; and admitted that after building, purchasing and discharging all Debts and Legacies there remained in his hands the sum of £774/15/3½. In pursuance of this Petition an Act of Parliament was obtained to perpetuate and better regulate this charitable foundation." This Act vested the ground and lands in Nathaniel France and at his decease in the Bishop, Dean, and Mayor of Waterford. The education gratis of seventy five poor children was to be provided, and if a surplus arose it was to be applied for clothing seventy five children, and if there was a further surplus it was to be used for binding out Boy apprentices.

In September, 1712, the Executors informed the Corporation that "ten poor children had been seduced from the school to go into another school"; whereupon the Mayor, four Aldermen and the Sheriffs were empowered to appoint such children as they thought fit to fill the vacant places.

That the Catholics should dare to establish openly a school at this period in a city dominated by Protestants, is truly surprising. In 1709 a Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery had been introduced to the Irish Parliament and passed into



law. One clause of this Act\* prohibited a Papist from teaching. A reward of £10 was obtainable "for discovering a Popish schoolmaster or tutor."

In 1710 a quarrel arose between Dr. Milles,† Protestant Bishop of Waterford, and the Corporation. Dr. Milles had succeeded Bishop Foy. He was from Hertfordshire and had been chaplain to Lord Pembroke when the Earl was Viceroy of Ireland. He was consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on April 18th, 1708. On January 10th, 1711, a Corporation Committee was appointed to draw up a true statement of the dispute. The following June the Recorder, Sir John Mason, and Alderman Christmas, were instructed that when next they went to Dublin they should take such measures as they thought fit to put an end to the quarrel. In September the representatives of the city in Parliament, Richard Christmas and Minard Christian, were instructed to oppose at the charge of the city revenue "the Bishop of Waterford carrying on heads of a Bill entitled Heads of a Bill for securing what is given for pious and charitable uses." In August,

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\* This Act was directed primarily against Catholics in holy orders, and it gave a fresh impetus to the trade of priest-hunting. "Many a venerable clergyman," says Mitchel in his *History of Ireland*, "was dogged by these bloodhounds, through various disguises, and waylaid by night on his way to baptize or confirm or to visit the dying. The captured clergy were sometimes brought in by batches of four and five, and the laws were vigorously put into force; if it was a first offence they were transported; but if any bishop who had once been transported was caught in Ireland again he was hanged." A reference to priests in custody at Waterford in 1696 occurs on page 231.

† Dr. Milles was the author of *Sancte Cyrillé Hierosolymitani Opera* (1703), *The Nature of the Immortality of the Soul* (1707), *The Happiness of those that suffer for Righteousness* (a sermon preached before the University of Oxford), and several anonymous treatises.

1712, a select Committee of the Corporation was appointed to consider if it was advisable to petition the Queen to appoint a regal visitation in connection with the unhappy difference which still existed with the Bishop or whether some other method was more expedient. There is no hint up to this in the municipal records as to the nature of Dr. Milles's offence, but on September 26th (1712) Mr. Recorder made a formal statement to the Council in which the Board was told that the Bishop entertained Popish servants in his house and corresponded with Papists "to the dissatisfaction of the people" of Waterford. It was concluded (*nem. con.*) that the Lord Justices be acquainted the heinous nature of the Bishop's offence and that the Recorder should draw up a letter to be laid before the Government acquainting them that the carriage and behaviour of his lordship to Papists was offensive to the inhabitants of the city.

Evidently Dr. Milles was not alarmed by the Corporation's indictments. On July 22nd, 1713, the Council was informed that his lordship had reported to the Government that the city walls had been pulled down, that the town ditches had been filled up, that the Holy Ghost Hospital and the Leper House were woefully mismanaged; and that these things were done with a design to destroy the charters of the city. The Recorder was instructed to go to Dublin and "oppose and defend the said complaints and suits so commenced by the Bishop. And whereas the behaviour of the said Lord Bishop towards the Magistrates and Common Council of the city hath been very scandalous and abusive and



hath given in several instances of a prosecution against him to be thought advisable it is ordered that the Chamberlain do give the Recorder a Letter of Credit to take up what money is necessary to carry on the said prosecution and defence." Matters do not seem to have advanced on either side by the end of August, for, on the 26th of that month, a Committee was formed to consider what methods should be adopted to prosecute Dr. Mills for abusing the magistrates and citizens and for his arbitrary and illegal proceedings at his court. On November 12th the Recorder was ordered to lay before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, the House of Lords, and the Upper House of Convocation matters of complaint against his lordship.

During the reign of Queen Anne there does not seem to have been any further progress made in the matter of the dispute between the Corporation and the Bishop.

The Council had given the Duke of Whittenberge an excellent testimonial when he had quitted the city, but His Grace did not remain in high favour. On February 10th, 1709, a letter was despatched by the Mayor to Sir William Fownes, Lord Mayor of Dublin, in which his lordship was invited to express an opinion as to the possibility of getting from the Duke the money he owed to the Corporation of Waterford.

Some cases of leprosy were reported (without comment) during the reign of Queen Anne. Margaret Slattery, "a Leporess," was sent to the Leper House

in 1707, the master "to make what provision he can for her." In 1713 Richard Francis, "lame and afflicted with Leprosy," was also sent to the Leper House.

The prospects of approaching peace formed an excuse for dispatching an address to the Queen in 1712. After duly congratulating Her Majesty the senders of the address said that the special care she had taken to secure the succession to the throne for her royal relatives of the House of Hanover justly called for grateful acknowledgments "of the age we live in and of the generations yet to come." Her Majesty's generous concern for the welfare of the Protestant Church of Germany also endeared the Queen to all who had at heart the welfare of the Protestant interest. "We hear," added the Waterford courtiers, "that the trade of Great Britain is to be restored and enlarged through your Majesty's prudence and foresight and we are in hopes that the same goodness will provide in the regulation of commerce that no heavy and unreasonable duties be continued or laid upon those Irish goods we are permitted to send abroad." The courtiers were not satisfied with the sending of addresses. On May 12th, 1713, it was decided that peace should be proclaimed ceremoniously. The Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors and Officials arranged to meet on horseback in their gowns upon receipt of the proclamation. The High Constable and Petty Constables and the several city guilds were ordered to attend on foot. The "treating" was allotted to the Mayor, Alderman Thomas Smith, Alderman Jones, Alderman Lewis



and Alderman Barker. These gentlemen were to provide "an entertainment of cold meat at the Guildhall at the charge of the City Revenue." The various guilds were to be supplied with ale, also the soldiery. Nor did the matter end here. On July 15th a final address was sent to Queen Anne congratulating her on the peace, and Her Majesty was again thanked for her fresh assurances in favour of Protestant interests.

The Quakers were firmly established in Waterford in the early days of the 18th century. In December, 1703, John Dennis of the City of Cork, a joiner, and Rebekkah Dennis of the City of Waterford, widow, leased to Samuel Cooke of Clonmel, merchant, Stephen Collet of Clonmel, skinner, and David Hutchenson of Waterford, a joiner, a plot of ground with an entrance to it from Bowling Green Lane for a meeting-house for the Quakers of the City and County of Waterford. In 1709 John and Rebekkah Dennis executed to William Penrose and Frances Annesly, Waterford merchants, and to Robert Wickham, malster, a further lease of a plot of ground lying approximately between the Rampier and the city wall on the south and the way leading to the Quakers' meeting-house on the north, and this plot was subsequently declared in writing to be for the sole use and benefit of "the Brethern and Society of People called Quakers in and about the city of Waterford." On April 25th, 1710, Thomas Crabb, merchant, was admitted "Free, as other Quakers."

It must not be supposed that the municipality of Waterford and its prominent merchants treated the

Catholic population of the city with a severity which was peculiar to Waterford. John Mitchel, in his "History of Ireland," says that during Queen Anne's reign "the law for preventing the growth of Popery was rigorously executed all over the island and there was the keen personal interest of the Protestant inhabitants of every town and district always excited and kept on the stretch to discover and inform upon such unfortunate Catholics as had contrived to remain in possession of those estates, leaseholds, or other interests which were now by law capable of being held by Protestants alone . . . . Mutual hatred and distrust kept the two races apart ; and there was no social interest or good neighbourhood between them."

Under such a condition of affairs it was hardly to be expected that any Irish town possessing a mixed population could hope to hold its own, not to speak of making headway. The wonder is how progress of any kind could have been made (and it was undoubtedly made in Waterford) in a city in which religious, political and racial animosities ran riot.





PORTRAIT OF GEORGE I.





## CHAPTER XVII.

### GEORGE I.

QUEEN Anne died suddenly on August 1st, 1714, and was succeeded by George, Prince of Denmark. The Corporation of Waterford lost little time in preparing an address to the new monarch. This precious document is dated October 20th, 1714, and one might be pardoned for imagining that its style would have delighted Mr. Wilkins Micawber. It runs thus :—

“ After the due Testimonys of our Customary and habitual Allegiance and Loyalty to the Monarchs of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain in condoling for the loss and death of our late Sovereign Queen Anne of blessed memory we with all Imaginable Joy and Transports of Alacrity hasten to congratulate your sacred Majesty upon your happy and quiet accession to the throne. . . . . We can now justly forget and dispise all our former well-grounded fears and apprehensions of any Pretender and Popish Imposter who would usurp and design to prevent your Majesty's indisputable right of accession to the Imperial Crown, and we cannot but with pleasure foresee a successful duration and long continuation of Happiness in all the affairs of our Church and State when we consider what a Statesman Great Britain has got in her Councils, what a General for her Armies, and what an ornament to mankind of all the graces and noble disposition of your Majesty's great soul and mind. . . . . As this Antient Corporation and City of Waterford hath been always Eminent and Remarkable for its constant Affection and unshaken Loyalty to the Monarchs of

Great Britain and consequently entitled to the motto (*Urbs Intacta*) given by your noble predecessor Henry the Seventh, we therefore in the most Humble and Dutiful manner becoming the most Loyal subjects do desire your Majesty to accept of the tender of our most sincere and unfeigned Allegiance and duty and that your Royal Majesty will rest in the strong Assurance that we will always with utmost ardency and zeal pray that your Majesty may live long in peace and health to govern over us to protect the Church and to preserve the State. And further we shall never cease to wish that when ever Nature grows weary of spinning out the sacred Thread of your life that there may be one Instance more of a Reprieve amongst the Holy Records of Heaven so that by that Extraordinary means we may long continue to enjoy the Extraordinary Blessings we now do and foresee we shall possess under your Sacred Majesty's most glorious reign and Government."

At the same meeting of the Council which prayed for a miracle to prolong the life of King George it was ordered "that a Bull Rope be provided at charge of the Revenue." Bull-baiting was a popular pastime. In Walsh's "Sixty Year's Ago" it is stated that at the election of the Mayor his worship was surrounded by a mob who clamoured for a rope. This rope, two inches in diameter, had been previously prepared and with a leather collar and buckle it was handed to the mob who housed it in the yard of the city jail. The populace had the privilege of seizing all the bulls and of driving them to the bull ring to be baited before they were slaughtered. The ring was an open space outside the gate at Ballybricken, and from the surrounding houses and cabins the spectators looked on while the bull was being tortured. About a score of the animals was baited during the season. A stake



in the centre held the ring and this stake was surmounted by a pole upon which a vane bearing a large copper ball on top rotated. "To enhance and render perfect this sport," says the author of *Sixty Years Ago*, "a peculiar breed of dogs was cherished the purity of whose blood was marked by small stature, with enormous disproportioned heads and jaws, the upper short and snub and the under projecting beyond it. The savage ferocity and tenacity of these small animals is quite extraordinary. A single one unsupported would seize a fierce bull by the lip or nose and pin to the ground the comparatively gigantic animal as if he had been fixed with a stake of iron. Even after the fracture of their limbs they never relax their hold and it is often necessary at the conclusion of a day's sport to cut off broken legs, and in that mutilated state they were seen on three legs rushing at the bull. When on rare occasions a rope was refused by a refractory mayor, or a new one required, the bull was driven through the streets of the town and sometimes even into his worship's shop or hall, as a hint of what was wanted ; and the civic authorities were often called out with the military to repress the riots that ensued."\*

"The bull ring," says Egan in his *Guide to Waterford*, "was supposed to be occasionally the scene of much more tender and delicate festivities than bull-baiting. The Mayor of the Bull Ring, usually a bachelor, was guardian over all the

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\* In the recorded lists of payments to the Sheriffs (not to the Mayor) there are to be found from time to time, amongst other items, the cost of a Bull rope and collar. The cruel sport—said to be of Spanish origin—was prohibited by law in 1798 and the apparatus at the Bull-post at Ballybricken was removed.

bachelors and when one of them got married the bride was brought to the bull ring when His Worship of the ring kissed her, after which the bridal party went away with all the hilarious ceremony which the occasion demanded."

Minard Christian, Recorder of the City, died in the year 1714. By his will dated 29th July, 1704, he left £100 the interest of which was to be applied towards clothing six poor men and women, inhabitants of Waterford, once a year at Christmas time\*.

In October the Revd. Mr. David Gervais, Minister to the French Reformed Church, complained that Ald. David Lewis had stored hay and stones in the old abbey and that this had blocked the passage of the congregation who were in the habit of attending the French Church. The Council ordered Ald. Lewis to remove the hay and stones.

The question of putting up public lamps in the city was raised early in the year 1715 and a committee was appointed to decide which was the best methods of illuminating the streets on dark nights "for the conveniency of the Inhabitants."

In the same year the Government was petitioned to build a cavalry barracks and a suitable piece of ground was offered for the purpose. The old Custom House on the Quay was ordered to be pulled down and the foundation of the new Exchange was to be built upon the site. A new Fishboard was to be put up where the old one stood. The stone and wooden

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\* The annual interest on this bequest is £5 10s. 9d. and this amount is distributed by each successive Mayor of Waterford. There was a contest between Godfrey Green and William Dobbyn for Christian's office. The latter gentleman obtained the greater number of votes and on August 14th he was appointed Recorder.



bridge leading from Barry's Strand Mill to Strange's Castle was ordered to be repaired and enlarged. Many of the roads were reported as being sadly in need of attention, amongst them the road leading from the city to the ferry at Granagh. The Council gave instructions to have the work done and a drain constructed "covering the same with pavement." The Dock before the Custom House was filled up "upon a line as far out as the Custom House Quay is, in order to have a large walk before the new Exchange\* now going on."

On August 1st Waterford was busy celebrating the coronation of King George. The Council met in the evening and drank (at the expense of the City Revenue) the health of the new monarch. On the 31st of the same month an address to the Throne was dispatched in which it was stated that nothing was wanting to complete the happiness of the Untouched City but "the intercession of Divine Providence that for the Church's and our good He would delay for many years" the duration of his Majesty's life in order to make Waterford "the Envy of the World." The excess of joy at His Majesty's accession was set down to a knowledge of the extraordinary personal virtues and the consummate wisdom of King George. The citizens would be only too happy to sacrifice themselves and all that was dear to them in order to secure the "royal person and interest against all Rebbells at home and against false Heroes (made so by flattery) abroad." Again on the evening of the 28th May, 1716,

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\* Sir John Mason lent the city £100, free of interest, towards the building of the new Exchange and the repairing of the city roads.

was the health of the King drunk, "it being his birthday." The officers of the army and other gentlemen residing in the city were invited to the festivities. The militia, horse and foot, appeared during the day under arms. Cold meat and other refreshments were provided for the company entertained by the Council. A sufficiency of drink was supplied to the troops, and the catering was placed in the hands of Mr. Eeles, a member of the Corporation, whose bill was duly paid out of the city's purse.

Shipbuilding and boatbuilding were industries which were beginning to assert themselves. An order was made in 1716 that each person who built either a ship or a boat on the waste piece of ground at the west end of the Ring Tower should pay the Corporation a shilling for each Ton "according to each ship or boat built there measures," and a clear passage should be kept for horses and cars to pass. Proposals at the same time were invited for building on the site of the city wall near the Ring Tower.

A pleasant function was held on September 5th, when Mr. John Jones, of Mullinebrogh was presented by his colleagues with Ten Pounds for the purchase of a piece of plate in recognition of his services in directing and superintending the work of clearing the ford over the Little Island.

At the same meeting of the Council John Farrell was granted a lease (for 99 years at £3 a year) of that part of the city wall lying between the stairs going up to the Ring Tower and the passage leading to the Tower Gate on the wall, measuring thirty feet in length. Mr. Farrell agreed to pull down the stairs going up the wall and to make a sufficient new stone



stairs at the east end of the wall four foot broad to lead up to the door of the Tower on the wall, leaving a passage to it. He also was to construct a gate seven foot wide and to make a passage to lead to the lower Gate or Door of the Tower in the yard. Mr. Farrell was also permitted "to make a garden on that part of the city wall fronting the Mill Tail three feet from the Centinel Box to the stop or little wall built by Mrs. Medlicott and to make such another stop or wall (as Mrs. Medlicott made) to enclose the same."

No opportunity was lost of displaying the city's loyalty to the House of Hanover. On 21st February, 1717, there was an entertainment given in honour of the King's birthday. It may be remembered that the date of the celebration of his Majesty's birthday in the previous year was May 28th, so that it was apparently a movable feast. On August 17th John Hayes, vintner, was paid £6 19s. 5d. for entertaining the Council and other gentlemen on August 1st when the accession of King George was duly celebrated.

In the matter of granting pensions it cannot be urged against the municipal body that it displayed anything in the nature of extravagance. On January 28th, 1718, the Rev. Jacob Denis, pastor of the French Church, petitioned the Council stating that he had a large family, urging that the Board had granted a yearly allowance to the late Minister of the French Church and praying that a like favour might be conferred upon him. After due deliberation it was agreed to give the Rev. Mr. Denis a pension of Five Pounds a year.\*

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\* This small stipend was discontinued in 1722.

About this time died David Lewis who had been four times Mayor of the city and who was to a large extent responsible for the work of pulling down the old walls and castles of Waterford and for the constructing of the new quay. On June 30th a petition of the Brethren and Sisters and Members of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost was presented to the Corporation, its prayer being to appoint a successor to their late popular Master, David Lewis. Alderman Thomas Smith was elected to the coveted position.

On September 18th it was resolved by the Council that no Roman Catholic in future be admitted to freedom without paying a sum of not less than £5 together with such fees as the Council might think proper, "unless he take the oath." On December 29th a proclamation was published declaring that England was at war with Spain. This ceremony was conducted with considerable pomp. The Mayor and Aldermen made a brave show in public on horseback, attired in their scarlet robes, and the lesser members of the Council appeared in their black robes. The military was also requisitioned: "the Companies on foot and part of the troops to be mounted." There was a banquet in the evening at Mr. Eeles's house of entertainment, and the health of the King and confusion to his enemies were toasts which were drunk with enthusiasm.

The year 1719 is not rich in interesting municipal records. His Majesty's birthday was celebrated in May. In the same month the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was memorialled for two troops of horse and a horse barracks, and in order to encourage the constructing of the barracks the Cor-



poration again proposed to give a free site for this purpose. In June it was ordered that in future no Sheriff should be allowed to employ a deputy "but shall serve in person." A somewhat gruesome entry appears under the date of September 15th when it was agreed to pay William Barker and John Barker, the Sheriffs, the sum of £7 8s. 2d. for erecting a new gallows and for charges in executing John Hamilton.

Beyond indulging in festivities in honour of the King's birthday and giving considerable attention to the repairing of the roadways and the renovating of the quay the Corporation in 1720 does not appear to have transacted any business or to have indulged in any high jinks of special interest.

Early in 1721 Ald. John Mason offered to pay the Council the sum of £300 bequeathed by his father, Sir John Mason, for the clothing and education of ten poor Protestant girls belonging to the city. This £300 was given on the understanding that the Corporation would enter into an agreement to convert the bequest into an annuity of £20 a year to be paid for ever. The Council in drawing up the deed made an amendment to the effect that the money would be paid for the schooling and clothing of the children until the family of Mason was extinct in the city, and in the event of their extinction the Mayor for the time being and four Aldermen were to direct the manner in which the bequest should be employed. The annuity was arranged to be a rent charge on the lands of Lombardy and Lismore, to commence from February 2nd, 1721.

Amongst other business transacted in this year was the granting of a lease to Edward Weekes "on

the part of himself and the Protestant Dissenters of the city" for 99 years of part of the city wall behind the Dissenters' meeting-house for ten shillings per annum. The Rev. Nathaniel France was given the presentation of the vicarages of Newcastle, Dunhill, and Gillcagh "now vacant by the death of the Revd. Thomas France." The "Slip near the Sun Dyall" was declared to be a great nuisance to the landing of boats, as it was not finished but was only a heap of stones, so that boats coming to the quay at the top of the flood tide were in danger of being lost on the slip "as it's covered under the water." A danger of a different character was found to exist on the road leading from St. John's Gate to Kill St. Lawrence and Ballytruckle. The roadway was in such a bad condition that it was feared the legs of the cattle "that go to water" would be broken. It was ordered that "the pavement as far as it relates to the city be done at the charge of the Revenue." The need of a Fishboard was discussed at a Council meeting held in June, and it was stated that it was greatly to the discouragement of fisherfolk coming from Dungarvan and elsewhere by land that there was no fit place "to rest themselves or their loading or to shelter them from the injuries of the weather." It was resolved that the required convenience should be provided at the city's cost. While the municipality displayed commendable anxiety for the welfare of the visitors who brought supplies of fish to the city they were not unmindful of the condition of things which may arise if due care is not taken to keep a fish market clean. On June 29th it was declared that there was "a great Nuisance of fish and dirt enough



to breed Infection leading from St. John Street to James Bayon's back gate and that the same ought to be cleansed and the pavement mended at the expense of the Inhabitants on both sides of the way and a gate to be fixed at the charge of the city." Throughout the year 1721 the Corporation was occupied in repairing roadways and sewers. Amongst the roads to which attention was challenged was the highway leading to Granagh Ferry. It was ordered that a breast wall should be built "over the little wall and precipice near Mr. Cooke's wall on the said Road to prevent travellers and carriages falling down."

One of the most important events of the year 1721 was the founding of a sail-cloth factory. For some time efforts had been made to establish a factory of this kind on a sound basis. In the condition of affairs which existed in Ireland at this period a government subsidy was looked upon as an absolute necessity. In Canon Gimlette's "Huguenot Settlers" we read that Louis Crommelin was one of the most active of those who were endeavouring to promote the manufacture of linen in Ireland. During his tour through this country Crommelin came to Waterford, and one of his most active colleagues, John Latrobe, settled in the city and was entrusted with the task of establishing a factory here. At the close of the year 1717 a petition from Crommelin was presented to the Irish Parliament praying for substantial encouragement on the making of sail cloth—then a commodity in very large demand. The Parliament resolved to grant £1,000 a year for two years to assist the promoters. In August, 1719, it was further resolved to put an additional duty of twelpence a

pound on tea, threepence on coffee and threepence on chocolate in order to provide funds for the fostering of the manufacture of linen in the South of Ireland. A portion of the revenue thus received was allotted to Waterford. On September 23rd, 1721, John Radburne and Jonathan Ever, of London, informed the Corporation that they proposed to set up in the city as manufacturers of sail cloth and they asked that a piece of ground joining Poleberry Lane should be given to them for a bleach yard. The Council ordered that this piece of ground which was leased to Arthur Taylor at £6 10/- a year, should be given to Messrs. Radburne and Ever gratis in order to encourage them in their enterprise, the rent at which Taylor held to be paid out of the city's funds. Having made this arrangement the Council admitted Radburne and Ever to freemanship.

The question of public lighting was further considered in the month of September. A letter was read from Alderman Thomas Christmas stating that if lamps were placed in the principal streets of the city he calculated that the inhabitants would have to pay three shillings per house per annum for their maintenance, and it would cost £50 to obtain an Act of Parliament. The Council put the matter to the vote and it was decided by the majority that "in consideration of the poor" the project of lighting the streets would have to be abandoned.

The bequest of Minard Christian was again brought before the Corporation in September, 1721, when the Recorder was paid six guineas for drawing up a deed between the Board and Joseph Rea (nephew of Christian) whereby it was agreed that £6



should be paid for ever at Christmastime for clothing poor citizens. There was also a deed drawn at the same time in connection with the payment of £20 a year for ever out of the £300 bequeathed by Sir John Mason. The Town Clerk was paid three guineas for engrossing these annuity deeds.

On September 29th, 1721, Thomas Pearse petitioned to be admitted into the Company of Bakers. The Bakers protested against the reception of Pearse, alleging that he was an English Papist and therefore not qualified. The matter was put to the vote and it was "resolved that the said Thomas Pearse not have the liberty to take and follow his said Trade in the city and libertys except on market days."

Apparently the City Fathers supervised the domestic affairs of their officers. On March 15th, 1722, it was ordered that William French, Sword Bearer, should at the next Council meeting answer the charges of cruelty made against him in his wife's petition. The quarrel with Bishop Milles cropped up again this year, and it was resolved that the Answer to his lordship's memorials in relation to the Town wall, ditches, walls, castles, and towers should be sent to the Government. The Mayor was authorized to proceed to Dublin, and the Chamberlain was instructed to give his worship £20 towards defraying his expenses in defending the rights of the city against the Bishop's prosecution. On June 29th it was ordered that Lord Shannon should be entertained and lodged at the expense of the city "if he comes here."

The Tallow Chandlers at this time were at logger-heads with the Corporation who, in the interests of the comfort of the citizens, were desirous of reducing

the prevalence of unsavoury odours. The chandlers petitioned for liberty to make up in their houses such goods as they used in their shops, offering to bind themselves to render tallow "without the gates." George Roch, one of the chandlers, was prepared to fix up a suitable place for the objectionable process of "rendering." It was ordered that the petitioners should withdraw their traverse to the presentment made against them at the previous Assizes, "and that they have liberty to work up their shop goods at home but to Render merchants' tallow abroad and that they enter into Articles for so doing."

The Judges were entertained by the City Fathers in July, and the following is a copy of the illuminating Bill presented to the Council for the "treating."\*

1722. July ye 12th.

The Corporation of Waterford, Dr. to Will<sup>m</sup>.  
Eeles for Entertaining the Judg<sup>es</sup> att ye  
Assies<sup>es</sup>.

Ye 12th.	To 2 Bottles of Clarett, and 2 bottles of white wine to the Judg <sup>es</sup> lodg- ings, at noon .....	0	5	0
	To one Bottle of Sack .....	[illegible]		
	To Lemons the same time .....	0	6	5
	To their Super .....	1	5	0
	To 19 Botles of Wine att Super .....	1	5	4
	To six Botles of Port Wine .....	0	3	4
	To Bread att Super .....	0	1	2
	To one Doseon and ten Lemons .....	0	4	7
	To Sug <sup>r</sup> .....	0	1	0
	To Ale, Pipes, and Tobacco .....	0	2	8
Ye 13th.	The Judg <sup>es</sup> Diner .....	5	10	0
	To four Doseon and 2 Botles of Clarr <sup>t</sup> at Din <sup>er</sup> .....	3	6	8

\*The original document is in the Museum of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. No mention of it is made in the municipal records preserved in Waterford.



To 2 Dason of White Wine .....	1	8	0
To one Botle of Porte .....	0	1	8
To 2 Dason and 4 Lemons and Oranges .....	0	5	10
To 2 Quarts of Rum .....	0	5	0
To Sugar Round .....	0	2	0
To Bread .....	0	4	5
To $\frac{1}{2}$ a p <sup>d</sup> of Duble Refined Sugar ...	0	0	10
To the Chearemen .....	0	0	6
To Ale, Pipes, and Tobacco .....	0	14	10
To Ale to ye Stuartt .....	0	0	10

£15 11 11\*

Later in the year came the mayoral order for payment of the bill. It ran:—

Sr.—Please to pay unto Mr. Will. Eeles the sum of fifteen pound a leven shillings and a leven pence being for intertening ye Judges the 12th of Jully at Super, and the 13th ditto at Diner, and place the same in your Accompts to ye Corpuration this 28th of September, 1722.

THOMAS AIKENHEAD,  
Mayor.

To  
Ald<sup>m</sup>. Fra. Barker,  
Citty Resever.

At the same time a payment of Ten Guineas was ordered for William Dobbyn, the Recorder, for his great trouble in drawing up the answers to the charges preferred against the city by Bishop Milles; and “a Pistole each” was given to Zachary Clayton and John Pittard for transacting the said answers. In the following January Ald. William Jones laid before the Corporation an order which had been served upon him at the suit of the Bishop requiring

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\* Municipal arithmetic cannot be relied upon. Even without the illegible item for the bottle of sack the figures amount to £15 15s. 1d.

him to furnish an account of the lands, tenements and hereditaments belonging to the Leper House Hospital, to state what rents were paid, how the money was spent, what were the number of acres owned by the Hospital, the names of the tenants, etc. The Council after some deliberation decided that Alderman Jones should ignore the Bishop's interrogations: his lordship had addressed the Alderman as "the Pretended Master" of the Hospital and had therefore put himself out of court. A little later in the year (1723) the Recorder was paid £50 for "his trouble attending three months in Dublin to oppose the Bishop's memorials against the city"; this sum was over and above £6 19s. od. due to him for money expended in the cause "besides what was remitted him." Mr. Francis Skiddy, for his services in connection with the Bishop's claims, was voted £10.

The year 1723 was one in which payments for one purpose or another formed the chief business transacted by the Council. In May £3 was voted to the Town Clerk for ribbon and wax for the freedom papers of Lord Shannon and General Macartney and some of the Judges. £4 was voted to the Revd. Mr. Acteson and Alderman Jones towards the repairs of the parish church at Kilculiheen. Alderman Benjamin Morris was paid £30 for his losses in keeping waste some cabins and gardens on John's Hill, in order to have a place for building a cavalry barracks.

A decree was sent forth in the month of May that every householder should provide at his own expense a leather bucket to be used in the event of an outbreak of fire. Two fire engines were placed in charge of Mr. Estwick; these were not to be removed out of



the town but were to be lodged in a place where the inhabitants might on any occasion be able to lay hands upon them.

A case of leprosy was reported in May. Mary Tobin, the afflicted person, was ordered to be sent to the Leper House. Two doctors—Reynet and Donogan—certified that the woman suffered from the disease.

During the same month a lengthy address was forwarded to the King setting forth the heartfelt sorrow of civic Waterford experienced at hearing of the horrid and wicked conspiracies against his Majesty's person and government. The attachment of Waterford to the Protestant succession was again dwelt upon and the King was assured "that nothing but the dissolution of time into a primitive nothing can reduce or abate the strength of our Resolutions to lose our lives and all that is dear and valuable to us in defence of your Majesty and your royal authority over us; and we beg leave," continued the framers of the address, "to assure your Majesty that as this city in the time of Henry VII, your glorious predecessor, did refuse to submit to an Imposter then proclaimed all over this Nation, that we will still take care to continue that ancient spirit of Loyalty against this Modern Imposter, valued only by your rebellious subjects for his blind Biggotry and Attachment to Rome." This address was signed by John Morris, Mayor, and William Dobbyn, Recorder.

The building of Barracks and a Gaol engaged the attention of the municipality at this time. In the summer of 1724 the government expressed its desire to quarter four companies of Brigadier Dormer's

Regiment of Foot on the inhabitants of the city, the government supplying fire and candles. Mr. Bucknell, Inspector of the Barracks, was informed that they could quarter the soldiery on the citizens. Presently a committee was formed to report if it would be possible to enlarge the Barracks so as to make it fit for the accommodation of a whole regiment. The four companies of foot duly arrived. In the following spring a letter was received from Mr. Luke Gardiner advising the Mayor and Council that the government had ordered £84 16s. 6d. to be paid for fire and candle-light.

It was arranged to give Ald. William Thompson £30 for his interest in a piece of ground near the Barracks and to forgive him the arrears of rent due on the same in order to build a new gaol thereon. The Mayor was invited to write to Mr. Joseph Rea asking for the £50 left by the late Recorder Christian towards the construction of a prison. The £50 was duly paid. On March 16th, 1727, it was finally decided that the new gaol be built forthwith partly on the castle over St. Patrick's Gate, the foundation on the south side to be made or built on the foundation of the outwall joining thereto. The action of Mayor Simon Vashon in pulling down the south wall without St. Patrick's Gate in order to lay the foundation was approved of, and the Corporation agreed to indemnify his worship for what he had performed in connection with the work. Mr. John Graves and Mr. Thomas Roberts were entrusted with the building of the gaol. This is the first mention in the public records of a member of the now famous family of Roberts. In or about the year 1680 Thomas



Roberts, "a Welshman of property and beauty," settled in Waterford where he married and prospered. His son—the above-mentioned Thomas—became an architect. He married Sarah Bowles, a relative of Alderman Heavens.

The low rate of remuneration for labour of any kind rendered it impossible for the poorer classes to obtain sufficient food, and now and again grave discontent manifested itself. In July, 1724, it was ordered that the Bakers' Charter be cancelled and that in future everyone should have liberty to bake and sell bread without paying anything for the privilege; and the Company of Butchers were warned that it was their duty to supply the town with good meat at reasonable prices, and if they failed to do so their charter would be called in. The conditions under which food was sold was not always of the best, but it must be admitted that the Corporation endeavoured to remedy abuses whenever complaint was made to them. The inhabitants of Little Patrick Street declared that the Milk Market held in that street was a great nuisance. Horses blocked the way, making the passage of the inhabitants to their houses difficult and dangerous. It was ordered that all sour milk should in future be sold without St. Patrick's Gate and the horses bringing it should stand there. Sweet milk could be sold at the upper part of St. Patrick Street, the horses to be sent to the Carigeen.

Amongst the transactions in the property of the Corporation which took place in 1724 there is an entry to the effect that several cabins and gardens were set at a Dern Hundred which took place on September 2nd. One of these cabins was in possession of

"Father John Kennedy."\* It was canted with an adjoining cabin "fronting the Green with the garden behind the same" to Mr. William Jones at a yearly rental of £5 2s. od.

No truce was called in the year 1724 to the quarrel between Bishop Milles and the Corporation. On September 4th it was announced at a meeting of the Council that the suit between his Lordship and the Master of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost was being "carried on with great rigour" and it was agreed to form a committee consisting of the Mayor, the Recorder, five Aldermen and the Sheriffs who would from time to time meet in order to discuss the situation.†

It seems odd that a Corporation so sychophantically loyal should have any fault to find with Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings. However, on October 12th it was resolved that a petition against the famous coinage should be sealed and transmitted to his Majesty. The matter next dealt with at the meeting which protested against the Bristolian money was the position of the sun "Dyall": it was ordered that it be placed on Goose's Quayhead. This dial had been recently purchased from Colonel Mason, who was paid £4 10s. od. for it.

The only pastime which the grave and reverend signiors of the period condescended to discuss was the

\* Father Kennedy was Parish Priest of Ballylaneen and Fews from 1694 to 1722.

† His lordship was evidently a prelate whose liberal views were considerably in advance of the time in which he lived. In the year 1718 the soldiers quartered at Waterford were commanded not to attend divine service at the Cathedral on the grounds that the teaching of Bishop Milles tended to alienate them from the Established Church.



game of bowls. In May, 1725, a committee was formed to view the city, chiefly for the purpose of inspecting Lombard's Marsh "in order to make a passage thereto and to fix on some part thereof for a Bowling Green and Walk." A little later it was ordered that Lombard's Marsh "be set from year to year till the city build a bridge over Catherine's Pill."

In August, 1725, a number of the City Fathers borrowed money from the Corporation: Alderman Ambrose Congreve had £900 for three months at five per cent., Alderman Benjamin Morris £300, Mr. Mayor (Thomas Christmas) £100, Mr. Eeles £100. During the following month Alderman Vashon borrowed £200, Alderman John Moore £100, Alderman Morgan £100, and Alderman Ivie £75.

The water difficulty was now becoming acute. In September the Mayor and the members of the Council "discoursed" Patrick Graham about the pump in his garden. They also sought in other directions for supplies. John Mehane was paid £3 "for his trouble coming from the County of Catherlough to advise about bringing water into the city."

The rebuilding and extension of the Quay and its neighbourhood went on apace. The rule was enforced that no thatched cabins should be built on any part of the new Quay or in any of the new streets to be made in the neighbourhood, namely, King Street, George's Street, and Hanover Street. A new road was ordered to be engineered "through from Ballybricken to King Street." In order to make a thoroughfare from Ballybricken to the Graving Bank the little field belonging to Alderman Barker "in case he can get his tenant out" was to be acquired. Alderman



Ben Morris was granted leave to build on the "slobb" or ground facing his gardens near the Graving Bank. The Quay was enlarged before the Mayor's house, his Worship's salary of £50 being applied for this work.

Early in 1726 William Dobbyn resigned the Recordership, and Robert Marshall was appointed to succeed him. Amongst the leases granted this year was one to Daniel Taylor of the ground of his house, "being the old Tholsel," for 999 years at the modest annual rent of a peppercorn. In July, Alderman Congreve was granted permission to build at his own expense a stone bridge over Catherine's Pill from Miller's Marsh over to Lumbard's Marshes, "he leaving a Passage on road bridge of 22 feet wide for ships to sayle up and down and that said Passage be in the nature of a Drawbridge or Swivel bridge and that the Water Bailiff do raise the said bridge for ships going up and down without any fee and that the wooden part which is to be built of good sufficient oak be of a proper scantling, and that this Board will at the charge of the City Revenue keep the said wooden part of the said Bridge, when built, from time to time in repair." It was added that there should be a free passage through the Miller's Marsh for all persons to this bridge. In the making of a lane from Barronstrand Street to Blackfriars it was laid down that the passage should be not less than ten feet wide in every way and that Joseph Ivie was to "splay off the end of the Town wall the thickness of the said wall at the end of the said lane near the Blackfryers within seven feet of William Keefe's house and that said Joseph Ivie have a lease of said walls for 99 years at ten shillings per annum."



The Mayor's salary had been only £50 a year. On September 27th, 1726, it was decided that it should be raised to £100 a year and that the Sheriffs should have £80 salary. The Sheriffs for the year were Arthur Taylor and William Martin, junior, and in consideration of the great expenses they had incurred a grant of £20 was added to their salary. The Town Clerk also got an increase, his stipend being raised to £30 a year. In the following November the case of the Recorder was considered, and it was agreed to pay him £50 a year.

Some time had elapsed since an address had been sent to King George, but on March 8th, 1727, asseverations of the loyalty of the Untouched City were forwarded to his Majesty. He was told (amongst other things) that he might be assured "that till such time as we can find it practicable to reconcile the Interests and Passions of a Popish Pretender and a Protestant Church, an Arbitrary Tyrant and a free people, Slavery and Liberty, poverty and baseness with plenty and true glory, it is impossible but that your Majesty must be possessed of our hearts and all that's in our power to contribute towards the support, undoubted right to the crown of three kingdoms, and the felicity and glory of your reign."

A peal of bells which were used both for Christ Church and St. Olaf's were recast by order of Bishop Milles in 1727. On the tenor bell there was an inscription stating it was obtained out of a legacy left by Robert Gibson, A.M. The fifth bell's inscription stated that it was "completed by the care of Alderman John Moor, Esq.; Mr. Pat Callan, executor." The fourth bell bore the names of "Simon Vashon,

Mayor ; Beverley Ussher, Edward Harrison, Sheriffs ; J. K. Fudet, 1727. Funera Ploro. Hallelujah !" The first, second, and third bells bore respectively the inscriptions "Congrego Coetum," "Excito Lentas," "Convoco Clerum" together with the letter "J.K."—the initial letters of the name of Joshua Kippling who cast all the bells.

The wanton destruction of woods and forests was unchecked during the reign of George I. In the neighbourhood of Waterford city and on property belonging to the Corporation the timber was felled remorselessly. Trees were sold for absurdly small prices, sixpence a large tree being an average price.

All over the island trade was crushed under the weight of the jealous and greedy commercial policy of England, and this grievance affected the Protestants just as much as it affected the Catholic population. It redounds to the credit of the merchants of Waterford and of those who looked after public affairs that in the face of the heavy blows levelled at Irish trade they showed no sign of relaxing their efforts to improve the condition of their town and port.

The Huguenot settlers were firmly established in the city in the reign of George I. John Espaignet had been Sheriff in 1707, Jeremy Gayot filled the same office in 1709. The charge of the waterworks was entrusted in 1719 to Alderman Vashon, who was elected Mayor in 1726. Most of the Huguenots were engaged in commercial pursuits ; their warehouses were situated chiefly in the immediate neighbourhood of the French Church. The wine trade seems to have had an especial attraction for them. Many of



them were the owners of ships which (according to Canon Gimlette) "well freighted, went and returned to every well-known seaport either at home or abroad; or were moored close at hand in the secure haven of the Suir."

In the appendix to the Journal of the House of Commons for 1719 there is a return of the pensions that had fallen in from the French troops which had served under William III and also of those who were placed on the pension list. Amongst those settled in Waterford was James D'Angier who died in the city in 1718 and whose pension was £27 7s. 6d. Peter Chelar, who had been quartermaster to Lord Galway's horse, Captain Du Chesne, of the same regiment, Captain Abraham Franquefort, Captain John Vaury, Captain Louis Belafaye, all veterans of the Prince of Orange's army, settled in the city by the Suir. Lieutenant Besard De Lamaindre and Major Sautelle also became citizens of Waterford. Amongst other notable members of the congregation who attended the French Church under the pastorate of the Revd. James Denis were Doctor Peter de Rante and Doctor Jacques Reynette.\*

Canon Gimlette says that in the early part of the 18th century the Waterford Corporation was known locally as "the Forty Thieves." Having followed their fortunes so far and judging them by their official transactions (selections from which have been made impartially) it can hardly be urged that the men who

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\* In the French Church there is a tablet to the memory of Mary de Rante, alias Alcock, who died on January 17th, 1716, aged 33, and Peter de Rante, who died on January 27th, 1756, aged 81 years.

ruled the city during the reigns of William III, Queen Anne and George I were entitled to be dubbed, even jocosely, as Thieves. They had a tremendous task to perform—the reconstruction of a ruined city and the resuscitation of a port whose trade had dwindled—and they seem to have gone about their work in a painstaking and businesslike way. They were steeped to the lips in loyalty to England and to the Protestant succession; they despised the Irishry in Waterford, aliens to them in race and in faith; but they were always alive to what they deemed to be their first duty—the welfare of the place in which they dwelt. These English settlers and their Huguenot colleagues can be justly accused of detestable bigotry and intolerance, but they cannot be charged with the eating of idle bread or with neglect of the duties of citizenship; and if they were occasionally generous to each other in the matter of leasing Corporation property they could contend that any value the property possessed was mainly the result of their exertions and their enterprise.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### GEORGE II.

GEORGE I died in 1727, and on March 8th in that year an address was forwarded to his successor from the Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Grand Jury, and citizens of Waterford. After expressing grief at the sudden and unexpected death of his late Majesty the new King was thanked for his declaration, which gave the strongest assurance that existing religious and civil rights would be preserved.

A small ray of hope had illumined Catholic Ireland when George II ascended the throne. His Majesty had a reputation for liberal-mindedness, and it was thought that a relaxation of the Penal laws would be brought about. But instead of any relaxation there was an additional tightening of the cords: it was enacted in the first year of the reign of George II that "No Papist shall be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight citizen or burgess or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate." The only branch of the legal profession which Catholics had been allowed to follow was that of solicitor. In the same year a Bill absolutely disqualifying a Papist from practising as a solicitor was brought into the Irish House of Commons.

Macauley says :—" There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy and ambition ; but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland.\* . . . One exile became a Marshal of France ; another became Prime Minister of Spain." This was Richard Wall,† a Co. Waterford gentleman. Macauley adds : " If he had stayed in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who drank ' the glorious and immortal memory.' In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George II." Another of the many distinguished exiles of this period was Antoine Vincent Walsh, son of Philip Walsh, a wealthy Waterford merchant. He was born in 1702. He was married to Mary, daughter of Luke O'Sheil. Antoine Walsh entered the French navy and subsequently became a shipowner at Nantes. He attached himself to Charles Edward (" the Young Pretender") and commanded a frigate. Charles knighted him for his services and presented him with £2,000 and a gold-hilted sword. Walsh was subsequently created an Irish Earl by James Edward. He died at Cap Frances, San Domingo, in 1763.

The Irish Inhabitants of Waterford do not seem to have cherished the hopes which had sprung into the breasts of Catholics in other parts of the country ; at any rate there is no record or evidence of anything

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\* According to the records of the French War Office 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France from 1691 to 1745.

† Richard Wall was born in Coolnamuck in 1694. Amongst his labours was the restoration of the Alhambra. He died in Spain in 1778.



which would show that they were either enlivened or depressed by the death of one George and the succession of another. The members of the Corporation and their friends drank the King's health lustily (at the expense of the city revenue) on September 11th, and this demonstration of loyalty so softened their hearts that they decided to increase the salary of the Town Clerk to £40 a year.

Describing the city as it presented itself in the early part of the 18th century, a writer in "The Waterford Archæological Journal" says: — "If Waterford was fair to behold it was not at all healthy or enjoyable to live in. According to Smith, 'the severall streets and lanes are for the most part very narrow and the houses crowded very thick together. Yet were the streets more open and many houses which lie thickest set ranged in a regular order the city would take up three times the ground that it does at present.' It will help us to realise this the better if we remember that a large block filled the present Barronstrand and Broad Streets. The open space at the Apple Market (in John Street) was once occupied by congeries of tenements. Another wedge-shaped block stood at the junction of Patrick and Stephen Streets. The present Alexander Street was once a range of houses up to its centre, and similarly with other areas. Further, not only were the streets narrow but the upper stories of the houses overlapped, so that often a space of ten feet measured the street across. Of footways and pavements there were none. When it rained the streets became a muddy pool which the pedestrians negotiated by friendly stepping stones, being

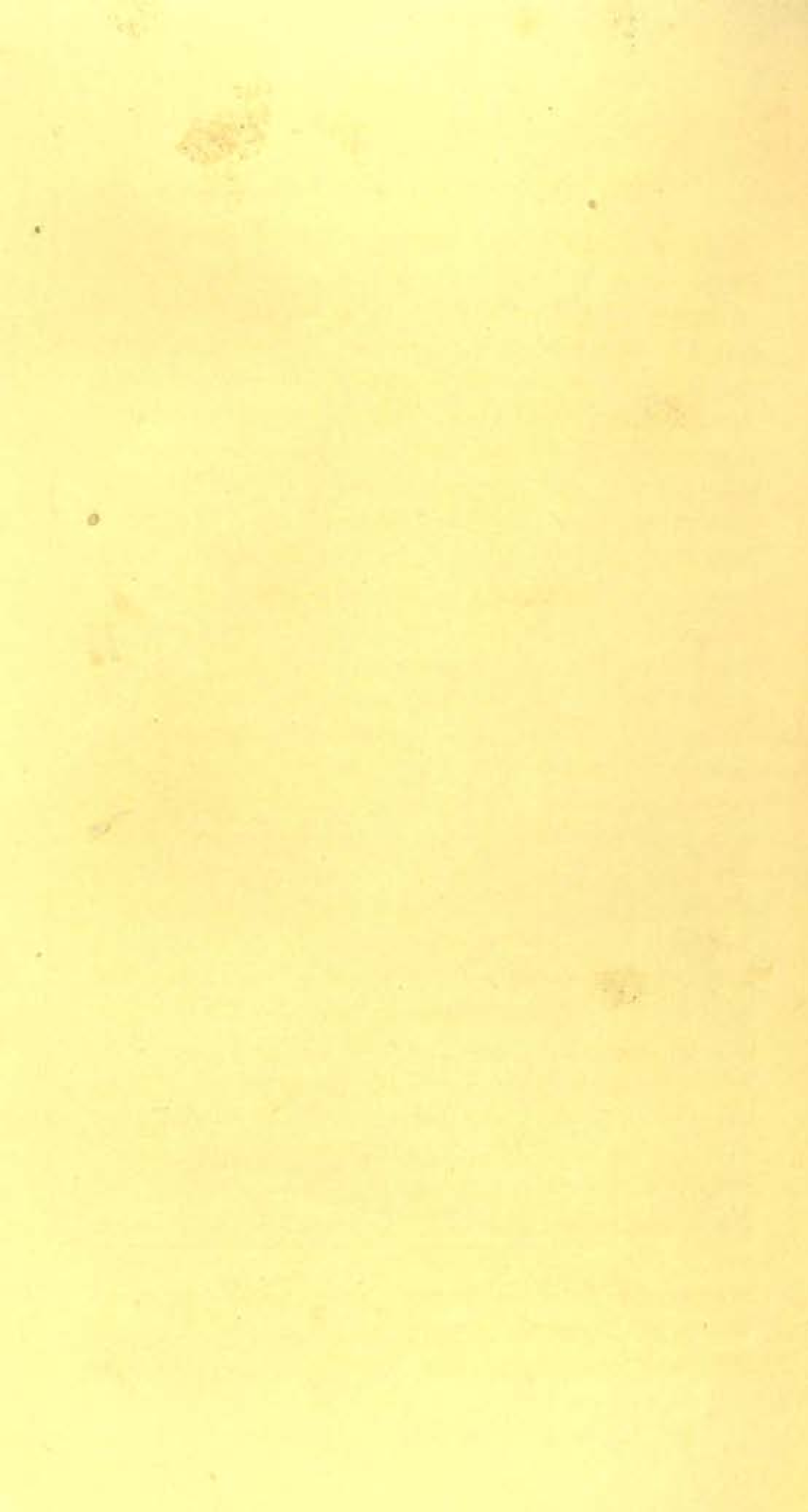
drenched meanwhile by the torrents swept from the overhanging eaves. The only provision made for cleansing the thoroughfares was that each householder was bound to sweep every day the space in front of his house. A deep sewer, open and fetid, in the middle of the roadway carried off the rain and the street refuse alike. At night the discomforts of the town were still greater. A few of the wealthier class with Sedan chairs, before which trotted the link boy with his torch ; the ordinary citizen had to make his way through pools and mud as best he might. The arrangements for lighting were of the most primitive kind. A bye-law of the Corporation, fitfully enforced, obliged the residents to place candles in their windows for certain hours of the evening, after which the town was in total darkness. But if the scavenging and lighting were magnificent improvisations the water supply was little better. In High Street stood a venerable limestone erection called the Conduit. A wretched pool oozing from the clay slate to the rear of Little Patrick Street was dignified with the name of St. Patrick's Well. Off Michael Street in a lane now closed was St. Michael's Well. Within the present St. Stephen's Brewery was Our Lady's Well. Besides there were outside the walls two, probably more, favourably-known springs, one off the present Manor Street, the other reached by a passage from Catherine Street, and styled St. Catherine's Well. Such were the perennial fountains at which the old burghers of Waterford drank themselves sick."

We have seen that the City Fathers almost from the beginning of the century laboured strenuously to improve the sanitary conditions of the town. The





RUINS OF TOWER IN MAYOR'S WALK





supply of water was increased and greater care was taken to keep it free from contamination, and plans for obtaining further supplies were brought before the Board. The sewerage had also been put into much better shape. The lighting of the streets was a matter which was deemed not quite so urgent as the bettering of the water supply and the improvement of the sewerage. At the same time the Corporation was fully alive to the necessity of establishing a system of public lighting, and presently they availed themselves of an opportunity to do what was needful.

Ambrose Congreve, Customer of the Port of Waterford, was on September 29th, 1727, elected Mayor ; but for some reason not recorded, the Lords Justices and Privy Council did not ratify the appointment and Simon Newport was elected Chief Magistrate. During Newport's term of office a letter was read from Ald. Henry Mason stating that if the citizens were desirous of having an Act passed for erecting lamps in the streets the representatives of the city in Parliament would endeavour to get a clause inserted in a Bill to be promoted by some other municipality "at as reasonable terms as they could." It was decided by the Council that the city should avail itself of the first opportunity of having lamps set up in the streets.

Amongst other tasks undertaken during Simon Newport's mayoralty was the making of new roadways. One of these was the one which ran from St. Patrick's Gate to Newgate Street after the pulling down of the walls in that neighbourhood: this was styled (and is still styled) "The Mayor's Walk." It was arranged that the market for furze should be held there.

Ald. Ambrose Congreve reported in January, 1728, that he had built the bridge over St. Catherine's Pill to Lombard's Marshes of substantial oak "pursuant to the order of the Board of July 18th, 1726." Shortly afterwards it was decided to proceed with the making of the new quay "before Mr. Penrose's lotts and Ald. Moore's lotts." A slip was ordered to be constructed "before Ald Morgan's lott on the key"; and the slip opposite to the Exchange was to be taken entirely away "and the key made smooth." The new gaol was to be built partly on Ald. Aikenhead's house near Patrick's Gate.

The water supply was a matter which was still uppermost in the civic mind. The well in Barron-strand Street was ordered to be cleared and made deeper and a cistern was to be fixed on the Quay at the end of the Weigh House for the convenience of the shipping and the inhabitants in that neighbourhood. At the first meeting of the Council held in the year 1729 it was ordered that the Mayor and other members of the municipal body should "view the water at Skibereen, or in any other place, and report after what manner the same can be brought into the city." In February Maurice Roch asked £250 for bringing water through a trench or watercourse from Sheepsbridge to the corner of the Court House and he was agreeable to bind himself to keep the said water in the city for the space of one year. This application met with the approval of the Council and it was agreed to arrange with Roch, paying him by instalments as he proceeded with the work. The Mayor and his colleagues were appointed to deal with the



tenants of the lands through which the new water supply would be conveyed.

In towns even where, as in Waterford, commerce was comparatively brisk, scarcity of food frequently occurred, and as a consequence rioting ensued. In March, 1729, anticipating fresh trouble in this direction, we find the Mayor (Edward Weekes) and the Sheriffs addressing the following letter to Captain Tokefield who was in command of the military at the Barracks in Waterford: "Sir,—We are informed that the Möbb of this city are resolved to rise againe, for which reason we make it our request that you'l assist us with the Companys under your command to Disperse said Rioters in case they attempt to rise till we hear from the Government, and we doe hereby promise to save you harmless and indemnifye you from any trouble, cost, or charges that may attend you for soe doing." In order to obtain additional protection for peaceably-disposed citizens the Mayor ordered that the Militia guard should be continued until he thought fit to discharge the members of it. Each militiaman was to receive out of the city's funds twelvecence each night in the case of sergeants and eightpence in the case of privates.

In October the Council made up its mind to have the streets lit with lamps and it was resolved to join in the expense of obtaining an Act of Parliament for the purpose.

The following March a small economy was attempted: it was decided that in future the Corporation would not incur any expense in entertaining the Judges at Assize time beyond paying for their lordships' lodgings. It is quite possible that Mr.

Eeles' bill, the particulars of which were given in a previous chapter, had something to do with the cold-shouldering of the judges. A further example of the tendency to economize was furnished a little later when a demand on the part of the Sheriffs (William and Thomas Roche) was presented for £2 8s. 7d. "for their extraordinary expence in executing three felon convicts here last Assizes." The bill was passed, but it was enacted that in future "this Board will not pay anything out of the Revenue for executing any Prisoners."

The necessity of providing better barrack accommodation was agitating the burgomasters at this time. A memorial addressed to the Lord Lieutenant was sent to Dean Alcock\* for presentation to His Excellency. Application was made for £320 for repairing the Barracks, "which sum will make them large enough for a regiment of foot." In April, 1730, it was decided to build a new barrack in the barrack-yard or grounds for the accommodation of the officers. Twelve rooms were to be constructed on lines laid down by Lieutenant Cossard. In June it was ordered that a new quay wall should be built "in order to keep in the rubbish laid in as farr as the foundation is begun" and that the rubbish taken from the barracks was "to be applyd towards filling up the same." In October a sum of £50 was voted to Charles Bucknall in recognition of his good offices in obtaining from the government money for building the

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\* The Alcocks, it is said, came to Ireland at the time of Henry II's invasion and settled in Downpatrick. The Waterford branch of the family is descended from the Very Revd. Alexander Alcock, Dean of Lismore, who was married to the daughter of Sir John Mason, whose name is writ large in the annals of Waterford.



additional barracks; and in the following June a resolution was passed "that the Board will give £200 to Charles Bucknall towards the building a Barrack for two troops of Horse at or near this city, the money not to be paid till the Barracks are built and finished and the two troops of Horse and Men of the Standing Army quartered therein, the Barracks not to be above a quarter of a mile from the town and to be built on the City side of the River."

The public lighting project which had been hanging fire for some time was again brought before the Council at a meeting held in the month of June, 1732. It was ordered that a survey of the houses in the city should be made in order to decide where it would be best to fix lamps and what charge should be put upon the citizens. The Board was of opinion that all houses rented at less than £2 per annum (including "cabbins") should be exempted from paying any tax towards the erection and maintenance of public lamps; that houses rented at upwards of £2 and under £3 should pay 1/- a year; houses rented at from £3 to £5 to pay 1/6; and houses rented at upwards of £5 should pay 2/-. It was calculated that the whole revenue which would be derivable from this arrangement would amount approximately to £68 a year,\* a sum sufficient to supply 150 lamps: the cost of making and erecting them was estimated at £75. Mr. Thomas Alcock was selected as a fit and proper person "to take care of said lamps and to see the same duly

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\* This approximation was based on the following estimate:—

208 houses	at 1/-	.....	£10	8	0
190	" @ 1/6	.....	14	5	0
440	" @ 2/-	.....	44	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£68 13 0		

supplied"; and Peter St. Leger was to be entrusted with the making of the lamps. The project was at first to be confined to lighting the streets at night from August 25th to May 1st in each year. In July, 1733, the experiment was well under weigh but it was found that 68 additional lamps would be required, making in all 218. The expense of making and erecting these was estimated at £32 6s. od. Mr. Alcock was appointed to collect the lamp tax, and out of the receipts he was to pay for the oil. He was to be allowed £58 a year for his trouble and for the wages of his assistants, and he was to account on oath for the monies received by him from the citizens. Before entering into office Mr. Alcock was also to "be sworn to buy Oyle and manage said office to the best advantage in every respect for the city."

Notwithstanding the boon conferred on the citizens by lighting the streets after nightfall Mr. Alcock reported on November, 1733, that many of the inhabitants declined to pay the modest lamp tax, availing themselves of a loophole in the Act of Parliament which failed to confer on the Corporation the power to distrain for the tax. A balance of £30 9s. 6d. was paid to Alcock together with £8 19s. 2d. for his expenses in going to Limerick in order to ascertain what was the method adopted there for the lighting of that city.

Hand in hand with the public lighting project, with barrack-building and with quay improvements went attempts to augment the water supply. In March, 1731, it was agreed to give Maurice Roch £70 for bringing water from Skibereen into the fountain or reservoir in the Widow Graham's garden. In July,



1733, representatives of Mrs. Christabella Dobbyn, deceased, were paid for the liberty of allowing water to be conveyed through the house, yard and garden wherein James Purcell dwelt. A committee appointed to view the watercourse from Ballybricken Fountain through the gardens under Thomas's Hill reported that the tenants of Ald. Francis Barker in their gardens had dug and carried away the earth close to the watercourse, in consequence of which only a small portion of the supply reached the town. The committee were of opinion that the watercourse should be changed and that the water should be brought down the new road to the conduit in pipes. It was eventually resolved "that the water under Thomas's Hill be carried in wooden pipes in the channell it now runs in." It was also decided to make a small reservoir near St. Thomas's Church. Thomas Barnes, blockmaker, was engaged to bore the wooden pipes. These were to be four inches in diameter, and Barnes was to lay and joint them himself and to keep them when laid tight and staunch for the space of one year. The contract price for this work was fourpence halfpenny per foot for boring and laying. The city was to supply the timber and other materials and to pay the labourers.

In 1733 Messrs. Vashon proposed to convert the Bridewell and garden into a factory for carrying on the linen and hempen business. The Corporation agreed to grant them a lease for 99 years at a peppercorn rent, provided Messrs. Vashon covenanted to keep going constantly ten looms for the manufacture of flaxen and hempen goods and that they would make ten thousand yards of sail-cloth yearly.

Mr. Gore, Collector of Customs, was informed in August that the city could not afford to find money for the building of a new Custom House as the municipal revenue had been heavily taxed for building and other public works for the furtherance of trade and the betterment of the city. The Revenue Commissioners then proposed that they would rebuild the Custom House if the Corporation would give them a lease of so much of the quay lying before the front of the existing building as would bring the new building into line with the Exchange. The Commissioners also asked for "as much ground between the two Triangles as will make a Watch House thereon." These requests were complied with, and a lease was granted to William Gore and his successors in the office of Collector of the port (in trust for the Crown) of the several desired pieces of ground for 999 years at a peppercorn rent.

Trouble with the "mob" outside the gates disturbed the City Fathers in 1734. On March 20th in that year a memorial was forwarded to His Grace Lionel, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, setting forth that "the common people in and about the town of Carrickbeg in the Co. Waterford are grown so tumultuous that they will not permit or suffer any corn or cattle to be brought from the Co. Tipperary to this city which are to pass through or near Carrick aforesaid but that they by force and violence take the same away and convert them to their private uses whereby the poor in and about this city are reduced to great hardships which would be relieved if the rioters were suppressed, liberty given to bring down goods and the navigation more free, and corn



would be much cheaper than the same is sold for now. Besides the Merchants who have bought corn in the country for Transportation and have advised their correspondents abroad of the buying thereof cannot get said corn brought to this city, to the great discouragement of Trade, Tillage, and the public good of the nation." His Excellency was implored to take such steps as would remedy the evil complained of.

Another grievance which disturbed the citizens at this time was that fish caught in the river was sold in other places besides on the Quay of Waterford. The merchants sent a petition to the Council pointing out that for many years large quantities of herrings had been caught in the harbour and that ships had been induced to come to Waterford and take away other merchandize for the sake of getting herrings cheaply. A considerable number of coopers were busy making barrels for the fish and a number of poor people were employed curing the herrings, and if this work was taken from them they would have either to starve or to beg. The practice of selling fish at Duncannon, Passage, Ballyhack and other places in the harbour was most reprehensible. The Mayor, it was urged, had power by virtue of the City's Charter to compel those who caught fish in the harbour to sell their wares on the Quay of the ancient City of Waterford and nowhere else. The signatories to this petition were:—Simon Newport, Edward Weekes, Simon Vashon, Peter Vashon, William Morgan, Thomas Knowles, John Hutcheson, William Aylward, Charles Gignows, William Morris, Thomas Grubb, and Joseph Lambe. The Council decided to

consult the Recorder and the Attorney-General as to their powers under the Great Charter. The opinion of the Attorney-General was read at a Council meeting held on September 16th, 1735. He considered that though the Mayor of Waterford had power by virtue of the Charter of Charles I to make regulations dealing with all fish caught in the harbour (whales and sturgeons excepted) it would be well to attempt to redress the grievances of which the merchants complained by permitting foreigners not entitled under the Charter to dispose of fish caught in the harbours to fish upon such terms as the Mayor might think reasonable and proper. "I am of opinion," added the Attorney-General, "that Herrings tho' sent coast-ways must be packd up in Barrells made pursuant to the direction of the late Statute." The Council decided to offer a license to fish in the harbour to Foreigners or others who would enter into a bond to take all the fish they caught up to the City Quay and expose it there for sale and if any Foreigners should attempt to fish without a license that the Mayor would order a sufficient number of persons to destroy, cut or take away the nets of each boat transgressing. Apparently this did not deter the foreigner or poacher, for a fresh remonstrance was made by the city merchants in the latter part of the year 1736 demanding that a boat or sloop should be fitted out "to preserve the royalties and privileges of the Mayor and citizens." The Corporation decided that easy ways were the best, and they resolved that for the better encouragement of all fishermen to bring their wares to the Quay they were to be exempted from the quayage dues ordinarily paid to the Water Bailiff,



and it was further announced that license to fish in the harbour could be had gratis from the Town Clerk of Waterford.

In March, 1735, a question arose as to the right of nomination for mastership of the Holy Ghost Hospital. It was agreed that the right belonged to Nicholas Walsh who resided at Orotava in the Canary Islands. Nicholas was the lawful heir of Patrick Walsh, deceased. He was to be asked to pay to the Hospital a sum of £100, half of this being a legacy left by his father, Bernard Walsh, the remaining £50 to be a gift from Nicholas himself. While conceding the right of nomination to this branch of the Walsh family the right of approbation was to lie with the Mayor of Waterford for the time being.

On May 24th, 1735, the Rules for the new Bowling Green were published. They were as follows:—

	s.	d.
Every Subscriber for Bowling to pay .....	2	8
Every person who does not subscribe for Bowling each night he plays to pay the Keeper.....		3
All ladies to be admitted without paying.		
The Keeper not to admit any Dogg into the Green under the penalty of paying Twenty Shillings to be stopped out of his wages for each Dogg that enters the Green.		
All gentlemen who are strangers to pay Nothing provided he or they are introduced by a Subscriber.		

On June 30th William Doyle made a proposal to the Corporation to construct a proper chart of the harbour and the neighbouring coast. He dwelt upon "the Dangerous Bay of Tramore destructive of so many ships and mariners to whom were the naviga-

tion of Rhine Shark harbour known they might have been saved." Doyle offered to supply an exact chart of the coast "from Newtown Head to the Red Head thence to Slade Bay, from the Hook Tower on the eastern side to Ballyhack as also from Red Head to Passage or even thence northward to the conflux of the Rivers of Ross and Waterford." He asked to be provided with a boat, with hands, and occasionally with a Pilot. The chart was to be engraved on a Copper plate and a certain number of prints from this plate would be supplied to the Corporation. The bargain was concluded on the terms that forty copies of the map or chart should be given to the Corporation, that they would furnish a boat and Boys, and finally that the plate would be given to Doyle together with a gratuity of ten sovereigns. A little later a further sum of £10 was paid to him.

The final bargain with Doyle was made on Nov. 23rd, 1736. The City was to give him £6 (Irish) in hand and to pay him £40 (Irish) further, together with the Copperplate, upon his lodging with George Fitzgerald, a merchant in London, for the use of members of the Council forty drafts of the map or chart\* which bore the Arms of the City; Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford; John Mason, Thos. Christmas; Alexander Alcock, W. Lingden of Dublin; Edmond Field of Lisbon; Edward Stephens;

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\* Published on January 25th, 1737/8 in London and described as "A New Chart being an actual survey of the Harbours of Rineshark and Waterford to the confluence of the Rivers Suire and Barrow and Sea Coast to them adjacent. Inscribed to the Right Worshipful Henry Mason, Esq., Mayor, anno 1735. By William Doyle Hidrographer. Eman<sup>d</sup> Bowen, Londini Sculpt." Size: 28½ x 22 inches.



Alexander Boyd; Elizabeth, Viscountess of Donerayle and Baroness of Kilmeaden; John Ottrington; St. John Fortescue; and Brice Seede of Britton in Gloucestershire.

The idea of the "workhouse" as a panacea for Irish poverty is of more ancient origin than is originally supposed.\* On October 1st a letter was read from Dean Alcock stating that the City of Cork was about to apply to Parliament for an Act empowering it to build a Workhouse for employing the poor, restraining vagrant beggars, and taking care of foundling children; and the Dean enquired if Waterford would desire to seek for similar powers. It was resolved to join Cork in an application to Parliament provided the cost of the promotion of the Bill would be small and that Waterford would not be obliged to build a workhouse until such time as the municipality thought proper. This resolution was sent by the Mayor (William Morgan) to Thomas Christmas and John Mason at the Parliament House in Dublin.

In June, 1736, Ambrose Congreve was again elected Mayor of Waterford for the ensuing year. On this occasion the selection of the Corporation was ratified by the Privy Council. The newly-chosen Mayor was a member of that distinguished family which gave to

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\*In 1703 an Act was passed enjoining the erection of a workhouse in Dublin. Arthur Dobbs, in a pamphlet published in 1731, computed the number of strolling beggars at 34,000 and declared that the only treatment for pauperism was the erection of workhouses, to be supported by local taxation, with compulsory labour for the able-bodied and schools for the young. Lecky says that the workhouse system of this period, "as in nearly all Irish matters," made conspicuous "the determination to sap the religion of the Catholics."

the world William Congreve who is described by Algernon Charles Swinburne as "the greatest English master of pure comedy." According to the inscription on his tomb, William Congreve was born in 1672, but Macauley holds that the date of his birth was 1670. There is uncertainty also about the place of his birth; most likely he was born in the County Waterford, for his father was the Earl of Cork's agent at Lismore Castle from 1670 to 1690.\*

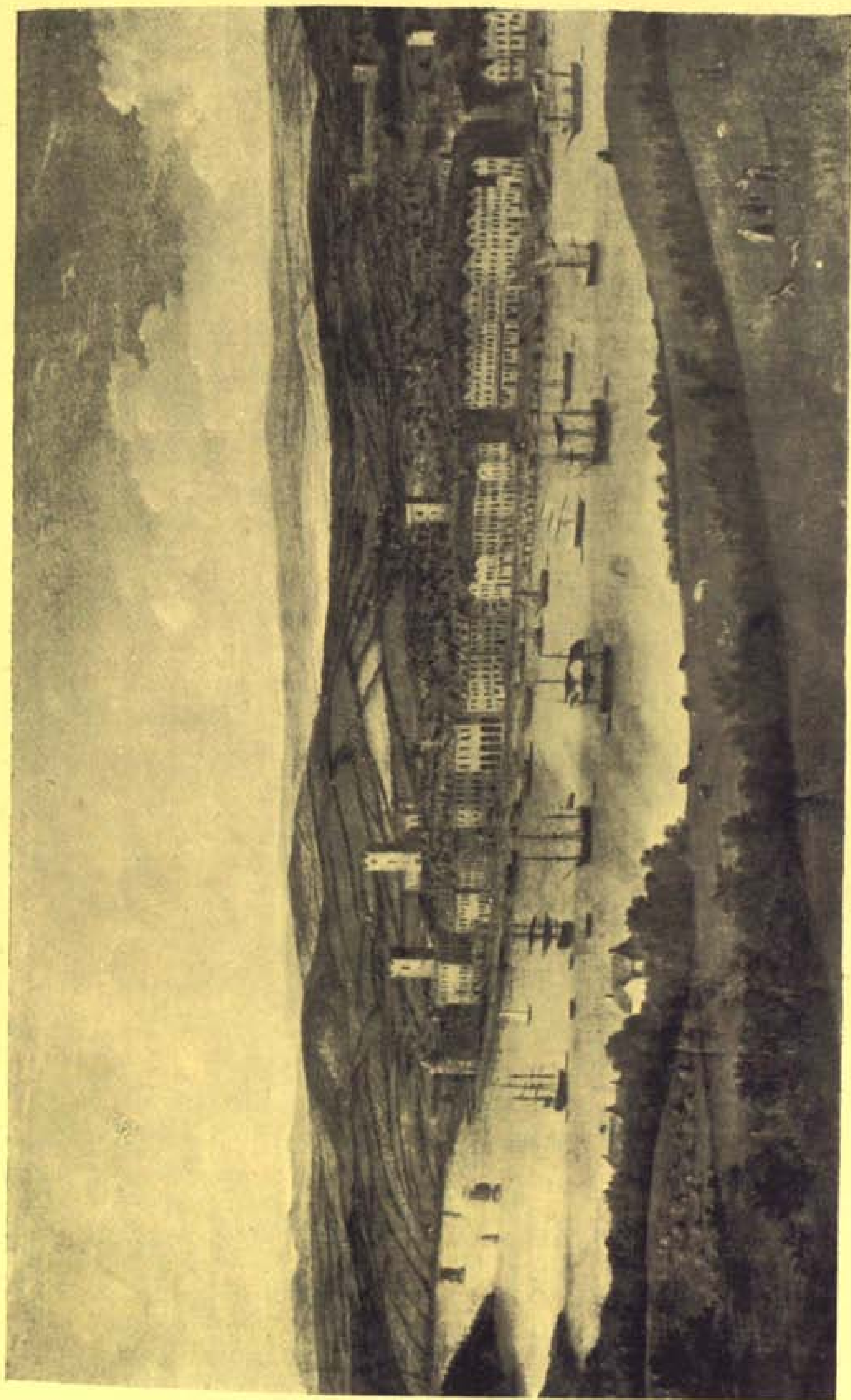
On June 29th it was agreed to pay William Vander Hagen the sum of £20 "for his Picture or Drafts of the Quay, houses thereon and River and lands opposite to it, now hanging in the Council Chamber." Alderman Samuel Barker was at the same time entrusted with five guineas for the purpose of providing a frame for the Dutchman's oil painting.†

Vander Hagen's picture of Waterford in 1736 is thus described by a writer in "The Waterford Archæological Journal":—"The artist's standpoint is the Kilkenny side of the river on the declivity over 'The Slip.' A party of picknickers, probably from across the water, occupy the foreground. They have enjoyed their lunch and are proceeding to dance a

\* In his *Lives of the Poets*, Doctor Johnson, dealing with the vexed question of the birthplace of William Congreve, says that the dramatist used to declare that he was born in England but that everyone else held he was born in Ireland. "Southern," adds Dr. Johnson, "mentioned him with sharp censure as a man that meanly disowned his country."

† Vander Hagen came to Ireland in 1726. He executed designs for the tapestry in the Irish House of Lords in 1730. Prior to this he had painted for the Revd. Chas. Massey, Dean of Limerick, a portrait of Turlogh O'Carolan, "the last of the Irish bards." This portrait was recently purchased through Dr. Grattan Flood for Father Carolan, a great-great-grandnephew of the bard. Vander Hagen's picture of Waterford still hangs in the Council Chamber. It is a large canvas, measuring 8ft. x 4ft.





VIEW OF WATERFORD IN 1736





minuet. The gentlemen step out with vast dignity before ladies who are coy, gracious, and Georgian. Close by a large spaniel dog in full tilt shares in the general merriment. The river stretching away in front is evidently the strong part of the composition. Though the city is bathed in sunshine the artist has put in plenty of blue ; numerous shipping lie in the stream and all sorts of convenient winds blow to give the lazy sails picturesque poses. The commercial varity of his patrons (the Corporation) is flattered by a great array of merchantmen along the quays. Behind is seen the town—a dense aggregation of gables and corners with a comparative absence of chimneys—for the hearth-money tax was then in force. The three most prominent objects in the city are the Cathedral and the towers of the French Church and the Blackfriars. The sketch of the Cathedral closely correspond with the contemporary one in Harris Wares Bishop's. The tower however is loftier and more imposing than in Ware though the detail in each is identical. Close beneath is the familiar Reginald's Tower with a platform in front showing embrasures for mounting cannon. Away on the right beginning at Barronstrand Gate the city walls are seen climbing the hill. Having reached the fort at the summit they give a very obliging turn to the east to afford one a view of their picturesque towers. Part of the enclosed space in the neighbourhood of Stephen Street does not appear to be built on, though the rest of the city is very congested. Except for a range of houses extending along the quay to the present Gladstone Street the whole town is comprehended within the walls. We know indeed from

many sources that there were extensive suburbs at Ballybricken and Johnstown, but Vander Hagen possibly thought that to paint mud cabins was beneath the dignity of high art. Besides rows of hovels would exasperate his patrons, and of course those who pay the piper have the right to call the tune. The extreme distance is a smiling champaign—carefully divided, needless to say, into suitable fields. The present pretentious suburb of John's Hill is nowhere. Only a windmill—the most striking object on the sky line—is seen to crown the crest where the fever hospital now stands. Altogether the bird's eye view of the city which the old Dutchman gives is very pleasing, and one can only regret that he was not commissioned to paint some corners of the ancient cathedral or some characteristic street scenes."

Practically, all the Huguenot settlers were made Freemen of the city, and under a section of the city charter the Mayor, Sheriffs and citizens of Waterford were a "Court of Orphans" who were empowered to allocate £6 per annum for the maintenance and education of each child entrusted to their charge. The Protestant Orphan Asylum grew out of this enactment.

The Huguenots brought with them a considerable amount of French specie which was freely exchanged in the city. In 1737 a proclamation of the Crown ordered that the value of French gold should be reduced to a certain standard. This proclamation caused some anxiety in Waterford, and the traders sent a petition to the Irish House of Commons the prayer of which was that the House should "lay



before his Majesty such a method for the regulation not only of the current coin of the Kingdom but also of all foreign coin as may most tend to the advantage of his Majesty and the interests of his subjects in this Kingdom, and the trade of it."

In May, 1737, William and John Penrose, Robert Sealy, and Isaac Jacob, merchants of the City of Waterford, declared that they were about to set up a Sugar House which they urged would be most advantageous to the citizens as it would bring to the town a number of workers and many ships. The city, it was pointed out, had to get its sugar from Cork or Dublin, and if an establishment was set up in Waterford heavy costs of carriage would be saved. The promoters of the Sugar House desired to know what encouragement would the Corporation give them. The matter was referred to the Mayor.

Ald. Benjamin Morris asked to have a piece of waste ground contiguous to his tanyard for the purpose of enlarging his business. He argued, as the projectors of the Sugar House had argued, that if the land was leased to him employment would be found for a large number of people and for many ships. The lease of the waste spot was granted to Ald. Morris on easy terms.

The inhabitants again drew attention to the hardships they endured at the hands of the chartered butchers and bakers and declared that if no such charters existed the people would be better supplied with provisions. It was resolved to recall the charters not only of the butchers and bakers but of all the city guilds. This action was taken by the Council in the month of July, but in the following September the

charters were restored to the Hammermen, Carpenters, Spinners, Barbers, Merchant Retaylers, Clothiers and Brewers. Evidently the butchers and bakers resented the action of the Corporation, for on September 27th a resolution was passed in the Council Chamber that any person or persons that might be molested by the vendors of meat or bread because he or they carried on the business of butcher or baker would be supported at the expense of the city revenue. The following year peace was restored and their charters were returned to the butchers and bakers.

The Mason bequest was discussed in March, 1738. In consideration of a sum of £600 received from Henry Mason—£300 of which was a legacy left by his sister Sarah and £300 by John Mason—the Council agreed to give an annuity of £40 "to be issuing out of the lands of Knockhouse, Lismore, and Kilbercon, for the support of the charity school of the Blew Girls in this city."

The pinch of poverty was felt in the spring of this year. In May, 1738, the Council decided to expend £150 out of the money belonging to the Leper Hospital in relieving the sick and poor of the city.

A little later an address was forwarded to the King congratulating his Majesty on the happy addition of a Prince to the royal house.\* Towards the close of the year liberty was obtained to put up two lamps at the Fort of Duncannon "for the conveniency of shipping," the cost of the lamps to be borne by the city.

When it was necessary to proceed to elect a Mayor for the year 1739-40 Henry Mason and Ambrose

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\*The future George III.



Congreve were condidates for the office. Mayor Vashon refused a ballot to William Thompson and to William Smith. In the case of Smith the objection alleged against him was that he was "married to a Popish wife." Ald. Mason objected to Charles Gandy's voting at the election, but the Mayor overruled the objection. Then the ballot took place and Ambrose Congreve was declared Mayor-Elect, nineteen members voting for him and seventeen voting for Henry Mason. This was on June 29th. On August 17th when the Council was summoned the proceedings were of an unusual character. In the ordinary way the first business before the meeting would be to read the letter of approbation from the Privy Council and the Lords Justices in the matter of the Mayor Elect, but on this occasion the first thing that happened was that William Howard, one of the Sergeants at Mace, deposed to the serving of various notices on the 28th inst. on certain Aldermen and Councillors who were not in attendance. When the Sergeant had given his evidence Mayor Vashon announced that the Lords Justices and the Privy Council had not approved of the return of Alderman Ambrose Congreve as Mayor for the ensuing year and his worship called for a new election. This was the second occasion on which Ambrose Congreve had been elected Mayor by the Corporation and rejected by the Privy Council. It is not easy to discover what was the exact reason for this, but there is an entry in the municipal records to the following effect: "It is ordered that Daniel Taylor, Town Clerke of the City, be paid Twelve Guineas out of the Revenue for his expenses in going to

Dublin with the City Books before the Privy Council on the petition of Alderman Henry Mason against the election of Mr. Congreve to be Mayor and Francis Barker to be Sheriff." The grounds of Ald. Mason's objection are not stated. The Corporation was formally notified on February 12th, 1740, that the Lords Justices and Privy Council did not approve of the election of Ambrose Congreve, and Samuel Barker was substituted for him.

At the close of 1739 Articles were exhibited against Edward Weekes and Richard Weekes, Aldermen. It was charged against them that they had failed in business and were outlawed at the suits of several of their creditors and that they had in consequence of their bankruptcy withdrawn themselves out of the city. It was resolved that Messrs. Weekes be disfranchised and removed from their office as Aldermen.

A memorial from Mrs. Mary Mason was read at a meeting of the Council held on May 17th, 1740. It set forth that out of the benevolence of her father, Sir John Mason, and members of his family, thirty-four poor girls were for ever to be clothed and taught to read and to work and that she (Mrs. Mason) was desirous of laying out £500 of her own money for the purpose of building a schoolhouse and lodgings for the schoolmistress provided the city would grant her a plot of ground in the city for 999 years at a peppercorn rent. She suggested that a plot of ground in Lady Lane, part of the city's estate, held under lease by the Revd. Alexander Alcock, Dean of Lismore, would be most convenient for building the school. The Dean would be willing to surrender his lease for the uses proposed. It was ordered that Mrs. Mason



should have the lease on the terms she had suggested upon Dean Alcock's surrendering of his lease of the plot of ground in Lady Lane.\*

On August 1st it was ordered that all fish intended to be sold publicly should be brought to the new Fish Market on the Quay, and that if any huckster or other person should buy fish he should not be suffered to expose it for sale again to the public upon pain of forfeiture. When fish was brought to the Market to be sold the bell should be rung upon the coming in of each parcel of fish. John Thomas, the Porter at the Fish-house, was instructed to be in constant attendance and to ring the bell upon fish coming in at any time. He was also to keep the place clean and to have some staff or signal in his hand by means of which he might be known in his office. For his constant and faithful attendance he was to be paid 3s. 3d. a week out of the City Revenue.

The old castle and gate known as Newgate was reported this year to be tottering and dangerous for the passers by, and it was decided to pull it down. Alderman Samuel Barker offered to execute the work at his own expense on the understanding that the stones and other material were given to him. This offer was accepted. In the following year the City Court House was also declared to be in a ruinous condition.

Irish historians give the most harrowing picture of this period. One of them says "the poorer classes, being almost exclusively Catholic, had been deprived

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\* This schoolhouse still stands in Lady Lane. In the front of the building a stone slab is inserted bearing the inscription "Pietas Masoniana MDCCXL" with the Mason Arms.

of any means of support. In the towns they were practically debarred from entering into trade, and there was no resource for the majority except to emigrate, to steal, or to starve." A severe frost had destroyed the entire potato crop in 1739, and as the result of this it was estimated that 400,000 persons perished of starvation. An unusually large number of the inhabitants of Waterford applied for doles from the Corporation during the year 1740. Towards the end of the year woeful distress prevailed throughout the city, and on November 26th the Mayor asked to have liberty to take up £2,000 upon the city seal at interest for eight months, the money to be laid out in the purchase of corn for the relief of the starving poor. The buying of the corn, the distribution of it, and the entire regulating of everything was to be left to the management of the Mayor (Robert West), and a committee of Aldermen and the Sheriffs.

In holding the Autumn Assises for 1740 the Commissioners ignored the Mayor. This was declared by the Corporation of Waterford to be contrary to all precedent and the Recorder was ordered to take steps towards asserting the City's rights.

In March, 1741, in consideration of the rebuilding and enlarging of the Protestant Bishop's palace at his own expense it was agreed that a surrender would be taken from Alderman William Barker (executor of Alderman Richard Graves, deceased) of the piece of ground without Colbeck's Gate, under the Town Wall, and that the city would give Alderman Barker a new lease for the term of 99 years of that part of the ground held by John Fitzgerald and



the other premises mentioned in the lease at a yearly rent of £4 and that the remainder of the ground outside Colbeck's Gate adjoining the Bishop's Palace would be demised to his lordship and his successors, Bishops of Waterford and Lismore, for the term of 999 years at a pepper corn rent, "in order to make the said new palace more spacious and compleat and that thereby the Bishop of Waterford always for the time being may be encouraged to dwell here."

In June Thomas Alcock was paid £328 15s. 2d., being the balance due to him on his account for lighting the city for five years ending 25th March, 1738, together with his disbursements up to September 27th, 1740.

In September Joseph Price was elected Alderman in place of Ambrose Congreve, "late deceased."\*

An echo of the famine of the previous year is to be found in an order passed in October, 1741, to the effect that "as much of the city wheat now lofted be sold forthwith in order to pay off the sum of £128 10s. od. due to Mr. James Roch for such corn." At the same time the Recorder was instructed to undertake the defence for Mr. Roch, his undertenants and the city in the action commenced by Mr. Wyse against the city for possession of the old Bowling Green.

In the month of November the Mayor (Alderman Barker) made serious charges against Peter and Simon Vashon. He accused them of having fraudulently and deceitfully dealt with several of the money orders of the city in order to charge the city a second time

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\* Towards the close of 1742 the sum of £69 was paid to the administratrix of Ambrose Congreve in full of any demand she had against the city "upon account of the Pier Head or anything relating thereto."

with such orders. Articles of calumny were exhibited against the Vashons in which specific charges were enumerated. After considering the case the Council ordered the accused to attend at the Guild-hall on December 22nd in order to make their defence. A curious matter in connection with this charge against the Vashons was that the Council passed a resolution in which it was set forth that the aspersions cast on the memory of the late Ambrose Congreve by Peter Vashon to the effect that Alderman Congreve had given to Vashon certain city orders which had been previously passed, were "false, scandalous and malicious as appears by undoubted proof this day laid before us."

Messrs. Vashon flatly denied (on December 22nd) the truth of the allegations made against them. Alderman Barker and Mr. William Morris were then ordered to appear on due notice to be cross-examined in the presence of the accused. The enquiry was put off until March (1742), and when the day appointed for further investigations arrived neither of the Vashons put in an appearance nor did either of them submit any defence. It was unanimously agreed that the charges made by Alderman Barker had been fully proved. The culprits were disfranchised and their places at the Municipal Board declared to be vacant. The Vashons gave some trouble to the Corporation later; in September, 1745, the Recorder was paid twenty guineas "for his trouble in coming from Dublin in Term time upon the Disfranchising of the two Messrs. Vashon."\*

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\*The Corporation in 1750 granted £10 a year to Elizabeth Vashon and Sussana Vashon, the widow and the daughter of Simon Vashon the elder, deceased.



In 1742 all over Ireland famine still prevailed. Town and country suffered horrible distress; whole villages were entirely dispeopled. Another committee was formed in Waterford early in March to devise further ways and means for relieving the poor of the city and for finding employment for those who were able and willing to work.

Bishop Milles died at Waterford on May 13th, 1740. Towards the close of his life he determined to rebuild and endow St. Olaf's Church. This project was opposed by Dean Bolton\* but the Bishop accomplished his object and erected the present church at his own expense. Eventually the Dean co-operated with the Bishop in the work of restoring St. Olaf's, and the new church was consecrated on July 29th, 1734. On April 21st, 1742, a letter dated at London, January 5th, 1741/2, was read at the Council Board from Jeremiah Milles relative to the legacy bequeathed by the late Bishop to the Corporation. It was resolved that the City would accept said legacy of £266 3s. 4d. and would pay £5 per cent. on it annually. On the same day a letter was read from Richard Pocock concerning a demand made by him as lecturer for a year and a

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\* Apparently there was an old feud between Bishop Milles and the Dean, for a pamphlet published in January, 1724, gives an address presented to his lordship by Archdeacon Dennis "occasioned by Dean Hugh Bolton's insult to the Bishop." The Revd. Hugh Bolton was Dean of Waterford from 1723 to 1758. His predecessor, John Eeles, M.A., had been Archdeacon of Lismore as well as Dean of Waterford. In 1750 the Corporation of Waterford voted him £30 a year as his salary for being Lecturer in St. Olaf's.

There is an entry in the municipal records under the date of 18th December, 1747, of a payment to Dean Bolton of £4 "for the use of his fields at Ballycanvan for the review of the Army last Summer there."

half at St. Olaf's. It was resolved that as Richard Pocock was never nominated by the Corporation he was in no way entitled to the £60, "another person having been nominated to said lecturership and being by the late Bishop of Waterford refused to be licensed." Robert Wilson was subsequently appointed lecturer, his stipend to be £20 a year. In December, 1742, the terms of the bequest of Dr. Milles to the Corporation were recited at a meeting of the Council. If the lecturership at St. Olaf's was for any reason dropped the £266 3s. 4d. was to be paid to the minister officiating at St. Patrick's Church.

The Rev. Jeremiah Milles, executor to the Bishop's will, refused to pay the full legacy of £266 3s. 4d., insisting on deducting £139 5s. 1½d. due for dilapidations. The Council resolved that the legacy be refused. This dispute was subsequently arranged amicably, and the lecturer at St. Olaf's was paid by the Corporation until 1862 the interest on the Milles bequest. Since the disestablishment of the Church the Representative Body has paid £9 10s. 0d. to the lecturer.

Dr. Charles Este, Bishop of Ossory, whose patent was dated 4th October, 1740, succeeded Bishop Milles. He died on November 29th, 1745, and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Chevenix, Bishop of Killaloe, who had been chaplain at the Hague to Lord Chesterfield.

Mr. Thomas Roberts' scheme for bringing a supply of water from Ballybricken to the Quay was approved by the Council in August, 1742. In the same month it was agreed that the site of the Lady's Church was a fit and proper place for building a Latin School and



that Alexander Boyd be consulted about making a passage to it. In December it was decided to grant to Dr. Este, " Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore his Executors and Administrators for the term of 9,000 years from Date hereof at and under the yearly rent of one Pepper Corn payable on the First Day of May yearly for Trust for his own benefit and for the benefit of his successors Bishops of Waterford for the time being" the ground on which the new Free School stood in the churchyard. " But," it was added, " the materials now standing in said ground be forthwith removed towards building another school house elsewhere." In the following June it was " Resolved that the order made on the 27th Day of March, 1738, the order made on the 21st Day of April, 1738, and the order made on the 18th Day of January, 1741/2, all by this Board for granting any Annuity on Lands from this City unto the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland that the said severall respective orders be and are hereby repealed and declared to be severally intirely voyd and that the Board do hereby grant unto the Corporation of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland and their successors for the Term of 999 years commencing 25th March next at the yearly rent of a pepper corn a piece of ground parcel of the lands of Woodstown in the parish of Killoteran in the Libertys of this City being part of this City's estate, containing 26 acres plantation measure as the same is now laid down by a survey thereof made by Thomas Roberts." A further reference to Thomas Roberts occurs in June, 1744, when it was agreed to allow him two shillings

a day "for his trouble in fixing the City's waterworks from the time he was to have another former allowance."

The experiment of the lighting of the streets proved to be a financial failure, and in September, 1743, it was decided that the lamps were not to be further lighted at the expense of the city. It was arranged to pay Thomas Alcock, to whose charge the lighting had been entrusted, an annuity of £30 during the pleasure of the Board.

The settlers in the City by the Suir were shocked at the conduct of Prince Charles Edward and of France in 1744 ; and they expressed their feelings in an address to the King dated April 2nd. It was with Abhorrence and Resentment, they informed His Majesty, that they regarded the intended invasion of his dominions "by an Ambitious and Tyrannical power in favour of a Popish Pretender." This message was sent to the Lord Lieutenant to be transmitted to King George.

An interesting document was submitted to the City Fathers during the same month of April. It came from one Abraham Fairbrother, who declared that he intended to settle in the city and that he was prepared to keep forty to fifty looms employed in the spinning of flax provided the following privileges were conceded :—

- (1). To give me a Dwelling House that will be fitt for my Family and Business.
- (2). To give me a Bleach Yard in good order with all its utensils necessary.
- (3). To give me Houses or Tenements for twelve or fifteen Familys of Weavers.



- (4). To give me a House sufficient for the Trustees of the Linen Board, myself to build or erect a Callendar rent free for the space of seven years.
- (5). That if at any time I should have goods lying on my hands for want of sale that you will advance me on such goods three-parts of their value in order to enable me to carry on my trade with more Life.

To one living in the 20th century the proposal of Mr. Fairbrother would seem to demand a great deal too much, but the 18th century burgomasters did not view it in this light for they agreed that "all the land at Poolberry late possessed by John Fitzgerald together with that lott of ground now possessed by Arthur Taylor shall be given to Abraham Fairbrother and his successors during the time, and no longer, that the Factory to be erected by said Fairbrother shall subsist, and that the houses now on the premises shall be forthwith repaired." The Recorder was instructed to ask the Linen Board what materials were given to Raburn and Eivers for carrying on the factory at Pooleberry and whether their successor, John Fitzgerald, was not accountable to the Board for the same and upon what terms were the materials originally granted. It is evident that the founders of linen factories were looked upon with special favour: we find that on January 15th Thomas White was made a Freeman of the city in recognition of his having set up a linen factory in Waterford.

The last entry in the municipal records for the year 1745 is a copy of an address to the King. The wording of this message to his Majesty is almost identical with the wording of the address forwarded in April, 1744.

Military affairs and other matters arising mainly out of the rioting which took place in 1744 and 1745 occupied a good deal of the attention of the Fathers of the City during the year 1746. Just as Vander Hagen left out of his picture the unpleasant features of the landscape so does Charles Smith leave out of his history any reference to troubles which agitated his patrons. On January 3rd it was resolved that all the guns, arms and ammunition on board the ship "Ulisses" then lying at the Quay should be removed to the Barracks and be kept there until the ship was ready to sail. Philip Jones was paid £30 10s. 0d. for taking care of five hundred muskets and bayonets and twenty new halberts from March, 1744, to September, 1745. In June it was arranged that such private men as would keep guard on the militia arms and magazines and perform other duties for the protection of the town should be paid sevenpence a day, sergeants, corporals and drummers to be paid extra. And it was agreed that if the Judges of Assizes would pay only fivepence a day to these private defenders of the city the municipality would pay the remaining twopence. The local militia at this time was five hundred strong. It was commanded by Colonel Thomas Christmas. One company under Captain Francis Barker was in uniform, and a troop of horse under Colonel Thomas Christmas, junior, was in the same uniform—blue coats, scarlet linings, gilt buttons, scarlet waistcoat and breeches, and gold laced hats. A number of claims for injuries received during the previous summer "at the time the mobb were up" were considered. Joseph Gibson declared that he had received "a fatal wound" and



that it had cost him £100 to obtain a cure. He was awarded an annuity of £10. Anne Atterchinch also complained of "a fatal misfortune or wound." She was awarded £8 a year. Joan Walsh, who also alleged that she had been injured by the rioters, was awarded £3 a year. £15 was voted to Thomas Miles in consideration of the loss he had sustained in retailing oatmeal to the poor "who were in great distress" and £5 to John Portingale for a similar reason. Joan Kean, widow of John Kean, declared that her husband had been killed on July 3rd, 1745, "when the mobb arose." It was ordered that £5 should be paid to her "but not to get any further Relief hereafter from this City." Mary Hughes petitioned the Council for relief, stating that on July 3rd, 1745, she had received a wound which shattered the bone of her arm. She was awarded £5 as compensation for injuries she had sustained. Edward Lee, Recorder, was paid £16 8s. 6d. for his costs in prosecuting rioters and for drawing up an address to the King at the last Assizes.

Philip Jones claimed £12 10s. 0d. for taking care of the five hundred muskets and bayonets since the time he had previously been paid for his services. His demand was paid, but it was resolved that in future all sums chargeable for taking care of the militia firearms and for keeping them in repair should be levied off the City and Liberties by presentments. £11 7s. 6d. was given to David Glanville for exercising and "disciplining" the militia but for the future he was not to receive any allowance from the civic purse and "his said trouble and attendance" were to cease.

Early in 1746 Philip, Earl of Chesterfield,\* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box. Thomas Christmas, Esq., the Elder, and Christmas Paul, Esq., members of the Council and representatives of Waterford in Parliament, were entrusted with the presentation of the gold box to His Excellency. Daniel Taylor was paid 29s. 3d. for the gold lace and wax used for the freedom paper.

In October Patrick and Arthur Smith were voted an annuity or salary of £40 a year on the condition that they employed within the city or within half a mile of it on the south side of the river Suir one hundred Protestant weavers working at the manufacture of linen cloth "pursuant to the articles entered into by them with Arthur Newbrough on behalf of the Trustees of the Linen Manufacturers." It was also provided that Messrs. Smith should weave or cause to be weaved yearly in the city 100,000 yards of linen, and in order to encourage their enterprise they were to be granted a lease of the bleach yard on the Leper House lands and the Bridewell and Gardens at the yearly rent of £6. Patrick and Arthur

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\* Lord Chesterfield was a thorn in the flesh of the Ascendancy party. When tales were brought to him of risings of Papist rebels or of outrages alleged to have been performed by them it was the habit of His Excellency to indulge in badinage. One morning a courtier burst into his chamber, while the Viceroy was sipping his chocolate in bed, with the intelligence that "the Papists in Connaught were rising." "Ah," said he, looking at his watch, "'tis nine o'clock—time for them to rise." Writing to the Bishop of Waterford concerning the attempt to enforce abjuration Chesterfield said: "I would only require the priests to take the oath of allegiance simply, and not the subsequent oaths which in my opinion no real Papist can take, the consequence of which would be that the least conscientious priests would be registered and the most conscientious ones excluded."

Chesterfield was recalled from Ireland in 1746.



Smith were then admitted to freedom. In December the Recorder was instructed to memorialise the Linen Board. This memorial is dated January 15th, 1746/7. The thanks of the citizens were expressed for the encouragement given by the Board to Messrs. Smith to set up in Waterford and a request was made, in order to complete the good work by establishing in the city a shop for the sale of flaxen goods. In February it was reported that the Smiths had a hundred looms in their factory, "thirty-nine of which were in action and occupied by Protestant weavers." Thirty-one of the weavers were brought from the North of Ireland, three were soldiers, two "approved non Co.," and three Waterfordmen. The Council considered the report a favourable one but they added that they were at a loss how to ascertain the the number of flax-spinners employed in the town. "We find," added the Council, "the importation and sale of dressed Flax has been much more considerable this year than usual and that the number of spinners in the adjacent counties of Wexford and Kilkenny increase, but that since the premium\* for Flax seed has been taken that few of the Inhabitants of the neighbourhood have propagated any."

Two Dutch families were brought over to give instructions in the making of tapes and bobbins, and

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\*Miss E. F. Murray in her History of the Commercial Relations between England and Ireland says that although much was done by the Linen Board of the Irish Parliament to develop the linen trade progress during the first half of the 18th century was very slow. "This," she says, "was owing to the general want of capital, the ignorance and poverty of the people, and the neglect of the Grand Juries. Complaints were made that the law which required the Grand Juries in every county to give premiums to the women who had made the three best pieces of cloth was of no avail, because the young jurymen always insisted on giving the premiums to the three prettiest girls."

fifty Protestant families, most of them of Huguenot descent, were brought from the North of Ireland to Waterford. Patrick Smith's family consisted of his wife, four sons and eight daughters, and the arrangement with the government was that £300 a year was to be paid for four years (from 1746) for the support of this family, £250 in 1750, and for every subsequent year £200. According to a petition sent at a later date to the House of Commons by the Smiths the poor of Waterford were "inured to sloth and idleness rendering the undertaking very difficult"; but by the industry and perseverance of Mr. Smith and his family "the intention of the Trustees to raise a spirit of industry was so effectually answered that though there were only 297 hanks of yarn spun in the first year, there were in the second 2,958, and in the third 18,748 . . . As the greatest part of the petitioner's family consisted of females who could not be profitably employed in other branches of the linen manufacture they in the year 1750, on £100 being given by the Trustees, began the thread manufacture by which a great number of hands, before useless to and a burthen on the public, are constantly and usefully employed." Notwithstanding the progress made by the Smith family the Council in 1749 decided to reduce the allowance to be paid out of the City Revenue to £25 a year, as it did not appear to the Board that Patrick and Arthur Smith were able to comply with the conditions under which the annuity of £40 a year had been promised in 1746.

A younger son of one of the Messrs. Smith who had experience in the north of linen-weaving erected at his own expense a bleach yard within two miles



of Waterford City in the Co. Kilkenny, an enterprise which encouraged some members of the Council to make an essay in the business of linen-making.

"That Part of the river Shure bounding on the lands of Chickpoint as farr as the Channell thereof" was demised to Cornelius Bolton in 1747 for 99 years at a peppercorn rent.

In April, 1748, the Master Bakers petitioned the Corporation setting forth that their Charter, dating from April 18th, 1698, entitled them to certain privileges. "There has been lately set up in this City," continued the petitioners, "severall Popish Bakers who contrary to the intention and design of said Charter and in open Defiance thereof carry on the Art and Mistery of Bakers and expose Bread to sell every Day in the week except Sundays which hath so greatly impoverished your Petitioners and the Assistants of said Company that they have not found sufficient to support the rights and privileges of the same. That your Petitioners are advised and apprehend that the Charter of said Company is not (as it now stands) sufficient to warrant your Petitioners to Distrain and Impose fines on the sev<sup>l</sup> offenders who use the said Art and Mistery of Bakers of the said City in Direct opposition to said Charter and in order to ruin yours Pet<sup>ns</sup> and their Familys who are all Protestants." The Master Bakers in conclusion asked for relief from Catholic opposition. The petition was signed by William Bolton, Master, and William Taylor and Richard Lloyd, "wardens on behalf of the whole." The gentlemen whose names appeared at the foot of this petition appeared before the Corporation and surrendered their Charter. It

was resolved to accept the surrender and to draw up a new Charter with such clauses and covenants as the Mayor, Sheriffs and citizens were empowered to grant.

A distinguished member of a Catholic Waterford family died about this time (mid 18th century) at Madrid—Don Pedro Sherlock, Colonel of the Ultonian Regt.\* In his will dated April 19, 1742, he instructed his son and heir, Don Juan Sherlock, Captain in the same regiment of Ultonia, that he should "be buried at night without pomp or vanity and with as little expense as shall seem convenient . . . and that the day after my death the Mass of the Presence and the Vigils and Responses may be said . . . And I likewise order that they give the necessary and accustomed charity to the Holy Places at Jerusalem."

It is needless to say that the Catholic Church had a hard struggle to provide for the spiritual and temporal needs of its flock in the City of Waterford. Though the Catholics were at this period numerically superior to the Protestants and Dissenters the latter possessed all the power and most of the wealth. The Catholics were literally the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The author of the "Parochial History of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore" tells us that during the exile of Bishop Pierse (1713-1737) the Catholic diocese was ruled by the Rev. William O'Meara as Vicar. In 1739 Sylvester Lloyd, of the Order of St. Francis, was translated from the See of Killaloe to Waterford. In "Faulkner's Dublin

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\* Don Pedro was of the parent house, Gracedieu line of Sherlocks.



Journal," under date March 12th, 1743/4, it is recorded that "the titular Bishop of Waterford had surrendered himself to the Mayor of Waterford." He had to leave the country in 1744, but he returned to his diocese after a brief absence and died in Waterford in 1748.\* Peter Creagh, Dean of Limerick, was appointed Coadjutor to Doctor Lloyd in 1745. During the whole term of his episcopate, which ended with his death in 1775, he resided in Carrick-on-Suir.

It may be of interest to note the prices of food in the first half of the Eighteenth Century. Good beef was sold at 1d. a lb., and other butchers' meat in proportion; butter was 3d. a lb.; a turkey, 1s.; a goose, 10d.

In the report of the petition (already referred to) forwarded in 1737 to the Irish House of Commons by the merchants and traders of Waterford praying for the better regulation of current coin reference was made to the French Church and to the property contained in one of the cellars adjoining it. The particulars give some idea of the value of goods at the period:—

	£	s.	d.
One Hogshead of Mountain [Dew], wanting five Gallons	8	4	7
Two Puncheons and One-half Spirits, 255 Gals. @ 2s. 6d....	31	17	6
Twenty Four Empty Casks.....	4	10	0
One Puncheon, Three Jars, and Nine Bottles of Rum.....	15	15	6
A Parcel of Oats .....	6	8	4
A Parcel of Cheese .....	7	3	4
Four Boxes of Lemons, almost rotten .....	1	11	6
A Small Parcel of Benecarlo and some old Hock .....	4	6	0
A Small Parcel of Straw Mats.....		12	8
Three Firkins of Neats Tongues, 2½ dozen each @ 6d. ...	2	5	0
A Small Parcel of Train Oil.....	10	7	1
107 Barrels of Salt @ 7s.....	37	9	0

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\* Bishop Lloyd was the author or translator of a large catechetical work printed in London in 1712.

Amongst the entries in the municipal records for the year 1750 is a direction from the Mayor to Mr. John Roberts "to new sash the front of the Court House, the two Dormers and two half sashes in the City Court House and put window frame of oak and other necessarys on the South window of Christ Church." Another entry is to the effect that the Mayor for the time being is to have an additional salary of £50 a year in consideration of not availing himself of the fees or perquisites for weighing corn in the city. An addition of £10 a year to the Sheriffs' salaries was also voted.

On October 19th a petition of the Local Committee of the Charter Charity School was presented to the Corporation praying that the goods of John Mandeville, late Master of the School, who had been convicted on a charge of felony and executed should be given to the Committee, who would dispose of such goods for charitable purposes. The prayer of this petition was granted.

The last meeting of the Council for the year 1750 was held on December 27th. The following is a list of the members who attended this meeting:—

The Mayor, Wm. Paul ; The Recorder ; Alderman Samuel Barker ; Alderman Glen ; Alderman Ussher ; Alderman Eeles ; Alderman Moore ; Alderman Francis Barker ; Alderman Morgan ; Alderman Morris ; Alderman William Price ; Alderman Lewis ; Alderman Dobbyn ; Alderman Backas ; Alderman Newport ; Mr. Sheriff Lyon ; Mr. John Barker ; Mr. William Roche ; Mr. Henry Alcock ; Mr. Thomas Alcock ; Mr. John Morris ; Mr. Thomas West ; Mr. Miles ; Mr. Portingall ; Mr. John Price ; Mr. Wallace ; Mr.



Norrington ; Mr. Hobbs ; Mr. Wilkinson ; Mr. B. Morris ; and Mr. Carr.

King George II., in 1750, might have repeated to the City Fathers the words of King Charles I. which occur in the Great Charter of 1627 as an explanation of his Majesty's reasons for extending to Waterford royal favours :—

“ Recollecting in our mind that the said city is an ancient city and that the inhabitants and citizens of said city from the first foundation thereof and the reduction of the said Kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the Kings of England and continually from that time have been of civil conversation, endowed with good learning and generous manners and apt and diligently intent upon the art of merchandizing, and that they are sprung from English stocks and to this day retain English surnames.”

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE CITY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

CHARLES SMITH,\* whose "Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford" was published in 1746, gives us an informing and an interesting description of the city as it presented itself to him. His book is embellished with a view (reproduced in the present work) of the city. This engraving was executed at the expense of the Corporation: on September 14th, 1745, Alderman Samuel Barker was entrusted with £20 "to be applied towards engraving a plate from a plan of the city taken by Mr. Smith of Dungarvan." It is the common practise with historians to describe places and events anterior to their own time and to take little or no account of what

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\* Biographical particulars about Charles Smith are scanty. He appears to have taken out a medical degree at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1738. Subsequently he practised as an apothecary in Lismore from 1739 to 1744, and in Dungarvan 1744-1760. In addition to his history of Waterford Smith also published the history of Cork in 1750 and the history of Kerry in 1756. He was a relation of the Smiths of Ballinatray. Mr. Egan in his "Waterford Guide" seeks to identify him with the Belfast family of Smith who established a linen factory in Waterford. His argument is that Dr. Chevenix, the Protestant Bishop of the diocese, was an intimate friend of Lord Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and that it was through the influence of the Bishop the Smiths obtained a grant of £2,000 from the Irish Parliament to aid them in removing their business from Belfast to Waterford. Charles Smith dedicated his "Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford" to Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Egan says that the entire Introduction to Smith's history is written with the object of promoting linen manufacture. He admits, however, that the attempt to identify Charles Smith with Patrick Smith is "by way of conjecture."



comes under the immediate eye ; but fortunately for those who are interested in the story of Waterford, Smith left us a description of the city as he viewed it at the time he was writing his history. From his chapter on "The Present State of Waterford" the following account of the city's public and private buildings as they stood in the middle of the 18th century has been summarized.

The Protestant churches mentioned by Smith were Christ Church Cathedral, St. Olave's, and St. Patrick's.\* The churches of St. John, St. Stephen, St. Peter and St. Michael were, according to Smith, "gone to decay," as were also other ancient places of worship mentioned by him—the Lady's Chapel, St. Thomas's Chapel, Magdalen Chapel, and St. Bridget's Chapel.† Besides these places of worship there was the French Church for "the reformed Protestants of that nation," one Presbyterian meeting-house, one Anabaptists' chapel, and a Quakers' meeting-house. Smith also

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\* These three Churches still exist. St. Olaf's was restored in 1734. There are no remains of the old St. Patrick's Church ; the Church to which Smith refers was built in 1727.

† The ruins of St. John's Priory lie between John's Lane and Parliament Street. A few tombstones and some fragments of stone-work are all that tell of the existence of St. Stephen's Church. Some scant remains of St. Peter's Church will be found within the precincts of Peter Street Police Station. St. Michael's is one of the oldest of the city Churches of which any portion remains. The western gable stands in the grounds attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Charity. A large doorway on the east side of Michael Street indicates the former entrance to the cemetery of St. Michael's. The present Franciscan Church is built on the site of The Lady's Chapel (St. Mary's). The chancel arch of St. Thomas's Church stands in the graveyard on Thomas's Hill. Magdalen's Chapel was a cell or dependant chapel of St. Stephen's. It has been identified by the Editor of "The Waterford Archæological Journal" as having been on the site of the present Infirmary, approximately. The site of St. Bride's (not St. Bridget's) is unknown, but it is supposed to have been on an island in the John's river.

speaks of "three mass-houses, one in the city and two in the suburbs." The "mass-house" in the city is described as "a fine modern building, the aisles supported by stone pillars, the panels of the wainscots carved and gilded and the galleries finely adorned with paintings. Besides the great altar there are two lesser, one on either hand, over each of which there are curious paintings. Facing the great altar is a large silver lamp and chain of curious workmanship; round the house are niches filled with statues of saints."

The City Court House or Guild Hall was in Smith's time situated in Broad Street. It is described as "a handsome structure, the outside supported by a range of columns of Tuscan order." The front part of the building served for a corn market-house and the inner part for a court-house. Assizes and quarter sessions and other assemblies dealing with the affairs of the city were held in the court-house. The exterior of the building was adorned with a clock; and an octagon cupola covered with a stone spire rose from the roof.

The Exchange, with the Custom-house which adjoined it, was situated on the Quay. The Exchange, we are told, was "a neat, bright building, supported by pillars of hewn stone of the Tuscan order, the outside being adorned with the arms of the king and those of the city, with a handsome clock." The roof was an Italian lift roof with a beautiful octagon cupola and a dome top; the cupola being surrounded by a ballustrade above which was a walk. The space below stairs where the merchants assembled was large and spacious. On one side was the office of the town clerk. Upstairs were the council cham-



ber and a large assembly room and other apartments. In the council chamber was the painting by Vander-Hagen of the City of Waterford : this is now hung in the present Council Chamber on the Mall.

The Custom House was a brick building with the doors and window cases of hewn stone. The top was adorned with an architrave, a frieze, and a stone cornice. Two flights of stone steps led to the first storey, where the principal offices were situated. Underground were cellars for storage of merchandise.

The Fish House stood on the Quay where the present Fountain Clock has been erected. It was a neat, plain building, supported by arches of hewn stone. Over the house was a lanthorn, with a bell, which was tolled to give the inhabitants of the city notice of the arrival of fish.

The City Gaol was situated at Patrick's Gate. It is described as a handsome stone structure, the arch supported by pillars. The first storey was vaulted with stone "to prevent accidents by fire with prisoners, or escapes."

John's Gate, the remains of one of the old city gates, was used as the County Gaol and was rented from the city. On the outside, cut in stone, were the Arms of Henry VIII. "In this castle," says Smith, "the family of the Wises held a Court Leet when they enjoyed a Manor privilege in this part of the town."

The historian waxes enthusiastic over the Mall and the fair sex who frequented it. He tells us it was "a beautiful walk about 200 yards long and proportionately broad, situated at the east end of the city. The draining and levelling the ground, which

was formerly a marsh, was done at a very considerable expense ; it is planted with rows of elms, and the sides of the walk are fenced with a stone wall. Near the centre, facing this beautiful walk, stands the Bishop's Palace, which not only adds a considerable beauty to the Mall, but also reciprocally receives the same from it. Here the Ladies and Gentlemen assemble on fine evenings when they have the opportunity of each others' conversation. Nothing can be more agreeable than to see this shady walk crowded with the fair sex of the city, taking the air, enjoying the charms of a pleasant evening and improving their health. Nor need I inform the reader that the city has been long since peculiarly celebrated for the beauty of its female inhabitants. Near the Mall is a pleasant bowling green for the diversion of the citizens, which is a most innocent and healthful exercise, where in summer time after the business of the day is ended they sometimes recreate themselves. This bowling green is situated on the east side of the Kay, a little beyond the Ring Tower, from whence to the Mall trees are planted, as also on the sides of the bowling green,\* which makes this part of the town (affording the prospect of the river and the shipping) very agreeable."

It was the custom at the period for wealthy citizens to build for themselves handsome residences. Smith takes note of this, but he says that in strong contrast with the spacious private buildings are many of the city's narrow streets and lanes, where the houses are huddled very closely together. The

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\* The Bowling Green was situated where the Adelphi Hotel and County Club now stand.



18th century historian of Waterford gives a description—a sample from the bulk—of one of the private mansions, the residence of Alderman Samuel Barker in King Street.\* The exterior of the house was in no way remarkable, but the grounds behind it afforded to the visitor a most agreeable surprise. These grounds sloped upwards and stretched themselves for a considerable distance. The slope was adorned with terraces and miniature lakes, and at the foot was a handsome canal. In this canal fountains played and the side was adorned with statues standing in niches. Amongst these Smith speaks specially of a statue of Mercury "finely poised." The end of the terraces terminated in an arch—the ruined arch of St. Thomas's Church. From the top of Alderman Barker's grounds a fine view of the city and of the country surrounding it was obtainable. In the grounds was an extensive aviary and a small deerpark "stocked with deer of several colours." The miniature lakes teemed with carp and tench, and on the summit of Alderman Barker's grounds an obelisk stood. The garden contained many rare exotics. "The whole of these improvements," says Smith, "have been cut out of a very barren rock of which there are still some remains, and carried on at a great expence." The dwelling-house was well constructed. Its lofty and well-proportioned rooms were adorned with fine paintings. Amongst them was a picture of St. Margaret and the Dragon which was reputed to have been the work of an artist no less famous than Raphael. There was also a picture

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\* This house is now occupied by the Ancient Order of Hibernians. King Street is now called O'Connell Street.

of Our Saviour with the Virgin and St. John: this was painted by Anibal Carachi.

Smith mentions some other fine houses—one in John Street which belonged to the family of Sir Peter Aylward. Over the mantelpiece in one of the spacious rooms was the arms of the family cut in stone. The arms were also cut on each side of the street gate. This house adjoined the old churchyard of St. Michael's.

But the pride of the city has ever been its Quay. Smith says "it is not inferior to but rather exceeds the most celebrated in Europe. . . . The Exchange, Custom House, and other publick buildings, besides the houses of the merchants and citizens, ranged along the Kay, are no small addition to its beauty; which, together with a number of shipping, affords an agreeable prospect. The whole is fronted with hewn stone, well-paved, and is in some places 40 feet broad. To it are built five moles or piers which stretch forward into the river; at the pier-heads ships of 500 tons may load and unload and lie afloat. In the road before the Kay the river is between four and five fathoms deep at low water, where sixty sail of ships may ride conveniently, clear of each other in clean ground. The tide rises and falls here three fathoms; the current setting east and west."

At the west end there was in Smith's time the Graving Bank, a convenient place for caulking and otherwise repairing the comparatively small wooden craft which traded to the Suir. The dry dock built by Ambrose Congreve lay a little below the present timber yard of Messrs. Graves. This dock was fitted with floodgates and could accommodate the largest



trading ship of the period. It was 160 feet long, 48 feet broad and 15 feet deep. The Sugar House stood close to the entrance to John's Pill.

Its shipping was the mainstay of Waterford, ancient and modern, and the city was keenly alive to the necessity of providing every possible accommodation for vessels. Conduit pipes were placed on the Quay in order to supply water to the merchant fleet. These conduit pipes, Smith says, were also useful to the citizens "who have several other conduits and pipes placed in the most convenient parts of the town for supplying them with water. The old conduit in High Street, at the corner of a lane called Conduit Lane, was erected in 1591, as appears from the date on the front of it. Many towns abroad are much admired by travellers for the conveniency of having two or three fountains in a town; but although these may contribute to the beauty of a place, yet it must be allowed that the advantages of having water conveyed by pipes to every street are much more preferable and convenient."

Speaking of the water supply, Smith says that the springs which supplied the city with water were: the upper and lower Reservoirs, St. Michael's well, the well at the old bowling green, Ballytruckle, St. Stephen's or Lady's well, and Alexander Lane well. There were also supplies obtained from St. Patrick's well and the well at the Rope Walk. He further informs us that "the water of Tobber-Scheiin and Sugar-House pipe show their superior purity by their lathering instantly with soap, which has been ever deemed one of the best tests of a pure and wholesome water."

Amongst the industries mentioned by Smith is the manufacture of woad by a secret process. He further informs us that frizes, a coarser kind of ratteen, were sometime ago made in great perfection in the city, "but," he adds, "the trade is much dropped." The historian also notes the liveliness of the trade with Newfoundland "occasioned," he says, "in a great measure by the goodness of the pork fed about this place."

In an appendix to his History, Smith gives an account (based on Proceedings of the Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland) of the Charter School at Killotteran in the Liberties of the City. This Charter School\* was endowed by the Corporation with 26 acres of land which at the opening of the school in 1744 was worth £20 per annum but was valued a few years later at £24 per annum. Henry Mason fed the children at his own

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\*These Charter Schools declared in their programme that their object was "to rescue the souls of thousands of poor children from the dangers of Popish superstition and idolatry." Lecky says that "in seasons of famine, when Catholic parents saw their children drooping with hunger, they sent them for a time to the schools and withdrew them when the pressure was past. To prevent this a law was made, providing that when once the children had been placed in the schools of the society, the parents lost all control over them, and therefore all power of withdrawing them." Froude with his usual display of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic animosity describes these hotbeds of proselytism as "the best conceived educational institutions which existed in the world." Lecky's comment is that "the Charter Schools offered a people thirsting for knowledge a cup which they believed to be poison, and sought under the guise of the most seductive of all charities to rob their children of the birthright of their faith."

It may be added that in 1788 the Charter Schools were found to display "a revelation of abuses perhaps as horrible as any public institution has ever disclosed." Notwithstanding this exposure these establishments were carried on up to the time of Catholic Emancipation, the Parliament squandering upon them about a million of Irish money.

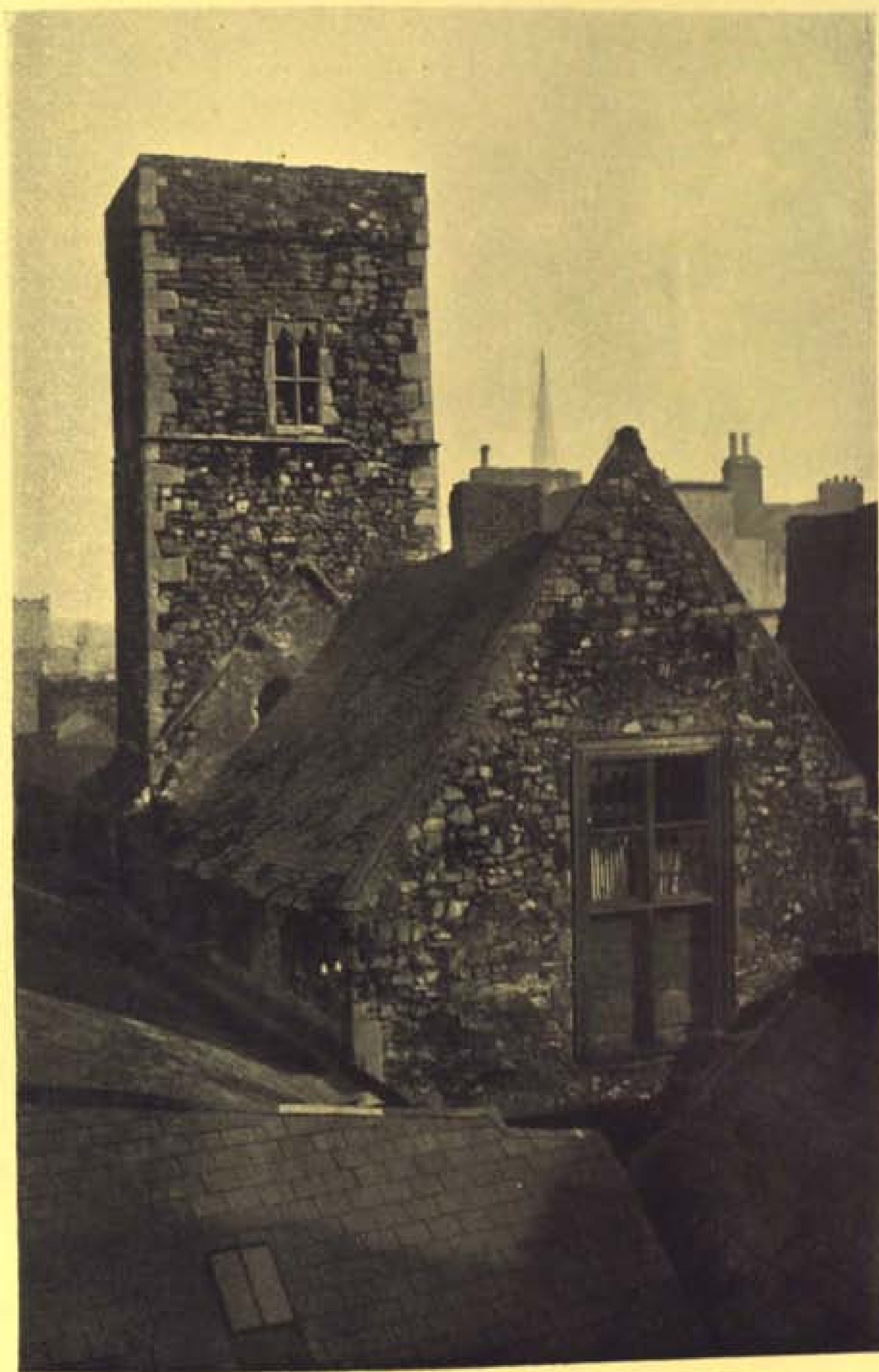


expense and he collected £248 which was expended on the building. The boys were occupied mostly in farming operations, the girls in housewifry and spinning. Twenty-two children who could speak only in Irish when they came to the school were at the time of the publication of Smith's book able to say their catechism in English. "Next to the rescuing of the souls of such numbers of poor children," says the historian, "from the danger of Popery and their bodies from idleness and misery it was certainly a great and wise design in the institution of these schools to have the boys bred up in those labours which at present seem to be the greatest benefit to this kingdom, in not only the Linen manufacture but likewise in the knowledge of Agriculture. Most other trades are overstocked."

Doctor Pococke, who had been Lecturer at St. Olaf's and was subsequently Protestant Bishop of Ossory, made a tour through Ireland, an account of which he published in 1752. His lordship tells us that he travelled from Thomastown to Waterford "a city which stands very pleasantly on the river Sure having the finest key in Europe except that of Messina in Sicily." There is very little new or striking in Dr. Pococke's account of Waterford—his visit followed too closely upon that of Charles Smith—but it possesses the interest which any account at first hand should have for those who are interested in the ancient city. Doctor Pococke says that the river came anciently to the town walls, and the mill-race from it washed the southern walls. He tells us that "the old walls to the key were built of

large stones which are a cement of pebbles and must have been brought from the other side all the country being of that kind of stone." Describing the churches he says that "the Cathedral or Church of the Holy Trinity is a plain building consisting of the body the Quire two Isles and the Parish Church of Trinity behind the Quire. To the north was Rice's Chapel and the Chapter House, both now pulled down. In the former was a curious monument of the Rices now in the Parish Church. On the south side is St. Saviour's Chapel, now the Bishop's Court, and St. Nicholas, now the Vestry and Chapter House. There is also a chapel opposite to the Bishop's Court. The Quire has been lately much ornamented, if intermixture of Grecian with Gothic architecture be called an ornament, by a Corinthian altar piece, which is the gift of Mrs. Susannah Mason and cost £200; by a very handsome canopy over the seat of the Mayor and Aldermen and by the same over the galleries and the seats of the families of the Bishops and Dignitaries, by making a gallery to the north for the soldiers, to the west over the organ for the charity boys—by adorning the galleries with handsome bullustrades, new seating the church, and paving it with black and white marble to which besides the white marble The Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Milles Chantor of the Cathedral of Exeter as he was likewise formerly of this Church and Treasurer of Lismore gave the sum of £50. St. Olave's and St. Patrick's Church are both paved with black and white marble adorned with handsome altar pieces. Pulpits and Thrones and all the seats are so disposed that the people stand with their faces to the east, the men on one side and the women on the other.





RUINS OF THE DOMINICAN ABBEY





These churches were ordered in this manner and adorned under the care of Dr. Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, who published a learned edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem and writ a Treatise against Mr. Dodwell of the Immortality of the Soul. There was a Dominican Convent in this city called the White Fryars, the church of which is now the County Court House, the Benedictine Convent of St. John founded by King John and the Franciscan Convent of the Holy Ghost the church of which now belongs to the French. Another part of it is a hospital for twenty-four papist widows founded by the Walshes. Lastly St. Catherine's Priory for canons of St. Victor.\*. . . Opposite the Cathedral is built a very handsome house called the Apartments for ten clergymen's widows, and there are two houses more. They have £10 a year, all the Benefaction of Bishop Gore. It is built on the place where King John's house was situated. The Bishop's house is a fine building of hewn stone started by Bishop Este but is not finished. The City Court House and Exchange, the City Jayle and Fish Market are also handsome buildings of hewn stone and the Custom House of brick with hewn stone windows. The Charity School founded by Bishop Foy for 75 boys is also of hewn stone, a low decent building. They are clothed and taught, the master has £60 a year and the catechist £15; and there is a fund for binding them out apprentices. Mrs. Mary Mason also erected a good building of brick with

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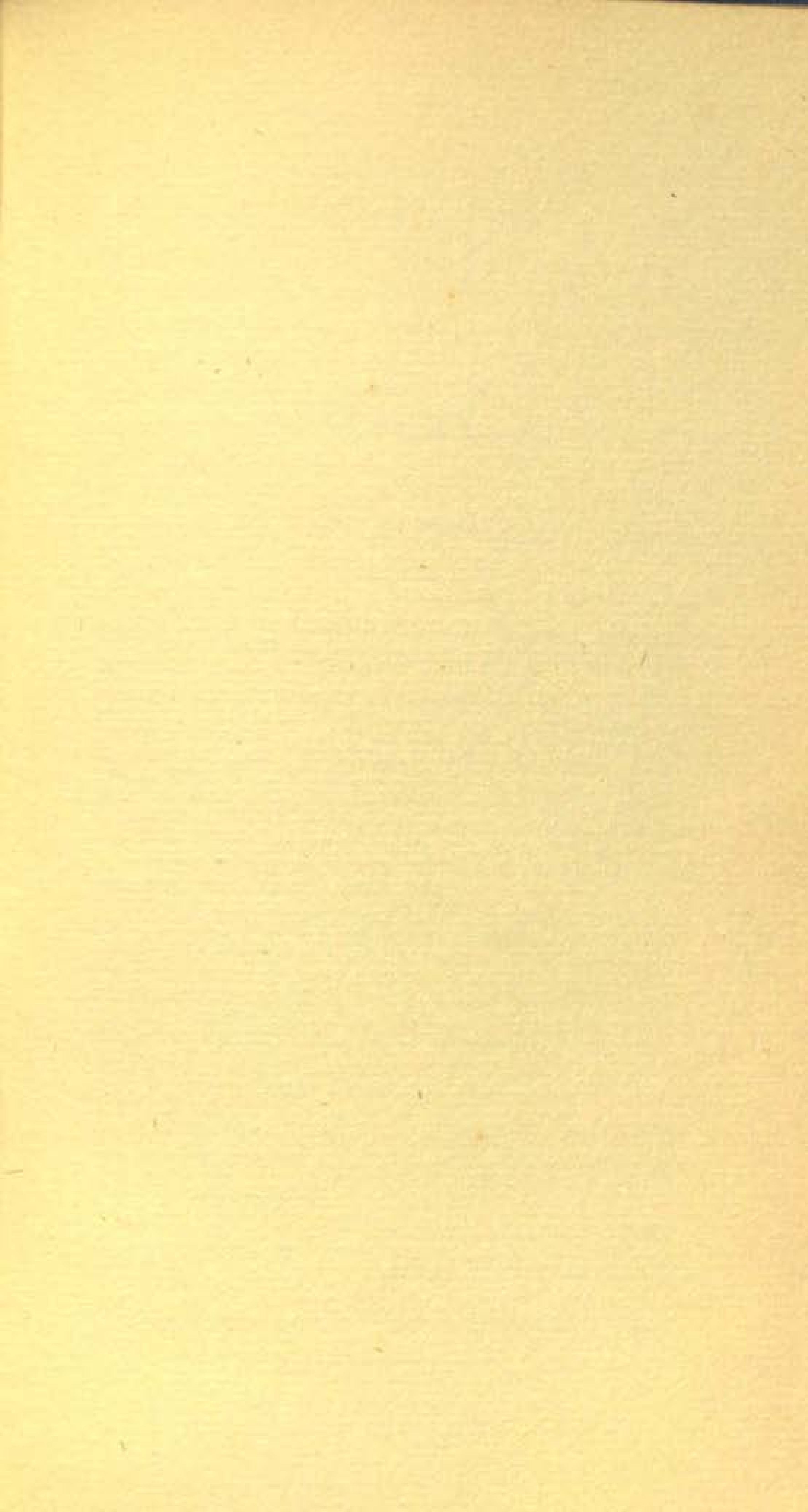
\* St. Catherine's Abbey was situated in the place occupied by the present Court House and its grounds. It was suppressed in 1735. In 1820 a portion of the ruins was knocked down to clear the way to the bridge over St. John's Pill: what was then left untouched was demolished when the Court House was erected—about 1850.

stone window cases for 30 girls, who are clothed, fed, lodged, and taught to read and work. Behind the Bishop's house where the mill dam was is a fine walk planted with double rows of trees and is called the Mall, just beyond which at the end of the Key is a fine bowling green on the River. Mr. Barker's hanging gardens are very beautiful. Mr. Wyse's mills are well worth seeing, in which the preparing of wheat to make flower is performed by water wheels ; he has also a smelting house there, a manufacture of pins and several other works. There is also a dock in the Marsh for repairing ships, with water pipes laid to it. They have a considerable trade here with Cadiz, sending butter, herrings, etc., and bringing back fruit, Spanish wines, etc. They send butter to Holland. The Newfoundland ships come in here and take in Porter, coarse Linnen, and other provisions. They send worked woolen yarn, raw hides and Tallow to England. The linnen manufacture is carried on here of late years with great success."

In his "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century" Lecky says that Irish life in the first half of that century "was not altogether the corrupt, frivolous, grotesque and barbarous thing that it has been represented ;" and he adds that "among many and glaring vices some real public spirit may be discerned." This would apply with special force to Waterford City.











# APPENDIX A.

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## THE CITY'S CHARTERS.

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The first of the Charters granted to Waterford is one from John, Earl of Moretain, for the protection of the brethren of the house of Hospital of St. John. This is undated.

The Charter of King John, dated June 3rd, 1205, mentions the boundaries of the city, deals with the privilege of building on the banks of the river, the applotment of building ground inside the walls, the regulation of disputes which were not to be left to a duel between the disputants but to a jury of twelve men, the payment of all fines to the city, the holding of a special court to try cases and the election of a provost to preside at this court. The Charter also permitted citizens of Waterford to give their children in marriage to foreign merchants and to sell goods to Irish enemies in time of peace or war.

The Charters of Henry III are dated 1232 and 1268. They deal with the appointing of a Mayor, the creating of a City Seal (the greater part of which was to be held by the Mayor and the lesser part by the City Clerk), declaring that no assize or gaol delivery by Barons of the King's Bench should be held in Waterford unless the Mayor was present.\* The Charter of Henry III also ordains that a Guildhall or a Prison should be maintained by the city.

Edward I granted Charters dated respectively 1275 and 1277, and Edward II's Charter is dated 1310.

The Charters of Edward III are dated 1356, 1363, 1371, 1374, 1375 and 1377. The privilege availed of by Mayors of Waterford—namely, the power to levy a conscription and to take men by force to serve in time of war against the Irish—is curtailed by one of the Charters of Edward III.

The Charter of Henry VI, dated 1441, empowers the Mayor and citizens to take up arms at any time against the Irish and to plunder, burn and destroy the enemies of the city and all who might assist them.

The Charter of Edward IV declares that the City of Water-

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\* This Mayoral privilege was abolished in 1888.

ford has in front of it four hostile counties, namely Waterford, Wexford, Kilkenny and Tipperary, and the right to make war against these hostile counties is confirmed. Mention is also made of a sword with an ornamental sheath which is to be borne before the Mayor. Also the sum of thirty pounds is granted to the city as an annual payment towards the repairs of its walls.

The Charter of Elizabeth, dated 1573, creates the office of Sheriff and gives Waterford City the privilege of styling itself "the County of the City of Waterford."

The Charter of Charles I is by far the most important and is styled "The Great Charter." A digest of its provisions is given in this Appendix.

James II revoked the Charter of Charles I and granted a new Charter which is dated 1687, but James's revocation was set aside by order of William III, and the Charter of Charles I was restored, and was the foundation of the laws which ruled the city up to the year 1841, when the Municipal Reform Act came into force in Waterford.

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SUMMARY OF THE GREAT CHARTER OF THE LIBERTIES  
OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD GRANTED BY  
CHARLES I. AND DATED AT WESTMINSTER 26TH  
MAY IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE KING'S REIGN  
(1626).

The Great Charter makes reference to the Charters granted to Waterford City by John, Henry III, Edward III, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Henry VII, Elizabeth, and James I.

It sets out that James, in the fifteenth year of his reign of England, France and Ireland, had for certain causes seized the city and liberties thereof, but the citizens in the most humble manner having petitioned the crown, Charles vouchsafes to restore them to their former state.

That Waterford is an Ancient City and that its inhabitants have since the reduction of the Kingdom of Ireland been of a civil conversation endowed with good learning and generous manners, and apt and diligently intent upon the art of merchandizing; that they are sprung from English stock and retain their English surnames. Amongst other things it has been styled by English Sovereigns "The Untouched City" and "The Chamber of the King."

Mindful of how much the city is decayed from its ancient flourishing condition and unto what poverty and almost abject condition the citizens are reduced the King considers that if restored to royal favour the citizens would be better enabled to acquire riches and retrieve the city's former state and dignity. Therefore his Majesty ordains that Waterford shall for ever



hereafter be a Free City of itself and that it shall be entitled to extend itself as it might have done before the seizure or caption thereof by King James.

And further it is ordained that the city and its liberties shall be a County distinct of itself from the County of Waterford and from the County of Kilkenny and from all other Counties of the Kingdom and that it shall be called "The County of the City of Waterford." The Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens are declared to be A Body Corporate and Politic and shall acquire, possess, and enjoy, and hold manors, lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, jurisdiction, franchises and other hereditaments for ever and ever.

All houses edifices lands watercourses soil and ground within the city and liberties, the waste ground near the Westgate upon which a fortress is built, and all the houses and ground commonly known as Blackfriars, the place called Our Lady's Chapel, the great port of the City which enters between Rodybanke and Rindoane to Carrick by water and as far as the Pill of St. Catherine reaches to the bounds of Kilbarry and from thence to the bounds of Cloncredane and from these to the bounds of Portfichin, the hamlets of Killotteran, Ballinekelly and Kilbarry and the lands in the precincts extending from the River Suire to the bounds of Killure as also the site and precincts of the late dissolved Abbey of Killkleybin together with the demesne lands thereof in the Co. Kilkenny or in the County of the City of Waterford adjacent and abutting on the north side of the County of the City, also the hamlet of Newtown otherwise Lumbardsland, Ballytrokle and Grange—all these shall constitute the County of the City of Waterford.

It is ordained that for the future for ever there shall be one of the most honest and discreet of the citizens named as Mayor and two honest and discreet citizens as Sheriffs and eighteen discreet men shall be chosen as Aldermen and nineteen other discreet men to be called Assistants, and that these shall form the Common Council.

The Council to have power and authority yearly on the Monday next after the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [25th March] in the year 1627 to assemble in the Common Hall of the City, or in any convenient place within the City, and there continue until they or the greater part of them shall name or choose one of the Aldermen to be Mayor. After being elected the Mayor, before he be admitted to office, shall take his corporal oath on the Holy Evangelists yearly on the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel then next ensuing the day of election before his predecessor the last Mayor or in his absence before such of the Aldermen and Assistants as shall be present in the Common Hall faithfully to execute his duty in all things touching his office.

Powers are granted to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens to appoint a discreet and honest man, learned in the laws, as Recorder. Other appointments in their power are those of Common Clerk, a Swordbearer, who may carry a sword of state

before him unless the King or heirs be present ; four officers who shall be called Sergeants at Mace to attend upon the Mayor and Council, to issue mandates, summonses, &c., and to bear gilded or silver maces, adorned with the royal arms, before the Mayor ; a Marshall ; a Searcher ; a Water Bailiff ; a Gauger ; a Constable ; and all other inferior officers and ministers whatsoever. Further the Common Council shall be entitled to appoint one fit and sufficient man to be Coroner. The Mayor may and shall be the Escheator.

It is ordained that the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens have power to hold within the City of Waterford before the Mayor and Recorder or their deputies one Court of Record every Monday and one other Court of Record every Friday and as often as it shall seem fit and necessary to them. Also they shall be empowered to hold a court-leet or view of frank pledge twice a year, once within a month after the feast of Easter and again within a month after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

The Mayor, Recorder and four senior Aldermen may and shall be Justices of the Peace. And it is further granted no trial for treason or suspicion of treason shall be held without a special mandate, the Mayor to be joined in commission with the Judges. The Mayor, Recorder, and four senior Aldermen, or any two of them (the Mayor or Recorder to be one), may by themselves or their officers arrest and convey to gaol all traitors, murderers, voluntary homicides, felons, robbers, and other malefactors found within the County of the City or in the suburbs or precincts of the same and shall have power to detain them in gaol until they shall be delivered by due course of law. Further the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens may for ever have all manner of goods and chattels waved, and strays from time to time found, and strays of all felons, fugitives and of persons outlawed or to be outlawed, of persons condemned and to be condemned, adjudged and to be adjudged, attainted or that shall happen to be attainted (the goods and chattels of traitors or fugitives flying out of the Kingdom of Ireland only excepted).

The Sheriffs are to be excused from going to Dublin to make up their accounts and may account before auditors or the Justices of Assizes when they come to the city.

The Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens are authorised to hold a market twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and one yearly fair on the morrow or day after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, this fair to be continued for five days next and immediately following. The profits of the fairs and markets are to be given to the city. Power to appoint a Clerk of the Market is also given. The Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens may also have and hold a Court of Pie-powder\* from day to day and from hour to hour in the city during the said fair.

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\* This was a court in which justice was to be done as between buyers and sellers, and could be held only during the time of the fair, and every cause of complaint brought before it should arise in the fair and cases should be heard and determined on the same day.



The Port of Waterford is granted to the city. Its limits are described as being between the ingress and entrance thereof between Rodybank and Rindoane and from thence to Carrigma-griffin; and all the water between the said bounds, and the land and soil covered with water or being between the flowing and ebbing of the sea within the said bounds; also all branches of the sea, watercourses, places, and seashores within the entrance of the port unto Inistioge and St. Moline. All ships coming into the haven must load and unload at the Quay of Waterford and nowhere else within the port unless with the special license of the Mayor or his deputy lawfully appointed; and all goods of whatsoever kind hereafter discharged or unloaded at the Quay shall be exposed and offered to sale to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens and not any foreigner or stranger within the port of the City of Waterford (all towns and boroughs incorporated by the King or his ancestors in and upon the said port or river and the inhabitants of those towns or boroughs, where the water doth flow and ebb, only excepted).

It is specially provided that the Sovereign, Provost, Burgesses and Community of New Ross (or Rosspontis) are to enjoy and use all the privileges which they enjoyed at any time hitherto.

The Corporation of Waterford is to have the Office of Admiralty of all things belonging to the admiralty within the port as also power of holding a Court of Admiralty. The Coquet Customs are to be levied and enjoyed by the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens of Waterford. The Crown reserves to itself the little custom—that is to say the payment of threepence in the pound on all merchandize imported and exported, to be paid by alien merchants only. The Crown also reserves the customs or subsidy of poundage—that is to say the payment of twelvecence in the pound on all merchandize imported or exported to be paid as well by merchants, who are natural-born subjects, as by alien merchants.

Those who are Freemen of the City by right of birth, marriage, or apprenticeship, and who dwell within the city, are not liable to pay such poundage either in Waterford or in any other port, creek or place within the Kingdom of Ireland. Nor should any Freeman pay toll, lastage, passage, frontage, murage, pilage, pannage.

It is also set forth that no citizen of Waterford shall be indicted for any mercy of money unless according to the law of the hundred—that is to say, by forfeiture of forty shillings of which one half shall be foreign and the other half shall be given or returned in mercy; except three mercies—of bread, ale, and watching—which may be in mercy of two shillings and sixpence, one half for the first time to be forgiven and the other half to be returned in mercy.

The citizens are granted power to distrain debtors in Waterford by foreign attachments and not by their own distresses as is the custom in other cities. No merchant stranger shall be allowed to sell or expose for sale any merchandize in the city or

its precincts otherwise than in gross. He must not sell by retail unless in the time of a fair or market under the penalty of forfeiture of his goods so sold or exposed for sale. No merchant or other stranger not free of the city shall sell or buy from another stranger upon pain of forfeiture of the goods.

Power to make guilds in the manner of the City of Bristol is given, but no guild or fraternity can make laws for itself without licence from the Mayor.

No citizen shall combat for any appeal of treason or felony within the city or suburbs nor for that purpose be compelled to go out of the city.\*

Murage—that is a toll to be taken of every cart and horse that brings lading through a town for the purpose of building or repairing the walls—is granted to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens. All lands or waste spaces are to be at the disposal of the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens, and no itinerant Justice or Justice of Assize nor any officer of the Crown may compel the citizens to come before them out of the city. The citizens shall have power to dispose of those lands, tenements, rents and tenures, within the means and bounds of the city by will at their pleasure; and no officer of the Crown may take anything for the goods or merchandize of the citizens or those coming into the market against the will of those whose chattels they shall be.

No stranger shall have a wine tavern in the city or liberties unless it be in a ship.

Out of every shipload of wine coming into the port two hogsheads shall be taken—one before the mast and the other behind the mast—the Crown to have one and the Mayor the other for the price of twenty shillings for the support of the city.†

No foreigner may sell cloth in the city or precincts, to be cut. All foreign merchants who buy or sell in the city shall be obliged to pay tollage according to the quantity of the thing bought or sold. The citizens may export merchandize and the produce of the land (corn only excepted) to England, Gascoign, and other parts in league and friendship with England.

In consideration of the building and maintaining of the Blocke House at Passage for the defence of ships and boats the city to have power to levy tolls on every fishing boat or vessel coming into the harbour, the said toll so received to be for the use and benefit of the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens.

The duty of fourpence sterling on every sheep-skin, a duty demanded by Queen Elizabeth in 1569, is not in future to be levied on the citizens exporting sheep-skins.

Power is granted to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Assistants to reasonably tax and assess as well all citizens, inhabitants, residents, and dwellers in Waterford and precincts as all other persons whatsoever having, occupying or possessing any houses, messuages, lands, or tenements within the City or County

\* It was the custom to determine differences by the sword or batons. If the defendant vanquished his opponent he was deemed to be innocent, but if the defendant was vanquished or would not fight he was adjudged immediately to be hanged.

† This wine privilege was sold by the Corporation to the Ormondes.



of the City for the necessary costs and expenses of the city; and power of distress of the citizens' goods and chattels or of imprisonment for the recovery of such taxes is also granted.

A Court of Orphans consisting of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens shall be held for the government of the orphans of freemen and freewomen of the city who in their lifetime or at the time of their death by any writing perfected in their lifetime should recommend their children to the care of the Corporation, the Court to be held weekly and to have the right to dispose of the goods or monies of such orphans in such manner and form as the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London are wont to dispose of same. £6 for one whole year on every £100 belonging to the orphans to be allowed for their education and maintenance.

A Society of Merchants of the Staple of the City shall be incorporated who shall meet from time to time in the Merchants Hall in such manner and form as the Mayor, Constables and Society of Merchants of London meet, with power to elect a Mayor of the Staple and such other officers as they think fit.

The Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens are granted the sole and entire disposal of selling Wine, Ale, Beer, Aqua Vitae, and Usquebagh. Every citizen and inhabitant of Waterford may freely, lawfully and safely have power and be able to compose, distil and make Aqua Vitae and Usquebagh as well to convert to their own proper use as to expose for sale, the statute of Philip and Mary or any other statute, act, or restriction to the contrary notwithstanding.

The whole City of Waterford is granted to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens with all its rights, members, liberties and appurtenances, in the County of the City and County of Waterford; as also all that messuage and all those arable lands containing by estimation eighty acres of that meadow, five acres in the tenement of Cloncredane, that is to say two acres of meadow lying between the land which formerly belonged to Bartholomew Bingwash, Knight, on the south and the river Shure on the north opposite to the Castle of Grenagh; and all that meadow between the land which formerly belonged to Walter Devenish on the south and the River Shure on the north, near Chepman Pill, containing by estimation three acres; and also the arable lands, forty eight acres; and the meadow, three acres, in the said tenement of Cloncredane; as also all the lands, sixty acres in said tenement which are called Portnehull in the Co. Waterford or in the County of the City of Waterford, as also all other lands which the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens more extensively and freely had or were reputed to have before the seizure of the said city into the hands of James I, the city paying to the Crown all such fee farm rents, etc., as were accustomed or payable to King James in or before the fourteenth year of his reign.

Also the city is granted the Abbey and lands and tithes of Kilculiheen now or lately being in the County of Kilkenny and in the County of the City of Waterford to be held in common and free sockage in fee farm, the city paying to the Crown yearly for ever the fee farm of £59 1s. 8d. of lawful and current money of Ireland.

## APPENDIX B.

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### MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES.

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"The most remarkable of these documents," writes Sir John T. Gilbert, "is an ancient illustrated charter roll, the only one of its age and class known to be extant in connexion with Ireland. The body of this roll, containing the written matter, consists of several pieces of vellum attached continuously to each other and forming a whole of considerable length. The contents are transcripts, made apparently towards 1390, of Latin Charters and legal instruments relative to the rights and privileges of the citizens of Waterford. The writing is much damaged and partly illegible. At the head is a coloured drawing, intended, no doubt, to represent the port of Waterford and the delivery of the keys of that city to Henry II. This drawing is greatly decayed, and under parts of it are discernible vestiges of writing over which the colours were laid. From the foot of the roll some membranes seem to be missing. To each side of the body of the roll there would appear to have been originally attached a continuous series of pieces of vellum many of which remain. These contain coloured drawings of full length figures, mostly of about ten inches in height, but without any names. The figure at head on the right side is in armour and probably designed for Earl Richard Fitz-Gislebert, under whose leading Waterford was captured by the Anglo-Norman adventurers. Abbreviated titles of documents on the roll appear in connexion with most of the other figures, which were evidently intended as representations of monarchs of England and their chief officials associated with charters and instruments issued to Waterford, commencing with King John and terminating with Edward III. John, in white doublet and hose, holds a falcon; the feet of one of the kings rest on a recumbent dog; another king, probably Edward I., is on horseback; Edward III. is represented, with crown and sceptre adorned with fleur-de-lis, seated between two towers. Henry de Loundres. Archbishop of Dublin, Justiciary of Ireland in the early part of the thirteenth century, is depicted in pontifical vestments, with mitre, crozier, and gloves. Of the other officials here represented two may be assumed to be Sir John Moriz and Sir William de Windesor, deputy governors in Ireland for Edward III. In one of the lateral pieces, divided into four compartments,



the Mayors of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, are represented, on a scale smaller than that of the other figures. The Mayors are attired in blue and red. Most of the figures on the roll are well drawn and coloured, as well as ornamented with gilding. They are, however, in general, much decayed and obliterated in parts. No information is accessible in relation to the circumstances under which this roll was executed. It may have been produced in connexion with the visit of Richard II. to Waterford in 1384. From him the city had received valuable grants in 1380, 1381, 1385, and 1388. None of these appear on this roll, but they may have been entered on the membranes now missing, and, with any ornamentation the document contained in honour of Richard, they may have been removed after his deposition from the throne of England in 1399. The execution of the roll must, in its day, have been attended with much expense, and may have been the work of artists of the class of those who in the fourteenth century painted the subjects on glass in Kilkenny Cathedral, the beauty of which has been highly praised.

"The volume styled the 'Great Parchment Book' may, from the extent and character of its contents, be regarded as the most important of the archives of the city of Waterford, in an historical point of view. It consists of upwards of two hundred leaves of parchment, fifteen and a half inches in length and eleven inches in breadth. The binding is of oaken boards, covered with dark coloured leather. The writing in the book is of various periods, commencing apparently towards the close of the 15th and terminating about the middle of the 17th century. The only ornamentation in the early part of the manuscript consists of some inartistically rubricated initial letters and colophons. In the subsequent portion of the volume the headings of the pages containing the annual records of the names of the Mayors and and bailiffs or sheriffs are in large black letters, occasionally with ornamental initials. The most elaborate of these pages, which is that for the year 1566, has been reproduced among the 'Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland.' It contains, in combination with its large initial letter in the word 'Tempore,' a small sketch of the buildings at Waterford with the city's ancient Irish name 'Portlairge;' also a galley, and marginal representations of the day of judgment, and the Blessed Virgin. A page, now imperfect, with entries for 1636, contains the remnants of some gilt initial letters and numerals. Rubricated initials appear on the pages for the years 1634, 1635, and 1637. Some entire leaves and portions of others are missing from the volume. All the contents of the book do not proceed in regular order. . . . .

"After the collection of acts terminating in 1524-5, the manuscript contains a series of annual records commencing in 1526-7, of the proceedings of the Corporation in the elections of Mayors and officials, the admission of freemen, and the enactment of regulations. This series, in which there are some chasms, is carried down to the year 1649. The initial portions of the entries containing the names of the officials and of the persons admitted to the freedom of the city are in Latin, while the acts are in

English. The early acts and ordinances contain many matters illustrative of the internal and external relations of the Waterford community from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Some of the enactments by the citizens of Waterford exhibit the position which they maintained towards the native Irish people. . . . .

"The 'Parchment Book' does not contain any documents of the Ostmen or descendants of the early Norse settlers in Waterford. Some of them aided Henry II. on his arrival there; and the assertion of their rights in the early part of the fourteenth century formed the subject of legal proceedings, the record of which is still extant. It is to be observed that important events which occurred at Waterford during the period over which the contents of the volume extend are unnoticed in the 'Parchment Book.' It contains no record of the expeditions made to Waterford by Richard II. in 1394 and 1399. The second of these formed portion of the subject of a contemporary French poem, which includes among its illustrations a drawing elegantly colored and gilt, in which is depicted the arrival of the ships at Waterford with provisions for the royal army. The 'Parchment Book' furnishes no details of the energetic measures taken by the citizens in the reign of Henry VII. against the adherents of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, whence the designation of "Urbs Intacta" was applied to Waterford. There is not any notice in the volume as to the circumstances under which Waterford was occupied in 1641 by the Irish Confederates, of which some vivid particulars were given in the letters written on the spot by Mrs. Briver, wife of the Mayor. In the subsequent years till 1649, Waterford was under the rule of the Irish Confederation, but this manuscript during that period furnishes little more than the names of some of the civic officials, and of persons admitted to the freedom of the city. Among the latter were the following who had close relations with the Confederation, although no reference to that circumstance appears on record in the manuscript: Richard Bellings, Secretary of the Supreme Council; Carlo Francesco Invernizio, chief priest of Milan Cathedral; Pietro Francesco Scarampi, Papal Delegate to Ireland; Edward Tirrell, D.D., Agent to Louis XIV. from the Confederation; Diego de la Torre, envoy from Spain to the Confederates; Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, subsequently Marquis of Worcester, and his brother, Lord John Somerset.

"The last entries in the manuscript in relation to the election of the Mayor and the admissions to the franchise are those for 1649. In that year Waterford was ineffectively besieged by Oliver Cromwell, and in August 1650 it surrendered to the forces of the Parliament of England under Ireton."



## APPENDIX C.

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### ANCIENT CUSTOMS IN THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

(FROM THE GREAT PARCHMENT BOOK.)

Certeayne of the Auncient Customes used and contynued within the citie of Waterford, the liberties, limites, suburbes, and fraunches of the same, tyme out of mynde, and collected by the verdict of divers of the moste auncient and discrete Aldermen and inhabitantes of the said citie, being sworne for that purpose, and afterward approved, ratified, and confirmed by all the citizens of the said citie in their common assemblie at Michaelmas, 1574, holden before the Woorshipful Mr. James Walsh, Maior, and Patricke Quemerford and Robert Walsh, Sheriffes, as the very auncient and old contynued customes within the same from the beginning.

1.—First: That the Maior and balives shall, during the years of their office, contynually remayne within the citie and liberties of the same without departing from their said charge, unlesse the counsaill of the said citie do license them or anny of them to departe, having asufficient deputie or deputies, which depute or deputies they have used, tyme out of mynde, to make as before.

The consideration of this custome is that if the officers might departe without license, and leave no deputie, then the citie shoulde lacke government, and justice should be suspended, and that often the officers are especially commannded by the governor and other officers, somtymes for the citie cause, and somtymes for their privat cause, to appeare before them, which they must obey. And therefore they have used to make deputies, tyme out of mynde, which deputies, also, tyme out of mynde, have had the like authoritie as the said officers.

2.—Item: That plees holden before one of the three officers in anny of the courtes of the said citie, by the consent of the rest of the stile or title of the courte making mention of the plea to be holden before all three were alwayes accepted and holden to be of as great effecte as if all the officers were present, for somtymes two of the said courtes are and must be holden at one tyme, at which all the officers may not be present in both, and somtymes the bailif receavour, and the Maior, at othre tymes, must be absent and about the citie matters elswhear.

3.—Item: That all fermes did enswe the nature of fee simple landes within the citie, suburbes, and liberties of the same, and that wives had in their thirde as wife to the testatour or intestat an estate for life onely in the said third, if the yeares contynued so long, and that all wives were alwaies secluded and barred to demannde any intrest in their said thirde of the said fermes or leases other then during their livis or to allien any longer.

The consideration is, that a great parte of the citie had belonged to the Church, and to inheritours not dwelling within the same, by reason whereof the inhabitannts cannot purchase the inheritannce; and, neverthelesse, the moste parte of their wealth is layde oute for leases for yeares, and it were against the meaning of the lawe that women shoulde have so excessive a preferment, to the hinderannce of the children, where the costome is much for the contynuanee of families, which the churchmen, having inheritannces within the Liberties of the said citie, do use to contynue and to preferre the heire of the first lessee.

4.—Item: That thinhabitanntes, being not citizens, have, tyme out of mynde, used to passe in juries of triall upon a man [h]is life, albeit they lacke freholde.

The consideration is, for that there are not freholders sufficient to heare the peremptorie and othre challenges, within the citie or liberties, and them [*sic*] for lacke of sufficient triall that point of justice shoulde faile within the citie.

5.—Also, causes and pleas betwixt thinhabitannts have bene tried alwayes, tyme out of mynde, without respecte of freeholde or goodes, whether thaction surmounted xl. marckes, or whether the same touched the realtie or not. Because the citie consisteth, and alwaies did consist, of trafficke and marchannt trade. And if causes were delayde and that merchanntes should not have triall with an expedition, for contynuing of theire trade and hastening of their viadges, contractes betwixt merchanntes should decay, whereby merchandize should be impaired, and so consequently danner of utter decay of the state and the inhabitants within the citie.

6.—Also, that landlordes, or any that might distrayne for rent, have used to distrayne the goodes of him owing the rent onely, and not the goodes of any other, saving when goodes were in possession of the tenannt as pledge or did owe him anny somme of mony; in which case, the distrayning of them for that somme of mony due to the tenannt was lawfull and accepted.

The consideracion wherefore the goodes of a strannger were free and not subjecte to the distresse is, for that such as be tenanntes be either artificers or merchanntes, and artificers have, for the most parte, the goodes of others, and merchanntes sometymes lyve by other mens goodes, and sometymes have solde the moste parte of their goodes to others, and for the maintenance of artificers and banishing of ydelnes, and also for the increase of buying and selling, the said custome have bene continued as before. And, also, that anny deteynning a distresse contrary to this custome may be comitted before he delyver the same.

7.—We fynde yt a customme that the Maior hath but an



Aldermans shift<sup>1</sup> saving onely of every shippe of wyne of common bieing<sup>2</sup> he hath one but or pipe or two hogsetts choice and no man els have had the same but he alone.

8.—We fynde yt of auncient custome that every widowe shoulde have like benefitt of her fredome, during her viduitie and honest behaviour, as she enjoyed by her husbands tyme. Excepted that Aldermen's widowes shall have but a balives shift during their viduite and honest behaviour.

9.—Also, that the goodes of any supposed to be debitour to any inhabitannte may be arrested in the absence of the debitour, and suite to be entred against the owener, and the courte to procede in processe to judgement and execution of the said goodes as well as they might if the owener had appeared, for otherwise debitours might deale by attorney, and so defraude the creditours, which may not for their trafficke sake attend suite out of the said citie.

Also, the said libertie is grannted by King John to thinhabitanntes which may lawfully be grannted, and sithens and before hath bene contynued.

10.—We fynde by auncient customme that any man having accion shall first arrest the partie whom he myndeth to sue, and when the Sergeant hath taken surtie of him to aunswer to the processe, that then the partie plaintiff shall entre the accion in courte against him.

11.—We fynde by auncient custome that the partie defendannte shall have three dayes grannted to him to his annswer, and that no judgement for defaulte be pronounced against him before the third defaulte.

12.—We fynde it a custome that every dweller of this citie shall, for himself and all his householde folke, have passadge in the ferry boat, paying every houshold iiii. *d.* by the yeare, in consideration of the same.

13.—Also, that fowre men shall passe in an accion of accompte, and the defendannt being founde giltie or comptable, the plaintiff shall not be driven to have his accion of debt, but shall have execution of the somme founde by the fowre men aforesaid.

14.—Also, if one be attached to any the courtes, and the plaintiff do not enter the next courte day, the arrest is voyde, unlesse both parties assent that the same upon hoape of agrement shall stand in force, having also the consent of the court.

15.—Also, that when surties be taken of any man arrested, that the plaintiff, if he recover, may, at his election, sue execution against the partie arrested, or the surties, or against all.

16.—Also, that, in absence or for lacke of a Sargeannt, every citizen may and ought to arrest and bring before thofficer any that is demanded or challengd for debt or any other cause.

17.—Also, that anny of the Sargeannts may arrest anny challengd in the Staple-court, and bring him to the Marshall, and so returning him and his arrest to the said Marshall, the arrest

<sup>1</sup> Share or division.

<sup>2</sup> buying.

is as sufficient as if it were done by the said Marshall, and so of other officers and other courtes.

18.—Also, that the defendannt in every courte (the Pipoulder Court excepted) yf he sweare that he will send or go to Dublin for counsel, ought to have fourteen dayes for that counsell, that is called a day of emparlance, yf his accion amount to x. li., or over, otherwise to sticke to thorder of the courte.

19.—Also, where the defendannt is to be condempned upon a nihile dicit, he shall have the thre dayes to annswere, before he be so condempned.

20.—Also, that the citie, by auncient usage have a Pipoulder Courte, commonly called the Courte of Delyverannce, for the expedition of strangers and for their personall demannde, in which courte the Maior and Balives be Judges, and that if a strannger be sued in any other courte, he may pray that the cause be removed to the said courte, called the Pipoulder Courte, which may and must be so done at the said stranndgers charges, and nothing altered but the stile or title of the courte.

21.—Also, that by like usage in the said citie there is a Court Barron to be kept yearly, beginning at twelve of the clocke the Saterday before Ascension day, for matters under forty shillings Irish, in which courte the two bailives be Judges.

22.—Also, that every childe inhabitant within the citie and suburbes, albeit he be under thage of xxi. yeares, and by consent of his father or next friend, bynding himself apprentice to any, shalbe as well bounde to serve his terme as if he were xxi. yeares at the tyme of such bynding.

23.—Also, that fowre Aldermen shalbe elected surveighours yearly in the Assembly after Michaelmas, which have auctoritie to determyne all mischannces and variannces of mearing betwixt thinhabitannts, of which surveighours the Maior may remove at his discretion for that tyme any that is father, brother, or uncle, to any of the parties in variannce, in respect that the said surveighours be not sworne that custome was commenced for thincrease of thadministration of justice and dischardging of thofficers of some parte of their charge, because thei be judges in divers courtes and have otherwise an over great charge, and also for ease of thinhabitants.

24.—Also, that, upon the committing of any affray, any of thofficers, videlicet, the Maior or bailives, for the better preservation of the peace, may committ both the parties before examination of the cause, and if any in such a case will submitte himself, the saide officers may assesse his fyne, and if he submitte him not then putting a sufficient pledge to the bailive receavour's handes, thraffray shalbe tried by order of lawe.

25.—Also, the tenannt at will, (dwelling not upon the comon land), ought to be warned half a yeare before the tyme appointed for him to departe.

26.—That all." \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 111b. ends here; the leaf which contained the matter in continuation to it is missing.



## APPENDIX D.

### WATERFORD COINS AND SEALS.

A reference to money minted by the Danish Kings appears on page 9 and references to coins of Kings John, Edward I and Edward IV appear on pages 28, 37, 38 and 51. Coins of the reign of Henry VI have on one side an escutcheon divided by a cross pommeté into four quarters, with the inscription HENRICVS DI. GRATIA REX., and on the reverse three open crowns in pale on the cross, and inscribed CIVITAS WATERFORD.

In the 15th year of the reign of Edward IV all the Irish mints were abolished, except those of Dublin, Drogheda, and Waterford. A Statute of the reign of Edward IV. set out that "as the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commons of Waterford are daily encumbered for want of small coins for change of greater, it is enacted, at their petition, that the above-mentioned small coins be struck at Waterford, at a place called Dundory, alias Reynold Tower."

Coins of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII, minted in Waterford, are extant. The groat of Richard III has on the obverse the words RICARDVS DEI GRA REX with the arms of France and England on a shield with plain border surmounting a cross trefoil, within a tressure of four single arches. On the reverse are the words CIVI . . . WA . . . OORFOORD with three broad flat crowns surmounting a cross trefoil within a tressure of eight double arches. The groat of Henry VII has on the obverse the words HENRICVS GRA RE with a shield in single tressure of four arches: the ends of the cross terminated by pellets. On the reverse are the words CIVITAS Waterford DE with three crowns in a double tressure of eight points; small trefoils at the points: a fleur de lis at each side of the middle crown. Under the lower crown. There are other examples extant of groats of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII which have different styles on the obverse but the reverse bears the name of WATERFORD on all.

The Waterford Corporation at one time issued coins or tokens. Some of these have upon them the city arms on one side, and on the reverse a tower, supposed to be Reginald's Tower; others have the three gallies on one side, and a tower on the other. Waterford traders, too, issued tokens in the seventeenth century and later. References to these will be found on pages 142 (note), 162, 163 and 164.

Mr. E. C. Armstrong has recently published a book dealing with "Irish Seals." Amongst the seals and seal matrices of which he gives an account are those of the Protestant diocese of Waterford and Lismore. The first of these is a matrix of the Revd. George Baker, who was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1660 to 1665. At the time of the Civil War of 1641, a Scotsman, Archibald Adair, occupied the episcopal chair. He was appointed on July 31st, 1641. He hurriedly vacated his diocese and proceeded to England and died at Bristol in 1647. The See remained vacant during the Cromwellian era but the succession was restored in 1658, and in Mr. Armstrong's book will be found the arms of Bishop Baker, a native of Dublin who died at Waterford and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral.



## APPENDIX E.

In Smith's History of Waterford the following Tables are given of the revenue of the port and district of Waterford for the seven years ending 1744 :—

### CUSTOMS.

Years.	Inwards.			Outwards.			Imported Excise.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1738	3,564	0	4	1,530	10	8	3,186	13	6
1739	2,900	15	8	1,774	2	10	2,819	11	5
1740	3,708	16	0	1,151	17	6	3,375	3	4
1741	5,189	12	8	1,665	16	10	3,754	10	1
1742	4,210	16	9	1,592	16	6	3,383	2	6
1743	3,208	13	4	2,065	10	5	2,684	19	9
1744	3,259	12	3	1,735	9	7	2,074	6	10

### ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

Years.	Tobacco.			Wine 1st.			Spirits.			Cotton.			Prizage.		
1738	2,537	16	1	623	1	2	568	9	0	3	0	2	270	0	0
1739	2,033	1	1	673	16	5	196	9	5	—	—	—	345	0	0
1740	2,734	11	9	776	11	2	383	14	5	—	—	—	240	0	0
1741	2,788	1	9	712	16	2	1293	19	5	—	—	—	195	0	0
1742	2,802	6	11	789	4	5	671	3	0	—	—	—	180	0	0
1743	2,757	18	1	446	13	6	323	2	1	—	—	—	120	0	0
1744	2,623	3	8	232	9	0	529	11	3	—	—	—	210	0	0

	Light Money.			Fines & Seizures.			Inland Excise and Licences.			Quit and Crown Rents.			Hearth Money		
1738	15	8	9	173	1	3½	1,821	9	4	1,387	1	1	810	4	0
1739	45	19	1	541	10	8½	1,860	13	6½	1,387	1	1	813	4	0
1740	34	2	9	120	17	4	1,679	16	2	1,387	1	1	814	16	0
1741	35	11	0	36	9	2½	1,507	11	5	1,387	1	1	815	6	0
1742	53	4	10	6	9	9½	1,505	5	5	1,387	1	1	815	10	0
1743	51	10	5	258	19	1	1,883	16	7½	1,387	1	1	816	6	0
1744	49	4	10	14	16	0½	1,691	17	9	1,387	1	1	817	10	0

## APPENDIX E.

## APPROPRIATED DUTIES.

## To LOAN.

Years.	Wine 2nd.			Silkman.			Vinegar.			Hops.			China, etc.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1738	459	2	11		—		39	1	9	157	12	0	12	10	3
1739	491	2	11	1	3	9	20	14	3	75	0	6	13	10	5
1740	570	11	5		—		4	1	7	125	8	2	9	17	1
1741	507	19	9		—		37	7	0	83	10	11	9	6	5
1742	576	5	9		—		9	6	7	83	10	7	12	10	2
1743	329	3	11		—		12	1	6	194	9	10	15	7	7
1744	133	17	1		3	7		5	10	70	4	7	8	7	9

## APPROPRIATED DUTIES.

## To TILLAGE.

## To LINEN.

	Coaches, &c.			Plate Imp.			Linen, &c.			Tea, &c.		
1738	16	15	0	1	18	6	16	3	11	232	18	3
1739	19	15	0		—		25	9	8	5	8	3
1740	18	5	0	1	17	3		9	11	113	5	10
1741	18	15	0		—		6	11	6	146	19	5
1742	18	15	0		—			—		11	14	1
1743	19	10	0		—		1	10		7	3	10
1744	17	0	0		6	0		—		109	13	0

## TOTALS FOR EACH YEAR.

1738	...	...	£17,426	17	11½
1739	...	...	16,043	10	0
1740	...	...	17,251	3	9
1741	...	...	20,192	4	7½
1742	...	...	18,109	3	3½
1743	...	...	16,502	8	10¼
1744	...	...	14,965	0	1½



## APPENDIX F.

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### LIST OF PLANS AND VIEWS OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD AND CHARTS OF THE HARBOUR IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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#### MANUSCRIPT PLANS.

1. THE FORT AT WATERFORDE. [1624]. 21 x 16 inches.

A coloured drawing of the Fort at Waterford, showing part of the city wall, and one street of the city, in which individual houses are shown and a cross erected in the middle of the road. Accompanied by a short description of the fort.

In "State of the Fortes of Ireland as they were in the year 1624." 14 coloured plans of the river of Waterford and the forts of Duncannon, Waterford, &c.

2. THE CITY OF WATERFORD. [Scale] 1,000 feet [=7 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches]. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

A coloured plan of the City of Waterford, drawn about 1700, showing the fortifications, public buildings, and streets.

3. A COPY OF THE ABOVE PLAN, apparently by the same draughtsman.

4. WATERPORT. 500 pd. [=3 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches.]

A rough copy of the preceding plan on about the same scale. Drawn, apparently by a Frenchman, in pencil.

5. WATERFORD CITY. A scale of feet, 5 [=4 inches]. 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Very similar to No. 2, but giving slightly more detail. Two ships are shown on the river in the foreground.

## PRINTED PLANS.

6. THE LIBERTIES OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD. Admeasured by Francis Cooper, Anno. 1657. By a scale of 80 perches in an inch.  $19\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  inches.  
 Reproduced from the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and published at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1906. One of a set of maps of the Baronies of Ireland, known as the "Down Survey." The City of Waterford occupies a space of  $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and is surrounded by the parishes of St. Katherine's, St. John's, Trinity, etc.
7. WATERFORD, AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1673. London: Published by John Murray, July, 1824.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  inches.  
 A plan showing the houses (pictorially), gardens, roads, and fortifications. With a list of churches and principal buildings.  
 Issued in "The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford" . . . By the Rev. R. H. Ryland. London: John Murray, 1824.  
 This plan is reproduced in "Waterford During the Civil War" (1641-1653.) By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D., 1912.
8. WATERFORD. A scale of 440 yards [=3 inches.]  $7 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  inches.  
 Coloured plan showing streets and fortifications, but the scale is too small for detail.  
 An inset on "A Mapp of the Kingdom of Ireland . . . By Henry Pratt," (1705).
9. WATERFORD. [Scale,] 440 yards or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile [=1 $\frac{1}{4}$  inch.]  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$  inches.  
 A neatly engraved map, but too small for much detail.  
 An inset on "A New Map of Ireland . . . By Herman Moll, Geographer" (1714).
10. ANOTHER EDITION OF No. 7, UNCOLOURED.  
 Issued with an edition of Pratt's Map of Ireland about 1740.
11. PLANS OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS, FORTS, AND HARBOURS IN IRELAND; for Mr. Tindal's continuation of Mr. Rapin's History. Seale sculp. Waterford. A scale of 440 yards or a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch [=2 inches.]  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  inches.  
 Very similar to the 1705 plan, but on a slightly smaller scale. In "The History of England by Mr. Rapin de Thoyras. . . Vol. 3" . . . (1744).
12. WATERFORD. 1745. Scale of 440 yards . . . or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile [=4 inches.] Dedicated "To The Right Worshipfull The Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council . . . of Waterford . . . by . . . Chas. Smith. Pomarede sculpt."  $18\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$  inches.  
 A very nicely engraved plan showing churches, public buildings and streets, their names being indicated by reference numbers. In the top right-hand corner are the arms



of the City of Waterford, and in the bottom right-hand corner the arms, apparently, of the Bishop or Bishopric.

In "The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford . . . by Charles Smith . . . Dublin . . . 1746. 8vo.

13. A PLAN OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF WATERFORD by Scalé and Richards, Land Surveyors. Plan de la Ville et Faux-bourgs de Waterford, etc. Scale of feet, 1,000 [=5½ inches.] Dedicated "To the Right Worshipful the Mayor . . . of the City of Waterford . . . by . . . Willm. Richards and Ber. Scalé 1764." 23½ x 16½ inches.

A beautifully engraved plan, showing streets, houses, gardens, churches, chapels, public buildings, parishes, the city wall, and arms of the city. A number of ships and boats are shown at the quays and in the river.

14. A PLAN OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS OF WATERFORD from an actual survey by Willm. Richards and Berd. Scalé, Land Surveyors, 1764. P. Halpin, sculpt. Dedicated "To the Right Honourable John Villiers . . . by . . . Willm. Richards and Ber. Scalé." 40 x 27½ inches.

A fine map of the country round Waterford, but on too small a scale for detail of the city, which occupies only 2 x 1½ inches of the map.

15. A POOR COPY OF THE PLAN issued in Tindal's continuation of Rapin's History, 1744.

Published in "The History of England . . . By N. Tindal . . . London: Printed for John Harrison . . . 1789. fol.

#### VIEWS.

16. WATERFORD, A BISHOP'S SEE, commodiously seated on the River Sure, which brings up ships of the greatest Burthen before its Key, for the fineness of which this city is particularly noted.

From "A Description of the Kingdom of Ireland" accompanying "A Mapp of the Kingdom of Ireland . . . by Henry Pratt." (1705).

17. To the Gent<sup>l</sup>. of the Common Council of the City of Waterford this South Prospect of that City is humbly Presented by . . . Ch. Smith. A. Chearnley . . . delint. G. King . . . sculpt. Dublin, 1746. 23½ x 5½ inches.

In "The Antient and Present State of the City of Waterford . . . By Charles Smith . . . Dublin, 1746. 8vo.

18. WATERFORD. [Drawn by] J. Fisher, 1772. 10 x 7½ inches.

A distant view of Waterford from the west.

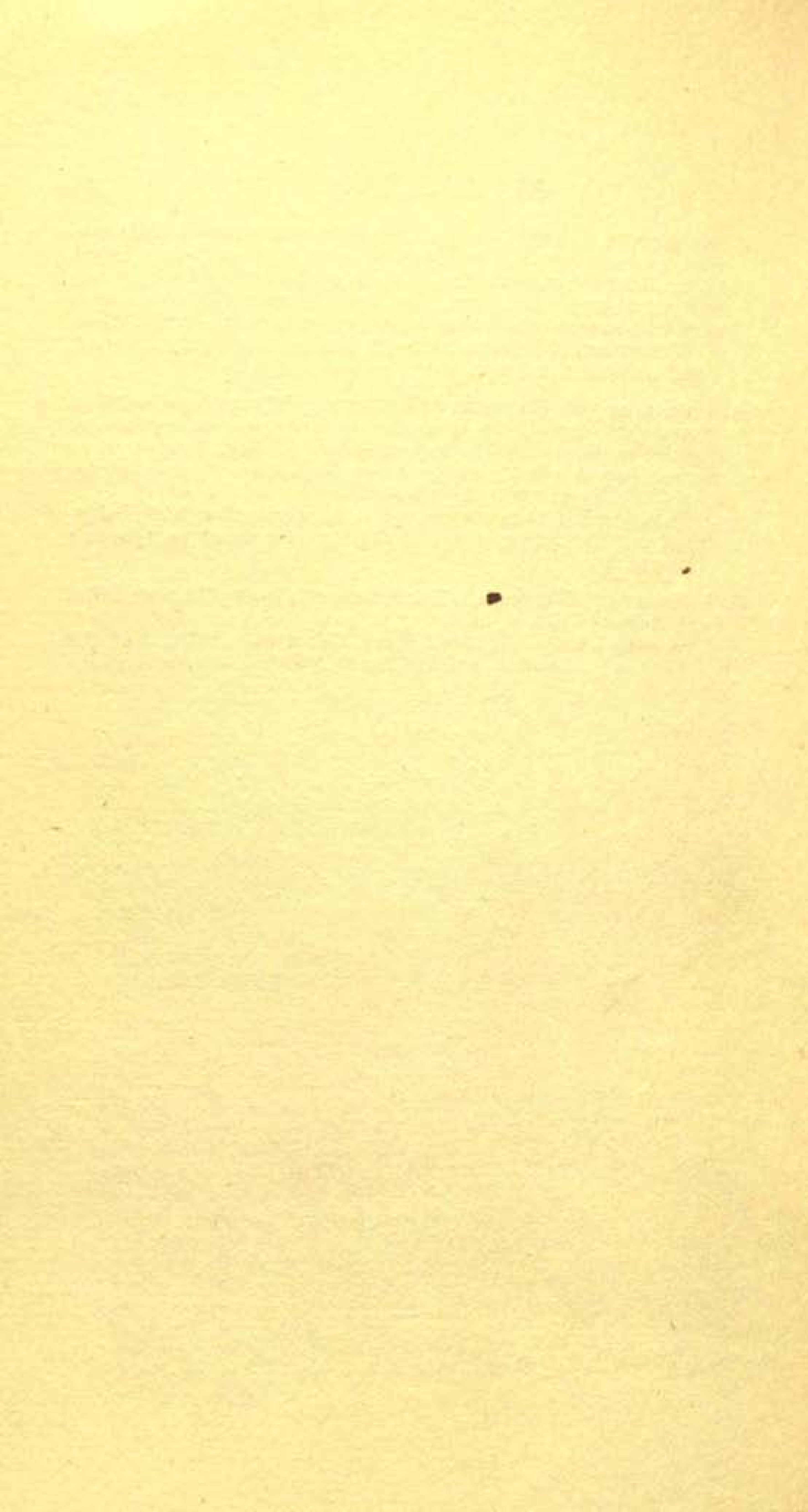
19. A SOUTH VIEW OF WATERFORD. P. Sandby, R. A. Pinxt, C. Duponchel. sculpt.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  inches.  
Published as the Act directs, by G. Kearsly, in Fleet Street, May 1, 1779.  
In *The Virtuosi's Museum ; containing Select Views...*  
Drawn by P. Sandby, Esq., R.A., London ... 1778. With a page of descriptive text.
20. A VIEW OF REGINALD'S TOWER [Waterford]. Medland sc.  $7 \times 5$  inches.  
Published March 29, 1791, by S. Hooper, Holborn.  
In "*The Antiquities of Ireland.*" By Francis Grose ... London ... 1791. Accompanied by two pages of text.
21. EAST VIEW OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD. T. S. Roberts del. S. Alken fecit. London : Published by T. S. Roberts, Decr. 10, 1795.  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
A chromo-lithographic view at sunset.
22. WEST VIEW OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD. T. S. Roberts, delt. J. W. Edy, aquat. London : Published Decr. 10, 1795, by S. T. Roberts.  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
A chromo-lithographic view, showing bridge across the river.
23. THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PETER'S, WATERFORD. T. Malton, senr., del. John Roberts, sculpt.  $16\frac{3}{4} \times 12$  in.  
A very fine view of the interior of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, looking east.
24. CITY OF WATERFORD. Drawn by Edward Hayes. Etched by W. Brooke. London : Published by John Murray, July, 1824.  $14 \times 6$  inches.  
In "*The History ... of the City of Waterford*" ... by the Rev. R. H. Ryland. London ... 1824. 8vo.  
View showing the river front of Waterford.

## CHARTS.

25. A NEW CHART, BEING AN ACTUAL SURVEY OF THE HARBOURS OF RINESHARK AND WATERFORD to the confluence of the Rivers Sure and Barrow, and sea coast to them adjacent ... Inscribed to the Rt. Worshipful Heny. Mason, Esqr., Mayor, anno 1735 ... By ... Wm. Doyle, hidrographer. Emanl. Bowen Londini, sculpt ... Published ... January 25, 1738.  $28\frac{1}{2} \times 22$  in.  
A very fine Chart of Waterford Harbour, with the Arms of the City of Waterford; Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford; John Mason; Thos. Christmas; Alexander Alcock; W. Lingen, of Dublin; Mr. Edmond Field, of Lisbon; Edward Stephens, Esqr.; Alexander Boyd; Elizabeth Viscountess of Donerayle and Baroness of Kilmeaden; John Ottrington; Sr. John Fortescue; and Brice Seede of Britton in Gloucestershire.



26. AN ACTUAL SURVEY OF THE HARBOUR AND RIVER OF WATERFORD AND OF THE BAY OF TRAMORE; with the adjacent coast, from Great Newtown Head to Bagenbon Head. London: Published 12th May, 1794, by Laurie and Whittle... with additions to 1808. Nautical miles, 3 [=6 inches].  $27\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
Very much like Doyle's Chart, but not so highly finished, and without the Arms.
27. A PLAN OF THE HARBOUR OF ROSSE AND WATERFORD, with ye Rivers that come into it as far as they are Navigable by Lighters or Boats. With a description of Both Ports and ye Market Towns situate on ye severall Rivers. Surveyed by John Cliffe, Esqr., 1725.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$  inches.  
A somewhat roughly drawn map giving but little information. Extending from Waterford Harbour to Queen's County.
28. A CHART OF WATERFORD HARBOUR. Scale of 3 English miles [=2 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches]  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7$  in.  
A very nicely engraved inset Chart on; "Chart of the Irish Sea" ... London, printed for D. Steele ... 1st April, 1796.





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