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Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta agus Staire Phort Láirge

Cover Illustrations

Front Cover: The thirteenth-century Choristers' Hall, one of the recently conserved medieval undercrofts in Waterford, part of the city's new Medieval Museum. *Photograph by John Power.*

Back Cover: Façade of the Waterford's new Medieval Museum.
Photograph by Michelle Brett.

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Annual Lunch 2011: Michael Walsh, Waterford City Manager; Michael Maher, PRO, WAHS; Béatrice Payet, Hon Sec WAHS.

Kristin Jameson who lectured on Tourin House and Gardens at the 2011 Annual Lunch with George Kavanagh and Michael Maher.

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Anthony Kinsella, who lectured on the Waterford submariner E.J. Thornton, with Fergus Dillon chairman and Erica Fay committee member.

Brendan Delaney, who lectured on the Ardnacrusha hydroelectric project, with Fergus Dillon.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ba bhreá liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le gach éinne a chabhraigh liom iris na bliana seo a fhoilsiú – coiste an chumainn, an coiste eagarthóireachta agus go háirithe údair na n-alt. Dóibh siúd go léir mo mhíle buíochas.

Eddie Synnott who typeset the journal and scanned the images once again deserves the gratitude of the society.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies* 69 (2013) is 1 May 2013. **Articles received after that date will be held over for publication in the following year's journal.**

Dar ndóigh beidh fáilte roimh altanna as Gaeilge nó as Béarla.

For further information on the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society see our website: http://waterford-history.org/

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WAHS member David Curtis, from Australia, photographed with Eddie Synnott, vice chairman WAHS.

Erica Fay, committee member WAHS who delivered the September lecture on Captain William McCleverty, Royal Navy, photographed with Kevin Hall and Sonny Condon, committee members.

James Eogan, NRA and Dr Elizabeth Shee Towhig who delivered a joint lecture on the archaeological excavations on the N25 Waterford Bypass, with Eddie Synnott, vice chairman, WAHS.

List of Contributors

Erica Fay is a native of Waterford and works at Christ Church Cathedral in the city. She has been a member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society since 1988.

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

Dermot Power is a native of Waterford and has worked as a master-cutter in Waterford Crystal and as a professional musician. His published works include *Ballads and Songs of Waterford* (2 volumes), *The Street Where You Live*, *Historical Photographs and Anniversaries of Waterford City*. He was a contributor to *The Famine in Waterford: Teacht na bPrátaí Dubha* (Geography Publications/ Waterford County Council, 1995) and is a frequent contributor to *Decies* as well as the *Munster Express* and Waterford Local Radio. He is current researching a social history of Waterford from 1800.

Ben Murtagh leading a group of members at a flooded Kells Priory Co Kilkenny on a very wet June evening.

WAHS members braving the elements on a trip to the passage grave at Knockroe Co Kilkenny, led by Joe Sullivan on the 28th June.

Society outing to Graiguenamanagh and Duiske led by Owen Doyle.

Ursula Hughes who lectured on Rosmund Jacob photographed with Michael Maher PRO and Fergus Dillon, chairman.

Dr John M Hearne who led members of the society on the Thomas Francis Meagher trail in Waterford photographed outside the Bishop's Palace, with the new Medieval Museum in the background on fine August evening.

Did Bishop Malchus of Waterford resign because of the Synod of Raithbreasail?

Dónal O'Connor

The Synod of Raithbreasail in 1111 was of great importance in the twelfth-century reform of the Irish Church, in establishing for the first time the episcopal sees of Ireland, their names and territorial boundaries. The new structure had two archbishops: one in Armagh for the northern half of the country *(Leath Chuinn)* who was also the primate of Ireland; the other archbishop had his see at Cashel, for the southern half of Ireland *(Leath Mogha)*.

At the end of the decrees of the synod the three most important signatories were: Gille Easpuig, bishop of Limerick and papal legate in Ireland; Cellach, coarb of Patrick and primate of Ireland; Máel Íosa Ua hAinmire, archbishop of Cashel, whom most historians today identify with Malchus, who had been consecrated bishop of Waterford by Anselm at Canterbury in 1096. This identification, however, was not accepted by Patrick Power,[1] and the present writer also has reservations about it.

The primary political promoter of the synod was Muirchertach Ua Briain, King of Munster and high king of Ireland with opposition. Ten years before Raithbreasail this man had made a gift of Cashel to the Church and moved his residence from there to Limerick, and it was through his patronage that Gille Easpuig became bishop of Limerick.

There were two Irish bishops, however, for whom the new Irish structures presented serious difficulties. One was Bishop Samuel of Dublin, the other was Malchus, the first bishop of Waterford. Both had been consecrated in 1096 by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all Britain. And both these Irish bishops were required to make a solemn promise of canonical obedience to Anselm and to his successors at Canterbury.

By subscribing, however, to the new Irish hierarchical structures of Raithbreasail, both of these bishops would have to switch their allegiance (or canonical obedience) from Canterbury to Ireland. Samuel refused to make this change, and the diocese of Dublin is not listed among the other Irish dioceses named at the Synod of Raithbreasail.

But Raithbreasail presented difficulties not only for these two bishops but for the clergy and the people of their diocese, whose loyalty to Canterbury and their intense opposition to the new Irish order is vividly illustrated in the letter they

1 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Dioceses*, (Dublin & Cork, 1937), pp. 379-80.

wrote to Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury, after the death of Bishop Samuel on 4 July 1121. The clergy and citizens of the city of Dublin elected a young deacon Gregorius (Gréine) and sent him to Canterbury pleading with Archbishop Ralph to consecrate him as bishop of Dublin:

> We have always submitted ourselves to the rule of your predecessors, from whom we record our people received ecclesiastical dignity. You may know indeed that the bishops of Ireland have great animosity towards us, and especially that bishop who resides in Armagh, *because we do not wish to obey their decree, but we wish to be always under your rule* (quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus).

So we ask you now to promote Gregorius to the holy order of episcopacy, if you wish to retain that diocese which we have saved for you for a long time.[2]

This letter claims to be sent from 'all the citizens of the City of Dublin and the whole assembly of the clergy'. They make no claim to be a suffragan diocese of Canterbury; the basis of their request is that 'we do not wish' *(nolumus)* to be subject to the Irish church, but 'we wish' *(volumus)* to be subject to Canterbury.

Their fear of being taken over by the Irish hierarchy was dramatically justified by the arrival in Dublin in 1121 of Cellach, archbishop of Armagh soon after the death of Bishop Samuel in an attempt to take possession of Dublin for the Irish church. This event is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* and in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (1121):

> Cellach, successor of Patrick took possession of the bishopric of Dublin by choice of the Foreigners and the Irish.[3]

But Cellach's intervention did not succeed, and Gregorius was, after some delay, consecrated by Ralph, in October 1121, and made the promise to obey Ralph and all his successors at Canterbury in all things. So Gregorius returned to Dublin, where he was at first refused entry by the pro-Armagh group and was obliged to return to the hospitality of Ralph at Canterbury. He was eventually restored to his diocese and had a long tenure there until his death in 1161, when he was succeeded by Laurence O'Toole.

The Clergy and People of the Town of Waterford 1096 –1111

What took place in the city of Dublin in 1121 is certainly an amazing event in the history of the Irish church: that the clergy and people of that city could, on their own, defy the expressed will of the Irish hierarchy and succeed in having their own chosen candidate, Gregarius, consecrated bishop. A daring expression of their will and determination not to obey *(nolumus obedire)* the Irish hierarchy.

2 Ussher, *Works IV, Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Epistola XL, p. 100.

3 Ceallach, comarba Phátraic, do gabháil espugóide Atha Cliath a togha Gall agus Gaoidheal, (*Annals of Ulster*).

Turning now to the clergy and people of the town of Waterford, we may note that we are dealing with a small city bishopric, situated in the so-called Viking Triangle in an area of approximately fifteen acres where the river Suir was then joined by St. John's River. Like the city of Dublin they had a strong Norse community, a community that referred to themselves as a town *(oppidum)*, just as Dublin spoke of their city *(civitas)*, within well-defined boundaries which marked them off from the surrounding Gaelic population. As a result they could organise their social and religious life in a very efficient way.

This is reflected also in the letter to Anselm from 'the clergy and people of the town of Waterford' *(clerus et populus oppidi Wataferdiae)* in 1096 informing him that 'we and our king Muirchertach and Bishop Donal and Diarmait our governor... have chosen the priest Malchus, and we beg that he may be consecrated as our bishop'. Then they explain what they see as the important functions of a bishop as a spiritual leader of his people: an army does not risk the dangers of war, nor a ship the dangers of sea, without a leader. 'How then can our little ships, committed to the billows of the world, do battle against the bold enemy without a pastor?'

Their imagery, taken from their military and maritime experience, betokens the fighting spirit of their Viking ancestors.

Their aloofness from their Irish neighbours was expressed in their choice of a monk from an English monastery (Winchester) rather than from the great monastery of nearby Lismore for example. And they chose Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury as Malchus' consecrator rather than the highly respected Bishop Domhnall Ua h-Enna or Bishop Mael Muire Ua Dunáin who later presided at the first synod of Cashel in 1101. Both of these bishops would have been known to the clergy and people of Waterford and were signatories of the letter to Anselm supporting Malchus' consecration.[4]

Malchus was consecrated by Anselm in Canterbury on the 28 December 1096. And on that occasion he made a Promise of Obedience 'in all things' *('per omnia')*[5] to Anselm and all his successors, thus establishing a sacred bond between Malchus and the see of Canterbury.

John McErlean, however, considers that Bishop Malchus and his diocese amicably became an integral part of the Irish Church, just as did Limerick (which also had a large Norse-Irish community).[6]

But there were two differences between Waterford & Limerick which militate against such a view: the clergy and people of Limerick had not requested Anselm to consecrate a bishop for their diocese, and Gille (Gilbert) had not been consecrated by Anselm and had made no promise of obedience to him and his successors at Canterbury. So there was no canonical bond between Gilbert and Canterbury.

And how did the clergy and people of the town of Waterford react to Raithbreasail? There is no record of their opposition to being incorporated into the

4 M. Rule (ed.). *Eadmer: Historia Novorum* (London, Rolls Series, 1884) pp. 76-77.

5 A transcript of Malchus' promise is preserved in a scroll in the Canterbury Archives, ChAnt C 117/10.

6 J. McErlean, 'Synod of Raith Breasail'. *Archivium Hibernicum* 3 (1914), p. 4.

new Irish order, but the absence of records on this matter is of little significance in view of the paucity of documentary evidence for that period. Only in 1121 does the evidence emerge of the strong determination of the clergy and citizens of Dublin to remain loyal to Canterbury in the year of the Synod of Rathbreasail.

But the clergy and people of the town of Waterford were a force to be respected, and may well have expected their bishop Malchus, whom they had chosen in 1096, to stay loyal to Canterbury. The result for Malchus was that he may have been under pressure both from his promise of obedience and also from the people of his diocese. So there are two compelling reasons why Malchus may have refused to participate in the new Irish hierarchy: the pressure from the clergy and citizens of Waterford who had elected him and, who, like their compatriots in Dublin, could be very determinedly 'pro-Canterbury', and secondly his oath of obedience to Anselm and his successors in Canterbury.

Malchus may indeed have hoped to follow the example of Samuel who, in spite of pressure, both clerical and political, succeeded in retaining the bond with Canterbury. Malchus, however, had a further pressure with which Samuel did not have to contend, viz. the presence in Waterford City of the king's brother Diarmait, governor *(dux)* of Waterford, who bore a life-long hostility towards the king, whom he eventually dethroned. Malchus, of course, would feel obliged to support the king in any dispute with Diarmait and so could incur the wrath of the governor, a factor which may have made his ministry in Waterford very difficult, if not intolerable. This would compare with the departure of Bishop Mael Muire Ua Dúnáin from his position of bishop-counsellor of the king, when, in 1116, Diarmait had forced the king into retirement. Bishop Ua Dúnáin was outraged at Diarmait's treachery 'and vowed vengeance on him' and retired to the monastery of Clonard where he died a year later. And Diarmait may also have brought pressure to bear on Malchus to relinguish his loyalty to Canterbury.

What was Malchus's response to this difficult situation? The generally held view at present is that Malchus accepted the new situation, and that he was promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel, the newly established metropolitan see, and that he signed the degrees of Raithbreasail as Mael Ísu Ua hAinmire, supposedly the Irish form of his name. After some time (how long?) in Cashel, Malchus is thought to have transferred back to Waterford where he served until his death in 1135. Since the diocese of Waterford was, by the decision of the Synod of Rathbreasail, amalgamated with Lismore, Malchus could have resided in Lismore and that is where he was at the time of his death in 1135 (AFM).

Unlike Dublin, Waterford is indeed listed in the decrees of the synod under the name 'The see of Lismore or Waterford', in which its one bishop may reside in either Lismore or Waterford. This see became a suffragan diocese of the newly established metropolitan dioceses of Cashel, and its bishop, as a suffragan of that metropolitan, owed canonical obedience to Cashel. But Bishop Malchus had already pledged his obedience to Anselm and all his successors at Canterbury,[7] and

7 The text of Malchus' promise is: 'I, Malchus, elect of the church of Waterford, and due to be consecrated by you, reverend father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church

may have felt he could not subscribe to the new Irish Church order. The mission for which he had received his *exeat* from his monastery had been nullified.

One solution is that he may have returned to the monastic life, most probably at Winchester. As a monk who had been raised to the episcopacy he had retained his membership of the Benedictine order, and had been entitled to wear the monastic habit during his episcopacy. He may have returned to Winchester, living there 'in the habit and commitment of a monk' *(in habitu et proposito monachali)* to use St. Bernard's phrase, and that he continued like this for some years until he was appointed to the see of Lismore. This, I suggest, is what St. Bernard implies in his statement about Malchus: 'He was of Irish nationality, but he had lived in England in the habit and commitment of a monk in the Monastery of Winchester, from where he was taken up to be the bishop into Lismore, a city of Munster'.[8]

St. Bernard may indeed have learnt of Malchus' Waterford episcopacy, and, if so, he implied that Malchus, on returning to the monastic life did not exercise any episcopal ministry in that monastery, but lived the life of a simple monk under Bishop William of Winchester.

As a bishop in Waterford and later in Lismore he could continue to wear the Benedictine habit but would not be able to observe the monastic *propositum* which means the commitment to God alone in prayer, leaving aside all the pastoral activities of the diocese. Writing on the vocation of monks, Gille (Gilbert) of Limerick wrote 'it is not the task of monks to baptise, to give communion or to minister any thing ecclesiastic to the laity unless, in case of necessity they obey the command of the bishop. Their commitment *(propositum)* is to God alone, having left secular things to be free for prayer'.[9]

I suggest that Bernard may have deliberately used the distinction between the habit and the *propositum* to signify that if Malchus resigned his see in Waterford, he did not, on resuming the monastic life at Winchester, perform any episcopal ministry in that diocese, but lived as a monk subject to Bishop William, just as he had under Walchelin, who had granted permission to 'my monk Malchus' to leave the monastery to be consecrated in Canterbury by Anselm 1096.

But Bernard's real focus was on Malachy, not Malchus, and his interest in Malchus is confined to the latter's Lismore period, where Malchus' influence on Malachy and many others was most beneficial.

St. Bernard's sentence has challenged the ingenuity of scholars over many years. H.J. Lawlor, for example, in a footnote to this text simply says: 'An error

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of Canterbury and bishop-primate of all Britain, do promise to observe canonical obedience in all things to you and all your canonical successors.' (My translation) The text is in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Ch Ant C 117/10.

8 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol.III (Rome, Editiones Cistercenses, 1963) 316,317: 'Hic erat quidem Hibernus, sed in Anglia conversatus fuerat in habitu et proposito monachali Wintoniensi monasterio, de quo assumptus est in episcopum in Lesmor civitatem Mumuniae.

9 See John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick* (Dublin, 2001) pp. 66, 148.

for Waterford. It is explained by, and confirms, the suggestion that Malchus transferred the see (of Waterford) to Lismore'.[10]

But J. Lanigan is still impressed by the authority of St. Bernard and even speculates that there may have been two monks by the name of Malchus in Winchester, both ordained bishop, one for Lismore (as Bernard notes) and the other for Waterford. Lanigan concedes, however, that 'the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide on it.' He insists however, that 'St. Bernard says that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore,[11] and in this I think he was correct.

A third approach was that Malchus, while bishop of Waterford, spent long periods in Lismore, playing an active part in the great school there, where his wisdom and theological culture was much appreciated.[12]

For a fourth opinion we may consider Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. commenting on the sentence just quoted from St. Bernard's *Vita Malachiae*. He identifies Malchus with Máel Íosa Ua hAinmire who was present at Raithbreasail as archbishop of Cashel, and says 'from this place it is clear that shortly after the synod he was translated into Lismore'[13] (my translation). This, I suggest, would be a fairly long journey for Malchus to reach Lismore after spending time in Waterford and Cashel, and would take at least fourteen years (1096 –1111) to accomplish, stretching the meaning of Bernard's phrase 'from Winchester into Lismore' well beyond normal limits. Nevertheless, Gwynn's solution does deserve serious consideration.

Some scholars, like Robert T. Meyer, make no comment on Bernard's silence on Malchus as bishop in Waterford. He translates the difficult sentence 'from there (i.e. Winchester) he was raised to episcopal rank at Lismore, a Munster town',[14] which gives the impression that Malchus was consecrated bishop in Lismore. But Malchus had received episcopal rank at Canterbury, and would not have required a second episcopal consecration.

All the scholars quoted above experienced great difficulty with Bernard's sentence. None of them, however, envisaged the possibility that Malchus, because of his promise of loyalty to Canterbury, declined to take part in the new Irish order, and that he returned to his monastery at Winchester. And none of them envisaged the possibility of Malchus' return to Ireland at a later date to take up the bishopric of Lismore.

10 H.J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy*, (London, 1920), p. 19 and footnote 3.

11 John Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. IV, (Dublin, 1822), p. 75.

12 Donal O'Connor, Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford. *Decies* (2005) 123-150.

13 "Ex hoc loco patet Malchum mox post synodum ad sedem episcopatus Liismorensis translatum fuisse" (Aubrey Gwynn, in his Latin commentary accompanying the critical edition of the *Vita Malachiae* already referred to, pp. 316, 317).

14 Robert T. Meyer, *The Life and Death of St. Malachy the Irishman* (Kilmazoo, 1978) 24. Meyer's 'episcopal rank' would require 'episcopatum' not 'episcopum' in Bernard's text.

It is this *second* appointment of Malchus to Ireland, I suggest, that Bernard is dealing with. And just as Malchus' appointment to Waterford in 1096 was preceded by negotiations between Ireland, Winchester and Canterbury, so too his later appointment to Lismore would have required delicate diplomacy, for which, however, in the absence of documentary evidence, one can only speculate.[15]

Gilbert (Gille) and the Gift of Pearls

If Malchus did resign the bishopric of Waterford because of his loyalty to Canterbury what influenced him later to accept the see of Lismore, where his ministry in the 1120s and 1130s is attested by St. Bernard?

One possible answer may be that the diocesan structures of the Synod of Raithbreasail had not received papal approval until almost thirty years after the Synod, and even then the pope refused to grant the pallia for the metropolitan sees, Armagh and Cashel. Gilbert, though a leader of the Irish Reform, was privately an admirer of Canterbury. For Gilbert, I suggest, the true reform of the Irish Church lay in close association with the see of Canterbury.

The only recorded meeting between Gilbert and Malchus took place in 1132 when, as Bernard relates, Gillebertus as 'legate of the Apostolic See throughout all Ireland' and Bishop Malchus of Lismore convened the bishops and princes of the land, and approached Bishop Malachy to persuade him, even oblige him, to return to Armagh in spite of the strong opposition to him there.[16] Malachy did return and eventually achieved acceptance there.

Who was Gilbert? Very little is known about him. He was probably a member of the largely Norse-Irish community of the city of Limerick. He was consecrated bishop of Limerick in 1106, under the patronage of the most powerful king in Ireland then, Muircherteach Ua Briain. But by whom and where he was consecrated is not known, nor indeed where he had trained for the priesthood, perhaps in France, where, as a young priest he had met Archbishop Anselm in Rouen, a meeting of which Anselm wrote in his letter to Gilbert: 'We have formerly known each other and shared in friendship *(dilectione sociati sumus)*'.[17]

Anselm's letter is a reply to a letter from Gilbert and a gift to Anselm of twenty-five pearls 'some of high quality and some of poorer sort,[18] and Gilbert describes these as 'a little gift *(munusculum)* of my poverty and my devotion'.

Gilbert's letter must be the most miserable piece of *Béal Bocht* (poor mouth) ever written by an Irish bishop.

The pearls were nevertheless 'a gift of my devotion'. One cannot avoid the impression that Gilbert was a great admirer of Anselm, and indeed of the see of

15 The same must be said in respect of the commonly accepted view that Malchus moved from Waterford to Cashel. A move like this would surely have required negotiations with both Winchester and Canterbury, and it is hardly credible that Malchus, in 1111, would have felt free to accept such a change without the amicable consent of his former superiors. No documentary evidence of such exists.

16 Bernard, *Vita*, X, 20.

17 Ussher, *Sylloge*, pp. 62-3.

18 'inter optimas et viliores', Ussher, *Sylloge*, p. 61.

Canterbury, and may indeed in 1106 have preferred if his own diocese of Limerick were as closely bound to Canterbury as Dublin and Waterford were. But circumstances had prevented this – in particular the fact that his patron, the king, had, by the year of Raithbreasail (1111) strongly supported the Church Reform which no longer looked to Canterbury. The turning point seems to have been effected by the emergence on the Irish scene of Cellach who, in 1106, became bishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland. He and Muirchertach together presented a powerful impetus which was resisted only by the diocese of Dublin, which continued its loyalty to Canterbury instead of Armagh.

At the Synod of Raithbreasail Gilbert was present as papal legate for Ireland, according to Keating, and in that capacity must have, possibly prior to the Synod, had discussions with the two Irish bishops, Malchus and Samuel, for whom the decisions of the Synod posed serious problems – since both of these prelates had in 1096 pledged then their loyalty to Canterbury. Gilbert would probably have been sympathetic to their situation and would have known of their former links with Anselm (who had died in 1109). In the case of Dublin, which had a long association with Canterbury, going back to 1074 when Bishop Patrick of Dublin was consecrated, and when the clergy and people of the city of Dublin were determined to continue this association (as became dramatically clear in the turmoil of 1121) the decision may have been arrived at that Dublin diocese could continue to maintain the *status quo* during the lifetime of Bishop Samuel.

As Aidan Breen[19] has suggested Samuel may well have considered himself to be a suffragan of Canterbury even though Anselm never explicitly claimed jurisdiction beyond all Britain. Still the oath of obedience taken by Samuel (and Malchus) was identical with that taken by the suffragans of Canterbury. And since, in the year 1096 and previously, no metropolitan see had been canonically established in Ireland, it was proper for Anselm to bind the two Irish bishops to Canterbury as to their metropolitan.

The duty of obedience to the metropolitan is of the essence of suffraganship, and this relationship can be described without using the term 'suffraganship', as is clear from Gilbert's *De Statu Ecclesiae* where, in his detailed description of the hierarchic grades he writes of bishops who are subject to their archbishop (*'archiepiscopo subjunguntur)*[20] without using the term 'suffragan'. In view of this, both Samuel and Malchus may have considered themselves virtually suffragans of Canterbury, even though their dioceses had not been canonically constituted as suffragan dioceses of that see.

Moreover, during Samuel's episcopacy he received correction from Anselm concerning faults in his administration and was commanded by Anselm to remedy these defects. Anselm dealt with Samuel just as if the latter was a suffragan of Canterbury. Once Samuel died (1121) however all this changed – and Dublin had no longer any quasi-suffragan relationship with Canterbury. And, significantly, the

19 Aidan Breen IDB (RIA) p. 587.

20 Gille, De Statu Ecclesiae, lines 63-68: Apud John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick* (Dublin, 2001) p. 151.

Dublin letter of 1121 to Canterbury requesting the consecration of their chosen candidate, Gréine, did not base their request on a suffragan relationship, but simply on their decision to stay loyal to Canterbury: 'We wish *(volumus)* to obey you; we do not wish *(nolumus)* to obey them (the Irish bishops).

Waterford's relationship with Canterbury was, on the other hand, relatively recent (1096) when compared to Dublin, and the clergy and people of the town of Waterford did not have any long-standing bond with Canterbury, nor with any other metropolitan in the years running up to the Synod of Raithbreasail. Gilbert may have tried to persuade them that by entering the new pattern set out by the Synod they would not have lost their beneficial relationship with Canterbury, just as he himself still enjoyed the friendship of Anselm, as confirmed in Anselm's letter to him. And in this same letter, after a brief sentence thanking Gilbert for his gift *(munus)*, Anselm even gave pastoral guidance to Gilbert, to root out the evil and to sow and plant good conduct in his diocese, and also to influence the king and other bishops for good. Thus Gilbert could prove to the clergy and people of Waterford, that a diocese like Limerick, where a bishop had not been consecrated by Anselm and who had make no promise of obedience to him, could enjoy the friendship and also the pastoral guidance of Canterbury.

And Anselm, in giving pastoral guidance to the young bishop of Limerick, is careful not to use the language of command *(mando)*, as he did in his letter to Samuel of Dublin, but rather the more gentle 'With confidence I venture *(audeo)* to entreat you'.

1115, Gilbert in England, 'A Suffragan of Canterbury'

Gilbert's close bond with Canterbury was also illustrated during his visit to England in the year 1115 for the consecration of Bernard, chaplain to Queen Matilda, as bishop of St. Davids in Wales. The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey (19 September 1115). Among the six suffragans of the Church of Canterbury who took part in the ceremony were, first, William of Winchester and finally Gilbert, bishop of Limerick in Ireland *(Gislibertus Lumniensis de Hibernia)*.[21]

That Gilbert is listed among the suffragans of Canterbury is most surprising, and is generally regarded as an invention of Eadmer, himself a monk of Canterbury and happy to aggrandise its importance. But it may also reflect the expansionist policy of the see of Canterbury and of Archbishop Ralph himself, and the stretching of the meaning of terms like suffragan and metropolitan beyond their canonical boundaries. An example of the latter had taken place in Winchester as recently as 1093, when Bishop Walchelin was reading out the official announcement of Anselm's election to Canterbury, which claimed to be 'the metropolitan of all Britain'. At which point, Thomas, archbishop of York, interrupted, saying 'If Canterbury is the metropolitan of all Britain, then York, which is known to be a metropolitan, is not a metropolitan at all'. And at this the assembly of bishops present changed the offending text to 'primate of all Britain'.[22]

21 M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmer, Historia Novorum*, (London, Rolls Series, 1884) 42, p. 236.

22 M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmer: Historia Novorum* , 'Si totius Britanniae metropolitana, ecclesia Eboracensis quae metropolitana esse scitur, metropolitana non est'.

Ralph had been a friend of Anselm's since they met in Bec in 1106. Anselm made him bishop of Rochester in 1108, and, when Anselm was dying the following year, Ralph came to be with him, and it was Ralph who attended to the affairs of Canterbury during the four years between Anselm's death and the appointment of the new archbishop of Canterbury, the new appointment being Ralph himself. His main pre-occupation in those years was to continue to press for a profession of obedience from Thurstan, archbishop-elect of York, to the archbishop of Canterbury. And in this context Ralph set out his case in a letter to Pope Callistus II (in 1119) on the privileges and rights of Canterbury which embraced not only its primacy over York but over Ireland, Scotland and Wales as well.

He relied heavily on Bede's[23] account of Archbishop Laurence who succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, and who showed his zeal not merely in the conversion of the English, 'but also in extending his pastoral care' *(pastoralem sollicitudinem)* to the original inhabitants of Britain, and to the Irish who inhabited Ireland, the next land to Britain.

Archbishop Ralph, quoting this passage from Bede argues that the see of Canterbury has never ceased 'in its pastoral care *and primacy of Britain and Ireland*', thus extending the original text of Bede which spoke only of pastoral care *(pastoralem sollicitudinam)* by adding the primacy etc.

This statement indicates that Ralph was claiming some kind of primacy over the Irish Church – a claim earlier made by Lanfranc in a letter to Pope Alexander II, and based also on the text of Bede, which, Lanfranc claims, shows that for a period of about 140 years (i.e. from the time of Augustine down to Bede's own time) 'my predecessors have exercised a primacy over the church of York and the whole island of Britain, and also over Ireland'.[24] M. T. Flanagan observes that Lanfranc was the first holder of an English see to use the title *primas*, a term which Gilbert explains was the equivalent of patriarch *apud Orientales*, this latter term being restricted, however, in Isidore's *Etymologies* to the apostolic sees of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria.[25] So Lanfranc, conscious of the new prestige he enjoyed with the title primate, felt entitled to exact from Thomas, archbishop-elect of York, an oath of obedience to him as a pre-condition of his consecration by Lanfranc. In this conflict with York, Lanfranc claimed too much. Perhaps also, at this period when canonical terminology was evolving, a term like 'suffragan' could be extended to cover Bishop Samuel's relationship to Canterbury, in view of his having being consecrated by Anselm and having taken an oath of obedience to him and his successors at Canterbury.

Gilbert's case, however, was different from Samuel's, and Eadmer's reference to Gilbert as a suffragan of Canterbury, if it is correct, must have a different basis, one which may be afforded by the historian, Matthew Paris.

23 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Vol. 1, Bk. 2, Ch. 4.

24 Gesta Pontificum, p. 44, quoted by A. Gwynn, *The Church in the 11*th *and 12*th *Centuries*, (Dublin, 1992) p. 70.

25 M.T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 55 fn. 108, 56.

In addition to Eadmer's brief but surprising mention of Gilbert's presence at this consecration of Queen Matilda's chaplain, Bernard, there is a second author, Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, who outlines in some detail the episcopal ministry of Gilbert in St. Albans, and once more it involves Queen Matilda. But Paris adds the most surprising detail that Gilbert was at this time a guest of the Queen in her residence.

The episcopal functions conducted by Gilbert at St. Albans are listed by Matthew Paris: The dedication of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the church of St. Alban, also in honour of St. Blaise. And the chapel of the sick in honour of the holy martyrs Cosmos and Damian. He also dedicated the church of St. Stephen in the town of St. Albans, and even issued a charter testifying to this, beginning with the word 'Ego etc.' And he blessed a large cross in the south side of the monastery.

Matthew Paris ends this list with the statement: 'And these things were done at the request and on the authority of Abbot Richard, who sent to London for him (i.e. Gilbert, who is named as Gilebertus), while he was staying with Queen Matilda.'[26]

It is worth noting that the abbacy of Richard lasted from 1097 to 1119 and he was a contemporary of Bishop Samuel of Dublin, himself a former monk of St. Albans, but Matthew Paris does not record Gilbert's ministry in his account of the abbacy of Abbot Richard (when it actually occurred) but in his account of the abbacy of Abbot Robert (1151-66), half a century later, when the latter was in dispute with the bishop of Lincoln in whose diocese St. Albans was located. The bishop had claimed jurisdiction over the abbey, but Abbot Robert was able to show that a long tradition existed of the abbots of St. Albans acting on their own authority, independently of the local bishop. And one of the examples of this tradition was the invitation by Abbot Richard to Gilbert. And so, by sheer chance we know of Gilbert's ministry in England and his staying with the queen. And the possibility remains that Gilbert performed further ministries in England, because Matthew Paris confined his narrative to events in the abbey of which he was a monk.

If, indeed, Gilbert's ministry in England consisted not only of his attendance at the consecration of the Queen's chaplain, a one-day event, but also of an episcopal ministry at St. Albans and possibly at some other places, then he may have been following a pattern that became a feature of Irish bishops acting as suffragan bishops in English dioceses in the twelfth and to a greater extent in the thirteenth century, right up to the Reformation. A list of such bishops is headed: *Irish bishops as suffragans in England and Wales*.[27] It includes Bishop Eugene of Ardmore who served as a suffragan in Lichfield for the period September 1184 to March 1185, and whose payments are recorded in Pipe Roll 31 of King Henry II.[28] Another

26 Matthew Paris, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series (London 1867-69) Vol. 1, p. 148: Et haec facta sunt rogatn et auctoritate Ricardi Abbatis; qui pro eo misit Londonias, dum cum Regina Matilde Secunda moraretur.

27 Powicke and Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd ed. (London, 1961), pp. 269-71.

28 Dónal O'Connor, 'Eugenius, Bishop of Ardmore & Suffragan of Lichfield (1184-5)', in *Decies* 60 (2004), pp. 71-89, at 76, 77, 79.

Irish bishop, this time from the primatial see of Armagh, Archbishop Eugenius (Echdonn Mac Gille Uidir) served in Exeter and Worcester, 1207, on the authorisation of King John. Eugenius had been elected to Armagh and consecrated in 1202, served in England in 2007, and returned to Armagh; he died in 1216,[29] in Rome, shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council. It seems then that the term suffragan as used of these two Irish bishops does not imply that Ardmore or Armagh became suffragan dioceses, but that those Irish bishops observed canonical obedience to the appropriate English ordinary, for the duration of their ministry in England. If Gilbert's ministry in England had begun 1114 or early 1115, then, by the time he participated at the consecration of Bernard (19 Sept. 1115) he could be listed as a suffragan on that occasion.

Gilbert received a royal welcome, so to speak, in England in 1115 in contrast to the deplorable events that had taken place in his own city, Limerick, the previous year, when Gilherts' patron, King Muircherteach Ua Briain had fallen seriously ill, and his brother Diarmait, in a bid to depose his brother and take the kingship for himself, had the king dragged out of his sick bed and brought from his royal residence in Limerick under guard to Killaloe.

Gilbert must have feared for his own safety also, and may have decided then to leave Limerick and to go into temporary exile. King Henry and his wife Matilda may have welcomed the chance of meeting the best-informed observer of the political turmoil in Ireland. King Henry had previously had to deal with the same Irish king in 1102 when the latter supported Henry's enemies in their rebellion against him. So Henry would not be indifferent to the possible and unwelcome emergence of Diarmait Ua Briain on the Irish scene. The timing of Gilbert's departure from Limerick is unknown, but a possible date would he the end of 1114 or early in 1115, and a possible return could be after the consecration of the queen's chaplain (19 September 1115) when King Muirchertach had (temporarily) succeeded in regaining his kingdom.

Gilbert's high regard for Canterbury lasted until the end of his episcopacy (1139), and it explains his sending his chosen successor, Patricius, to Canterbury for consecration by Archbishop Theobald, where Patricius, in 1140, made the required promise of subjection and canonical obedience in all things to Theobald and all his successors.[30]

Gilbert probably hoped that Bishop Patricius's position in Limerick would be on a par with that of Bishop Gréine in Duhlin who in 1121, after the death of Bishop Samuel, had been sent to Canterbury for consecration and had taken the same kind of oath of obedience to Canterbury as Patricius.

29 F.T. Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*, Vol. IX, p. 268.

30 M. Richter, (ed.), *Canterbury Professions*, (Torquay, 1973), p. 42: Ego Patricius ad regimen ecclesie Limbricensis electus et a te, reverende pater Theobalde, sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie archiepiscope et totius Britannie primas, per gratiam Dei antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis...debitam subjectionem et canonicam obedientiam per omnia me exhibiturum fore promitto.

Malachy, Metropolitan of all Ireland.

In the year 1139 a significant event in the Irish church took place: Malachy, worried by the long delay of nearly thirty years in the pope's granting the pallia to Armagh and Cashel, went to Rome to request the pallia from Pope Innocent II. The pope refused the pallia until a general synod of the Irish Church was convened and reached a consensus on this matter. But the pope, at Malachy's request, gave his approval for the new metropolitan see of Cashel, which had been constituted by Cellach and for which papal approval had not been granted up to then.[31] Back at the time of Raithbreasail, the scholar bishop Malchus would hardly have accepted a metropolitan see that lacked papal approval. If so, then Malchus can hardly be identified with Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire, who signed himself 'archbishop of Cashel' at Raithbreasail.

This long delay of papal approval of the constitution of the metropolitan see of Cashel had another serious result for the Irish Church, which Gilbert himself had noted in his *De Statu Ecclesiae*, viz, that no archbishop can be a primate unless he has at least one other archbishop subject to him![32] And since the see of Cashel had not received not only the pallium but also papal approved as a metropolitan, the primacy of Armagh was not, strictly speaking, canonical, prior to 1139.

This accords with Bernard's statement, relating to the year 1134, when 'it was in the thirty-eighth year of his age that the poor man Malachy, after the intruder had been expelled, entered Armagh, pontiff and metropolitan of all Ireland'.[33] But Malachy could not have been *metropolitan of all Ireland* in 1134 if Ireland, at that time, had had a second metropolitan see (e.g. Cashel) with papal approval.

Bernard, in the *Vita*, uses the terms 'archiepiscopus' and 'metropolitanus' equivalently, whereas Gilbert in 'De Statu Ecclesiae' uses only 'archiepiscopus', thus avoiding a term with which the Irish church, excepting Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, were unfamiliar.

Bishop Malchus, with his experience of the English scene, would, in the years running up to the Synod of Raithbreasail, have been acutely aware that Cellach, in constituting the new metropolitan see of Cashel without papal approval, was not entitled, in Canon Law, to the use of the title primate, and Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire was not, canonically, archbishop of Cashel. One may suggest that it was Malchus who alerted the young Malachy to this defect in 1120s and particularly in 1132 when he and Gilbert persuaded him to go back to Armagh, not as primate, but as 'metropolitan of all Ireland'.

31 *Vita Malachiae*, XVI, p. 38.

32 Gilbert, *De Statu Ecclesiae*, lines 72, 73: 'ut plurimum obedient ei sex archiepiscopi, ut minimum unus'.

33 Vita Malachiae, XII.24: 'Anno aetatis suae tricesimo octavo pauper Malachias, pulso incubatore, intravit Ardmacha, pontifex et metropolitanus totius Hiberniae'.
The archbishop of Armagh became primate of Ireland once Cashel was canonically established as a second metropolitan see, subject to the first see and to its archbishop as primate (et illius archiepiscopo tamquam primati). *Vita Malachiae* XV, p. 33).

St. Bernard sets out clearly what Cellach's intentions were: that Ireland should have two metropolitan sees, one in Armagh, which would be the first see *(prima sedes)*, and 'another metropolitan see which Cellach had constituted anew, though subject to the first see and to its archbishop as primate'.[34]

Such was the intention, but the lack of papal approval for the constitution of new metropolitan see (at Cashel) resulted in Bernard's designation of Malachy as 'metropolitan of all Ireland', not primate. Bernard would have depended on Malachy's own account of his status when, in 1134, he eventually entered the city of Armagh.

St. Bernard applies the same phrase 'metropolitan of all Ireland' to St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. The context makes it clear that Patrick was, in his time, the only metropolitan in Ireland and that all were subject to him: 'not merely bishops and clergy, but also all kings and princes *are subject to the metropolitan in all obedience, and he himself presides over all*'.[35]

We may note the list of subjects begin with 'bishops'; there is no 'archbishop' (or metropolitan) included among the subjects of St. Patrick.

As H. J. Lawlor points out 'this word metropolitan was unknown in early Irish ecclesiastical terminology, and in Irish hierarchical arrangements it would have no meaning'.[36] But the word was well known in the British and continental churches, and thus to Malchus and Gilbert. And Malachy, during his sojourn in Lismore with Malchus would have become acquainted with it, and used it at his two meetings with Bernard in Clairvaux. And Bernard, in his Life of Malachy, calls both St. Patrick and (St) Malachy 'the metropolitan of all Ireland', but not 'the primate of Ireland' which would have implied the existence of another metropolitan see in Ireland.

There is no evidence that Gilbert or any other Irish prelate was sent to Rome to obtain papal approval of the decisions of Raithbreasail. Gilbert would have realised that the absence of authoritative representatives from Connaught and Leinster at Raithbreasail would pose an obstacle to papal approval, as would also the reluctance of Dublin and probably of Waterford to forsake their Canterbury connection. If Raithbreasail had been a truly national assembly of the Irish Church and had reached a consensus the pope would not have directed Malachy to convene another such assembly.

And so, in 1139, Gilbert had good reason to be unhappy about the state of the Irish Church and may have considered that some canonical bond with Canterbury was best, and sent Patricius to Archbishop Theobald for consecration.

34 Bernard, *Vita Malachiae*, XV.33 'Erat et altera metropolica sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primae tamen sedi, et illius archiepiscopo subdita, tamquam primati.'

35 St. Bernard, *Vita Malachiae*, X.19.

36 H. J. Lawlor, *Bernard: St. Malachy*, p. 45 footnote 1.

Conclusion

Because of his promise of obedience to Anselm Malchus would not have considered himself free to change his loyalty to the new Irish jurisdiction. He may well have wished to follow the example of Dublin, whose bishop Samuel who had been consecrated by Anselm and had made the same promise of obedience to Anselm and his successors at Canterbury. But Dublin incurred the hostility of Cellach and the Irish bishops for refusing to be part of the new diocesan structure set up by the Synod of Raithbreasail. And Waterford and its bishop may have been subjected to the same hostility and even more than Dublin because of the presence in Waterford city of Diarmait, the Kings brother, who was governor of Waterford, a man capable of inflicting violence even on his own sick brother.

In this very tense situation Bishop Malchus may have withdrawn from Waterford and returned to Canterbury for a period of consultation and tranquillity – just as Anselm had withdrawn to France because of the English king's anger. Or he may have resigned his bishopric and returned to his monastery at Winchester.

Finally, he may have accepted the metropolitan see of Cashel, thus terminating his canonical obedience to Canterbury. This view is widely held today, and Malchus is thought to be the Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire, archbishop of Cashel, whose signature is appended to the canons of the Synod of Raithbreasail, along with that of Gilbert and Cellach.

But if Malchus accepted the metropolitan see of Cashel he would have been obliged by Canon Law to go to Rome (or have someone else go) to seek the pallium from the pope, and also, and more urgently, to receive papal approval of the constitution of the new metropolitan see which Cellach had established probably in 1106 and 1107. But we know from Bernard that it was only in 1139 that this papal approval was granted, and that the privilege of the palls for Armagh and Cashel was withheld by Pope Innocent II. Malchus would hardly have accepted the unapproved see of Cashel, and so is unlikely to be the signee who did. And while some leaders of the Reform like Cellach may have presumed that the presence of Gilbert, the papal legate, was somehow a guarantee of papal approval, Bishop Malchus would not be so naïve.

And what of Gilbert's seeming inactivity? Why did he not go to Rome to get papal approval for Cashel? One may speculate that he was in no hurry to promote Cellach's ambition to establish the primacy of Armagh, which would have challenged the claim of Lanfranc (and later, of Ralph) to primacy over Ireland. Gilbert may have considered that the reform of the Irish Church was better served by a canonical bond with Canterbury. Finally, Gilbert realised that the Synod of Raithbreasail was not a truly national synod because important centres like Dublin, Connaught and Leinster were not represented. If Raithbreasail had been a truly national assembly and had reached a consensus there would have been no need for Pope Innocent II to direct Malachy to convene another such council as a condition for granting the pallia.

As a result of Raithbreasail the diocese of Waterford underwent a fundamental change; it was no longer an autonomous diocese, but was amalgamated with the

more prestigious see of Lismore, to be ruled by one bishop who could take his seat in either centre. But most importantly of all Waterford had now become a suffragan see of the new metropolitan see of Cashel, and its bishop would no longer have any canonical bond with Canterbury.

In all these circumstances Malchus, who was still a Benedictine monk, may have decided to return to his monastery at Winchester, and resume his monastic life there *'in habitu et proposito monachali'* i.e. without exercising any episcopal functions and subject to Bishop William of Winchester, just as he had been previously subject to Bishop Walkelin until the year 1096.

There is no direct evidence that Malchus returned to Winchester and resumed monastic life there. But such a scenario would give a suitable context for Bernard's much discussed statement that Malchus was promoted from the monastery of Winchester, where had lived in the habit and commitment of a monk, into the city of Lismore as its bishop.

I have suggested above that Gilbert during his stay in England in 1115 may have, through his contacts with the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, and, of course, with Malchus himself initiated negotiations that eventually led to Bishop Malchus' return from Winchester to Lismore to be bishop there, perhaps about the year 1119. And it was in Lismore during the 1120s and 1130s that Bishop Malchus' special gifts of learning and sanctity bore fruit in his most distinguished pupil, Malachy of Armagh.

But, if this is true, what was his status in Lismore: was he the bishop of Lismore, a member of the Irish hierarchy under the primacy of Armagh? Or was he a suffragan or assistant bishop in Lismore, *sede vacante*, after the death of Daigthig (1119), in the manner in which bishops of Irish sees administered vacant sees in England? This second option would seem to accord better with Malchus' long association with the English church.

Malchus, as a suffragan bishop in Lismore, could have retained his bond with Canterbury, thanks to Gilbert's contacts with both the English and Irish hierarchies. Gilbert could have persuaded them that someone of the stature of Malchus was needed in the reform of the Irish Church. And there is no doubt that the Irish Church was blessed in the ministry of Malchus.

Epilogue

Some forty years after Raithbreasail the diocese of Waterford had already become independent of Lismore, and was represented at the Synod of Kells (1152) by its own Bishop Toistius, whose name reflects his Norse origin. Waterford had no further bond with Canterbury and remained a suffragan diocese of Cashel. This situation continued until 1363 when Waterford and Lismore were once more united, and have remained so ever since.

A note on medieval figure sculpture at the medieval parish church of Tullaghmelan

Louise Nugent

The medieval parish of Tullaghmelan is located in the Barony of Iffa and Offa West. It lies within the ancient territory of the Decies and was part of the medieval Diocese of Lismore and later the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. Today the medieval parish church sits within a small circular graveyard on a sharp bend on a small country road. It has a rectangular plan (21m E-W by 9.75m N-S) without a division of the nave and cancel. The walls are made of limestone and sandstone rubble fabric (Farrelly 2011). Two opposing doorways are located in the south and north walls. The north doorway is in poor repair but the southern doorway is well preserved (Plate 1). The latter is a carved hooded doorway made of cut limestone. Opposing doors and the use of cut limestone in the doorways are features of later medieval churches (Barry 1987, 140).[1] Hood-moulding dates to between the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries and is a common architectural feature of later medieval buildings (pers comm Flor Hurley). There are no early medieval features at the site although the church is listed in a dispute between the Archbishop of Cashel and Bishop of Lismore in 1260 and also in1302-1306 in the ecclesiastical taxation records of the diocese of Lismore, which suggests that there was an earlier church here in the thirteenth and fourteenth century (CPL; CDI). Today the church is covered in thick ivy and the ground surface within and outside the church is quite raised. Traces of windows are visible within the walls, the best preserved consisting of a central ogee-headed single-light being found in the west gable (Farrelly 2011).

Stone carving of bishop

During a recent visit to the church, an unusual piece of medieval figure sculpture depicting the head of a cleric was pointed out to me by Cahir-based archaeologist Bob Withers.

The head sits above the door in the southern wall and does not appear to be a later addition to the building. The carving depicts a bishop wearing a head dress known as a mitre (Plate 2). The face is worn, but it is still possible to see its pronounced ears and almond-shaped eyes. The nose and mouth can also be made out with difficulty being in a poorer state of preservation. The neck is long and the hat/mitre is conical in shape with three vertical ridges running to the point at the top. There is a thick band running around the base, with a possible herring-bone pattern.

1 Sandstone moulding and a western doorway suggest a date of twelfth-thirteenth centuries, (Barry 1987, 140).

Plate1: Southern doorway at Tullaghmelan Church.

Plate 2: Close up of Bishop's head showing detail on mitre.

Plate 3: Carving of Bishop at Carrickbeg Church

Effigies showing ecclesiastical vestments 'are not common in Ireland' and the majority that are recorded are found at cathedral churches and monastic sites (Hunt 1974 Vol. I, 47). Such effigies survive in a number of media, mainly stone and some metal.[2] Stone representations are found on a number of twelfth-century high crosses at Kilfenora and Dysert O Dea, in Co. Clare, Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and on gravestones as at Aghalucher, Co Fermanagh (twelfth-century date) and Corcomroe, Co. Clare. Sepulchre effigies are found at St Michans Church and Christchurch Cathedral, Co. Dublin and the tomb of Felix O'Dullany at Jerpoint Abbey, Co Kilkenny. The remaining effigies are found incorporated into church architecture, such as the head of a bishop on a capital of the west doorway at the fourteenth century Friary church at Carrickbeg, Co. Tipperary (Plate 3) and the cloister arch of Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny, and on the medieval baptismal font at the Church of St Mary's Church, Killeen, Co. Meath (*ibid*, 45-50; 97-98; Roe 1968, 60-66).

The Tullaghmellan carving was recorded in a drawing by George Du Noyer in the 1800s.[3] The carving was not recorded by John Hunt in his seminal work *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, although he does record a number of

2 See O' Floinn, R. 2006 'Bishops, liturgy and reform: some archaeological and art historical evidence', 230-232, for a discussion of metal effigies of Bishops.

3 He lists the drawing as Fig. 17 in a paper his presented to the Royal Irish Academy and subsequently published in the *Proceedings of the Irish Academy* in 1860.

effigies of bishops wearing a similar type of conical mitre.[4] These carvings span from twelfth to fourteenth century. Interestingly effigies of bishops within the Pale show the cleric wearing a mitre, rectangular in shape rising to a peak, akin to the mitre worn in the modern church. Hunt was of the opinion that the conical shaped mitre was a tradition of the Irish church i.e. the church not under Anglo-Norman control. He states:

> If we accept the evidence at its face value, the native Irish church, that is the church of the western and other districts not directly under English control, would seem to have evolved a mitre peculiar to itself, one of a high triangular shape, bordered at the bottom with a broad orphrey and topped by, and in the earlier examples, a fish-tail finial, and in the later by a trefoil. In earlier representations the mitre is considerably higher than in the later ones. (Hunt 1974, Vol. I 48)

The conical shaped mitre was a survival of what Hunt coins 'primitive' or 'unforked' mitre which has survived until today as the Papal Tiara (*ibid.*).[5] Similar carvings within the county depicting bishops include a head with a conical mitre on a capital of the west door of the fourteenth century Friary church at Carrickbeg, Co. Tipperary (Plate) and a carving of a bishop with conical hat on the High Cross at Roscrea visitor centre. An additional three carved heads of bishops were recorded by Edwin Rae (1930-1970) at Holy Cross abbey, Co. Tipperary but they are wearing the rectangular shaped mitre.

The present church at Tullaghmelan is of fifteenth-sixteenth century date. The carved head appears to have been incorporated in the wall of the church as it was being built. This means that the head was either commissioned for the building of the church or that it was brought from elsewhere and incorporated into the church as it was being built. Based on Hunt's observations similar type sculptures with conical mitres date to between the twelfth to fourteenth centuries which raises the question could the Tullaghmelan sculpture pre-dated the church? The commission of such a carving would have been expensive. The ecclesiastical taxation records of 1302-6 show that Tullaghmelan church was valued at £4 one of the lowest in the diocese of Lismore (CDI, 306). Thus Tullaghmelan was not a wealthy parish, so perhaps the sculpture was commissioned by a rich patron such as a wealthy local family.

Who does the carving represent? It is also worth noting the placename evidence for the site. The parish and church of Tullaghmelan takes its name from St Maolán (O'Riain 2011, 448; Power 1952, 164).[6] Tullaghmelan or Thulaigh Mhaoláin,

4 Additional figures include carving at Ardfert Cathedral, Co Kerry (thirteenth century date), a sarcophagus at Clones, Co. Monaghan, a Tomb at Bangher, Co. Derry, a carved doorway at Maghera, Co. Derry, and high crosses at Fassaroe, Co. Wicklow and Roscrea, Co. Tipperary (O'Floinn 2006, 231).

5 See O' Floinn, 2006 'Bishops, liturgy and reform: some archaeological and art historical evidence'.

6 Power (1952, 164) states locals believed church founded by Maolan. The saint is also associated with the church of Kilmelan in the parish of Moycarky, Co. Tipperary (O'Riain 2011, 448).

translates as the 'hillock of Maolán' (Logainm.ie : Power 1952, 164). The Ordnance Survey Letters for Tipperary of 1840 recorded the presence of a limestone carving of the bishop stating it was supposed to represent 'Maolan, Eapscop. 25 Dec' Bishop Maolan 25 Dec (O'Flanagan 1930, Vol. 1, 26). *The Dictionary of Irish Saints* notes a bishop of this name 'void of weakness', was remembered on 25th December' and was noted 'in the early medieval martyrologies but nothing else is known of him' (O'Riain 2011, 448). By the nineteenth and early twentieth century local tradition linked the carving of the bishop to the saint (O'Flanagan 1930, 26; Power 1952, 163). It is tempting to think that the bishop was commissioned for the church as a representation of the founding saint but the association of the carving and the saint may be post medieval development. It is also possible that the carving could perhaps represent a patron and that the church enjoyed the patronage of a bishop for a short time.

If the carving was commissioned for the building of the church another interesting question is why is the bishop wearing, what Hunt would term, Irish style clothing? Both Hunt (1974) and O'Floinn (2006) list no example of the Irish style mitre later then the fourteenth century so does the sculpture at Tullaghmelan represent evidence of a continuation of the Irish style of mitre into the fifteenth century?

If the sculpture was recycled, it was unlikely to have come from an earlier church on the site given the parish's lack of finances. There are a number of monastic sites located within a few kilometers of Tullaghmelan such as the Cistercian monastery of Inishlounaght[7] located at Marlfield or the monastery of Kilcommon[8] *located near* the Swiss Cottage, Cahir, Molough Abbey[9] at Newcastle or the early medieval monastery of Ardfinnan. Both Inishlounaght and Molough were in used up until the reformation so perhaps the most likely point of origin would be either that of the monastery of Ardfinnan founded by St Fíonáu Lobhar/St Fíonán the Leper in the seventh century or the Benedictine abbey of Kilcomman (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 29). Ardfinnan was an importance monastery in the early medieval period but by the thirteenth century it disappears from the documentary records while Kilcommon was abandoned in 1332 (Nugent 2009, Vol. 2, 172; Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 29).[10]

The presence of such an elaborate carving at a small parish church is unusual. It is hoped that this short note raises some important questions about the site and the sculpture, in particular that concerning patronage of the church. Further study for the site is needed before any definitive conclusions can be made.

7 The monastery was founded in 1147-48 and supressed in 1539 (Gwynn & Hadcock 1988, 122, 135).

8 Kilcommon founded 1200 and abandoned 1332 (Gwynn & Hadcock 1988, 107).

9 Molough was an early medieval nunnery possibly founded in the fifth century like many early medieval sites it fell out of use before the later medieval period and an Augustinian nunnery was founded here in the fourteenth century on the site of the original monastery by the Bulters of Cahir(Gwynn & Hadcock 1988, 398).

10 The monastery was burned by the Anglo Normans in 1178. A Franciscan monastery for conventional friars and a Carmelite priory was founded in the village in later medieval period.

Acknowledgements
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Abbreviations:
CDI Sweetman, H. S. 1875-81. *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, 4 Vols. London.

CPL *Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*. Vols. I to XIV. London, HMSO, 1893-1960; Vols. XV-XX, Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1978-2005 and in progress.

DIL *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language Published by the Royal Irish Academy*. Dublin.

OSL Ordnance Survey Letters, Mss. At Ordnance Survey Office, reprinted - O'Flanagan, Rev. M. (Complier). Bray: Typescript.

OSNB Ordnace Survey Name Books, Mss. At Ordnace Survey Office.

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Plate 1: Memorial plaque, Captain William McCleverty, Church Cathedral, Waterford.

Captain William McCleverty 1716 – 1779

Erica Fay

Introduction

On Saturday 18 December 1779, the *Dublin Evening Post* carried the following announcement, 'Died: In Waterford, Captain MacLeverty [sic]'. This brief obituary so often found in late eighteenth-century newspapers gave very little information about the man, but a plaque which some time later was erected in the newly-built Christ Church Cathedral in Waterford city reveals a little more about his remarkable life. The monument, made of white marble has an inscription which reads:-

> This Monument is erected to the Memory of
> Wm McCLEVERTY Esqr.
> of the County of Antrim
>
> He was one of those who accompanied Commodore,
> (afterwards LORD) ANSON, in his Memorable
> Expedition round the *World*; where his *Naval*
> Abilities, early recommended him to that
> Nobleman's Friendship: Under whose
> Patronage; he was raised to the rank of
> Post Captain[1] in the Royal *Navy*; in which
> Character, he added lustre to the *British* Flag;
> And achieved eminent Services to his
> *King* and *Country*.
>
> In private Life, he was eminent for every Virtue;
> Firm to his word, and steady to his Trust;
> Inflexible to ill and obstinately Just;
> After a Life, devoted to his Country; he died
> In an honourable, old Age; lamented by
> A numerous and respectable acquaintance
> At WATERFORD, the 10th of December 1779
> Aged 63 Years.

1 Post Captain, an obsolete form of rank in the Royal Navy. The term served to distinguish those who were captains by rank from officers in command of a naval vessel who were (and still are) addressed as captain regardless of rank and commanders who received the title of captain as a courtesy whether they currently had a command or not. This custom is now defunct. Once an officer had been promoted to post-captain his further promotion was strictly by seniority.

The monument features a carving of a three-masted sailing ship atop a globe, which rests on two branches, one of which appears to be a palm tree and beneath this carving is an elaborate working of William McCleverty's initials. The carving is executed with great skill and the portrayal of the ship and its rigging is a very accurate depiction of an eighteenth-century flagship.

The voyage with Anson[2]

What was this 'memorable expedition' mentioned on the inscription and when had it taken place? In 1740 Britain was at war with Spain - part of a major conflict between European powers known as the War of the Austrian Succession. An ambitious plan was conceived by the Admiralty in London to send a squadron to attack the Spanish possessions on the Pacific coast of South America. The man chosen to lead the expedition was George Anson (1697-1762).

The expedition seemed to be jinxed from the start and was at first delayed due to a lack of supplies and men. As well as that Anson had been promised a regiment of soldiers but what he got was newly enlisted untrained marines and a batch of Chelsea Pensioners whose average age was fifty-five.[3] It was destined to be a journey of hardship, death, disease and endurance and only Anson's ship the *Centurion* completed the mission. The squadron left St. Helen's on 18 September 1740. As well as the flag-ship *Centurion* which was commanded by Anson there were five other ships; the *Gloucester*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, *Tryal* and two small supply ships, the *Industry* that had returned to England by November and the *Anna*. They were dogged by bad weather from the very beginning and arrived at Cape Horn during the stormy season. As they battled to clear the cape the *Severn* and the *Pearl* turned back for home and later the *Wager* was wrecked off the coast of Chile, and after many trials only thirty-six of its crew made it home to England some taking many years to do so.

Anson's squadron was now scattered. The crew was decimated by scurvy and one of the old pensioners who had been wounded at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 found that his old scars had re-opened and would not heal. However, the young boys, some no more than children, seemed to have fared better with many surviving the voyage. Conditions were so bad that Captain Philip Saumarez wrote 'that really life is not worth pursuing at the expense of such hardships'. Anson had arranged for the ships to rendezvous on the island of Juan Fernandez but only the *Centurion*, *Gloucester* and the *Tryal* met there on 11 June 1741 (they were later

2 George Anson, *A voyage round the world in the years 1740...1744*, by George Anson, Esq.; Commander in Chief of a squadron of his Majesty's ships, sent upon an expedition to the South-Seas. Compiled from papers and other materials of the Right Honourable George Lord Anson, and published under his direction by Richard Walter, M.A., Chaplain of his Majesty's ship the Centurion, in that expedition. (London, Knapton, 1748); Glyn Williams, *The prize of all the oceans*, (Viking, 2000).

3 The Royal Hospital Chelsea was founded in 1682 by King Charles II to provide soldiers with a fitting home in their retirement. www.chelsea-pensioners.co.uk

joined by the *Anna*). Of the 961 men who had set sail on these three ships only 335 were alive. Anson then decided to break up the *Anna* and transfer her men to the *Gloucester*.

However he was determined to press on with his mission. They managed to capture a Spanish vessel which had £18,000 in bullion on board and more importantly documents which showed that Britain was still at war with Spain because at this time Anson did not know what the situation was. The commodore proceeded to carry out his orders and between the 13th and 15th November his forces attacked the settlement of Paita in Peru and sacked and burned the town. Anson then announced his intention to attack the annual Manila-Acapulco treasure galleon (the named changed depending on whether she was on her westbound or eastbound run), but he learned from the locals that it had already sailed and that the Spanish were aware of his presence.

By now Anson's ships were badly need of repair and disease and scurvy was again decimating the crew. He had to set fire to and sink the badly damaged *Gloucester* and concentrate his remaining men in the *Centurion*. They set sail across the Pacific heading west for China. The *Centurion* was leaking badly and everyone even Anson himself had to take a turn at the pumps. They finally arrived at Tinian near Guam in August 1742 and he stayed there for two months to allow the men some much needed rest. Anson then headed for Macao where he had some difficulties trying to deal with the Chinese authorities who were very suspicious of the Royal Navy, but he eventually he managed to get the *Centurion* refitted and take on some additional crew.

They set sail for the Philippines and finally after many weeks of watching and waiting a treasure galleon named the *Covadonga* was spotted on 20 June 1743 off Cape Espiritu Santo.

There was a battle which lasted an hour and a half. The Spaniards surrendered after sixty-seven of their men were killed and another eighty-four wounded. The *Centurion* in contrast lost only two men and had seventeen wounded. To the great joy of the officers and crew it was discovered that the galleon had a huge amount of treasure on board. Anson took the prize to Canton where he transferred the treasure from the *Covadonga* to the *Centurion*. They returned to England via the Cape of Good Hope thus circumnavigating the globe and anchored at Spithead on the 15 of June 1744. They had been away for almost four years and only about 500 seamen survived of the 1,900 that had sailed in 1740.

The treasure was unloaded and forty wagons were needed to transport it to London. According to the *Dublin Courant* of 14 July the treasure was to be 'convey'd to Town in Waggons, which is to be guarded by the whole crew who have hired fiddlers and other musick to play before them on that occasion to London.'[4] Each wagon carried two tons in weight and when the procession arrived in London it was preceded by the officers with swords drawn. They were then presented to

4 See also *Dublin Courant*, 23 June 1744, 26 June 1744, 30 June 1744, 14 July 1744, 21 July 1744, Tues 24 July 1744, 31 July 1744, 4 August 1744, 5 September 1744, 8 September 1744.

the Duke of Cumberland and two of the royal princesses. The surviving crewmen were welcomed as heroes with Anson being compared to Sir Francis Drake who was responsible for the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

As was the custom at the time, all members of the crew were entitled to a share of the prize-money depending on their rank. The ordinary seamen were entitled to about £300 pounds in the equivalent of about twenty years wages.

Almost at once arguments and recriminations erupted about the prize money as naval rules were quite clear that officers transferred from another ship were not entitled to a share of any money or treasure. There was a court case which went on for several years with one unsuccessful claimant remarking: 'That we had more terrible engagements in the courts of law than ever we had in the South Seas.'

Among those who shared in the prize money was twenty-eight year old master's mate, William McCleverty and as he had served on the *Centurion* from the beginning his share of the spoils was guaranteed. The crews were granted only fourteen days leave but although many of the men wanted a full discharge it appears they did not get it though the leave was extended to three months.

Everyone wanted to hear about the voyage and in 1748 a long awaited authorised account was published written by the *Centurion's* chaplain Richard Walter.[5] This account was re-printed many times and Dorothea Herbert, the parson's daughter from Carrick-on-Suir mentioned in her *Retropections* that she and her brothers had read it in the 1770s.[6]

Naval life 1744 - 1779

Despite now having plenty of money McCleverty decided to remain in the navy. In the normal course of things it would have been very difficult for him to have got on the promotional ladder in the eighteenth-century navy. Masters as well as sailmakers and carpenters were rated as warrant officers. Unlike officers they did not hold commissions from the Admiralty. Instead they were appointed by a warrant from the Navy Board and were not considered part of the officer class. A definition of a master was 'a seaman though not necessarily a gentleman'.[7] McCleverty would not have had the connections that some of his shipmates from the *Centurion*. Midshipman Augustus Keppel for example was the son of an earl.[8]

In later years McCleverty gave the year of birth as 1725 but it is unlikely that a fifteen-year-old would have had the navigational skills needed to be a master's

5 Although Rev. Walter's account was the official version, an earlier book had been published in 1745 by Pascoe Thomas who was the 'schoolmaster' on board the *Centurion*. His *True and Impartial Journal* was based on records he kept during the voyage.

6 See *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert 1770-1806*, (Dublin, Town House, 1988), '...we were all Book Mad...a Sixpenny Voyage of Lord Anson and Old Robinson Cruesoes Tale completed our Mania.'

7 See N.A.M. Rodger, *The wooden world: An anatomy of the Georgian navy*, (Fontana Press an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 1988).

8 Augustus Keppel (1725-1786) who later became an admiral was a son of the Second Earl of Albemarle.

mate on the *Centurion* but he had probably gone to sea at an early age as was the custom. Fletcher Christian of the *Bounty* fame was considered old at eighteen to begin his career in the Royal Navy.[9] McCleverty had spent three years as a captain's servant on board a ship called the *Buckingham* before his journey with Anson.

McCleverty's promotion was almost certainly due to Anson's patronage and influence. Writing in 1751 Anson stated that 'my constant method... has been to promote the lieutenants to command whose ships have been successfully engaged on equal terms with the enemy without having any friend or recommendation'. Anson must have put in a good word for McCleverty because on the 11 July 1745 he recieved his passing certificate for a lieutenant and he was commissioned on the 13th of that month. He was lucky he had to wait for only two days many had to wait for up to three years. He is next mentioned in 1746 as being a lieutenant on the *Flamborough* which was based at Woolwich.[10]

McCleverty was fortunate in the fact that through much of the 1740s Britain was at war. For naval officers in particular, war meant employment and the prospect of promotion. Peace on the other hand resulted in many years ashore on half-pay with little chance of advancement in the service.

In 1747 two major naval engagements, both in the Bay of Biscay off Cape Finisterre, resulted in British victories over the French. Commodore Anson was in commanded on the British force in the first and it is likely that McCleverty was present at both. Although Anson had managed to get McCleverty his commission it was now up to him to make his way through the ranks. In 1756 he was promoted the rank of commander and the following year he became a post-captain.[11]

McCleverty first command was a sloop called the *Peggy* that was used to protect troop convoys out of Yarmouth for the Elbe. Although the War of the Austrian Succession ended in 1748 it was followed in 1756 by the Seven Years' War between Britain and France. In 1757 McCleverty was given command of a frigate of twenty guns called the *Gibraltar*, which had been launched in 1754 ad which was based in the Mediterrancan. In early June 1759 the British fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Spithead to intercept the French fleet which was intending to seize control of the English Channel. The French were assembled at Toulon and Brest and Hawke sent three small squadrons to scour the coast and on the 14 November of that year it was Captain William McCleverty who was the first to spot the French and give Hawke the information about the French fleet's location. Hawke sailed for Quiberon Bay off the French coast and engaged the enemy resulting in a resounding British victory and managed to remove the threat of a French naval invasion for the duration of the war.[12]

9 Caroline Alexander, *The Bounty: The true story of the mutiny on the Bounty*, (Harper Perennial, 2003).

10 National Archives Kew, ADM 118/2 Commissioned Sea Officers 1743-1747. ADM 36/554.555.556 Muster Books.

11 National Archives Kew, ADM 118/5 Commissioned Sea Officers 1756-1760.

12 Isaac Schomberg, *A Naval or an Historical Summary of Naval and Maritime Events, From the time of the Romans to the Peace of 1802*, (5 Volumes), (London, 1802).

By 1760 McCleverty was in command of an even larger vessel, the fifty-gun *Norwich*. He spent the spring and summer of that year bringing out convoys of troops to Halifax, Nova Scotia. General Wolfe had captured Quebec and the Royal Navy was present at the siege of that city. As a reward McCleverty with ten other captains were granted large tracts of land in Nova Scotia. There is also a list of other grantees besides the eleven captains and among them are McCleverty's teenage sons George Anson McCleverty named in honour of the commodore who was born in 1745 and Henry who was year or two younger. This land was escheated or taken back by the crown in 1783.[13]

The *Norwich* also carried troops from North America for the capture of the island of Martinque by the British in 1761 and was used again to supply men needed to take Havana the following year.

In 1763 McCleverty was assigned to what was to prove his last ship, the sixth-rate twenty-four gun *Hind*, which had been launched in 1740.[14] This ship was stationed at Carrickfergus and Larne Lough for long periods of time, which must have suited McCleverty's family ties. From 1763 up to 1779 he is mentioned many times in the Admiralty letters and they manage to give a good impression of what McCleverty was like as a captain. These years saw McCleverty spending a lot of time cruising around the British Isles. He seems to have been careful about his slop-books and accounts no doubt remembering that when he was a young lieutenant his wages had been stopped for not delivering a muster book.[15] He liked his crew to be in good health so in February 1763 he asked for his master, who was ill, to be replaced and he also realised the need for any ship to have a good surgeon and surgeon's mate on board. In June of that year he sent his surgeon's mate to Plymouth hospital because of his drunken irregular behaviour.[16] Captain Bligh had the same trouble with his surgeon on his voyage in 1788 and Doctor Huggan had died of his excesses at Tahiti. One letter shows that he has drawn a bill for surgeon's neeessities for 150 men for six months.[17] He also wrote to the Admiralty on behalf of some of his illiterate crewmen who wished to have a part of their wages paid to their families on shore.[18] He appears to have run an orderly ship and safety seemed to have mattered, as evidenced by the following, 'Thomas Pasley[19] [later

13 www.gov.ns.ca Nova Scotia Archives, Nova Scotia Crown Lands, Ref. Old Grant Book, Grants to the Gentlemen of the Navy or Man of War Grant. Granted by HM George III, 9 April 1761.

14 National Archives Kew, ADM 346/13/7. *Hind* assigned to Captain William McCleverty, Irish Sea and North Channel, 12 January to 31 December 1763.

15 National Archives Kew, ADM B/163, 9 August 1759, Loss of muster book.

16 National Archives Kew, ADM 106/1125/138, 30 June 1763. Request for surgeons mate before setting sail to Carrickfergus.

17 National Archives Kew, ADM 106/1201/168, 17 October 1771, Bill for surgeons necessaries.

18 National Archives Kew, ADM 106/1201/191, 29 November 1771. Captain McCleverty the *Hind* at Larne is sending remittance lists for Thomas Paters, seaman, who wishes part of his wages to his wife.

19 Thomas Pasley (1723-1809). The *Ranger* patrolled between the UK and Ireland for Smugglers.

an admiral] of the *Ranger* at Poolbeg has purchased a small bower and cable to replace that condemned by Captain McCleverty on the Isle of Man'.

Young and upcoming midshipmen wanted to be at sea with the experienced McCleverty and on one occasion he wrote to the Admiralty as follows, 'be pleased to discharge Thomas Scarr.... for preferment as I am greatly distressed for a midshipmen that knows his duty. It is the young mans desire to work with me'.[20]

Despite all this however McCleverty's prime business was to impress as many men as he could for His Majesty's navy and to transport them to whatever station or theatre of war that they were needed. From 1776 these new recruits were mostly used on ships headed for America where the War of Independence was being fought. In October 1777 Philip Stephens of the Admiralty wrote ' that as the press gangs employed at Waterford by Captain McCleverty are not borne on the books of any ship opine the best method of paying them is to pay them six months wages now at the rate of ordinary seamen..' [21]

McCleverty was not scrupulous about how he got his quota. In 1770 a Lieutenant Walter Long complained about him. Long had thirty newly-raised men and had orders to take them to Dublin or Plymouth but due to a storm they were obliged to take shelter in Larne Harbour where he was ordered by McCleverty to go to Waterford and put them on the *Hind*.[22] A year earlier McCleverty had managed to impress men again because of bad weather. A Scotch fishing fleet took shelter at Larne. The *Hind* was patrolling the area and Captain McCleverty sent his press gangs to board the vessels and impressed 300 of the fishermen. In 1780 a deposition was taken from a Lieutenant McKillop who spoke about McCleverty and his press gangs at Waterford. 'In Captain McCleverty's time the gang at Waterford was once very roughly handled whilst taking a pressed man. Mr Alcock (mayor) came hurrying down to learn what was amiss. He found the rendezvous beset by an angry and dangerous gathering. "Sir" he said to the captain "Have you no powder or shot in the house?" McCleverty assured him that he had. "Then Sir" cried the Mayor raising his voice so that all might hear "Do you make use of it and I will support you". The crowd understood the argument and immediately dispersed'.[23] This pessing of men for the navy was obviously the reason why McCleverty was in Waterford at the time of his death in 1779.[24]

20 National Archives Kew, ADM 1/2110, Captains Letters M. 11th January 1757.

21 National Archives Kew, ADM 354/195/209, letter form Philip Stephens 30 Oct 1777. Sir Philip Stephens (1723-1809) First Secretary of the Admiralty.

22 National Archives Kew, ADM 106/1200/225, letter from Walter Long 8 April 1771.

23 J.R Hutchinson, *The Press Gang Afloat and Ashore*, (New York, E.P Dutton and Co., 1914). Deposition of Lt. M'Killop, 1780 Admiralty Records. The mayor in question would probably have been Henry Alcock 1777 although William Alcock was mayor in 1768.

24 It appears that Waterford press gangs were very actice in Waterford in the late eighteenth century in particular. In August 1776 Lieut William Bacon was order to Waterford to seize seamen and landsmen, see National Archives Kew, ADM 354/193/236.

Personal life

William McCleverty was born in 1716 that is the age that can be calculated from the plaque at the cathedral and it also tallies with the date on a headstone at the family plot in Old Glynn Churchyard in County Antrim.[25] McCleverty is a very rare name and it is Scottish in origin,[26] he may have been from that area but at any rate his wife Jane Johnston definitely was, her family were the principal inhabitants of the village and had lived at Glynn House for over 100 years.[27]

The couple had at least eight children. George Anson and Henry had been in Canada with him. George did not stay in the navy. He became a magistrate and later a high sheriff for county Antrim. He died unmarried. There were three other sons, James Johnston who was also a naval man, William who became a clergyman and whose obituary in Bath in 1799 stated that he died as a result of wounds received during the 1798 Rebellion.[28] The youngest son was Robert who joined the army and was later knighted there were also three daughters Mary, Anne and Sarah.[29]

William McCleverty's descendents continued to serve their country, in both the army and navy. His grandson William Anson McCleverty (1806-1897) was commander-in-chief of the Madras army and was influential in colonial politics in New Zealand and three of his great-great-grandsons were killed in World War One.[30]

Despite his ruthless methods of obtaining men for the navy McCleverty seems to have been a humane man for his time as both he and his eldest son signed the Dissenters Petition in 1775. Although McCleverty was a staunch member of the established Church of Ireland he may have had some sympathy for his marginalized Presbyterian neighbours.[31] He probably realised as he grew older what a hard life the navy was as he had once written to the Honourable Robert Boyle Walsingham and asked if his three young sons George Anson, Henry and James could be discharged from their ship the *Romney* so that they could be educated on shore by their father or maybe he grasped that the better educated they were the better their chances of promotion were.[32]

25 R.S.J. Clarke, (ed.), *Gravestone Inscriptions of County Antrim*, Volume 2. (Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation,1981).

26 www.surnamedb.com McCleverty has its origins in Scotland but it is also found in Northern Ireland. The first known recording of the family name is believed to be that of John M'Claffirdy in the charters of the estates of Castle Douglas in the year 1376.

27 F. McKillop, *History of Larne and East Antrim*, (Belfast, Ulster Journals, 2000).

28 Public Records Office, Northern Ireland, The Oakboys, The Hearts of Steel, the Volunteers of the United Irishmen of Larne and Neighbourhood c.1750-1798, D2095/18 – from the papers of Roy Thomas Alexander Robb, Bank official who died in 1928; *The Gentleman's Magazine & Historical Journal for the year 1799*, Volume 69, Part 1, February.

29 *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 4th Edition, (London, Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1958).

30 See www.ancestry.co.uk and www.familysearch.org

31 Public Records Office Northern Ireland, 1775 Dissenters Petition, signed by William McCleverty and G.A. (George Anson) McCleverty.

32 National Archives Kew, ADM 1/2667 Captains Letters, Walsingham, 9 October

McCleverty's will[33]

Although McCleverty died in Waterford in 1779 he had made his will five years earlier aboard the *Hind* at Larne Harbour on 28 of January 1774. The will shows him to have been a careful man who had spent his prize money wisely and who had made an advantageous marriage. Firstly he wanted to be buried in a private manner, though as a seagoing man he must have realised that he might never have had a grave on land. His wife Jane was to get £40 a year during her mother's life-time but after her mother's death £19 pounds only was to be paid to her from the produce of the estate. The reason being that by her mother's death she would have been entitled to £30 a year from the income of the family plantation at Saint Croix in the West Indies, by her father James Johnston's will. If McCleverty was to leave any more money to his widow she would have lost her naval widow's pension. McCleverty, perhaps rightly felt that after a life dedicated to the Royal Navy his widow was entitled to a pension. Jane was to have the use of the house and garden and after her death George Anson McCleverty was to inherit from her and if by some chance he had died then his next son was to inherit. It was only if all his sons died that his daughters could inherit the house and garden. After Jane's death all his money was to be divided equally among the siblings except for his daughter Anne - now Mrs Apsley. She was to not to inherit anything because her husband had been given £500 at the time of the marriage. This match seems to have angered McCleverty although he had probably introduced the couple as Anne's husband Robert Apsley was a surgeon on board the *Hind*. He went on to say that none of the rest of the brothers or sisters were to marry without the consent of their mother or the rest of the family and that 'if they do they shall forfeit their share in the like manner as in the case of marriage as above'. His more personal effects like his gold watch his swords and wearing apparel were all to go to the eldest son.

At the end of the will McCleverty made an addition, that he wished it be mentioned on his tombstone that he had sailed around the world with Anson. Of course he was not the only one to have this done this. The Reverend Richard Walter who had written the account of the voyage has a similar inscription on his plaque. The voyage still caught the imagination of the public and surviving men, even ordinary seaman, who died got a mention in the newspapers stating that they had sailed with Anson.[34]

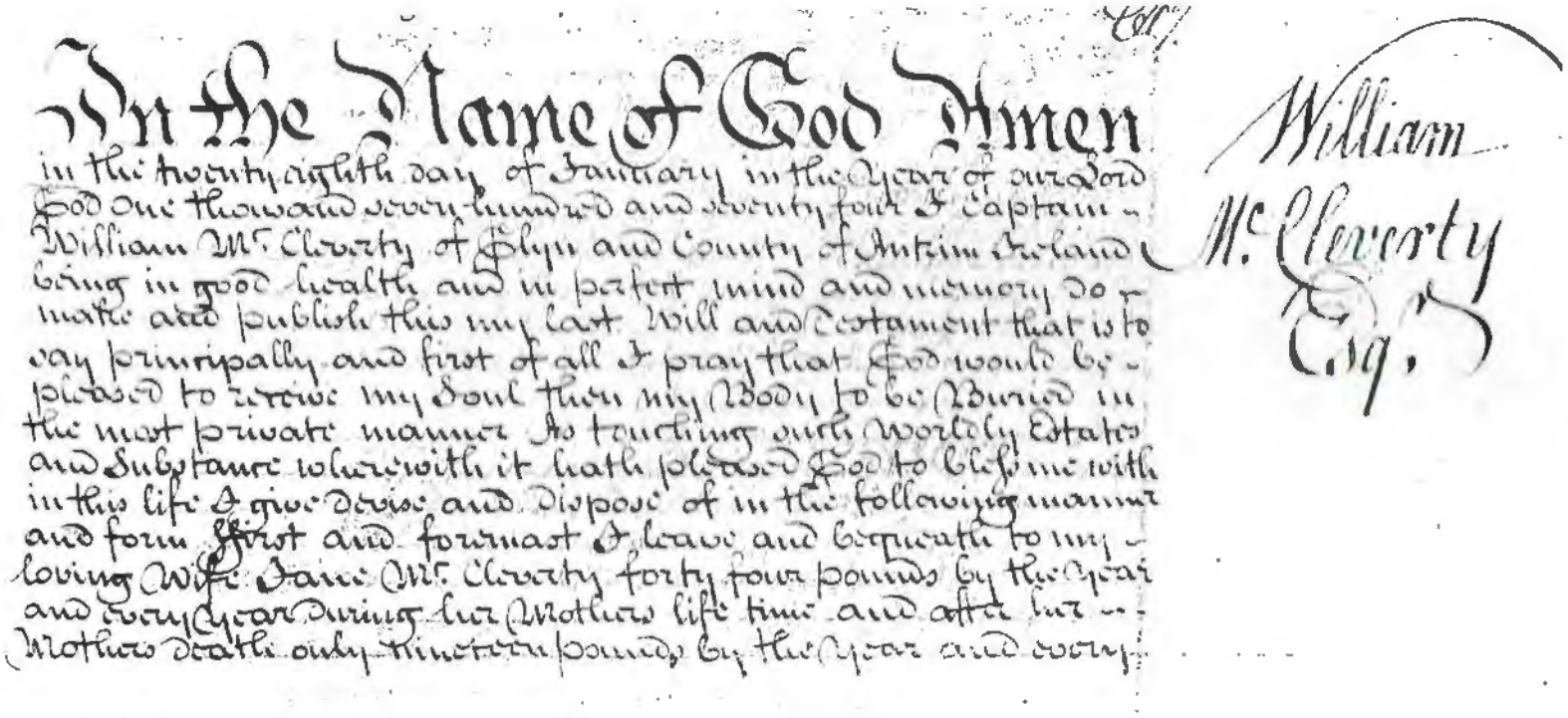
The ship carved on the plaque is unquestionably the *Centurion*. It is identical to models made of the vessel. William also wished for a small rhyme to be inscribed on it on his tombstone:-

> Throu Frigid and Torrid Zones have past
> How within is arrived at last.

1762. Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham 1736-1780 a younger son of Henry Boyle 1st Earl of Shannon.

33 National Archives Kew, Will of William McCleverty, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions. Ref. Prob/11/1073/247

34 See *Lloyds Evening Post*, 13 June 1768 (London), Saturday last, suddenly, Mr. James Steward, of South Benfleet Hall, Essex, who made the Voyage round the World, with Lord Anson in his Majesty's Ship *Centurion*.' James Steward was an able seaman.



In the Name of God Amen
in the twenty eighth day of January in the Year of our Lord
God one thousand seven hundred and seventy four I Captain
William Mc Cleverty of Glyn and County of Antrim Ireland
being in good health and in perfect mind and memory do
make and publish this my last Will and Testament that is to
say principally and first of all I pray that God would be
pleased to receive my Soul then my Body to be Buried in
the most private manner As touching such Worldly Estates
and Substance wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with
in this life I give Devise and dispose of in the following manner
and form First and foremost I leave and bequeath to my
loving Wife Jane Mc Cleverty forty four pounds by the Year
and every Year during her Mothers life time and after her
Mothers death only Nineteen pounds by the Year and every

William
Mc Cleverty
Esq.

Plate 2: Opening page of Captain McCleverty's will.

The word 'How' comes from an English dialect word, 'Hoe', and refers to Plymouth Hoe where he spent so much time during the course of his life.[35] This couplet was not inscribed on the plaque in Christ Church Cathedral but there is space enough beneath the existing inscription for it, it may have intended to add it on but for some reason it never was. It appears McCleverty had got his poetic inspiration from an existing rhyme, when the *Centurion* was broken up in 1769. The Duke of Richmond acquired the large carved figurehead of a lion, and had it erected as an inn sign at Goodwood near his family estates.There was a verse beneath it which read:-

Stay traveller, a while, and view
One who has travelled more than you;
Quite round the globe thro' each degree,
Anson and I have ploughed the sea,
Torrid and frigid zones have pass'd
And safe ashore arrived at last
In ease with dignity appear
He in the House of Lords - I here.

Conclusion

Following the death of George Anson McCleverty in 1821 his unmarried sister Mary lived on in the family house. She was described in the Ordnance Survey Memoirs in 1834 as being one of the oldest inhabitants in Glynn.[36] She and the Johnstons were still the principal inhabitants. Miss McCleverty rented out land and owned a mill which she had leased out, while her nephew, the army officer, Captain William McCleverty owned the quay. The family still had their plantation in St Croix, and there is evidence that an Elizabeth and Anne McCleverty owned slaves there into the 1830s.[37] The Saint Croix museum was originally built as a sugar refinery in 1780 by the McCleverty family using slave labour[38] and perhaps some of their slaves may have been given their master's surname. It is interesting that a popular Calypso band formed by two brothers who came form the island in the 1950's were called the 'Fabulous McClevertys'.

The ordnance survey gives a good description of William McCleverty's house it had been erected in the eighteenth century and was a plain old-fashioned two-storied house prettily situated on the banks of the Glynn river and secluded from the road by trees. It was adjacent to the ruins of the old church and some very old features of an abbey or nunnery with alcoves and recesses were incorporated into the house whose walls were very thick. According to the Ordnance Survey

35 Webster's Third International Dictionary Volume 2 – howe – *dial Eng var of* Hoe

36 Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland, Vol.26, Parishes of County Antrim 1830-1831, East Antrim, Glynn and Inver 1833-1835 and Kilroot and Templecorran 1839-1840.

37 www.ancestry.co.uk Slave Registers for former British Colonial Dependencies 1812-1834.

38 See www.stcroixlandmarks.com

Memoirs a passage was said to link the house and the old church and tradition stated that an iron chest filled with gold was concealed in the ruins. Many had dreamt of it and dug in vain.[39] Did this story come from some very old legend or was it a fairly new myth connected with Captain McCleverty himself who had returned after his circumnavigation of the globe to Glynn in 1744 with an old sea chest full of riches.

39 McCleverty's old sea chest was actually in the possession of Brigadier General Thomas Kelly Evans Johnston 1860-1936. He was one of the Johnstons of Glynn a descendant of McCleverty's wife Jane.

The Waterford Glassworks Strike 1846-1847

John M. Hearne

In February 1847 a notice appeared in the *Waterford Chronicle* informing the public of a forthcoming trial of five glass cutters, former employees of the Waterford Glassworks.[1] They were charged with using 'threatening language and mistreating' the foreman of the Waterford Glassworks, Isaac Gee and an experienced glass cutter, William Collins. After investigating the veracity of these allegations the magistrates Owen Carroll, Mayor, Sir Benjamin Wall Morris, Alderman Thomas Meagher, Michael Dobbyn and William Morris agreed that the matter warranted going to trial. Prosecuting the case on behalf of Isaac Gee were Councillor Hassard and the solicitor, Mr Elliott. As well as the main charge, Hassard also endeavoured to prove 'a combination' against the proprietor of the glassworks, George Gatchell and wanted the accused parties bound to the peace. Councillor Walsh and the solicitor, Mr Phelan, who appeared for the prisoners sought to convince the magistrates that the alleged threats and intimidation were but 'a remonstrance made to Gee by the prisoners showing him the ruinous course he was pursuing in having them kept out of employment'.[2] The evidence proffered during the subsequent two-day trial sheds a new and rare light on the nascent trade union movement in Ireland and on the operation of the Waterford Glassworks during the final years of its nineteenth-century existence.

In 1836, after almost a year of bitter internecine family feuding, George Gatchell eventually took full control of the Waterford Glassworks bequeathed to him by his father, Jonathan, in 1823 shortly before his death. While the ten years prior to his father's death had been extremely profitable the ensuing decade witnessed the demise of glassmaking in Ireland and highlighted the difficulties that faced glassmakers both in Ireland and England of attracting capital into their troubled enterprises. On assuming control of the glassworks George Gatchell's experience was no different. In 1835, he entered a short-lived partnership with Isaac Warren from Dublin who brought £500 in capital into the firm.[3] But within a year this alliance ended and Gatchell then entered a partnership with one of his agents, George Saunders. This lasted until 1848.[4] Nonetheless, Gatchell had managed during these years—with some success—to restructure and re-position his glassware in the marketplace. He became more exhibition-focused, more concerned with quality and in advancing and protecting the good name of the company; something

1 My thanks to Mr Dermot Power for information regarding the original notice.

2 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 20 February 1847.

3 National Museum of Ireland, *Gatchell Letters*, Vol. 1, Document 94, Art and Industry Archive.

4 *Waterford Evening News*, 22 December 1848.

that would pay rich dividends in the future. And, in January 1846 he married Caroline Amelia Sheppard in Exeter. But by June of that year Gatchell's most experienced workers were on strike.

The strike began on 4 June 1846 and resulted from the employment of an apprentice, Stephen Lacy. John Gain – the instigator of the strike - and the four other accused walked out of the factory without notice accusing their employer of breaching custom and practice with regard to the employment of apprentices. Some months later, Gatchell employed a journeyman glass cutter from Dublin to replace one of the striking workers, thereby exasperating and prolonging an already tense industrial dispute. Indeed, the glass cutters main argument was that the foreman Isaac Gee had begun 'to conduct the establishment with apprentices and others not belonging to the trade' thus instigating industrial action.[5] The subsequent trial of the accused strikers would provide much hitherto unknown social and economic information regarding working conditions in Waterford during the 1830s and 1840s.

The Trial, Day 1

The trial began on Tuesday 23 February and was held in the council chamber of city hall. The defendants, John Gain, Andrew Delahunty, John McCarthy, Michael Mackey and James Murphy were charged with preventing 'by intimidation and violence' Isaac Gee and William Collins 'from attending to their business as glass cutters and putting them in fear of losing their lives'. A further charge of combination against their employer, thereby preventing him from conducting his business, was also levelled against the accused.[6]

Isaac Gee was the first witness called and his evidence was interesting and informative giving information of the operation of the glassworks since his appointment as foreman-cutter in 1832, following the dismissal of the chief designer and foreman, Samuel Millar.[7] Gee, an Englishman, questioned by prosecuting council Mr Hassard, stated that following the strike by the five accused that he had been accosted on many occasions since the strike began. The first incident occurred on 29 September at 8pm when Gee was making his way to his lodgings in Francis Street. At the junction of Thomas Street and Thomas' Hill he was confronted by the five accused, was threatened and blamed for 'putting them out of work'. With difficulty he made his way home. A second assault occurred on 11 October. Here, Gee was attacked both on his way to and from dinner by the same individuals. Stones were thrown at him and he was forced to get a police escort to his place of work. This forced him, for his own protection, to change his lodgings and live within the glassworks, where many other workers also lived. Under cross-examination Gee proffered that he was carrying at the time of the attack, pistols for his protection and the mob had tried to relieve him of them. He also stated that he was a member of the Oddfellows. The Independent Order of Oddfellows Friendly

5 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 27 February 1847.

6 *Ibid.*

7 NMI, *Gatchell Letters*, Vol. 1, Document 55. Letter 10 June 1832.

Society was a fraternal organization whose chief purpose was in looking after the welfare of its members by providing illness and unemployment benefit to those members. Although many fraternal organizations that had operated in England during the late eighteenth century had been suppressed, by 1803 the Oddfellows Friendly Society was revived in London under the Union of Grand Lodges of England. However, by 1809 the Manchester branch broke away to form the Independent Union of Oddfellows. This schism lasted until 1845 when the Manchester Unity rules were adopted by all.[8] Cross-examined by Councillor Walsh, Gee's membership was, however, used to undermine his credibility as was his habit of frequenting Coughlan's public house on the Quay where he admitted that he was an infrequent customer. However, the most serious altercation between the accused and the foreman occurred in early February 1847, only two weeks before the trial was due to commence. As Gee and William Collins returned from a fishing trip near Grannagh on the River Suir, the defendants, along with a mob, were observed waiting for them at Penrose Lane. Collins described this confrontation when called to give evidence.

Questioned by the prosecuting council, Collins corroborated most of what Gee had outlined in his evidence. Collins, a glass cutter, said that he had come from Dublin and was employed by George Gatchell prior to Christmas 1846. As a replacement for one of the striking workers William Collins was aware of the inherent dangers involved. This became apparent when, as Gee had earlier outlined, on returning from the fishing trip some weeks earlier the accused had followed them down the quay and had singled Collins out and called him an 'old colt', a derogatory term usually directed at those who replaced someone on strike. Use of the term usually spelt danger for the recipient. Gee was also threatened by another of the accused, Michael Mackey, with a 'good licking'. Both then sought protection in the police barracks. In order to mitigate any future danger, Collins confessed that he now lived within the glassworks compound and was fearful of walking throughout the city alone.[9] It was clear form this altercation that the level and method of intimidation was becoming more violent and that it was only a matter of time before serious injury was inflicted on one or both men.

Trial, Day 2

On the second day of the trial George Gatchell, proprietor of the glassworks, was called to give evidence. He recalled another incident involving the defendants and Isaac Gee in August of 1846. A confrontation had occurred outside the factory as the employees were leaving after the day's work. Gain and Delahunty were prominent using 'abusive and threatening behaviour' towards Gee and the apprentice at the centre of the dispute, Stephen Lacy. Gatchell was forced to call the police to

8 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 27 February 1847. For a comprehensive history of the Oddfellows see John Irvin, *The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows Friendly Benefit Society being an explanation of the principles, government and system of working adopted by the great friendly societies or mutual insurance clubs of the artizan class of England* (Halifax, N.S., Z.S. Hall, 1870).

9 *Ibid.*

protect the men and thereafter to protect the factory. The following morning the defendants came to him and asked for a meeting. However, Gatchell refused 'to confer with them as a body' but he did agree to meet with Gain and 'another worker' – probably Delahunty. At this meeting Gain asked that the apprentice, Lacy, be dismissed as 'it was the rules of their body' that Gatchell could only employ a certain number of apprentices.[10] Gatchell refused but pleaded with them to return to work and remonstrated with them 'of the unfairness of taking me by surprise by turning out without my having notice of it'. But Gain explained that taking him by surprise 'was the greatest stroke of [our] policy' and continued that if they had not 'struck' in this way that Gatchell would have employed other men. Although Gatchell admitted difficulty employing replacement workers, he stated that he was now in the process of employing other journeymen in their place. Gain's reply was 'that no men dare to come' to you. Gatchell perceived this as an overt threat. Up until this moment their jobs had been held open but after this verbal altercation they were summarily dismissed.[11] As a member of Waterford Chamber of Commerce, Gatchell's actions would have been both supported and encouraged by the city's employers and chamber members.

What is interesting from this evidence is that it seems that the glass cutters were members of a representative body or trade union. From the early years of the eighteenth century onwards, journeymen began to combine for specific purposes such as improved conditions, regulation of apprenticeships or higher wages. Once these demands were met the combinations were usually disbanded. However, as such combinations usually impacted on trade, merchants turned to Parliament for help. From 1729 onwards, a series of Combination Acts were enacted which made the combination of masters or men, illegal. Further legislation in 1780 allowed masters employ as many apprentices as they wished. Following the Act of Union in 1801, the British Combination Acts now applied to Ireland. While the penalties and punishment for combination were severe – when followed through – they did not stop men from agitating and striking for either higher wages or improved working conditions. Indeed, the first Irish trade union to be identified by name was the Regular Carpenters of Dublin, which was founded in 1764. Thereafter, unions of tailors, chandlers, bakers and other trades were formed in that city to look after the wellbeing of their members. But attempts to suppress these organizations were not very successful. As a result, new penalties and modes of punishment were introduced in 1780.

Dublin, however, was not the only urban centre where men organized into unions or combinations. There were also many unions in Cork during the middle of the eighteenth century, and these were accused from time to time of organizing strikes, destroying machinery and tools, of ostracising employers who would not give in to their demands, and intimidating workmen who worked for less than the union rates of pay. However, following a petition from the merchants of that city, Parliament declared that anyone in Cork found guilty of being a member of an

10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*

unlawful trade union should be imprisoned for not more than six months, whipped in public and released only on cognisance of good behaviour for seven years.[12] These were no idle threats. In January 1770, in Dublin, the public hangman whipped two weavers found guilty of forming a trade union through the streets. A few months later a publican accused of allowing his premises to be used for a trade union meeting was pilloried.[13] But such was the outrage and subsequent civil and political opposition to the Combination Acts —by Francis Place and Thomas Malthus in particular—that they were eventually repealed in 1824.[14] Nonetheless, this did not remove the latent suspicion and opposition prevalent among the merchant and propertied classes towards the combination of workers. Following the repeal, trade societies emerged into prominence in Waterford City. The oldest recorded Waterford trade union, and the strongest at that time, the Bakers Society, dates back to 1822, but was probably in existence during the eighteenth century. Other trades, such as tailors, painters, coopers, carpenters and shoemakers were also organized and were in a strong position to pressurise employers for better working conditions and for higher wages. The chamber of commerce, in particular, was to the forefront in the city in opposing combinations and in 1827 initiated a national petition for the re-introduction of the Combination Acts. It also supported employers who resorted to legal methods to suppress strikes.[15] When, in 1828, workers in the various factories and shops in the city went on strike to reduce their working day and, in some cases, to increase their wages, they were taken into custody and tried before the city magistrates. This resulted in five of them being incarcerated in the House of Correction for between four and six weeks where they were put to work on the treadmill.[16] However, one feature common to most trade unions in the city and the one most detested by employers was the 'law' governing the employment of apprentices. In evidence to a parliamentary enquiry in 1836 a Mr Waters, a master baker at Jacob's Bakery in the city, claimed that the worst feature of combination was a law which prevented masters from taking on more than one apprentice. Furthermore, he asserted that Jacobs was powerless to break the union due to its control of apprenticeships and because of a law which stated that that if any journeyman was dismissed, for any reason, all men must turn out until he be re-instated or found alternative work.[17] So clearly apprenticeship was a contentious issue in early nineteenth-century society. Thus, Gatchell's hiring of an additional apprentice, hiring a journeyman to replace a striking worker and his refusal to meet with the striking workers 'as a body', were each in their own right

12 Andrew Boyd, The *Rise of the Irish Trade Unions*, (Dublin, Anvil Books, 1975), p.18.

13 *Ibid*. pp. 16-17.

14 J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer 1760 –1832: The New Civilisation*, (London, Longmans, Green & Co.), p. 135.

15 Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford, Waterford Trades Council, 1989), p.44-6.

16 *Ibid*, pp. 46-7.

17 *British Parliamentary Papers: Third Report into the conditions of the poorer classes in Ireland*, (1836), XXX, Appendix C, pp.100-105.

legitimate reasons for strike action. His actions, therefore, puts the strike at the Waterford Glassworks in both a local, national and British context.

Following the repeal of the Combination Acts, workers in England and Ireland began to organize and during the 1830s glass workers also began forming their own unions. In 1835, the National Federation of Flint Glass Makers was formed. This was a union exclusively for glass makers/blowers. But aggressive opposition by manufacturers meant that its life was short. Nonetheless, between 1835 and 1837 the federation had 646 members in twenty-five branches throughout England, Scotland and Ireland.[18] But in 1844, the glassmakers re-organized under the name of the United Glass Makers Society; again the sole preserve of the glass makers/blowers.[19] Although the manufacturers themselves organized to crush the union, they failed. It was left to a disastrous strike in 1848 to accomplish that objective. When in July 1848 the glass works of Rice Harris in Birmingham introduced pressed glass production and transferred some apprentice blowers to this production method, it initiated a strike. Their union argued that these apprentices could never acquire the skills necessary for glass blowing. In retaliation the employer sued for breach of contract. Rice Harris also imported twenty-six 'blacklegs' from France in an attempt to break the strike. But these French workers suffered much abuse, intimidation and assaults. And even though the workers' union, the UFGMS, offered the Frenchmen 26/- (26 shillings) a week each if they would join the strike or to pay their expenses back to France if they wished to return, they refused. Although the employer eventually lost the legal case, the end result was that the strike lasted until March 1849 and the union, its funds dissipated, was defeated and quickly folded.[20]

In September of that year the union re-organized as the Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society. In its first annual or national conference in Birmingham in July 1850, delegates from all the major glassmaking centres in England, Scotland and Ireland were present. The Irish delegates were from Dublin, Belfast and Waterford.[21] It is clear from this that the blowers at the Waterford Glassworks were unionised.

In 1844, the glass cutters also organised. Their union, the United Flint Glass Cutters Society (UFGCS) quickly drew up a constitution. One of the most important—and from an employer's perspective—contentious clauses, was the clause where it was stipulated that with regard to cutting, that there should be just one apprentice employed for every five qualified men. This became known as the 'apprentice law' and would play an important role in the strike at the Waterford Glassworks. A major glass-cutters strike in England in 1858-9 and involving the apprenticeship issue lasted over fifty weeks and had major implications for the union. Defeated by the employers the union's greatest casualty was its loss of control over apprenticeships. Thereafter, the glass cutters apprentice law of one to five

18 Takao Marsumura, *The Labour Aristocracy Revisited: The Victorian Flint Glass Makers 1850-80*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1983) p. 85.

19 *Ibid.*, p.86.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

21 *Ibid.*, 87-8 and 121.

was totally disregarded by the employers.[22] In many ways, the strike at the Waterford Glassworks was a precursor of the difficulties that would ensue in the glass industry in England and Scotland during the next twenty years.

As mentioned earlier, the strike at the Waterford Glassworks in June 1846 was initiated by the hiring of an additional apprentice. Gatchell admitted in his testimony that he had, prior to Lacy's employment, five apprentices.[23] This would indicate that there were twenty-five journeymen employed. It also meant that by hiring Lacy he was in breach of the 'apprentice law' of one apprentice to five journeymen. Hence the strike. Later, when Gatchell hired William Collins he also breached another of the clauses of the UFGCS constitution by hiring a 'blackleg' to replace a striking worker. Again this would not have been unusual in either Ireland or England. Indeed, employers in Ireland occasionally imported British artisans to break strikes, a costly policy that only created a more fragile industrial relations climate. As such, it is easy to see how the tensions of the striking workers at the Waterford Glassworks increased and their actions became more violent as the strike dragged on. It should also be remembered that in comparison to the rest of the working population these men would have earned very high wages, between 14/- (14 shillings) and 21/- (21 shillings) a week, and that they were now without work in what would be the worst year of the Famine.[24]

One of the last witnesses called to give evidence was the apprentice at the centre of the dispute, Stephen Lacy. In many ways he was a reluctant witness. Examined by council for the defendants, Mr Elliott, Lacy stated that he had been hired by George Gatchell after he had approached the proprietor personally to ask for a job. He lived in Brown's Lane and his first job was 'turning a hand-wheel for one of the men'.[25] He explained that he had been asked to come to the trial on this particular day by Isaac Gee but was not expecting to be called as a witness. His evidence, however, was to prove critical to the eventual outcome of the trial. He stated that on 7 October 1846, an altercation, involving about fifteen people, ensued outside the glassworks involving John Gain and Isaac Gee.[26] Admitting that he had seen Gain throw a large stone that narrowly missed Gee, which he believed was thrown maliciously, the situation that made him fearful for Gee's life. Though not fearful for his own safety, he was nonetheless 'dreadfully frightened'.

22 *Ibid.*, 112.

23 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 27 February 1847.

24 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 27 February 1847. Gatchell stated that the men earned between 14/- and 21/- a week but that Delahunty only earned between 8/- and 10/- because he was 'under a progressive article, learning the trade'. For a more comprehensive analysis of wage rates in Waterford city during the first half of the nineteenth century see John M. Hearne, 'The cost of living and the standard of living of urban workers in Waterford, 1834-56' in *Saothar* 26 (*Journal of the Irish Labour History Society*), pp. 37-50.

25 Since 1825 the glassworks had used steam power to operate their cutting machines. This indicates that manual labour was still being used – possibly to reduce costs – but more than likely for the less expensive items.

26 This was the incident also outlined by Gatchell.

Moreover, he explained that if Gee had been hurt that he and other employees present would lose their jobs.[27] Prosecuting council, Mr. Walsh, stated that he did not believe Lacy's evidence. But when Walsh called into question Lacy's moral and religious character he met with vociferous objections from the magistrates, Meagher, Morris and Dobbyn. Walsh's probing elicited from Lacy that the witness could both read and write, but that he was not 'a very good English scholar'; nor, it seems, was he overly observant in his religious practices.[28] Nonetheless, his evidence was crucial. Having deliberated for about an hour, the magistrates found the five accused guilty on all counts. John Gain was sentenced to two month's imprisonment, while the other four were sentenced to one month's incarceration, were fined £60 and bound to the peace for one year.[29]

The accused lodged objections, but no record exists of the outcome.

Conclusion

The strike at the Waterford Glassworks and subsequent trial highlights the tensions, work practices and difficulties faced by industrial workers in nineteenth-century Ireland as they attempted to organize into a potent representative force. It also illustrates the existence of endemic violence and a large impoverished underbelly lurking in the lower strata of society. More than anything, the strike at the Waterford Glassworks demonstrates that for those that were employed - glass workers more than most – a reasonable standard of living was enjoyed. Such workers were, however, never very far away from the tentacles of poverty and fear of losing their employment could easily turn reasonable men into the most violent of agitators. The Waterford Glassworks strike was an example of the tensions that existed not only between employers and employees, but between the skilled and unskilled. It was just one of many confrontations along the road to trade union formation and acceptance. Indeed, it is a struggle that has an eerie resonance with current glassmaking in Waterford.

27 *Waterford Chronicle & Munster Advertiser*, 27 February 1847.

28 *Ibid*. Both Meagher and Dobbyn questioned the legality of Walsh's questioning.

29 *Ibid*.

The Life and Death of Timothy Quinlisk: The Waterford Connections to Roger Casement's Irish Brigade[1]

Pat McCarthy

Late on the evening of 18 February 1920, people living on or near the Curragh Road in Ballyphehane on the southern outskirts of Cork City heard a short burst of gunfire followed a few minutes later by a single shot.[2] Given the tension of the times it is no surprise that nobody ventured out into the darkness to investigate. It was not until the following morning that some locals came across the body of a well-dressed young man in a field. His face had been hit by some of the bullets and he was barely recognisable. Hence it was not until a week later that the police in Waterford had the sad task of calling to 5 Rose Lane, the home of a former colleague, retired Sergeant Denis J. Quinlisk to tell him that his eldest son, Timothy Henry, was the victim of the killing in Cork. It was a sad and lonely death for a former member of Roger Casement's Irish Brigade. Nor was Tim Quinlisk the only Waterford man to have served in one of the strangest Irish military units ever formed. In all, six men with Waterford connections, and all members of the local regiment, the Royal Irish Regiment responded to Casement's call:

Timothy Henry Quinlisk was born in Wexford in 1895 to Denis Joseph, an RIC Constable and his wife Alice. A few years later Denis was promoted to Acting Sergeant and transferred to Waterford. The 1901 census has the family living in Castle Street, with Timothy, aged five, the eldest of four children. The 1911 census records show the family as living in 12 Cathedral Square. Thus young Timothy grew up and was educated in Waterford City. Contemporaries noted that he spoke fluent French and had a good knowledge of Irish. Judging by his service number he joined the Royal Irish Regiment in Clonmel in May 1911. He was soon promoted to corporal and was with the 2nd Battalion of the regiment in Devonport in August 1914 when war was declared.

James Kennedy was born in Waterford City on 22 July 1896 to James Kennedy and Alice Keogh. The 1911 census has James and Alice living at 43 Lower Grange Road but young James is not living at home with them. His service number indicates that he enlisted in April 1913 and he too was with the 2nd Battalion at the outbreak of war.

1 In the course of researching this article, I came across the website http//:irishbrigade.eu Created and maintained by David Grant it is an indispensable research aid covering all aspects of the Brigade. It is particularly valuable in reconciling the various lists of brigade members and on the personal details of all fifty-six members of the brigade.

2 *Cork Examiner*, *Cork Constitution*, 22-24, 20 February 1920.

Plate 1: NCOs of Casement's Irish Brigade in Zossen, Germany in 1915. From left: Cpl Peter Golden, Sgt Major Keogh, Cpl O'Mahoney, Sgt Daniel Julian Bailey (alias Beverly), Interpreter Zerhussen, Cpl Kavanagh,Cpl O'Callaghan, QMS H Quinlisk.

James Carroll was born in Waterford in 1886 and according to the 1901 census he was living with his parents James and Ellen and his three brothers and two sisters at Boola, Templemichael. His service number suggests that he went north to Clonmel the following year to enlist. The 1911 census has him serving with the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment at Agra, India and he was subsequently transferred to the 2nd Battalion, with whom he landed in France in August 1914. In October 1915 he gave his address as Smith Lane, Ballybricken.

Thomas McGrath The Irish Brigade enlistment book records him as from Waterford, born in 1894. His service number indicates that he enlisted in the Royal Irish Regiment in April 1914 and he would just about have finished his recruit training before he was sent to join the 2nd Royal Irish in Devonport at the outbreak of the war.

Patrick Holohan was born in Waterford on 17 March 1891. He appears to have enlisted in June 1909. The 1911 census has his brother living in New Street in Waterford City. After training in Clonmel he was posted to the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment in India from where he deserted in 1914. He made his way to Marseilles and was there when war broke out. He availed of the general amnesty to deserters that was announced in August 1914 and rejoined his regiment. On 19 September he was sent to the 2nd Battalion in France. In October 1915 he gave his address as 29 Ferrybank, Waterford. He had two sisters, one living in Ireland and the other in Nebraska, USA.

John Sweeney was born in Waterford according to the brigade enlistment book but in October 1915 he gave his address as Irishtown, Clonmel. This might suggest that he was born in County Waterford and the family moved to Clonmel, possibly before the 1901 census, which has a twelve-year old John Sweeney living with his parents and siblings in Irishtown, Clonmel. His service number indicates that he enlisted in December 1910 and he too was with the 2nd Battalion in Devonport in August 1914.

The 2nd Royal Irish Regiment goes to War

In July 1914 the 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Regiment was stationed in Devonport in the south of England. Mobilization was ordered on 4 August and the following week was filled with hectic preparations for war.[3] Reservists were recalled to the colours and reinforcements were received from Clonmel. On 13 August 1,083 officers and men sailed from Southampton to Boulogne. From there they were taken by train to Maubeuge where they joined the rest of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) preparing to advance into Belgium. A few days later the advance began and

3 Brigadier General Stannus Geoghegan, *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment*, Vol. 2, (London 1927), pp. 7-8; Tom Johnstone, *Orange, Green and Khaki*, (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1992), pp. 1-16.

by the evening of 22 August the BEF was dug in along the banks of the Mons-Conde canal. The following day they were subjected to incessant attack by the German First Army. At first the Royal Irish were stationed to the rear as divisional reserve for the 3rd Division but were soon drawn into the heavy fighting, suffering severe losses. The casualties at Mons were twenty killed, sixty-two wounded and 139 missing, most of whom had been captured by the Germans. The next day the BEF began their retreat, a retreat that would last for two long weeks. Throughout the fortnight the weary troops suffered further casualties but at last on 5 September they received the order to attack.

After heavy fighting the Allies forced the Germans to retreat but at the cost of further heavy losses. The Royal Irish lost a further ten killed, forty-nine wounded and forty missing. But the fiercest fighting came at Le Bassee and Le Pilly from 16 -19 October.[4] The battalion had received orders to attack and capture the villages. They succeeded but other supporting units failed in their tasks and the Royal Irish were surrounded. Cut off from their comrades they fought on grimly until they ran out of ammunition and were forced to surrender. Among those killed at Le Pilly was Michael Quinlisk, younger brother of Timothy. Born and reared in Waterford City he had enlisted in March 1913. Writing to his father from a prisoner of war camp near Hanover in Germany a few weeks later, a clearly traumatised Timothy said:

> I do not know if I can write to you in my usual coherent strain for I don't know whether I am a prisoner of war or not, as I am so bewildered by the sudden train of events. Anyway I am now settled down fairly well and am certainly in Germany. My dear Father – I have a most unwelcome and sad piece of news for you, which I find very hard in committing to paper. Poor Michael was killed on the 18th October. Poor lad he died a soldier's death. I am heartbroken now, as I think of him lying alone on the battlefield, was by his side as he breathed his last, he died very peacefully with a prayer on his lips. May God have mercy on his soul. My God it was terrible that day.
>
> Nearly all the poor chaps that left Devonport with me are now buried in France. Dear God, do not grieve too much over poor Michael's death, for someone had to go and at least one of us is safe, but I would have been quite content to have been killed if I thought Michael would have been saved. We are well treated here and get enough to eat and to drink but I miss the cigarette very much. I was to have been promoted still further the day after my capture but when I return to Ireland after the war, I hope with God's help to wear the Sergeant's sash. Don't fret too much on my account and try to think of poor Michael...[5]

4 Brigadier General Stannus Geoghegan, *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment*, Vol. 2, pp. 24-29; Tom Johnstone, *Orange, Green and Khaki*, pp. 41-51.

5 *Waterford News*, 27 November 1914. See also Tom Burnell, *The Waterford War Dead*, (Dublin, History Press Ireland, 2010), pp. 245-6.

The strength of the battalion on the morning of the 16th was twenty officers and 884 men. When mustered on the 21st they had only one officer and 135 men. Up to 400 of the rest were prisoners of war, the majority of whom were wounded. The remnant of the battalion was withdrawn from the line. In just two months the battalion had been practically wiped out and over 600 were prisoners of war dispersed in camps and hospitals across Germany. But at the end of November Irish prisoners of war were separated from their colleagues and were told that they were being moved to a particular camp where they would get special treatment.[6] Soon groups of Irish prisoners were being transferred from all over Germany to the camp at Limbourg. Limbourg was a large camp containing over 12,000 prisoners but the Irish, soon numbering over 2,400, were put in a single compound isolated from the others. The reason for this special treatment would soon become clear.

Sir Roger Casement in Germany[7]

Sir Roger Casement was in America when the war broke out. He quickly established contact with Clan na Gael and with the German embassy. He had decided to go to Germany with two objectives – to make the cause of Irish independence an international one by gaining formal German support and to recruit an Irish Brigade from among captured British troops. He left New York and arrived in Berlin on 31 October. He sought and was quickly given an audience with high-ranking officials in the German Foreign Office. They were favourably disposed to his plans and a formal agreement was drawn up which Germany pledged to recognise Irish freedom in the event of a German victory. His first task accomplished, Casement now turned his attention to raising an Irish Brigade from among the thousands of Irish prisoners of war. Captain Rudolf Nadolny, an officer of the general staff was tasked with assisting him. Together they drew up plans while Casement spoke idealistically of recruiting hundreds, if not thousands of soldiers who would be landed in Ireland to spearhead the fight for Irish freedom.

As a first step all the Irish POWs were to be gathered together in one camp – Limbourg.[8] By the end of December 2,486 Irishmen were assembled there but when Casement first visited the camp on 4 December there were only about fifty present. Casement's frosty reception was a taste of things to come. He addressed the group and attempted to convince them that Home Rule was a charade and that true independence had to be fought for. He was completely unsuccessful and had to withdraw from the camp. As the camp filled up Casement returned a number of times but with equal lack of success. Already two flaws in Casement's approach

6 Andreas Roth, '*The German Soldier is not tactful*': Sir Roger Casement and the Irish Brigade in Germany during the First World War', in the *Irish Sword*, No. 76, Vol. XIX, pp. 313-32.

7 Brian Inglis, *Roger Casement*, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1973), pp. 263-307; Seamus Ó Siocháin, *Roger Casement, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*, (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2008), pp. 396-430.

8 Andreas Roth, '*The German Soldier is not tactful*: Sir Roger Casement and the Irish Brigade in Germany during the First World War', in the *Irish Sword*, No. 76, Vol. XIX, p. 315.

were apparent. There had been no screening of the prisoners, some were Englishmen who had been serving in the Irish Regiments while others were loyalists serving in regiments that recruited in Ulster such as the Royal Irish Rifles, and Casement tended to address large groups instead of speaking to targeted individuals on a one-to-one basis. Casement also looked for support from the two Catholic chaplains attached to the camp – the Augustinian Father Canice O'Gorman and the Dominican Father Thomas Crotty. They arrived in Limbourg on 6 December but Father O'Gorman's stay was short, he left on 10 January 1915. He was replaced by an Irish-American priest, Father John Nicholson. Nicholson, who had been born in Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim, was totally committed to the Irish Brigade project. However, his open political agenda and his overt propagandising tended to alienate the men. In June 1915 he returned to the USA. Father Crotty, a native of New Ross, on the other hand, saw his role purely in terms of administering to the spiritual needs of the prisoners. He scrupulously avoided any political discussion and when asked directly about the Brigade he reminded the men that they had taken an oath of loyalty on enlisting in the British Army and that as good Catholics they should keep that oath.[9] Quinlisk later criticised Father Crotty and blamed him for preventing many men from joining the brigade.[10] Despite that, Casement himself became very friendly with the priest and this friendship probably played a significant part in Casement's ultimate conversion to Catholicism. He was received into the Catholic Church while awaiting execution in Pentonville prison in 1916. Father Crotty would later serve as prior of the Dominican community in Waterford from 1924–1927.

On 5 January 1915 Casement again visited the camp and addressed a mass meeting of the prisoners. He received a very hostile reception and was even jostled by some of them. In despair, he wrote on 9 January: 'My hope to find Irish soldiers must be given up'. However, a few days later one man made himself known to Casement and offered to help. It was Timothy Quinlisk. He was soon joined by two others, John Dowling and George Michael Keogh. The three effectively became the recruiting sergeants for the brigade. However, they avoided public meetings and discussions. Instead they spoke privately to selected individuals and a trickle of prisoners began to express interest. On 9 May Joseph Mary Plunkett, in Germany for medical treatment and to coordinate plans for a rebellion, visited the camp.[11] He stayed for a month and assisted Quinlisk, Dowling and Keogh in recruiting. He too favoured the quiet approach and by the end of the month just over fifty men had signed up for the Brigade. On 9 May a circular was distributed to all the POWs outlining the terms of service:

9 *The Times*, 18 June 1917, quoted on http//:irishbrigade.eu

10 Timothy Quinlisk, 'The German Irish Brigade: Diary of Casement's Lieutenant', in *Land and Water*, 6 November 1919, p. 19.

11 Seamus Ó Siocháin, *Roger Casement, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*. (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2008), pp. 416-18.

- Good pay and conditions
- Service only under Irish officers
- If Germany won the war she would recognise Irish independence
- If Germany lost the war, the members of the Brigade would be given financial help and jobs in the USA (still neutral)

Plunkett left Limbourg on 1 June. Although the men who had volunteered were housed in a separate barrack, Quinlisk reported a rising tide of hostility towards them. On 7 July 56 men,[12] the total number who had volunteered, were transferred to the German army barracks in Zossen, near Berlin, home of the 203rd Infantry Regiment.

The Irish Brigade formed[13]

On arrival in Zossen, the members of the brigade were issued with new uniforms, modelled on the standard German uniform but with Irish insignia of shamrocks on the shoulder patches. They were also paid the standard German Army rates but the money for this was actually supplied by John Devoy and the Clan na Gael organisation in New York. Seven men were given rank as non-commissioned officers including Quinlisk. He was given the rank of company quarter master sergeant, effectively making him second-in-command. A German NCO, Gefreiter Josef Zerhusen was attached to the brigade as interpreter. Josef Zerhusen had spent time in Liverpool before the war where, he claimed, he had married an Irish girl, Mary Ellen Hand. Although there were major question marks over the exact motivation of the men, Quinlisk himself describing them as 'the greatest collection of rogues that could be assembled from twenty regiments',[14] the brigade was now established. Quinlisk himself was not free from suspicion. In an undated letter to Father Nicholson, Casement remarked:

> There is a young sergeant of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment named Timothy Quinlisk (19 years) who volunteered first for the Brigade... it is necessary to be careful in speaking to him. The men are now, I believe, all against him and say he is a traitor.[15]

In Zossen the Brigade were in a twilight zone – to some extent they were treated as standard German army recruits; in other ways they were treated like

12 There are various lists of the members of the brigade with numbers ranging from 51 to 56. See http//:irishbrigade.eu

13 Andreas Roth, *'The German Soldier is not tactful'*: Sir Roger Casement and the Irish Brigade in Germany during the First World War', in the *Irish Sword*, No. 76, Vol. XIX, pp. 324-26; Michael Keogh, *With Casement's Irish Brigade*, (Drogheda, Choice Publishing, 2010), pp. 106-21.

14 See http//:irishbrigade.eu; Seamus Ó Siocháin, *Roger Casement, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*. (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2008), pp. 420-1.

15 Cited in Andreas Roth, *'The German Soldier is not tactful'*: Sir Roger Casement and the Irish Brigade in Germany during the First World War', in the *Irish Sword*, No. 76, Vol. XIX, p. 318.

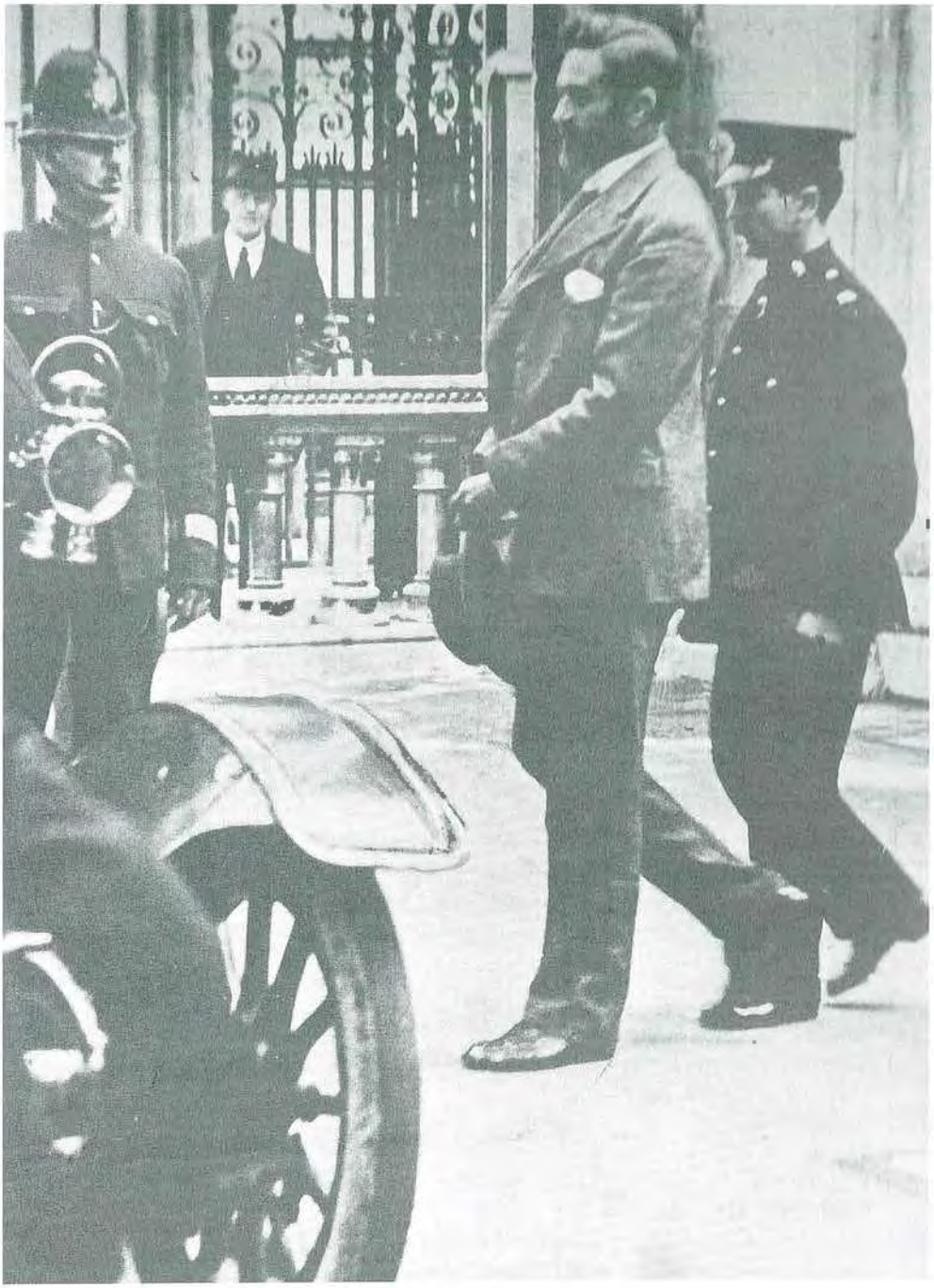


Plate 2: Sir Roger Casement escorted from court.

prisoners of war. Some German officers treated them in a condescending manner and were harshly critical of what they saw as a lack of discipline, citing fighting and alcoholism. To make matters worse, Casement himself was in a sanatorium in southern Germany being treated for a recurring tropical illness. For some time Casement had been pressing John Devoy to send over suitably-qualified Irish-American officers to take command of the brigade. He had originally hoped to find some Irish officer POW willing to serve but had given up that hope when he saw the poor response to his recruiting efforts. The man who Devoy selected was Robert Monteith.[16] A Wicklow man, he had served in the British Army for sixteen years and had seen action in the Boer War and in India. He was discharged from the army in 1903 and worked as a civilian in the Ordnance Depot in Islandbridge, Dublin. He joined the Irish Volunteers on their formation in November 1913. From the outset he was a committed and enthusiastic member of the Volunteers using his British Army training to good effect and was elected Captain of A Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade. When war came and the Volunteer movement split, he maintained his allegiance to the Irish Volunteers. In July 1915 he was contacted by Tom Clarke and agreed to travel to Germany to take command of Casement's Brigade. He made his way there via New York and Oslo reaching Berlin on 23 October 1915.

The arrival of Monteith had an immediate positive effect on the men in Zossen. Training was stepped up and discipline improved. Because of the small number of volunteers any question of forming a normal brigade was out. Instead the men were trained as specialist machinegun and mortar crews. One of the unverifiable stories about the brigade was that James Kennedy became so proficient as a machine gunner that he beat the best machine gunner in the Prussian Guards in a contest. Christmas Day 1915 was spent as you might expect. Monteith records in his diary:

> Mrs. Gaffney (Wife of the U.S.A. Consul General at Munich) together with some American friends had sent the men a very generous present. Each man received a green satin bag tied with Irish and German colours, containing tobacco, cigarettes, chocolate, Bavarian confectionery and other things. A danger signal immediately I entered the men's bungalow... Pte. Holohan was having an argument with a bottle of proof rum. Dinner at 4 p.m., music and singing the order of the evening. Quite a lot of girls there. It is wonderful the way the girls will chum with the Irish. German and English lessons in progress all over the house. Three fights which I had no problem in stopping. One man wants a German soldier's blood, because he thought the said German had made some remarks discrediting the Irish...

16 Florence Monteith-Lynch.: *The mystery Man of Banna Strand: The Life and Death of Captain Robert Monteith*, (New York 1959). This book, written by his wife, contains his diary of events in Germany.

Plate 3: Irish Brigade members. From left: John Carey, George Michael Keogh and James Kennedy.

In another contest the Irish football team played a team from the 203rd German Regiment on 1 January 1916. A musical celebration afterwards was followed by heavy drinking, which led to a fight between the Irish and the Germans. The camp commandant confined both units to barracks for two weeks. It is not known who won the football match or the fight!

However, by this stage the Germans were having second thoughts about the utility of the brigade. It was obvious to all that there would not be any large-scale sea-borne invasion of Ireland due to British naval superiority. Even if such were possible, Casement's Brigade would have, at best, only a marginal role. One idea canvassed by some German officers and supported by Casement and Monteith was that the Brigade would go to Palestine to join the small German force that was assisting their allies, the Turks.[17] At least they would be fighting the English. In December 1915 this idea was put to the men and thirty-eight out of fifty-six agreed, including Holohan and Sweeney from Waterford. However, this idea, probably never a serious proposition, fell through. Quinlisk and another brigade NCO, Michael Kehoe, seemed to have fallen foul of Monteith and did not volunteer for Palestine. However, on 30 March Quinlisk wrote to Casement declaring his loyalty

17 Andreas Roth, *'The German Soldier is not tactful'*: Sir Roger Casement and the Irish Brigade in Germany during the First World War', in the *Irish Sword*, No. 76, Vol. XIX, p. 325; Seamus Ó Siocháin, *Roger Casement, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*. (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 2008), p. 421.

to the cause of the brigade and complaining of Monteith's suspicions of Kehoe and himself. He also requested that Casement add his name to the list of those who had volunteered for Palestine. The following note in Casement's handwriting is on the back of this letter:

> I told this poor boy on the 4th April (my last visit to the men!) that if any one went or if the Brigade went he should surely go. He is only 19, of Waterford – and was the first man in Limbourg to volunteer for the Brigade in December 1914.[18]

Plate 4: Patrick Holohan's original gravestone in Germany.

Meanwhile the men continued training at Zossen. In March 1916 Patrick Holohan fell ill. He was transferred to hospital in Berlin but died there on 16 March. Casement was instrumental in having a suitable headstone erected at the grave and may have paid for it himself.[19] Holohan's remains were later transferred to the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Berlin when that was established in 1924. It is unlikely that the original headstone with its inscription: *Go Saora Dia Éire* (God free Ireland) was transferred to the new burial plot.

On 1 March 1916, Monteith and Casement were summoned to Berlin. There they were informed of the plans for the Easter Rising and of the German decision to send a shipload of arms. The Germans also wanted to send Casement, Monteith and the fifty-six men on board the ship thus ridding themselves of what was becoming a nuisance. Casement refused to send the men to certain death, as he himself believed that the rising was futile. In a farewell address to the brigade, Casement wrote:

> We are going away on a very perilous journey and have been forced to leave you without a word of farewell or explanation... One reason, perhaps the chief reason why you are not accompanying us today is to keep you out of the very grave danger we have to face... but we have decided it was unfair to appeal to your courage in a matter where all

18 Irish Military Archives (henceforth abbreviated as IMA), Casement Papers, CD/6/2/20-27.

19 *Ibid.* See also photograph of headstone.

> the elements of danger are very apparent and those of hope entirely wanting.[20]

The address is in the names of Casement and Monteith and of Bailey, another member of the brigade who accompanied them to Ireland. Bailey used the alias 'Beverley'. All three travelled to Ireland by submarine, landing on lonely Banna Strand on Good Friday morning. The outcome of the rising and Casement's fate are well known. Monteith managed to avoid capture but Bailey was arrested with Casement. At Casement's trial, Bailey turned King's evidence for which Casement forgave him. Casement was hanged while Bailey was released after a short term of imprisonment. But what of the remaining fifty-four men in Zossen?

The end of the Irish Brigade

Even before he left for Ireland, Casement knew that the brigade project had been a dismal failure. As always he was concerned about the men. Just before he left Berlin on his last journey, he wrote to the German Liaison Officer:

> I think that the best thing to do could be to put them to some useful occupation here in Germany till the war is over, and them to send them to America where Fr. Nicholson is already doing what is possible to provide for the future there.[21]

The failure of the Easter Rising and the capture, trial and execution of Casement had effectively killed any remaining enthusiasm that the Germans had for the project. Both the German Army and the Foreign Office washed their hands of the brigade. Without leadership or anyone to plead their case with Berlin, the men were in a strange kind of limbo. All military training for them was halted. Morale and discipline deteriorated. Their only contact was T. St. John Gaffney, the American Consul in Munich. Gaffney had been very friendly with Casement and was alleged to have had pro-German sympathies. He had taken an active interest in the brigade and had attended Patrick Holohan's funeral. The men looked to him for advice and assistance and wrote to him on a frequent basis. It appears though that he never visited them in camp. He was also the recipient of complaints about their behaviour. On May 20 Josef Zerhusen, an interpreter attached to the Brigade, wrote to him:

> In some cases the police and magistrates have begged us to take the Irishmen away as there is always some trouble, swindling, deaths, burglaries, selling stolen goods, beating policemen (two men just got nine months each), living with war wives when the husbands come home...[22]

20 *Ibid.*

21 http//:irishbrigade.eu

22 IMO, Casement Papers, CD/6/2/27.

In the end it was decided to transfer the men to a prisoner of war camp at Danzig Troyl.[23] This camp housed over 12,000 Russian prisoners of war. The Irish could retain their uniforms and could opt to work either inside or outside the camp. Many of them opted to work as farm labourers in the surrounding countryside and were able to supplement their meagre rations while others took various jobs in nearby towns. The complaints about drunkenness and misbehaviour continued with Gaffney the recipient of complaints from both the authorities and the men. From time to time some of them were transferred to other camps, punishment camps, for short periods of hard labour and short rations. Some of these punishments seem to have been at the instigation of their comrades. Without doubt they were a fractious bunch. Quinlisk got a clerical job in Dirschau. In his own inimitable way he was quite a hit with the local girls. In June 1917 he wrote to Gaffney trying to borrow money to buy an engagement ring. Gaffney refused to lend him anything and when Quinlisk could not produce a ring as a token of his intent the girl broke it off with him.

Throughout 1917 and 1918 the fifty-four men continued this strange existence, nominally prisoners of war but free to come and go as they pleased. One of them, Joseph Dowling, was landed by submarine on Crab Island, off the coast of Clare in September 1918, in an effort by the Germans to make contact with the revitalised Irish Volunteers. He was arrested soon after landing and later put on trial for treason. His explanation, that he just wanted to get home to Ireland after three years and seven months as a prisoner was not accepted and he was sentenced to penal servitude for life. After prolonged negotiations with the Irish Government, the British Government pardoned him and released him in 1924. In November 1918 a defeated Germany sought an armistice and the German Reich began to descend into revolutionary chaos. However despite all the problems that beset them, the German authorities were not unmindful of their obligation to the brigade. A letter from the Reich Chancellery to the Foreign Office, dated 30 November 1918 stated: 'It is impossible that Germany abandon these people to whom certain guarantees have been made'.[24] Sometime in November or December they were given passports in names of their choosing, railway warrants to any destination in Germany and money. They were on their own now. Four of them, none with Waterford connections, had German wives and stayed in Germany, at least for a short while. Some travelled to Bavaria, perhaps in the hope of getting assistance from Gaffney in Munich. A few are believed to have enlisted in the government forces there that were suppressing various revolutionary outbreaks. The others began to make their way westward. In the early months of 1919 at least thirty-three of them surrendered to the British occupation army in Germany and awaited their fate, among them John Sweeney and Timothy Quinlisk.

23 Michael Keogh, *With Casement's Irish Brigade*, (Drogheda, Choice Publishing, 2010), pp. 136-43.

24 Cited in Roth, p. 326.

The British dilemma[25]

Throughout the war the British had watched the brigade in so far as they were able based on the meagre information that was smuggled out of Germany. Sometimes British POWs were exchanged on medical grounds. These always had a debriefing interview during which they were asked a number of standard questions about their treatment in Germany. Exchanged Irish POWs were always asked about Casement, his recruiting methods and for the names of any prisoners thought to have joined Casement.[26] More often than not they said that they were not aware of any names. Under pressure some of them named Quinlisk and Keogh, sometimes referring to them as Casement's recruiting sergeants. In July 1915, two NCOs of the Royal Munster Fusiliers had managed to send a list to London of the men who had been transferred from Limburg to Zossen. In December 1915 an article about the brigade appeared in an American newspaper accompanied by a photograph of the seven NCOs including Quinlisk. This enabled the British authorities to definitely confirm a charge of treason against the seven. Nor did the progress of the brigade go unnoticed in Ireland. Stories about the brigade also reached the local newspapers in Waterford. The *Waterford News* of 3 March 1916 carried the following story:

> **The German Irish Brigade**
>
> A lady in England who since the beginning of the war interested herself in the providing of comforts for prisoners interned in Germany and who has made the Royal Irish the special object of her benevolence, informs us that a Waterford soldier (she mentions his name but we refrain from publishing it), whose pitiful letter appeared in the 'News' last August has gone over to the Germans. In the course of an article contributed to the Daily Dispatch by the lady to whom we refer, a pitiful account is given of the condition of prisoners in internment camps. Referring to the attempt to form an Irish Brigade she says: "It is an old story now. Not only all the men of Irish regiments, but several hundreds of Irishmen belonging to English regiments were brought together to be addressed by Sir Roger Casement on the splendid opportunity the war afforded them of freeing their country from the hated English by joining the Kaiser and helping to crush their common foe. What a surprise for the Germans when those thousands of Irishmen – 90 per cent of them from poor old rebel Ireland south of the Boyne – indignantly repudiated Casement, and the 49 renegades who took the Kaiser's pay had to be rescued from their outraged comrades at the point of the bayonet by their German masters.

25 http//:irishbrigade.eu in particular the memorandum prepared by the Judge Advocate General's office, 3 March 1919.

26 National Archives, UK, WO 161 debriefing of prisoners. A number of these reports are reproduced on the Dublin Fusiliers' website, http://dublin-fusiliers.com

The soldier whose name the *News* so delicately refrained from printing but who could be clearly identified from the *Waterford News* of August 1915 was Patrick Holohan. In July 1915 he had written a pleading letter to a Mrs. Owen of Cork, wife of a fellow prisoner and also a member of the Royal Irish. Begging her 'to do something for me as I am nine months a prisoner and have got nothing so far'.

When the war ended the British Government set up a committee to advise on the best way to proceed against all those who had joined the Irish Brigade. The initial proposal was simply to charge them with treason. But the legal advice was that a charge of treason, to which the death penalty could apply, could only be tried in a civil court. Aware of the deteriorating situation in Ireland, the British Government would not countenance a long drawn out series of show trials in a civil court especially of such a large number of men. Moreover by this stage all the participants in the Easter Rising had been released so trials would appear vindictive. Moreover the men would be able to put forward varied defences such as they only volunteered to get better food or to try to get back to Ireland or to keep an eye on the others so that they could report to the British Army etc. Although each had signed a declaration on joining the Brigade they had not taken any form of oath. The burden of proof for treason, a capital crime would be very high and the law officers were not confident of a successful outcome. Not surprisingly they turned their thoughts to trial by court martial under military law. The only serious charge that could be brought was one of desertion and here again the legal advice was that convictions would be difficult to obtain. In the end it was decided to do nothing. The men would be reinstated in the British Army just like other released prisoners of war and would then be discharged. Every possible means would be explored to stop any payments or gratuities that might be due. In the end even this was only possible in the case of the seven men in the photograph, including Timothy Quinlisk. By the end of 1919 all were back in civilian life, most in Ireland, a few in Germany and some in America or in England. Like millions of other demobilized soldiers right across Europe they blended back into civilian life.

With the exception of Quinlisk and Kennedy it is difficult to trace the post war lives of the Waterford men in Casement's Brigade. John Sweeney with an address in Clonmel was recorded as attending an anniversary mass for Casement in Dublin Castle on 19 May, 1957. No trace has been found of the subsequent careers of James Carroll and Thomas McGrath. James Kennedy returned to Waterford where he initially lived with his mother who had a small shop at 6 Lower Grange Road. He was reputed to have joined the IRA during the War of Independence. He later got employment with the Department of Social Welfare as a porter in the Labour Exchange, Ballybricken. He also acted as MC in the Olympia Ballroom for many years. He retired in 1961. During the Second World War he joined the 46th Battalion, Local Defence Force in Waterford. In 1947 Robert Monteith visited Waterford while on a lecture tour of Ireland and met James Kennedy. The local newspapers record a happy reunion of the former comrades in arms. From the time that he returned to Waterford until his death on 22 April 1973 he was known locally as 'Casement Kennedy'.[27] He seems to have been the longest surviving member of the brigade and his death closed a chapter in Irish military history.

27 *Munster Express*, 12 December 1947, 4 February 1955.

Timothy Quinlisk did not live to enjoy retirement or local fame.[28] After a short period on furlough in May 1919, he was discharged from the British Army on 3 June 1919. He travelled to Dublin where he lodged at 44 Mountjoy Square, a republican safe house, and made contact with members of Collins's inner circle. He also found time to write an account of the Irish Brigade under the title 'I was Casement's Lieutenant', which was published in the journal *Land and Water*. A brief period of employment as an insurance salesman was ended by illness and he then offered his services to Collins as a weapons instructor but this was declined. In September he wrote to the German government looking for permission to return to Germany and for money to fund his trip. Both were declined. By November of that year, short of cash and growing increasingly disillusioned with Collins and his circle he made a fateful and ultimately fatal decision, he wrote to Duhlin Castle offering his services as an agent to catch Michael Collins. In his letter he wrote,

> since coming home I have been connected with Sinn Fein. I have decided to tell all I know of that organisation and my information would be of use to the authorities. The scoundrel Michael Collins has treated me scurvily and I am now going to wash my hands of the whole business.

Unfortunately Quinlisk's letter was seen by Ned Broy, Collins's most useful agent in Dublin Castle. Details of the letter and of a subsequent meeting between Quinlisk and the police were passed on to Collins. Now fully alerted Collins arranged that Quinlisk would be inadvertently told that he, Collins, was away from Dublin, was staying in Clonakilty and would be stopping off in Cork City for a few days. Armed with this information and hoping to identify Collins to the RIC he travelled down to Cork where he stayed in Wren's Hotel in Winthrop Street using the name 'Quinn'. From there he made contact with members of the local IRA, hoasting loudly of his exploits in Casement's brigade. Michael Leahy, a barman in the hotel, was the initial contact and he passed him on to the officers of the Cork Brigade who quickly became suspicious of him. Following a raid by the RIC on the Thomas Ashe Hall, Headquarters of the local Volunteers it was decided at a Brigade Council meeting, chaired by Sean Hegarty, Brigade OC, that Quinn was a spy and that he should be shot.

The last moments of Timothy Quinlisk are perhaps best told in the words of his executioner, Michael Murphy, Commandant 2nd Battalion, Cork No. 1 Brigade:[29]

> I met 'Quinn' by appointment, and in the course of conversation, asked him if he knew anything about machine guns; he said that he had used every class of machine gun as a British soldier in the 1914-1918 war. I then told him that we had a Hotchkiss gun in separate

28 For Quinlisk's life and tragic attempt to act as a double agent see Piaras Beaslai, *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland*, (Dublin, Talbot Press, 1926), Vol. 1, pp. 392-402 and Michael T Foy, *Michael Collins's Intelligence War*, (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 2006), pp. 77-80.

29 IMA, Bureau of Military History Papers, Witness Statement 1547, Michael Murphy.

parts and we wanted a man to assemble it – there would be £10 for him if he would do the job. He readily agreed. I then arranged for a Volunteer named Keyes to bring him out that night to our rendezvous on the Curragh Road, about a mile and a half outside the city boundary, where I would meet him. 'Quinn' and Keyes duly arrived at the place appointed where Frank Mahony, Jimmy Walsh and I met them. We three were armed with revolvers. I told Keyes he could go home and Mahony, Walsh and myself went into a field accompanied by 'Quinn'. (I still did not know his real name.) It was now quite dark. As we crossed the field 'Quinn' asked me where the house was where the machine gun was kept. I pointed to a light in a cottage about a quarter of a mile away in the direction we were travelling and said it was that cottage. We had gone about 200 yards or so in the field when I stuck my .45 colt in 'Quinn's' back and told him to put up his hands. He was astounded but quickly 'shot up' his hands. We turned him around and while I had him covered, I told the other two Volunteers to search him for weapons and for documents and to take all his personal possessions from him. They took everything he had, including several letters, a cigarette case and a newspaper cutting. 'Quinn' protested that there was some mistake. When he was thoroughly searched, we shot him standing there. After the first few shots he fell and rolled around; my two companions also emptied their guns into him and, as it was by then close on curfew hour (10 p.m.) we left for the house in the city where we were staying. I had gone a few yards when something made me turn back and I said to my pals: "that fellow may not be dead at all". I went back and struck 'Quinn' with the butt of my revolver; immediately I did so, he swung from his right side to his left in a half somersault; he was not yet dead. I then turned him over on the flat of his back and put a bullet through his forehead. We then departed. On the morning following the execution I took all the letters and papers we had taken from him to Florrie O'Donoghue, Brigade Adjutant. One of these letters was addressed to the RIC authorities saying that he (Quinlisk) now had information about Michael Collins and would report again in a few days when the capture of Collins seemed imminent. The day following our shooting of Quinlisk, a herdsman going out to the fields for cattle found the body and notified the police who, in turn notified the military. The latter arrived on the scene in three lorries and took Quinlisk to the Cork City Morgue where he lay for at least three days with an RIC man on guard. There were daily notices in the papers by the RIC, asking people to go and view the body for identification. Hundreds of people viewed it but of course nobody identified him. He was then taken from the morgue and buried in the burial ground for paupers at the top of Carr's Hill, Cork.

A few weeks later Denis, Tim's father, travelled to Cork to apply for permission to exhume the body for re-internment in the family plot. Permission was granted. A few weeks after that Denis and his two daughters left Waterford. In his statement to the Bureau of Military History Tomas O'Cleirigh of the Waterford City Battalion described a plan to tar and feather one of the Quinlisk girls because of her friendship with a local RIC officer.[30] Happily for her she left Waterford before the plan could be put into effect. In the *Waterford News*, May 1927, there is a report of Denis's death in London.

Postscript

In 1934 the new Fianna Fáil government of Eamonn deValera introduced the Military Pension Services Act. The main purpose of the act was to extend eligibility for Military Service Pensions to those who had taken the anti-treaty side during the civil. A further act in 1936 granted pensions to members of the Conaught Rangers who had mutinied in India in 1920 in protest about the policies of the British government in Ireland. One group did not benefit from either act – the survivors of Casement's brigade. A brief flurry of letters to the papers from some of the survivors and a few parliamentary questions failed to change the government's decision and no pension or public acknowledgement was made of the service of these men in the ranks of Casement's Irish Brigade.[31] As late as 1962, when very few of them could have been still alive, the issue was raised in the Dáil and received the same negative response. It seems that ultimately the Brigade was an embarrassment to three governments – the German, the British and the Irish. It was an ignoble end to Casement's dream.

30 *Ibid*, Witness Statement 972, Thomas Cleary.

31 See Dáil Éireann debates 12 September 1934; 25 May 1948; 24 June 1953; 27 February 1958 and 11 December 1962. 1962 appears to have been the last time that this issue was raised in the Dáil.

Waterford Gas Works Soviet 1923

Dermot Power

Introduction

In January 1923 the workers of the Waterford Gas Co. took over the gasworks and raised a red flag over the building. This was the beginning of what became known locally as the Gas Works Soviet. Attempts to write an account of this strike have been extremely difficult. Some years ago, an appeal was made on Waterford Local Radio hoping that family members of the strikers would have some knowledge of the strike but to no avail. Retired employees of the Waterford Gas Co. were interviewed and again they had no in-depth knowledge of the events surrounding the strike. It seemed to have vanished from local folklore. There may be a very valid reason as to why this strike has been blotted from local collective memory. This will be examined later in this article.

Another obstacle to researching the strike was the fact that the local branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (henceforth abbreviated as IT&GWU)[1] correspondence for the crucial 1923 period was, some years ago, sent to the union headquarters in Liberty Hall in Dublin for the compilation of a book on the history of that union. The documents were never retumed and despite an intensive search, they have not been found to date.

It was left to Waterford man, labour historian, Dr. Emmett O'Connor to write what little we know about the Gas Works Soviet.

For the blow-by-blow account of the strike it was necessary to consult the following local newspapers, namely, the *Waterford News*, the *Waterford Evening News*, the *Munster Express* and the Dáil Debates of the period.

Ireland would witness over a hundred 'soviets' in the years 1919 and 1920.[2] Most of these were in fact an extension of the independence struggle rather than for the advancement of the working class. The general strike of 14th April 1920 as well as the regional soviets established by striking workers was in support of republican hunger strikers. The *Manchester Guardian* newspaper reported from Waterford that;

> the City was taken over by a Soviet Commissar and three associates. The Sinn Fein mayor abdicated and the Soviet issued orders to the population which all had to obey. For two days, until a telegram arrived reporting the release of hunger strikers, the city was in the hands of these men.[3]

1 In 1990 the IT&GWU amalgamated with the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland to create the Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU).

2 Conor Costick, *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy 1917-1923*, (Pluto Press, 1996), p. 70.

3 *Ibid.* p.123.

Plate 1: Gas workers, 1890.

During the War of Independence labour had forgone its political ambition in favour of the national question and had agreed not to contest elections. However the fear remained as articulated in *The Times* newspaper in January 1919 that left-wing radicals would 'push aside the middle class intelligentsia of Sinn Fein, just as Lenin and Trotsky pushed aside Kerensky and other speech makers.'[4]

At the foundation of the Free State in 1922 the expectations of the Labour Movement was high. Now that the state had been established Labour believed that the interests and grievances of workers must now be addressed.

On January 10 1922 a deputation from Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress was received by Dáil Éireann. The deputation consisted of Thomas Johnson, Secretary; Cathal O'Shannon, Acting Chairman; Thomas Foran, General President IT&GWU; O'Farrell, RCA; Cullen (Dublin); Nason (Cork); Carr (Limerick); and Luke Larkin (Waterford). Thomas Johnson introduced the delegation stating that;

> It was desirable that we should seek an interview—to seek to meet you, at least, as a delegation officially representing three hundred thousand organised workers in this country. Our delegation represents all the various towns: Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Dublin and other towns, as well as some of the agricultural districts of the country. I said we had refrained from contesting elections in the interests of national solidarity in the face of the enemy; in the face of the enemy of Ireland and the enemy of the working class— the capitalist imperialism in operation in this country. We had reason to know—we had documentary evidence to prove—that in the minds of certain very high officials of the British Government there were hopes and beliefs, and their conduct was founded on those hopes and beliefs, that we would sometime in the struggle split off from the national movement. That was one of the factors—a very important factor which determined our action at the elections.
>
> As I have said, we had followed the debates intently, and we could not but feel that with the stress of the war, the critical periods, and the difficulties of administration, both the Government and the Deputies seem to have forgotten—in the stress of political issues—to some extent, that there was a social problem at home. There are at this time probably one hundred and thirty thousand men and women walking the streets, unemployed. Tens, and twenties, and thirties of thousands of these have been only intermittently employed for the last year, or one-and-a-half years. In every country in Europe all such people have been forced to agitate more or less violently against the powers that be. But the feelings of solidarity with the nation which permeate the working class in Ireland have tended to restrain any action which they would naturally take...

4 *Ibid*. p. 139.

WATERFORD GAS WORKS.

IN consequence of the Accident which some time ago occurred at the above Works, the completion of the same, so as to enable the Company to commence lighting the Streets with GAS, will, it is expected, be delayed about One Month beyond the usual time:—Under these circumstances, it has been thought advisable to light the City with OIL LAMPS till the Gas Lamps are ready, and Proposals will be received by T.S. Peckston, on MONDAY, next, at ONE o'Clock, in the Afternoon, for lighting the Street Lamps with Oil, in the best manner, for One Month, commencing from the 1st. September next.

20th August, 1825.

Plate 2: From Waterford Mail, 27 August 1825.

WATERFORD *Gas Light Company.*

SUCH of the Inhabitants of Waterford as shall, previous to the FIRST Day of January next, give Notice of their intention to be supplied with GAS LIGHT, will have the Service Pipes laid from the Mains to the Premises to be lighted, *free of expence.*—After which Period, the Consumer will have to pay *One Shilling per Foot* for taking up and replacing the Pavement and laying down the Service Pipe.

Any further information, if required, will be given at the Company's Office, on the Works.

December 2, 1825.

Plate 3: From Waterford Mail, 3 December 1825.

> The times have developed; circumstances have developed. Those times have passed and we are in the situation today that a very large proportion of the population is at its wits' end to know how things are going to move. Thousands of children are hungry and naked, huddled together like swine in their so-called houses. In all parts of the country we hear cries of desperation, cries of: What is going to be done for us? These murmurs presage, in our minds, something like the tremors of an earthquake and unless something is done rapidly—something effective —there will be a grave situation developing in this country that will be a problem for even an old-established government, let alone a new one. The working classes in Ireland have taken a full share in this national struggle (hear, hear). Individually and collectively the workers have borne their part (hear, hear). They are prepared to do it again when the need comes... But I would like to say that, in so far as they are conscious of their purpose - and that applies to the greater part of the men who went into this fight for freedom and for Ireland's nationality - they went into the fight for freedom for the men and women of Ireland individually (hear, hear). Freedom from bondage to wage slavery, freedom from bondage to the machine, freedom from bondage to capitalists and financiers in Ireland or in other parts of the world. We feel, and they feel, that there must be something done immediately to lessen this burden that they are suffering.

The President Arthur Griffith replied,

> Before the delegation leaves, I want to thank them for putting before us here, their views. I want also to say I fully agree with what they say. The workers of Ireland have taken their full share in this fight for Irish freedom. I want also to say I understand perfectly, and I know, this question of unemployment, and I may say we are prepared to appoint a Committee to meet Mr. Johnson and his co-representatives to try and deal with this question.[5]

And a committee was all that was going to be given them.

This attitude of the Free State government had already been heralded in 1922 when Labour sought to amend the draft 1922 constitution to include in it social principles embodied in the Democratic Programme of the First Dáil in1919. The Minister of Home Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins, dismissed the amendment as 'largely poetry'[6] and later insisted that 'it would certainly be unwise thing to embody in the constitution what certainly looks very much like a Communistic doctrine.'[7]

5 Dáil Éireann Debates, Volume, 3-10 January 1922, Labour Deputation Received.
6 *Ibid.* Volume 1 - 21 September, 1922 Constitution Debates Resumed
7 *Ibid.* Volume 1 - 25 September, 1922 Constitution of Saorstát Eireann Bill

It should have become obvious at that stage that the Free State government was not going to embrace the social principles of the First Dáil. It was to be as Tom Johnson had warned when he addressed the Dáil, that, the apparent intransigence of the government to the plight of the working class would be tested in the furnace of industrial unrest.

In 1923, there were an unprecedented 1,208, 734 working days lost due to industrial disputes.[8] The 1923 figure is indicative of the social turmoil in the fledging state. Indeed in the following year 1924 there were only 301,705 days lost.[9] During the period of economic downturn of the late 1980s only 317,000 days were lost annually through industrial action and by 2003 this fell to 37,500 days.[10]

Origin of dispute

As the new year of 1923 began, two strikes broke out in Waterford City on the same day January 26th. One was at Graves over short working time. The other at the gasworks on the Waterside with the following report in the local press on the 27 January;

> a dispute between the Transport Union and the Dockers Union over trimming coals at a discharging steamer yesterday resulted in a Gas Works strike this morning. Today the Transport Union entered the Gas Works and placed a red flag over it. The Transport workers committee, now in charge of the works, announce that Mr. Ellicott, the manager is suspended, pending the arrival of Mr. Anderson proprietor of Waterford Gas Company.

The dispute at the Waterford Gas Works had its origin in the 'trimming of coals', a procedure whereby after the coal had been unloaded from the ship and carted to the gasworks, the coal would then be unloaded into mounds and the coal that lay scattered around the sides of the mound would be shovelled back onto the mound.

The dispute has often been presented as an inter-union dispute between the Dockers' Union and the IT&GWU. However it would appear that the catalyst for the strike was the action of the gasworks Manager, Mr. Percival Ellacott, when he changed the system of discharging coal. This necessitated the dispensing of at least twenty to thirty members of the Dockers' Union. Mr. Conway Branch secretary of the union made no attempt to preserve this work for his men but insisted that the trimming of coal, that was usually carried out by the IT&GWU men be handed over to the dockers. The gasworks manager refused this request and 'the discharging of the steamer was halted temporarily.'[11] According to Tommy Dunne IT&GWU branch secretary, in a letter to the *Evening News* dated 31 January;

8 Donal Nevin, (ed.), *Trade Union Century*, (Dublin, Mercier Press, 1994), p.395.
9 *Ibid.*
10 www.cso.ie
11 *Ibid.* 31 January 1923.

> The next morning the Dockers unloaded the remaining coal and the IT&GWU men trimmed it as usual without any interference. Later on another cargo of coal arrived and Mr. Conway reiterated his demand that the Dockers should trim the coal. Mr. Ellacott called Tommy Dunne, Branch Sec. and asked that the Gas Works men give up their right to trim the coal. This was refused. And the IT&GWU men downed tools.' In a letter to the local papers dated 5 February Mr. Ellacott claimed that, it was in consequence of him refusing to promise the trimming to the Dockers that the unloading of the steamer "Beeston" was held up.[12]

He did however 'allow one cartload of coal as a test to proceed to the gasworks in the hope that the difference between the unions over trimming would be resolved.'[13]

Red flag hoisted

On returning to the gasworks Mr. Ellacott found that a red flag had been hoisted on the chimney stack and that the IT&GWU members had entered the gasworks and were occupying the building. The workers had formed an eight-man committee and had occupied an upper room. Four members of the committee approached Mr. Ellacott and demanded the keys of the safe, which he refused. The men then threatened to smash open the safe and gave Mr. Ellacott six hours to get out of town. However, under the protection of two Guards he opened the safe and withdrew the contents, amounting to £400 and lodged it in the bank.[14] The workforce of Waterford Gas Company at this time was fifty-four gas workers[15] and 9 clerical staff.[16]

Who was Percival Ellacott?

Percival Ellacott, the resident manager of the Waterford gasworks was a native of Finchly, London. He is shown in the 1911 census of Ireland as resident of a house in Ringmacilroy, Warrenpoint, County Down and his occupation was listed as manager of gasworks. Aged thirty-three, his wife's name was Priscilla, and the couple had three children. One child, Terence aged two was listed as having been born in Waterford City.[17] The fact that one of his children was born in Waterford suggests that he may have worked at the gasworks in Waterford at an earlier period. Previous to taking up the position of resident manager at Waterford gasworks he had been manager of the Newry gasworks for nine years.[18] He had taken up the position in Waterford towards the end of 1922 and it appears he immediately set

12 *Ibid.* 5 February 1923.
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Ibid.* 29 January 1923.
15 *Ibid.* 31 March 1923.
16 *Ibid.* 19 April 1923.
17 National Archives of Ireland, 1911 Census.
18 *Waterford News*, 18 July 1924.

Plate 4:

Plate 5:

about making his mark and stamping his authority on the Waterford gasworks. Prior to the strike on 26 January Ellacott had, at the beginning of January, circulated fourteen gas workers and informed them 'that their services would shortly be dispensed with.'[19] The men decided to call a lightning strike and the company backed down 'and agreed not to discharge any men until the end of March.'[20] It is probable that this action coupled with Ellacott's attitude to the trimming of coal put the gasworks management and the workers on an irrevocable slide towards industrial action.

First meeting of strikers and management

On Monday 29 January a local newspaper reporter noted that;

> outwardly there was little to indicate to the casual observer the unique conditions under which gas for the citizens is being produced. Work in all departments, clerical and otherwise was being carried on as usual under labour management. Mr. Anderson general manager of the Gas Works had arrived in the City on Sunday evening and was to meet the Strike committee in conference on Monday at 2:30 pm.

According to the newspaper report at 5.30 that evening 'the conference was still taking place.'[21]

It was agreed at that meeting on Monday that a ballot of the workers be held. The issue to be decided was the handing back of the gasworks to the management. The decision of that ballot, announced the following morning was for a continuance of the strike until the services of Ellacott had been dispensed with and a new manager appointed. The men indicated that they were determined not to alter their position in respect of Ellacott's removal. The workers committee issued a statement that they had 'decided in the interest of the consumers and the shareholders to work the plant'. The statement continued;

> for the information of the public we would like them to know that the whole staff of the works both clerical and others are working in complete harmony with the object of keeping a sufficient supply of gas to the public that they may be able to carry on their work without any inconvenience'.

They asked for public support of their action.[22]

The same day the gas company issued a statement outlining their position on the strike and advising customers that 'no person except Mr. Ellacott is until further notice authorised to give a valid receipt for payments made to the Gas Company. Consumers with slot meters were advised, not to allow any person to remove coins from meters. Should the money boxes become full the consumers

19 *Waterford Evening News*, 10 April 1923.
20 *Ibid*.
21 *Ibid*. 29 January 1923.
22 *Ibid*. 30 January 1923.

Plate 6:

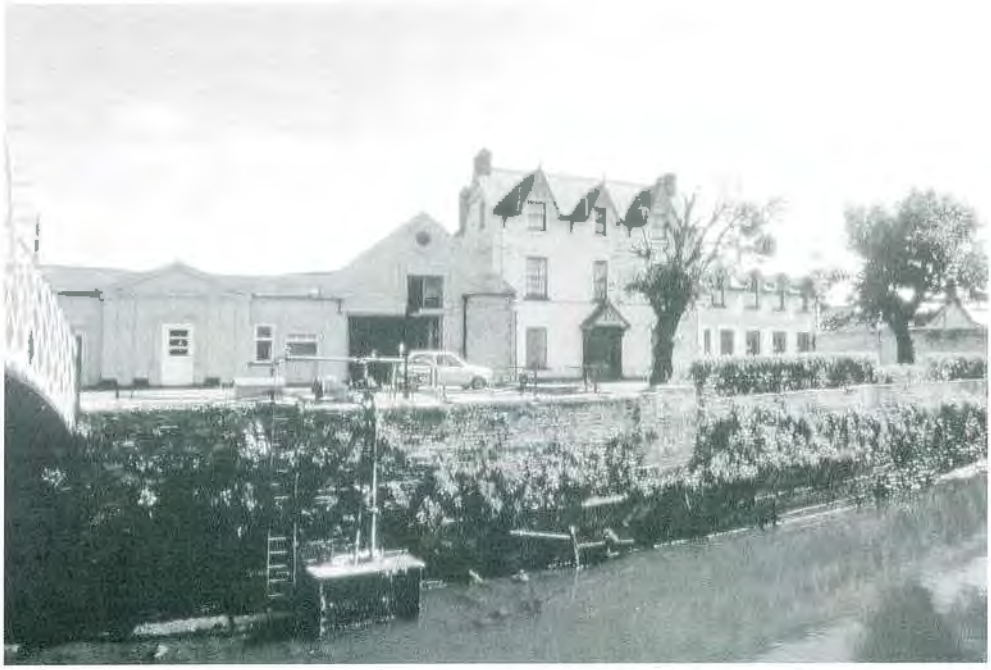


Plate 7:

were to break off the locks, remove the cash and hold it until the works have been handed back to the company.[23]

Statement of strike committee

The following day the strike committee countered this advice and stated through the local papers that, they did not 'wish to do any injury to the company but to assist them in every way as if the old management were in power.'[24] The statement continued, 'Furthermore we might state that any profits reaped while the plant is in our hands will when the dispute is settled, be handed over to the company.'[25] The committee asked for the support of the consumers in meeting the workers' collectors in a proper manner and added that the dispute would automatically adjust itself. In a more threatening tone, the statement advised that if 'any consumer refused to pay accounts when visited by collectors or found tampering with locks or other fittings of the slot meters they would be compelled to disconnect their supply.'[26]

Red flag displayed at general meeting

On Monday 29 January a general meeting of the IT&GWU was held in the Large Room in the Town Hall. It was reported that 'during the reading of the secretary's report some twenty or more members entered the room headed by one of their number carrying the Red Flag. They were cheered by their assembled comrades'.[27] Later at the meeting IT&GWU organiser James Baird, proudly announced,

> We have a section of our members who have taken a very big step forward, perhaps even bigger than they know. The have hoisted the Red Flag – the flag of revolt. There is only one flag of real revolt that I know of in the world, and a section of our members have hoisted that flag here in Waterford. Of course our members of the Press have not forgotten to advertise it, and we have certainly had no objection to that. However as this particular trouble has not yet been dealt with, I need not refer to it further than to say that the men in the Gas Works by keeping up their end in this will be a credit to their Union, to the workers of Ireland, and also to the workers of the world. I think they will do this, and do us an honour. I congratulate them on the step they have already taken.[28]

23 *Ibid.*
24 *Ibid.* 31 January 1923.
25 *Ibid.*
26 *Ibid.*
27 *Waterford News*, 2 February 1923.
28 *Ibid.*

Six weeks coal

On Thursday 1 March it was reported that 'the strike committee had purchased enough coal to maintain the city supply for six weeks'.[29] This surely must have sent shivers down the spine of the gasworks management. Dr Emmett O'Connor's assertion is probably correct when in an article on the strike he wrote 'Management had surrendered remarkably easily, and one suspects it hoped the men would try to operate the plant until discredited by their own incompetence or brought to their senses by public dissatisfaction or financial insolvency... The soviet would prove management's claim that the company was overstaffed and unprofitable.'[30]

However the opposite was happening. There was complete harmony among the strikers. The members of two unions were working as one to maintain the gas supply for the city. The public relations machine of the strikers was equal to if not better than the gas company's. If it was a nightmare for the management, it must have also been apparent to the government, whose representatives in the Ministry of Labour had become involved in attempting to resolve the dispute that these strikers were not led by buffoons but by well-reasoned, articulate and disciplined men. In fact, the chairman of the strike committee was Michael Hunt, a city councillor[31] and another striker, Pat Keating, was chairman of the local IT&GWU branch and worked as a fitter at the gasworks. Local and family tradition has it that it was Pat Keating who raised the red flag over the gasworks. Keating was well educated, articulate, a good organiser and a committed socialist. Both men were also members of the Waterford Anti-Profiteering Committee.

Military suppress soviet

On Saturday, 10 March it was reported that it was hoped that 'a conference between the strike committee, Mr. Anderson General Manager of the Gas Co. and Mr. McGuire representing the Ministry of Labour was to be held that day. Having inquired at the local offices of the IT&GWU the news reporter was told that, it was improbable that a conference would be held during that day.[32] It transpired that Mr McGuire had talks with the strike committee with a view of persuading them to hand the works back to the gas company. The strike committee refused. This refusal sealed the fate of the soviet and at 10.15pm on Saturday 'when seven men were feeding the fires of the gasworks and another four on the premises the Free State military moved in and took possession. There was no scene and the workers withdrew and handed the keys over to the military, which, were subsequently given to gasworks general manager, Mr. Anderson.'[33]

29 *Waterford Evening News*, 1 March 1923.
30 Emmett O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford, 1989), p. 178.
31 *Waterford Evening News*, 4 July 1923.
32 *Ibid*. 10 March 1923.
33 *Ibid*. 12 March 1923.

The use of the military it would appear was to send a clear signal to other workers who might be contemplating using the soviet tactic in further industrial disputes. Some might argue that the government feared a violent reaction by the men of the gasworks. This argument is not valid as at the outset of the dispute when things would be much more acrimonious, Mr. Ellacott was, without interference able to open the safe and remove its contents with the aid of only two civic guards. Furthermore when almost 200 people rioted on the Yellow Road in support of the farm labourers they were dispersed by only six Guards.[34]

After their eviction from the gasworks, the strikers insisted that under no circumstances would they return to work under Ellacott. A week later it was reported in the local papers that the mayor had actively interested himself in the dispute. The mayor called a meeting of gas consumers in the town hall and agreed to 'forward any recommendations of that meeting to a meeting of the strikers.'[35]

Under the auspices of he Ministry of Industry and Commerce a conference between the parties took place in the town hall on Saturday 24 and Monday 26 March.[36] Mr. McGuire from the Ministry of Labour was present at those meetings; however 'the conference broke up with nothing resolved.'[37] It would appear from a letter from the IT&GWU and the Irish Clerical and Allied Workers Union, that at that conference the matters regarding the trimming of coal and the position of Ellacott had been resolved. However, the company now introduced new issues. One was that the company sought the immediate reduction of thirty staff. In addition, stokers would be required to work a twelve-hour shift instead of the eight hours they worked previously - an increase of twenty-four hours in one week. The union stated that they 'were prepared to agree to the setting up of an Arbitration Board to decide whether any reduction of the staff would be necessary.'[38] The company rejected this out of hand and persisted with the demand for a reduction in staff. Tommy Dunne, secretary of the I T&GWU appealed to the public and trade unionists to support them in resisting the attempt to bring back workers to worse than pre-war conditions.[39]

Lengthy letter from Anderson

Anderson replied on 9 April from his home in London. In a lengthy letter, he outlined the need for a reduction of the work force. This reduction he wrote was necessary for the following reasons;

1. Extraordinary repairs being completed.
2. Cessation of demand for remunerative slot installations.
3. Reduced demand for gas.
4. Lessened output per man.[40]

34 *Waterford News*, 20 July 1923.
35 *Waterford Evening News*, 20 March 1923.
36 *Ibid*. 24 March 1923.
37 *Ibid*. 26 March 1923.
38 *Ibid*. 31 March 1923.
39 *Ibid*.
40 *Ibid*. 10 April 1923.

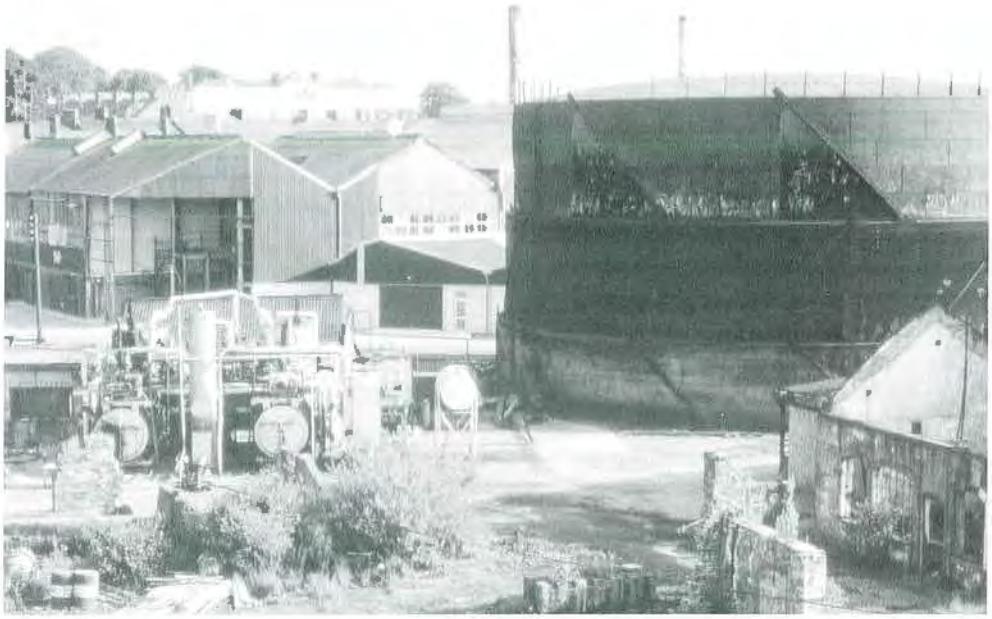


Plate 8:

Plate 9:

Anderson claimed that their policy to date had been to find summer work doing repairs, thus occupying winter hands during the summer months. These repairs had now being completed and there was no work for these men. Other factors mentioned were the increase in the price of coal and increased scales for wages. He continued, 'Higher rates and other costs necessitated charging so high a price for gas that consumers curtailed their demand. The frequent interruption of supply due to strikes he claimed, led many consumers (particularly for engine gas) giving up their supply of gas. The result being that the sale of gas had decreased by one fourth, which naturally meant that fewer men were needed.'[41] Anderson also clamed that implicit in the reduction of the working day from twelve hours to eight hours which was conceded by employers during the First World War, was the belief that workers would produce the same in eight hours as they did in twelve. He claimed that the men in the gasworks never did anything approaching the same amount of work. He said that in future that amount of work per man must be done. He proposed that the workers revert to the twelve hour day, which he believed was the best way forward, but he was willing to concede to the eight-hour day provided that the men work in smaller gangs. In reference to the suggestion by the strikers that they go to arbitration to decide the matter of the necessity for a reduced workforce. Anderson retorted that, 'in view of so many of the employees having repudiated their written agreements by relinquishing their positions without giving the agreed notice, the company he added must be very careful in reposing further confidence in them.'[42] Anderson appealed to the public in his letter stating that it was they that held the key to the situation promising that if there was a reduction in the workforce there would be an immediate reduction in the price of gas commensurate to the saving the company achieved. He announced that if 'the thirty men are not re-engaged it (the reduction in price) will certainly be the equivalent of a shilling per thousand and will be as much more as the company can afford.'[43] He suggested that the public was not prepared to pay an unnecessary inflated price of gas just to 'keep a lot of superfluous men employed at the Gas Works.'[44] The company he said 'Regretted the interruption of the supply but feels it inevitable as long as the men are so misled.'[45]

Anderson seems to have been obsessed with the need to reduce the workforce from seventy to forty men. The real reason behind the proposed reduction of the workforce probably lay in Anderson's annoyance that the unions had won a reduction of the working day. Time and time again in correspondence he refers to this reduction of the working day and his belief that the same amount of work should be done in the reduced working day.

41 *Ibid.*
42 *Ibid.*
43 *Ibid.*
44 *Ibid.*
45 *Ibid.*

Attempt to divide workers

The *Evening News* of 14 April reported that one of their reporters had interviewed Tommy Dunne, secretary of the Waterford branch of the IT&GWU, who informed him that the prospects of a settlement was as remote as ever, and that an attempt had been made by the gasworks management to influence a portion of the affected workers to return to work and, as Mr Dunne put it, to 'scab' on their fellow strikers. The attempt he asserted was contained in the following letter from the Gas Company;

> Sir,
> The company has prepared a list of workers which it proposes to re-engage when the present dispute is settled and I beg to inform you that you name appears on the list. I should be pleased to hear if we may count upon your return, to work when the dispute is settled, as otherwise it would be necessary, of course, to engage another in your place.
>
> Yours Faithfully
> P.B. Ellacott, Resident Manager[46]

All the letters received by the strikers were handed over to the union and Dunne wrote to the Gas Company making the following reply;

> Dear Sir,
> The letters which you were good enough to send to various members of our Gas Works Section have been handed to me for reply. May I remind you that it is usual, if workers are members of a Trade Union, for Employers, or Managers, to deal with that union in all matters affecting the workers in question; and in view of your long experience your ignorance of this first principle of Trade Unionism is somewhat surprising.
>
> However I have been instructed to inform you that all those to whom you have written are prepared to return to work when the dispute is settled,
>
> Yours Faithfully,
> Thomas Dunne.[47]

The newspaper article concluded stating that a 'Flag Day' was be held for the workers in the city the following day and would be 'sold at all the city churches and at various city district throughout the city.'[48] Three days later a letter appeared in the *Evening News* from the Irish Clerical and Allied Workers Union (Waterford Branch) addressed to Ellacott. It read as follows;

46 *Ibid.* 14 April 1923.
47 *Ibid.*
48 *Ibid.*

Dear Sir,

Your belated letters of the 10th inst. addressed to the members of the above union, have been handed to me for reply. Are you aware, if not you should be, that when workers are members of a Trade Union it is not usual for employers, or managers to write to each other individually asking them are they prepared to return to work when disputes are settled, while there is already a dispute in progress. Don't you think the better course to adopt would be to take the matter up with the union they are members of i.e., the above.

Now if this is yours or Mr. Anderson's idea of trying to settle labour disputes in this country by getting a quantity of circulars typed in London sent to Waterford by parcel post to be addressed by you to the fortunate workers whom you chose, you and Mr. Anderson are entirely mistaken. I have now been instructed to inform you that the members of our union are prepared to resume work when the strike is settled.

The letters concludes with the following postscript.

For your own information when circularising ladies in future you might address them as Madam not Sir.[49]

The letter was signed John Maher, President.

At a delegate conference of the Irish Clerical and Allied Workers Union the following week, it was reported that, the union had nine members working in the Gas Works who had been on strike since 9 March and the union had been paying strike pay to these members since that date. The delegate also mentioned that 'this was the first time that the union had to pay strike pay since its inception.'[50]

The *Evening News* of 24 April reported that a prominent citizen had interviewed two members of the gasworks management with a view to resolving the dispute. The report stated the un-named gentleman received an assurance that the works would be restarted on the coming Monday with all hands. The management would however reserve the right to dismiss a number of men after a fortnight for whom they could find no work. As the report pointed if the strikers accepted this solution those who were dismissed could claim out of work benefit. Being on strike precluded them from being eligible for this benefit. The report concluded with the understanding by management that the basis for a return to work is 'based on the workers acceptance of the management's right to dismiss those men whom they have no work for, and on this understanding alone would work be resumed.'[51]

The following day a letter was sent for publication to the *Evening News*. It was not signed but it appears to have been from the strike committee. It read as follows;

49 *Ibid*. 17 April 1923.
50 *Ibid*. 19 April 1923.
51 *Ibid*. 24 April 1923

Plate 10:

Plate 11: Pat Keating

> The Terms Outlined in last night's press, re: settlement of above (Strike) were considered by the men, who claim that a conference should take place before a resumption of work is arranged. They are prepared to consider at any such conference any terms that might be put forward with a view to settling the dispute. But are not prepared to agree a wholesale reduction of staff, without justification being shown.[52]

In early May, Dunne sent a letter to Anderson informing him that he had contacted the Ministry of Labour with a view to holding a conference at which he hoped a settlement of the dispute could be arrived at. Anderson replied in a letter to Dunne informing him that he had 'communicated with the Ministry of Labour as to a conference..... If a conference be arranged a settlement will be arrived at.'[53]

Anderson replied that, 'local information suggested, conference hopeless, as Union still press for more being reinstated then required.'[54] He again outlined the need for a reduction in the workforce. As had become his habit Anderson published his correspondence in the local paper on 5 May. Dunne replied to Anderson's letter and seemed surprised that once again Anderson had changed the goalposts and was again insisting on the immediate reduction of thirty workers, while having agreed the previous week to take back all men and dismiss the thirty after a fortnight. Dunne's sense of annoyance and exasperation comes across in his reply to Anderson when he wrote, 'your published letter raises points which I believe are capable of adjustment by discussion between both parties, but will hardly be fixed by correspondence. I beg, therefore to again state our willingness to enter into negotiations by conference in order to explore every avenue with view to a settlement.'[55]

Jim Larkin in Waterford

It would appear that because of the amount of public support the gas workers were receiving both financially and morally the solidarity among the workers was very strong and their spirits high. This is reflected in a newspaper report that 'financial assistance towards the strike is excellent, and that the concert was a pronounced success. The men are loyal and determined to carry on.'[56] They would have also been buoyed up the arrival of trade union leader Jim Larkin who visited the city and spoke on the Mall on Thursday 24 May 1923. Speaking about the gas workers and taking a swipe at the Dockers' Union he said, 'the men at the gas works were denied the right to work through the interference of an English manager and a company that was not concerned about the welfare of Waterford, and also owing to the foolishness of the members of the Dockers' Union who should be in the

52 *Ibid.* 25 April 1923.
53 *Ibid.* 5 May 1923.
54 *Ibid.*
55 *Ibid.*
56 *Waterford News*, 4 May 1923.

Transport Union. He (speaker) organised those dockers, but they left him in a dark hour and retreated like cowards; and if there was any one of them in the crowd that night, if they were Irishmen worth their salt they would come into the Transport Union – the union that stood by Ireland and never betrayed Ireland or any Irishman or Irishwoman.'[57]

Special corporation meeting to discuss strike

Anderson dug in his heels and nothing more was reported in the local papers until July when the *Evening News* of 4 July reported that, at the Waterford Corporation meeting of 3 July Councillor Cahill moved the suspension of standing orders in order to discuss the gasworks strike. He asked if anybody was making an attempt to resolve the issue as 'the machinery in the Gas Works was getting rusty, as was the workers case.'[58] He suggested that the corporation appoint a committee to meet both parties in the strike and attempt to bring them back to the negotiating table. He proposed the following councillors as a deputation, the Mayor, Alderman Connolly, Councillors, Jacob, T. O'Neill and Jones. He believed that there could be no objections to the deputation and that they would be acceptable to both sides. Alderman Connolly said that there had been a drifting policy going on for the past five of six weeks and things did not seem to be coming to a head at all. The committee was agreed upon and a deputation would attempt to meet both parties and report back to the corporation.

A letter from J. Ronan secretary of the Waterford Gas Co. was read out to the meeting. The letter contained a request from the directors of the company to Waterford Corporation asking for a refund of rates as 'the directors consider they should not be charged for the period of the Soviet seizure and strike totaling 65 days or 1/6th of the year and the borough council refund them the sum of £141 already paid for the time during which the works had been idle.'[59] The letter stated that on 29 January the company had paid £845.9s for the year ended 31 March and in consequence of the strike they were not liable for the full amount. Councillor Dunne, informed the meeting that during the occupation of the works by 'the workers they did not put any of the money earned there to their own use'[60] and the workers committee sent regular statements to the company. The balance of the money was still in the bank for the Gas Company. The chairman of the meeting asked 'In whose name is the money in the bank' to which Councillor Dunne replied 'In the Workers Committee.' It was pointed that present at the meeting was Councillor Hunt who was chairman of the Workers' Committee. Hunt endorsed what Dunne has said that 'the money was there if the Gas Co. wished to take it.'[61] After much discussion, it was decided that the Gas Company would not be refunded.

57 *Waterford News*, 25 May 1923.
58 *Waterford Evening News*, 4 July 1923.
59 *Ibid.*
60 *Ibid.*
61 *Ibid.*

On 5 July Anderson upped the ante and wrote to each person whom the company was willing to re-employ. A copy of the letter and list was also sent to the ITG&WU branch secretary Tommy Dunne. It was stated in the letter that if they (the persons included on the list) 'do not wish to be re-engaged they (the company) would chose someone else in their place.'[62]

For almost a month no correspondence from either party appeared in the papers. The next mention of the gas strike appeared in the *Evening News* of 9 August when it reported on the findings of the committee set up to attempt a settlement of the strike. The Town clerk stated that he had written to the Gas Company informing them of the setting up of a committee, but had only received an acknowledgement of the letter from the Gas Company. The frustration of the Corporation with the Gas Company was echoed in the words of Alderman Connolly, when he remarked, 'If the Gas Company are not prepared to be reasonable, it was easy to see who were responsible for the prolongation of the dispute.'[63]

Dispute settled

The corporation members agreed that they should redouble their efforts and eventually a conference was secured. The conference under the chairmanship of the mayor, Dr. Vincent White took place in the town hall on 22 August.[64] The atmosphere of the meeting was described as friendly; the parties reached no agreement and resumed negotiation at 8.30 pm. The meeting was adjourned at 10.30 that evening and resumed at 10.30 the following morning and at the conclusion of that day's meeting one of the participants reported that 'except for one or two critical points, the settlement of which it is admitted is presenting some difficulty to the conference there has been general agreement on all other issues.'[65] The following morning the conference was resumed at 10.30.

The following day the *Waterford News* carried the following headline 'Gas Works Dispute Ended. Men Resume Work Today.'[66] The article continued, 'After sitting for some hours last evening a ballot was taken next morning at the IT& GWU offices, and resulted in the workers accepting the company's proposals. The company's proposals were that 'forty workers return to work, and the company agreed to pay the remainder who find themselves unemployed 10 shillings per week for three months, together with a guarantee that should work become available at the Gas Works, those hands now dis-employed, would be taken back in order of seniority.'[67] While the granting of 10 shillings to the workers who were not being re-employed might seem generous on the part of Anderson, it could also be interpreted as a cynical ploy on the part of Anderson to put the men in a situation which precluded them for applying for the 'dole' which was 20 shillings per

62 *Ibid.* 10 July 1923
63 *Ibid.* 9 August 1923
64 *Ibid.* 16 August 1923
65 *Ibid.* 23 August 1923
66 *Ibid.* 24 August 1923.
67 *Ibid.*

week for fifteen weeks. However it might also be argued that the men had only themselves to blame as they had the opportunity to return to work and be dismissed after two weeks which would have allowed them to receive unemployment benefit.

The newspaper report concluded with the following;

> At two o'clock that afternoon three men would return to their positions at the Gas Works. At ten o'clock that night a further three workers would return to work and at 6 am the following morning a further thee workers would resume work. At eight o'clock that morning the remainder of the forty would return to work.

The following day Ellacott published two notices in the local papers. One was announcing a reduction in the price of gas, the other to emphasize the benevolence of the Gas Company in granting 10 shillings a week to those whom the could not re-employ owning the lack of work and a backhanded swipe at the strikers, by saying that 'the circumstance under which the workers had left the employment had technically disqualified them from the unemployment dole.[68]

The strike had lasted almost seven months to the day.

Aftermath

The woes of the gas workers were to continue into the following year. In May 1924 the *Waterford News* reported;

> As a result of negotiations between the Gas Manager, the Gasworks men, and the representatives of their Union, an amicable agreement has been reached, to a substantial reduction of wages, which will come into full operation by the end of June. The Directors of the Gas Company wish to pass on to the gas consumer the full value of the wages cut and are reducing the price of gas by the equivalent of the wages reduction obtained. The Directors therefore announce that the price of gas will be reduced by 6d per therm (equal to about 3d per 1,000 cubic feet) for gas used after June 30th 1924.[69]

Memory of Strike Repressed

It was a source of wonder to some of the historians and journalists who sought local knowledge of the strike, to find that there was practically no detailed memory of the dispute. In 1973 Brian Trench a journalist for the socialist newspaper, *The Worker* attempted to interview current and retired workers of the Waterford Gas Company but was unable to get enough material on the strike for a comprehensive article on the subject and appealed to anyone who had any information of the strike to contact him but to no avail.[70] In an interview with Pat Keating, son of Pat Keating who was a member of the Gas Works Strike Committee, he related an

68 *Ibid.* 25 August 1923.

69 *Waterford News*, 23 May 1924.

70 *The Worker*, No.12, March 1973.

incident where during the strike, his mother expressly forbid any talk of the strike at the dinner table, because of difficulty they were having trying to survive.[71] During a lecture on the strike, a local solicitor related that his mother told him a story of how a man went to their farm on the outskirts of the city and was talking to his father. When his mother inquired who the man was, 'his father told her that the man was a Gas Works striker, who was starving and had come begging for some potatoes, and he had given him a job.'[72] A photograph of the period taken in Alexander St. Waterford City, by Poole Photographers, shows a family living in makeshift tent against an old wall. High above from the window of the adjoining tenement hangs bed clothes hanging from extended poles from windows.

Closure of Waterford Gas Company, 1988

In June 1988 a local paper carried the following headline 'Domestic Gas Service to cease. 22 Jobs to go.'[73] The company announced that it was to close its operation by October and the company's 2,000 domestic customers was to be disconnected and supplied with free LPG bottle gas cookers. The company had been taken over by Bord Gais Éireann in November 1987 and on 16 June that year the general manager of Bord Gais's southern region, Mr. T.J McHugh, announced the company's plans which were 'final and irrevocable.'[74]

The union representing the workers, The AT&GWU, were also informed of the proposed closure, and told that 'four workers would be retained and the rest receive the equivalent of four weeks pay per year of service. Pensionable staff was to receive their pensions in addition to redundancy payments.'[75] Mr. McHugh stressed that 'Waterford Gas Company would continue in existence supplying natural gas to industry in the area. Waterford Crystal and Garrett engineering were already connected and a new ring mains would expand that service to other commercial and industrial customers in the city area.'[76]

The AT&GWU district secretary, Sean Kelly criticised the gas company for not supplying natural gas to Waterford consumers, and described their decision as 'nothing short of high-powered financial cheating and sharp accountancy practice.'[77] Mr. Kelly said that he believed that the city was being 'short changed by Bord Gais Éireann which made a profit of over £300 million from 1982 to 1986 and were now forcing 22 workers onto the dole by closing the Gas Company.' He further claimed that, 'the books had been manipulated by the board and the politicians in their own interest. Explaining that, he said the sales of natural gas to industrial and commercial users such as Waterford Glass, the Foundry and Ardkeen (Hospital) had been directly credited to Board Gais Eireann's Head

71 Interview with Pat Keating, January 2008

72 This contribution was made during a lecture on the Gas Works Soviet, by Dermot Power, which was held in Committee Room, City Hall on January 26th 2007.

73 *Munster Express*, 17 June 1988.

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*, 1 July 1988.

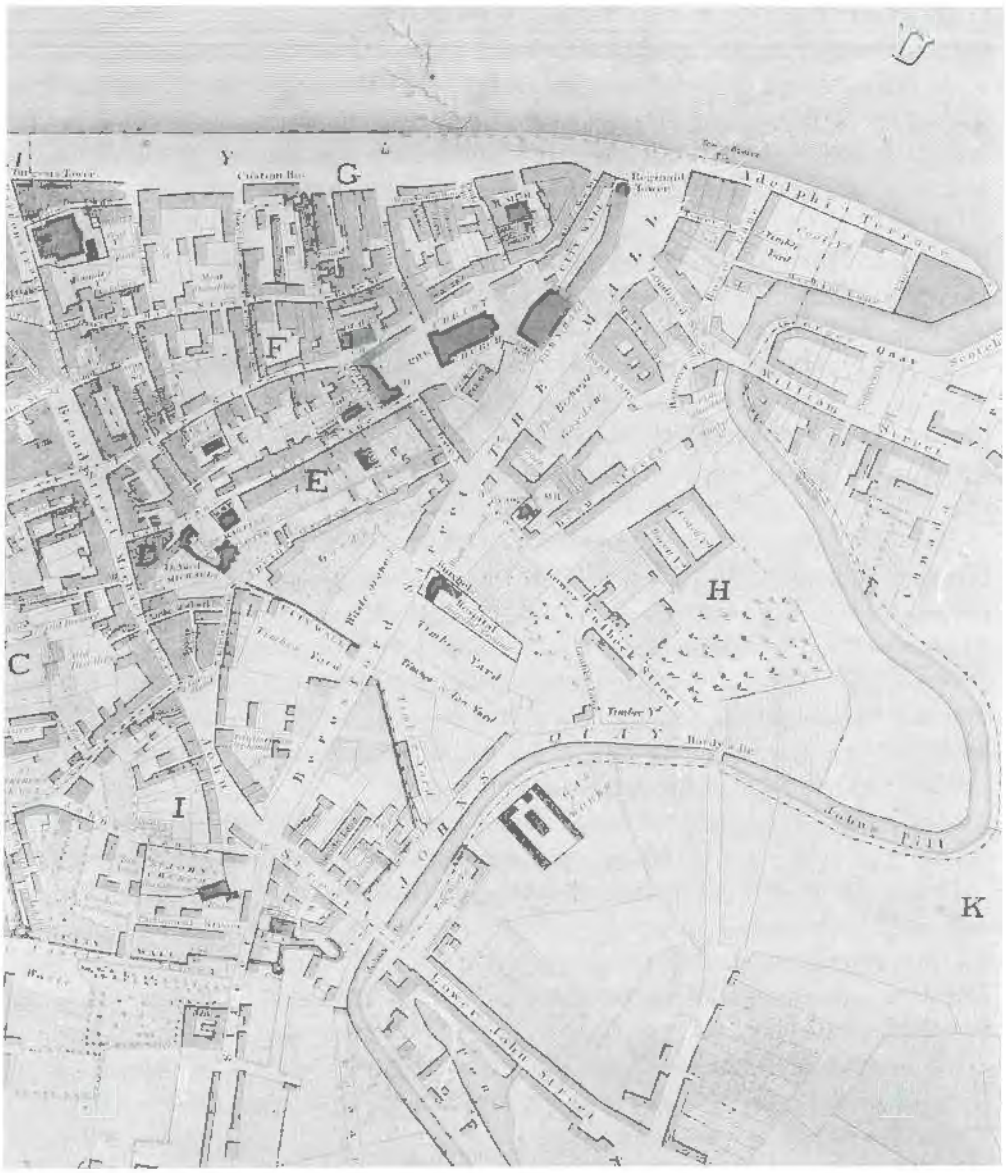


Plate 12: Site of the gasworks from the Leahy Map of Waterford, 1830.

Office in Cork, with no benefit to the balance sheet of the Waterford Gas Company. If that situation had been reversed it would show a totally different and more accurate picture.'[78] Mr. Kelly than went on to reference the Gas Works Soviet when he said, 'In 1923 when a dispute arose at the gas works, the employees raised the Workers' Flag in defence of their position. Now in 1988 unless all interest groups in the city continue to raise the Waterford Flag and force a reversal.'[79]

However despite the protests the Waterford Gas Company finally severed their 146 year old connection to the ordinary householders of Waterford. The final chapter was played out in the Dáil on 7 November 1989 when in a reply to a question posed by Waterford Labour TD, Brian O'Shea, regarding the '£819,000 spent by Bord Gáis Éireann on the cessation of gas manufacture in Waterford in 1988.'[80] The Minister for Energy, Bobby Molloy replied,

> I am taking it that when the Deputy refers to the audit carried out by Bord Gáis Éireann in Waterford in 1988, he refers to the audit mentioned in the Annual Report of Bord Gáis Éireann for 1988 which was a safety audit undertaken by Bord Gáis Éireann with the help of consultants and technical officials from my Department. At that time Waterford Gas Company manufactured gas from naphtha. In brief, in respect of Waterford, the audit team found many features of the Waterford gas utility in an unsatisfactory condition. The closure of the Waterford gas grid which commenced in late 1988 was completed in March 1989. Although there was no immediate risk to consumers Bord Gáis Éireann would not have allowed the operation to continue indefinitely without very substantial and costly adjustments. Of the £819,000 expended by Bord Gáis Éireann in 1988 on the cessation of gas manufacture in Waterford, £462,836 was spent on the change-over of customers to bottled gas or electricity, £301,131 on severance payments for employees and £55,500 on decommissioning the town gas system and clearing the site.[81]

Conclusion

How will history view the Gas Works Soviet? Was the Soviet a bold blow against the capitalist oppressor or an ignominious failure for the workers concerned? It was probably a bit of both. It is obvious that the workers did not sit down and plan a take over of the gasworks, but when the opportunity presented itself, there were those among the workers who believed that they could demonstrate that the workers could indeed be masters of their own destiny, and the workers who were in possession of the gasworks, proved just that. In fact many in the trade union movement in Waterford at that time believed that it was not only the union's function to not only represent the interests of the workers in industry but to transform society

78 *Ibid*
79 *Ibid*
80 Dáil Éireann Debates, Vol. 392 No. 7, Tuesday 7 November 1989.
81 *Ibid.*

GAS WORKS, WATERFORD.

Plate 13: Waterford Gas Co., wages 2 June 1910.

in favour of workers control of society. John Butler, Labour TD for Waterford speaking at the welcoming meeting for James Larkin in Waterford in May, 1923, said, 'the Union sought not only sought better conditions for the workers but was out to get greater respect from the bosses for the workers. It sought to organise to such to such and extent that they would be in a position to control all the wealth-producing and distributive resources of the country and placing those resources at the disposal of the workers.'[82]

However many factors militated against a successful outcome to the strike. In late April when ITG&WU secretary Tommy Dunne contacted the Ministry of Labour asking for a settlement conference, the men wanted an honourable way out of the strike and at that time would have accepted any recommendation that would allow them to 'save face'. However, Anderson was in no humour for negotiating. If the men wanted back, they were coming back on his terms, and time was on his side. As Emmett O'Connor points out in his article on the strike in his *Labour History of Waterford* 'with each passing month the workers' position got weaker. Strikes were spreading, reducing the demand for power supplies. A national dock strike in July acted as a major disincentive to a settlement.'[83] In the end, it was hunger that drove them back. They had fought as a hard as they could have been expected to, it was now time to return to work for the sake of their families.

We should not underestimate or trivialise the establishment of the Gas Works Soviet. It is a tribute to the bravery and determination of all the gas workers, who loyally stood side by side with their leaders and trade union representatives in the fight to retain their trade. It is also a tribute to the few, who seized the opportunity to demonstrate that workers had both the intellectual and organisational skills to plough their own furrow. It is remarkable that they remained on strike for seven months; their only income meagre strike pay. It could not have happened without the support of their families and friends. The suppression of the Gas Works Soviet lay not in its ideological concept but rather its ability to make that concept a reality and successfully conduct the business of supplying the city with gas.

82 *Waterford News*, 25 May 1923.

83 Emmett O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford, 1989), p. 179.

Appendix 1

Origin of City of Waterford Gas Works

The *Waterford Mail* of 19 June 1825 reported that, the new city gasworks were;

> already in a state of considerable forwardness, have been lately proceeding with an increased rapidity. From the following short description, it will be perceived that when completed, they will form a structure of large extent, and in some degree ornamental to the city. They are situated as most of out town readers are aware in the fields at the rere of the Salt Works at John's Bridge. The front which runs parallel to Catherine's Pill is 120 feet in length and will have an entire facing of cut stone in the centre of which there will be three adjoining iron gates with handsome offices at each side. Through these gates the front of the retort house will be immediately within, will present a very neat appearance. It will have a façade with pillars of the Doric order, and will also be of cut stone. The elevation of the chimney will be 60 feet. The depth of the work from front to rere is 180 feet. The base of the retort house is 60 feet by 24½. On the right and left there will be ranges of buildings for coke and cold stores, an overseers residence, & c. the purifying house, and two tanks for gasometers, each tank being 31½ feet in diameter by 14 deep will be at the rere, with the condenser and syphon well. The whole of the buildings in which the Salt Works were carried on, will be thrown down, and a quay will be opened from the bridge, on a line with the building which is in itself a most desirable improvement. The number of persons employed on the works, or in connection with them laying down the pipes through the town and in other ways is about 100, and is calculated that the sum of £12,000 will have been expended before the whole can be completed. Their completion, it is expected will be effective by the 1st of September. Should the quality of the gas be found on trial, to be such as we are led to believe with much confidence that it will, there will be little doubt that the light (which all prefer) will be generally sought, and be adopted in almost every part of the City.[84]

An accident caused the a delay in the opening of the gasworks, and a contingency plan was made to have 'the streets lighted by oil for a period on one month until such time as the gas lamps were ready.'[85] In December the gas company announced that the new service would be rolled out as and from 1 January 1826, with the offer that anyone who indicated that they would become customers of the new gas company before that date would have their pipes laid free of charge, but anyone who joined after that date would have to pay for the pipe laying.[86]

84 *Waterford Mail*, 29 June 1825.

85 *Ibid.* 27 August 1825.

86 *Ibid.* 3 December 1825.

Appendix 2

Waterford City 1923

Waterford in 1923 was a city of industrial and social turmoil. Food prices had increased by over 100% since 1913. The price of some foodstuffs had trebled and even quadrupled. Workers' wives doing their shopping would have noticed this sharp increase in prices. A comparison of pre-war 1913 prices to 1923 prices in a working class diet, were as follows;

Pigs Heads went from a pre-war price of 2½ pence to 9 pence
Milk went from a pre-war price of 1½ pence to 4 pence
Cabbage per head went from a pre-war 1 penny to 5 pence

The legendary drink of all Waterford men the 'large bottle' of stout went from a pre-war price of 2½ pence to 10 pence.[87]

John Conway Secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union published a weekly expenditure list of man and his wife. It compared the cost of living for one week in 1914 to the same week in 1923. The list gives us a glimpse into the lives of ordinary workers in Waterford at that time.

A man and his Wife (Week)

	1914		**1923**	
	Shillings	*Pence*	*Shillings*	*Pence*
1 cwt. Coal	1	6	4	6
3 pts of oil, candles and matches		6	1	0
3lbs bread daily	2	2	4	4
6 lbs. meat weekly	4	0	7	6
2 lbs butter	2	2¼	4	4½
Half pound of tea 2 lbs sugar	1	3	3	9
1 quart of milk daily	1	2	2	11
Potatoes, cabbage etc.	1	3	5	0
Fish		4	1	0
1 doz. Eggs	1	0	4	6
Washing, toilet		6	1	6
Clothes, Boots, etc.	3	6	12	6
4oz tobacco	1	8	2	8
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	6		1	6
Newspapers, stamps, stationary	9		1	6
Church	2		6	
	£1 4 s 11.¼		**£3 3 s 3½**[88]	

87 *Waterford News*, 20 April 1923.
88 *Ibid*. 14 December 1923.

The author of the list stated that in calculating the list he did not include the following;

> Payments of debts, nourishment for invalids, furniture and bedding, amusements, outings, luxuries of all descriptions, drink, Christmas cakes, etc. Novelties, Motors, Bikes, Gramophones etc., house decoration, investments, life insurance provision towards old age. Help to poor relatives (aged parents, invalid sisters, etc.), entertaining visitors or membership of clubs.[89]

Special food price committees and anti-profiteering committees had been set up to monitor food prices in the city. These committees noted the prices of foodstuffs and reported any profiteering by local shops to the city council. The committees were usually comprised of local trade unionists and corporation members.

Nationally, workers had 'accepted wage decreases based on the promise that the cost of living would not be increased.'[90] The new Free State government had reduced old age pensions by 10% and also reduced the salaries of teachers and civil servants.[91] While refusing to concede to labour demands for lower taxes on tea and sugar the government twice cut the rate of income tax then paid by a few wealthy people from 5 shillings in the pound to 3 shillings.[92] In Waterford according to John Conway, secretary of the Waterford branch of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, the workers were 'not employed constantly, the majority of them are lucky to get three days work in the week.'[93]

All throughout 1923, the despondency and frustration of workers and their local labour representatives leap from the pages of the national and local newspapers. At a meeting on the Mall prior to the 1923 General election, S. Curham, vice president of the Waterford Workers Council addressing the crowd said, 'They were told that the day the Free State Treaty was signed that they had obtained the greatest Magna Carta the world had ever seen. Well now they (the workers) had no work and they could lie out in the fields or stand on the Quay and look up at the flag on Reginald's Tower and say "Now we are Free". Free to go home and starve with their wives and children.'[94]

89 *Ibid.*
90 *Munster Express*, 22 December 1923.
91 Donal Nevin (ed.), *Trade Union Century*. (Dublin, Mercier Press, 1994) p.88.
92 *Ibid.*
93 *Waterford News*, 14 December 1923.
94 *Ibid.* 17 August 1923.

Appendix 3

Strike pay paid out during 1923

An interesting insight into the industrial turmoil and branch structure of the IT&GWU is given in the 1923 report of the annual general meeting of the IT&GWU in Waterford. Tommy Dunne, branch secretary, presented the following report to the members, which was held in the Transport Hall, Waterford on Sunday 30 March 1924;

> Fellow Members, the year 1923 proved to be the most strenuous in the historyof the branch. From the beginning until practically the end of that year disputes were in progress in one section or another, the total amount of strike pay disbursed £4,383 being evidence of the magnitude and duration of the disputes in question. The principal disputes were those of the Gas Co. and farm workers, which lasted over six months in each case. It is regretted that during the farm strike the workers suffered a set-back, but in view of the forces against them the men put up a splendid fight and should not be discouraged from sticking to their organization and recovering lost ground. Our Sailors Section was involved indirectly in the Irish dock strike, as were our carters, the carters being further involved in a dispute resisting a wages reduction. The item for mortality benefits (£130 10/-) will again remind members that our Union provides benefits (£14 10/- for member and wife) that compares more favourably with any Industrial Insurance Co. or any other Trade Union.
>
> Unemployment is still unfortunately prevalent among our members, some hundreds of whom have been dis-employed for a considerable time, with a consequent falling off in membership, which however in spite of the hardship averaged about 800. Strong objection was taken by your Committee to the rate of wages (45/- per week) fixed by the Government to be paid to labourers working under the Roads Board Grant, and to the provision that preference should be given to any particular class of worker. We were not altogether too successful in our efforts; the Government Department concerned refusing to alter their determination to lower the standard of living of the workers. In this connection it is hoped that in future elections (Dáil or Municipal) workers will remember the attitude of those now in authority, that they will forget their "party" politics and record their votes for their own class, remembering that whatever party is in power it is only by the presence of a strong Labour Party that their rights can be safeguarded and their all too insufficient standard of living maintained.

The following is the balance sheet (head office account) for the year 1923.

Income

	£	s.	d.
Entrance Fees	30	17	6
Contributions	957	5	6
Quarterly Levies	4	3	4
Dispute Pay Received	4614	15	10
Mortality Benefit	130	10	0
Total	**£5,737**	**12**	**2**

Expenditure

	£	s.	d.
Retained for local fund	247	18	10
Dispute Pay Paid	4383	5	0
Dispute Pay Returned	231	10	10
Mortality Benefit	130	10	0
Remitted to General Fund	744	7	6
Total	**£5737**	**12**	**2** [95]

The report concludes stating that Messrs P. Keating and T. Dunne were unanimously re-elected chairman and secretary respectively, Mr. Keating also being nominated a delegate to annual conference. Nine members were elected from the general body to act on the branch committee, the remainder to be selected by tbe various sections to represent them. After new rules had been explained by E.C. member (T. Ryan) the meeting adjourned.[96]

95 *Waterford News*, 4 April 1934.
96 *Ibid*.

Appendix 4

The main characters

Pat Keating is shown in the 1911 Census, as being the son of a retired RIC officer. His age was given as twenty-nine, and his occupation as gas fitter. The family home was as 7 Parliament St. Waterford City. His birthplace was given as Co. Kilkenny.[97]

Family and local tradition has it that it was he who raised the red flag over the gasworks. In the aftermath of the strike, Keating rejected his opportunity to return to work. He did so in favour of his friend, who was best man at his wedding and who was married with a young family. Keating himself also had a family and towards the end of 1924 moved to Trim, Co. Offaly where he worked in the gas-works there. He later went to Newcastle upon Tyne where he worked in a gas-works there. He returned to Ireland and became manager of the gasworks at Trim, Co. Offaly. With the introduction of electricity, he returned to Waterford and got a job as clerk of works on the building of houses at Ferrybank, Waterford.[98]

Michael Hunt was Chairman of the gasworks strike committee.[99] He is listed in the 1911 Census as aged nineteen, living in 45 Ballytruckle, and being a gas fitter, his father being listed as a stoker.[100] He was elected to Waterford Corporation in January 1920 as a Sinn Féin candidate[101] and served on both the Public Health[102] and Housing Committees.[103]

Percival Ellacott retained his position as manager of Waterford Gas Works for another year. One hot afternoon in July 1924, Ellacott mounted his bicycle and cycled to Tramore Beach where he went for a swim at Riverstown. Despite being a strong swimmer, he got into difficulties and drowned. Local businessmen formed a committee and launched what became known as the Ellacott Fund[104] and raised several hundred pounds for his wife and six children. By October the fund had received £264 18 shillings and 6 pence.[105] A list of subscribers to the Ellacott Fund[106] was published in the local papers and reads like a 'Who's who' of Waterford merchant families. The cynical might say that the local businessmen did not demonstrate the same level of charity towards the starving wives and children of the Gas Works strikers, and that their charity was conditional on class rather than need.

97 National Archives of Ireland,1911 Census.
98 Interview Pat Keating, son of Pat Keating, January 2008.
99 *Waterford Evening News*, 4 July 1923.
100 National Archives of Ireland, 1911 Census.
101 *Waterford News*, 16 January 1920.
102 *Ibid.* 27 March 1920.
103 *Ibid.* 29 June 1923.
104 *Ibid.* 11 July 1924.
105 *Ibid.* 21 October 1924.
106 *Ibid.* 15 August 1924.

Tommy Dunne, the IT&GWU hranch secretary, was involved in all of the correspondence with the gas company during the strike. He was born in 1878 and at the age of fifteen became an apprentice tailor. He was secretary of the local branch of the Tailor's Union from 1907 to 1916, and of the Waterford Trades Council from1909 to 1918.[107] In 1918 membership of the IT&WWU began to increase. After a big influx of membership Tommy Dunne was made full-time secretary.[108] At the annual general meeting of the union in Waterford in 1923, IT&GWU organiser and radical trade unionist, James Baird lavished praise on Tommy Dunne. Paying tribute to Dunne, Baird spoke of 'the excellent work done for the local branch by the secretary, Mr. Dunne, and said that if there was one man more than any other who was responsible for the success of the Waterford branch it was Mr. Dunne. He had to serve a good many masters. He was one of the City Fathers. He was a Labour member of Waterford Corporation and was Mayor of Waterford City in 1941-2. He unsuccessfully contested a Dáil election as a labour candidate. In 1958 he laid the foundation stone of Connolly Hall, Waterford City headquarters of the IT&GWU. He numbered among his personal acquaintances in his pioneering day many leading trade union personalities including James Larkin and James Connolly. He died on 31st May 1966 and is buried in Ballybricken Churchyard.[109]

107 *Waterford News and Star*, 3 June 1966.

108 Emmett O'Connor, 'The Labour Movement in Waterford City 1913–1923', in *Decies* 18, p.18.

109 *Waterford News and Star*, 3 June 1966.

Niall Byrne

Niall Byrne was born on 4 November 1934 in the North Mall, Cork. His father, Patrick Vincent (PV) Byrne, was a veterinary surgeon and his mother Margaret O'Regan was PV's second wife. Niall's father had four children with his first wife, Kathleen O'Brien, who died of tuberculosis in 1933. Niall was the eldest child of the second marriage.The family later settled in Tramore where PV built a successful veterinary practice. Niall studied at University College Dublin and the Veterinary College in the mid-1950s. In 1958 he married Sylvia Devlin, only child of Michael Ernest Devlin, a prominent Waterford bank manager, and Eileen O'Sullivan. The young couple spent a year in Edinburgh where Niall undertook postgraduate studies, then settled in Waterford where six children were born between 1959 and 1971. Niall had been a member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society for many years and served as chairman in 2008 and 2009.

After almost forty years of veterinary practice Niall sold his practice and embarked on the career he had always aspired to – as a historian. His major interest was in the ecclesiastical history of medieval Waterford. To equip himself for this work he took a bachelor of divinity (BD) degree from Heythrop College, London, followed by an MA and then a PhD from University College Cork. He published his first article, 'Reformation in Elizabethan Waterford' in *Decies* in 2001. His major contribution to Irish medieval historiography was to translate, annotate, and write an extensive commentary on Waterford's *Great Parchment Book*. Spanning a period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century and written in a mixture of Norman French, Latin and English, the *Liber Antiquissimus* is one of the most remarkable compilations of any Irish city. The importance of the *Great Parchment Book* had been recognised by scholars since the nineteenth century. It was mentioned by Sir John Thomas Gilbert in his *First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* in 1870 and again in 1885 in his *Tenth Report*. Although a number of short extracts from the manuscript had been published by Gilbert and microfilmed by the National Library of Ireland in the 1970s, the work remained largely inaccessible to scholars and historians until the full manuscript was transcribed and edited by Niall Byrne and published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2007. This is without doubt his greatest achievement. That same year he published a major study on the Waterford-born Franciscan theologian Fr Luke Wadding in *Decies*.

In 2008 Niall Byrne published *The Irish Crusade*, a history of the Knights Hospitaller, Knights Templar, and Knights of Malta in the south-east of Ireland which was part-funded by the Order of Malta (the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta) to which Niall had been admitted as a member. Although he had begun to suffer from his last illness in early 2011, that year nonetheless saw the publication of his third book, a history of

Waterford's City and County Infirmary. The scope of this book allowed him free rein to trace the links between a medieval institution – the Leper Hospital of St Stephen in Waterford - and the later modern hospital which, to the great and lasting regret of many of Waterford's citizens, was closed in 1987.

Although in declining health in the last nine months of his life, he had sufficient time to complete a life of his uncle, Patrick O'Regan, who had emigrated to the United States from Mourne Abbey in Cork in the 1920s. He also completed his fourth significant historical study, translating a late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth-century cartulary housed at the British Library in London which contains detailed records of the establishment of a chantry chapel in Waterford's medieval cathedral. That chapel, established by Dean John Collyn in the 1480s, was lost when the cathedral was pulled down and replaced by the current Anglican Christ Church Cathedral in the 1770s. This *Register of St Saviour's Chantry of Waterford* (*Registrum Cantariae S. Salvatoris Waterfordensis*) will, funding permitting, be published in early 2013.

Niall Byrne died at home on 24 January 2012. He is survived by his wife Sylvia, sons Michael, Ronan, Simon and Graham, daughters Kim and Laura, brothers Paddy and Tommy, and sisters Joan, Peggy and Lily.

Pat Grogan

Renee Lumley

(1925-2012)

Renee Lumley will be remembered by many of our members as Honorary Treasurer of our Society for many years. But she was a great deal more than that. Born in South Parade in 1925, she spent almost her entire life in Waterford, playing an active role in many aspects of city's affairs.

A devout Catholic, she had a deep affection for Waterford's many churches, especially Holy Trinity Cathedral and the Dominican church. Her Christianity always had a practical bent – in her schooldays she was involved in the Legion of Mary and assisted her father with his work in the Knights of Columbanus; this gave her first-hand contact with Waterford's slums, an experience she never forgot. Throughout her life she maintained a close and affectionate relationship within her extended family, and kept a watchful eye on neighbours in need. When finance was needed for the restoration and maintenance of the Cathedral, she became an active fundraiser, and when ill-advised alterations were mooted for St Saviour's Church, Bridge Street, she was vociferous in her opposition.

In 1957 she married Billy Lumley, whose father and uncle had been killed when the *Formby* and *Coningbeg* were torpedoed in 1917. Moved by the story of the tragedy and the plight of the victim's families, Renee campaigned over many years for the erection of a fitting memorial to them, and it was a proud moment for her when the monument was at last erected on the Quay and unveiled by President Mary Robinson.

To her great grief, her husband died after only ten years of marriage, Bereaved at the age of forty-two, Renee joined the local Widows' Association. She eventually became Treasurer of the National Association of Widows, and played an active part in the successful campaign to secure equality in legal and financial rights.

Billy and Renee had an only son, Ian, to whom she was a devoted mother. She became fiercely proud of his courageous and outspoken defence of Ireland's natural and built heritage.

Renee, too, had an abiding interest in Ireland's – and particularly Waterford's – history. She joined, and became Treasurer of, the Waterford Association of An Taisce and the Old Waterford Society. From her father she had learned book-keeping, and could tot up huge columns of figures accurately and speedily. The post of Treasurer is not a glamorous one, but a tight control of finances is essential to the functioning of any society, and we were fortunate in having Renee's ungrudging services for so many years. Since the establishment of Waterford Museum of Treasures she has been a generous donor to its contents.

In her latter years, Renee suffered from Vascular Dementia, resulting in memory loss and confusion. More and more she returned to her childhood memories in

an era of social inequality and great hardship, but also of strong family and community loyalties from which we could benefit in these straitened times.

Renee's departure for Dublin a few years ago was aptly marked by a celebration of her career held in the Museum of Treasures. It ended for me nearly forty years of friendship. I always received great encouragement from Renee in all my endeavours for the Society, whether or not she personally approved of them. Two occasions in particular stand out. In 1979 she pressed me to apply for the newly established Eoin O'Mahony Bursary to fund research into the Irish abroad; I did, was awarded it, and enriched my research life thereby. And more recently, at the conclusion of an address I gave on the history of St Patrick's Church, Renee simply said quietly to me: 'I'm proud of you.'

I, too, am proud of her. *Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam dhílis.*

Julian C. Walton

Jim O'Meara

For the older members of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, the news of the death of their former colleague, Mr James (Jim) O'Meara, when it became known, was received with mixed feelings of sadness and regret. Aged 91, he passed away in October 2011, following a period of ill health. Jim was born and reared in Ferrybank, of a family which originated in the Ballymacarbery area of Co. Waterford.

A man of many talents, he was a lifelong friend and supporter of Gaelic Games, played hurling with Ferrybank and Mount Sion and was a member of the Waterford hurling team in the 1940's. He was also keenly associated with Irish music sessions over most of his lifetime. A favourite hobby of his was his interest in woodwork, especially when he fashioned small items from his stock of wood from old Timbertoes, which the American Lemuel Cox buiit across the Suir in 1794.

Jim was a salesman by occupation, over a period of forty-three years with Clover Meats of Christendom, in which capacity he was one of the firm's best known personalities. A man of integrity who had a profound knowledge of the history and lore of his native Ferrybank, he was for many years a member of the Old Waterford Society (now the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society) and held the office of chairman of that body over a lengthy period. To his sons Declan, Brendan, Pat, Kevin and Jim, and their families, the sincere sympathy of the society is extended as a mark of respect to their late member and former chairman.

Daniel Dowling

CONSTITUTION OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. ***Name:***
The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).

2. ***Objects:***
The objects of the Society shall be:
(a) to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
(b) to promote research into same:
(c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
(d) to issue a periodical publication; and
(e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. ***Membership:***
The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. ***Government:***
The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. ***Election of Officers and Committee:***
The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser.
In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Honorary Secretary shall:

(a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;

(b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;

(c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;

(d) arrange for notice of Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and

(e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

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

The Honorary Treasurer shall:

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

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

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

11. ***Special General Meeting:***
A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:
(a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or
(b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.
In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.
The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. ***Quorum for Committee Meetings:***
The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. ***Annual Subscription:***
The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held for the purpose of fixing the amount to become due as from the first day of January next following the date of such meeting. The subscription year shall coincide with the calendar year. *Any* member, other than a new member who has not paid his or her subscription before the 31st December in any year shall be deemed to have resigned.
Subscriptions of new members accepted between 1st September and 31st December shall be deemed to be in respect of the ensuing year and shall be at the amount applicable to that year.

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

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

16. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***
These Rules supercede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

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

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society
Membership 2012
(Up to September 30th 2012)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Library Plaza, Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270, USA.
Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Brazil, Mrs C., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.
Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.
Breen, Ms M., Lower Newtown, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Brennan, Ms V., Gregaridda, Dunmore East, co Waterford.
Broderick, Dr. E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.
Brophy, Mr A., Bushe Lodge, Catherine Street, Waterford.
Burtchaell, Mr Jack, Giles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.
Byrne, Dr M., 33 Byron Road, Ealing, London, W53LL, United Kingdom.
Byrne, Mrs S., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

Cahill, Mr D., 17 Oakley Drive, Earlscourt, Waterford.
Cahill, Ms D., Reise, Grange Lawn, Waterford.
Cahill, Ms. L., 17 Oakley Drive, Earlscourt, Waterford.
Carparelli, Mr L., Woodlands Cottage, Faithlegge, Co Waterford.
Carroll, Ms M., Newrath Road, Waterford.
Carroll, Mr P., Greenmount House, Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
Caulfield, Mr S., Robinstown, Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny.
Caulfield, Mr T., Killure Cross, Monamintra, Co Waterford.
Clogher, Ms C. Whitfield South, Butlerstown, Co. Waterford.
Clogher, Mr L. Whitfield South, Butlerstown, Co. Waterford.
Coady, Mr M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
Collopy, Mr M., 75 Doyle Street, Waterford.
Condon, Mr S., 52 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Cooke, Mr D. W., 5486 Wellington Drive, Trappe, Maryland, 21673-8911, USA.
Cowman, Mr D. Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Croke, Prof. David, 89 Monkstown Avenue, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
Crotty, Mr G., 9 Pine Road, Woodlands, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
Crowe, Mr W., 13 Bromley Avenue, Ardkeen Village, Waterford.
Crowley, Mrs M., Fernhill, Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Crowley, Ms N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.

Cuddy, Mr M., 17 Belvedere Drive, Waterford.
Curham, Mrs W., 19 The Folly, Ballytruckle, Waterford.
Curtis, Mr D., PO Box 390, Eden, New South Wales 2551, Australia.
Cusack, Mr A., Knockhouse Lower, Waterford.
Cusack, Mrs. A., Granville Hotel, Waterford.
Cusack, Mr. L., Granville Hotel, Waterford.

Dalton, Mr N., Kill Dara, 36 The Folly, Waterford.
Deegan, Mr P., 2 Fairfield Park, Belvedere Manor, Waterford.
Delahunty, Mrs M., Rocksprings, Newtown, Waterford.
Devlin, Dr P., 14 South Parade, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.
Doherty, Mr B., Ballinlammy, Glenmore, Co Kilkenny.
Doorley, Mr S., 1 Glenthomas, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Doran, Ms L., 7 St. Mary's Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4.
Downey, Mr M., 19 Newtown Road, Waterford.
Doyle, Mr N., 21 Glendown Grove, Templeogue, Dublin 6.
Duggan, Ms M., 13 Tyrconnell Close, Comeragh Heights, Waterford.
Dunne, Mrs B., Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
Dunphy, Mr J., Lissahane, Kill, Co. Waterford.

Eogan, Mr J., 12 Barley Grove, Ballinakill Downs, Waterford.

Farrell, Mr I., 'Summerville House', Newtown, Waterford.
Falconer, Mr R., 6 The Folly, Waterford.
Fay, Miss E., 3 St Margaret's Avenue, Waterford.
Fay, Mr G., 43 Pinewood Drive, Hillview, Waterford.
Fenton, Mr C., Portnahully, Carigeen, via Waterford.
Fielding, Ms C., The Granary, Felin Hen Farm, Felin Hen Road, Bangor, Gwynedd 44574BB, Wales.
Finn, Mr B., 24 Crescent 2, Muirhevnamor, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
Fitzgerald, Mr M., 38 Lee Ct., Kill Devil Hills, NC, 27948, USA.
Flynn, Ms H., 10 Chestnut Drive, Viewmount, Waterford.
Fraher, Mr W., 10 Ringnasillogue Ave., Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Freyne-Kearney, Mrs O., Savagetown, Kill, Co. Waterford.

Gallagher, Mr L., 42 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.
Gallagher, Mr M., 54 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Gaule, Mr Barry, 31 Ferndale, Waterford.
Goff, Mr J., Marlfield, Newtown, Waterford.
Goff, Ms R., Marfield, Newtown, Waterford.
Gordon, Mr J. P., 12 The Burgery, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Gorwill, Mrs C., 81 Seaforth Road, Kingston, Ontario, K7M 1E1, Canada.
Gossip, Mrs P., 'Garden Cottage', Ballinakill, Waterford.

Griffin, Mr D., 38 Sweetbriar Terrace, Lower Newtown.
Griffin, Mrs N., Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Griffin, Mr P., Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Grogan, Mrs A., The Laurels, Botherduff, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
Grogan, Mr A. G., Thomastown House, Duleek, Co. Meath.
Grogan, Mr P., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Grogan, Mrs V., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Gunning, Mr A., 7 Ballinakill Vale, Ballinakill Park, Waterford.

Hall, Mr K.P., 'Cruhall', 58 Viewmount Park, Waterford
Halley, Mr G., M. M., Halley Solicitors, George's Street, Waterford.
Healey, Mr P., 31 Lismore Park, Waterford.
Hearne, Ms B., 4 Magenta Close, Grange Manor, Waterford.
Hearne, Dr J. M., 3 Ballinakill Vale, Ballinakill Park, Waterford.
Hearne, Mr J., Fairview, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Hearne, Ms M., Fairview, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Heenan, Ms P., 'San Michel', Newtown Park, Waterford.
Hegarty, Mr J. J., Salem, Newtown-Geneva, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
Heine, Miss B., 5 The Elms, John's Hill, Waterford.
Hennessy, Mr J., P.O. Box 58, Riddells Creek, Victoria, Australia.
Heritage Council, (Mr C. Mount), Rothe House, Kilkenny.
Hickey, Mr T., Carrigahilla, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Hill, Ms M., 164 Glenageary Park, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
Hodge, Mr D., Ballynare, Kilcloone, Co. Meath.
Holland, Mr P., Killeigh, Clonmel Road, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
Hopkins, Miss S., Lower Newtown, Waterford.
Howard, Ms S.T., 10 Tuar na Greinne, Ardn Graoi, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Hunt, Mr M., Ballythoomas, Rathgormac, Carrick-on-Suir, Co Tipperary.

Irish, Mr B., Sporthouse Road, Knockeen, Waterford.

Jackman, Mr F., 1 Wasdale Park, Terenure, Dublin 6.
Jephson, Mr K., 99 Viewmount Park, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Johnston, Mrs E., 210 Lismore Park, Waterford.
Johnston, Mrs J., 'Cul le Gréin', Newtown, Waterford.

Kane, Mrs R., 'Spring Hill', Halfwayhouse, Waterford.
Kavanagh, Mr G., 'Sion Hill House', Ferrybank, Waterford.
Keane, Mr J., 4 Bowfield, Gracedieu, Waterford.
Keane, Mr J., 'Sonas', Fahafeelagh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Kenneally, Mr P., 16 Cork Road, Waterford.
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