

Waterford's Anglicans

Waterford's Anglicans:
Religion and Politics, 1819-1872

Eugene Broderick

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To the memory of
Morty Broderick (1923-2007)

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Cashel Diocesan Archives
<i>Chronicle</i>	<i>Chronicle and Munster Advertiser</i>
<i>Freeman</i>	<i>Waterford Freeman</i>
IHS	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
LCP	Lismore Castle Papers
<i>Mail</i>	<i>Waterford Mail</i>
<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Waterford Mirror</i>
NA	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
RCB	Representative Church Body Library
SOCP	State of the Country Papers
<i>Standard</i>	<i>Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette</i>
WLDA	Waterford and Lismore Diocesan Archives (Roman Catholic)
WMA	Waterford Municipal Archives

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the manner in which the minority Anglican community in Waterford reacted to the great transformation in its political and religious fortunes between 1819 and 1872. Anglicans began this period enjoying the privileges of political ascendancy and the establishment of the Church of Ireland. By the period's end they had been forced to surrender their political supremacy to an increasingly confident and strident Catholic democracy, which had successfully demanded, among other things, the disestablishment of the Anglican Church as one of the prices of appeasement.

The history of Ireland in the nineteenth century has been seen mainly as a struggle between Irish Catholic nationalism and successive English governments. Protestants have been generally ignored, especially their political role from the 1840s onwards. Dr. Ian d'Alton has observed how twentieth-century historians have largely lost the sense in which Protestantism was considered pivotal by contemporaries in early nineteenth-century Ireland.¹ These contemporaries appreciated the crucial social and political roles occupied by the ascendancy. Daniel O'Connell's relationship with Protestants was very important in terms of the development of Irish nationalism, and one of the central themes of this study is how problematical this relationship was. Difficult as it was for O'Connell, it was more so for Anglicans, who were faced with the prospect of a political agitator determined to advance the interests of the Catholic people he led, but in so doing he undermined the sources of Protestant privilege and power. Many Anglicans were sympathetic to the cause of emancipation; the Liberator's espousal of repeal and other causes, however, alienated Protestant opinion and support. This alienation from the Catholic majority and that majority's eventual political triumph at the expense of Protestants has meant that the losers have been consigned to the margins of history - a consignment made very easy by their numerical inferiority. This explains why the resilience of Protestant

¹ Ian d'Alton, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1844* (Cork University Press, 1980), xii.

politics in the 1850s and 1860s - another central theme of this study - has often been ignored by historians.²

Religion was an important element in the identity of Anglicans; it was this, more than anything else, which distinguished them from the overwhelming Catholic majority. As their political fortunes declined throughout the nineteenth century, and Catholic advances in politics ended traditional Protestant power, the significance of religion as a badge of identity increased for Anglicans. The role of their faith as the primary basis of communal solidarity was reinforced, a fact highlighted in this study.³

However, the Church of Ireland's primary function was not political or cultural - it was religious. The Church was the expression of the Anglican version of the reformed faith in Ireland. Its purpose was to bear witness to its version of Protestant Christianity and deliver pastoral services to its members. It is this aspect of the Anglican Church, and the extent to which it succeeded or failed, which is the most important theme of this book. Focusing on Waterford permits an in-depth examination of the Church. Thus is avoided what Professor Donald Harman Akenson considers as one of the characteristics that flaws so much religious historiography, namely the tendency to make impressionistic overgeneralisations.⁴ He argues that

only by performing the tedious task of tallying activities and arrangements parish by parish, and clergyman by clergyman, can one simultaneously arrive at justifiable generalisations and at an appreciation of the range of divergence within the Church.⁵

This is what this study attempts to do in the case of the Church of Ireland in Waterford. It is concerned, however, with more than the external and formal structures of the Church; it is not just 'the biography of an organisation'.⁶ The study also seeks to treat of the 'internal and

² A notable exception is K. Theodore Hoppen, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland, 1832-1885* (Oxford University Press, 1984).

³ Religion as the badge of identity between the Catholic and Protestant 'nations' in Ireland during the nineteenth century is an important theme in Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1978).

⁴ Donald H. Akenson, *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1971), xi-xii.

⁵ *ibid.*, xii.

⁶ The phrase is that of Akenson, *ibid.*

religious life of the Church'.⁷ An effort will be made, therefore, to assess not only how effectively the institutional Church of Ireland ministered to its members, but how these members responded to this pastoral ministration.

There have been many references so far to the minority status of Anglicans in Waterford, and their numerical inferiority to Catholics. This is a recurrent and pivotal theme in this book. Numerical size, both in absolute terms and relative to the size of the majority, was an important determinant of the behaviour of Anglicans. Hence, Chapter One is concerned with describing the demographic context of Anglicanism in Waterford for the period 1819-1872 and the extent to which its adherents were a demonstrable and declining minority as the century progressed. A social profile of Waterford's Anglicans is presented and what emerges is the relatively advantaged social position of members of the Church of Ireland. The fact that its members enjoyed a disproportionate share of wealth and social prestige was some consolation to them as they were forced to come to terms with the unpalatable reality of the details of their paucity of numbers, which were revealed in various official reports.

Chapter Two is concerned with the life of the Church of Ireland in Waterford, 1819-1842. The infrastructure of the institution is detailed, in terms of the number of benefices, churches, glebe houses, and resident clergy. This infrastructure was more than adequate to respond to the needs of Church members. Regarding the Anglican clergy, their incomes and duties are examined. The underemployment of clergy becomes apparent, due to the small numbers of Anglicans in most benefices. The system of clerical remuneration, based on tithes, did not serve the best interests of the Church, because there was no correlation between income, number of parishioners, and extent of duties. Nor was the inadequate remuneration of curates in the Church's interest. Two other serious deficiencies in the Church are highlighted - the cathedral system and the right of laymen to appoint parochial clergy. The former was wasteful of valuable resources; the latter denied the Church's chief officer in the diocese - the bishop - the right to exercise a power crucial to the pastoral welfare of the Church, the appointment of parish priests. Having considered these various aspects of the Church of Ireland, the important issues of church attendance and participation in the eucharist are discussed in order to ascertain the extent of participation of lay Anglicans in the life of their Church.

⁷ The phrase is that of Dr. Fergus O'Ferrall, quoted in Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland, 1691-1986* (Dublin, Columba Press and A.P.C.K., 1997), p. 14.

Evangelicalism was an important animating force in the life of the Waterford Church. It inspired clergy and laity to a deeper sense of religious commitment, as witnessed by their establishment of, and involvement in various Church societies. However, evangelicalism also caused some Anglicans to engage in controversy with Catholics in the 1820s, as the sectarian divisions engendered by the 'Second Reformation' impacted on Waterford, though not with the same intensity and bitterness as in other parts of Ireland. While evangelical enthusiasm helped make the Church of Ireland more dynamic, it also caused offence to Catholics. The sectarianism of the 1820s contributed to the outbreak of the Tithe War, the extent of which in Waterford is considered. There was also another bitter struggle in the 1830s, one generally ignored by historians. This was the controversy over vestry cess, and it is examined in detail.

Chapter Three looks at the politics of the years 1819-1842, which were difficult ones for Anglicans. The 1820s were dominated by the issue of emancipation. Anglican opinion was divided on the issue, there existing a significant body of liberal Protestant support for Catholic claims. Such support was seen as crucial by many Catholic activists in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The granting of emancipation was seen by them and by many Anglicans as the great potential achievement of liberal Protestantism. Such liberal Protestant opinion was very strong in Waterford and was epitomised in the parliamentary career of Sir John Newport, MP for the city, 1802-1832. However, O'Connell's emergence as Catholic leader and his foundation of the Catholic Association changed the character of the struggle for emancipation. He employed popular agitation. Catholic popular opinion was strongly anti-Protestant, regarding emancipation as the extirpation of Protestants from their position of privilege. Moreover, earlier in the century during his opposition to the veto, O'Connell had equated Irishness and Catholicism. This equation was consolidated during the emancipation campaign. Thus a great problem arose for Anglicans, especially liberal ones - what was to be the nature of their relationship with the increasingly strident Catholic majority. The issue was all the more problematical because of the increasing sectarianism of the 1820s, due to the intensity of the emancipation campaign and the Second Reformation. The issue came to a head for Waterford's Protestants during the 1826 general election. Henry Villiers Stuart's defeat of Lord George Beresford represented a serious blow to conservative Protestant opinion on the issue of Catholic rights. The intensification of the popular struggle culminated in the victory of O'Connell in the Clare election of 1828. The conservative Protestant response was the formation of the Brunswick Clubs to resist the

concession of Catholic equality. The years 1826-1828 were very difficult ones for liberal Protestants, and their plight in Waterford is considered in detail. Among them was a deep unease at O'Connell's tactics, yet many of them still believed in the justice of his cause. While this study will show that the Brunswick Clubs were weak in Waterford, they forced any wavering liberal Protestants to make a stand for or against emancipation. By 1829 it was no longer an issue, as the government conceded the principal demands of the Catholic Association. During the 1820s O'Connell had created unbreakable links between Catholicism, nationalism, and democracy. This created a deep unease among Anglicans, including liberal ones. His later espousal of radical causes, and especially repeal, repelled the majority of Protestants. This book will look at the drift to conservatism among Anglicans in the 1830s, and their increasing alienation from the politics of the Catholic majority. This alienation is highlighted in the conflicting attitudes to municipal reform - strongly supported by Catholics, equally resisted (though unsuccessfully) by Protestants, who were determined to preserve the corporation from Catholic control. By 1842 most Anglicans were Tories.

The episcopate of Robert Daly, 1843-1872, the subject of Chapter Four, was a crucial one for the Church of Ireland in Waterford. He became bishop at a time when Anglican fortunes were at a low ebb. He arrived in his new diocese with a reputation as an ardent evangelical. The study will show how Waterford became a bastion of evangelicalism during his years as bishop. This is evident from the pronounced evangelical character of his clergy, a tendency encouraged by Daly. Many evangelical societies were active, the most important one, the Young Men's Christian Association, being considered in detail. Protestant halls were built in Waterford city and Tramore, and were used as venues to promote evangelical activities, such as Bible societies and Sunday schools. The Anglican laity reacted positively to these developments and the progress of evangelicalism among Church members is detailed. In fact, evangelical religion became a significant element of Protestant identity and a basis of a stronger sense of communal solidarity. Such solidarity was necessary in the face of Catholic and nationalist political advances. During Daly's episcopate the horrors of the Great Famine were visited upon Waterford. The Church of Ireland's response in Waterford is shown to be very creditable. Daly was a strong supporter of proselytism and controversy with Catholics. In this regard, the role of one organisation, the Irish Society, a firm favourite of Daly's, is examined in particular. How proselytising activities created tensions between Catholics and Protestants is considered. The lack of enthusiasm among most Anglicans in Waterford

is noted and explained. While proselytism and controversy had negative aspects, it is suggested in this study that they also had a positive effect on the Church of Ireland. Finally, Daly's hostile attitude to the national system of education is detailed. He rejected it because of its refusal to permit the use of the Bible, except at designated periods of religious instruction. Instead, he was a lifelong supporter of the Church Education Society, which promoted an Anglican system of schooling. The Church Education Society was ultimately a failure, and Daly's attitude to it and to the national system is criticised in this study as having been divisive and wasteful of scarce Church resources.

Chapter Five is concerned with politics from 1843 to 1868. The 1840s were difficult years for Anglicans, not least because of the rising of 1848. The early 1850s began badly, with sectarian divisions being very pronounced. However, the later years of the decade saw a revival of conservative Protestant political fortunes, with successes in Waterford city and county constituencies in the 1857 and 1859 general elections. Various reasons are presented to account for these events. However, by the mid 1860s Anglican political fortunes were once again in decline, beginning with a by-election defeat in 1866. Moreover, divisions among Anglicans in the city from the early 1860s about the nature of Protestant conservatism added to their difficulties. No Anglican even contested the 1868 general election.

Chapter Six looks at the attitude of Waterford's Anglicans to disestablishment and their response to the situation created by the enactment of the Irish Church Act, 1869. This study will show that Anglicans were willing to play an active role in the affairs of their Church and so helped it surmount the crisis associated with disestablishment. An assessment of the career of Robert Daly rounds off this chapter.

Finally, it is necessary to explain the use of certain words in this book. The word 'Catholic' is used as a synonym for 'Roman Catholic'. This reflects popular usage, but must not be construed as a denial of the connection of the Church of Ireland with the Holy Catholic Church. Likewise, the word 'Protestant', when used in the text, is generally a synonym for 'Anglican', unless the context suggests the inclusion also of non-Anglican Protestants. It should be noted, however, that even when the usage implies the latter, Anglicans were by far the dominant Protestant denomination in Waterford, and formed the overwhelming majority of those describing themselves as Protestants.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF WATERFORD

ANGLICANISM, 1819-1871

During the period 1819-1872 the demography of Waterford Anglicanism displayed four essential characteristics. Anglicans formed a distinct and definite minority. Their presence was concentrated in certain parts of the county; they were entirely absent or hardly represented in large portions of Waterford. Finally, the Anglican population experienced dramatic decline as the century progressed. However, while relatively few in numbers, members of the Church of Ireland enjoyed a disproportionate share of wealth and social prestige, which fact helped compensate for their numerical inferiority.

According to Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* of 1837, the area of county Waterford was 461,598 statute acres, of which 343,564 were cultivated land and 118,034 unimproved mountain and bog.¹ The physical geography of the county may be described briefly.² The Comeragh-Monavullagh Mountains dissect Waterford into two equal portions, a division which has influenced settlement patterns and the county's economic and cultural history. The eastern boundary is the estuary of Waterford harbour. Northwards, the river Suir separates the county from neighbouring Kilkenny and Tipperary. The Knockmealdown Mountains form the remainder of this northern boundary. The western border is the river valleys of the Blackwater and Bride. In 1831 the population was 177,054; with 28,821 living in the city and its environs and 148,233 in the rest of the county.³

¹ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols., London, Lewis & Co., 1837), vol. 2, p. 676.

² This account is based on Jack Burtchaell, 'A Typology of Settlement and Society in County Waterford', in William Nolan and Thomas Power (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p. 541.

³ *Abstract of Population Returns*, H.C. 1833 (634), xxxix, pp. 200-1; 208-9.

Distribution of the Anglican Population

Waterford's Anglicans lived in a county divided into seventy-eight parishes. Seventy-four were wholly within the county. Four parishes – Kilsheelan, Killaloan, Inislounaght, and St. Mary's, Clonmel – straddled the county boundary into neighbouring Tipperary. It is the parishes wholly within Waterford county with which we are concerned in this chapter.

It was not until the census of 1861 that an inquiry was made into the denominational affiliations of the country's population.⁴ However, a religious enumeration was taken in 1834 when a royal commission was set up to investigate 'the state of religious and other instruction in Ireland'.⁵ The evidence suggests that the *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland*, issued in 1835, gave a fair representation of the membership of the various churches.⁶ It revealed that in the seventy four parishes wholly in Waterford the number of Anglicans was 8,327.⁷ (See Appendix 1). The total population of the parishes was 177,920, with the adherents of the Church of Ireland representing 4.7 per cent of this total.⁸ This was well below the national figure of 10.7 per cent.⁹ Though Anglican representation in the small Waterford diocese (with an area of 53,239 statute acres)¹⁰ was 10.8 per cent and equated with the national total, it was a mere 2.8 per cent in the much bigger Lismore diocese¹¹ (with an area of 451,771 statute acres).¹² The figure for Lismore was even lower when only the parishes in Waterford county are considered – 2.3 per cent. In the ecclesiastical province of Cashel (with its eleven dioceses) and where Anglicans constituted 4.8 per cent of the total population, Waterford ranked first in terms of percentage distribution, while Lismore was eighth.

⁴ Malcolm R. Macourt, 'The Religious Inquiry in the Irish Census of 1861', *I.H.S.*, vol. xxi, no. 82, pp. 168-87.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 171.

⁷ Calculations based on the *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 13C-37C; 156b and 157b.

⁸ Calculations based on *ibid.*

⁹ See Donal H. Akenson, *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (New Haven and London, 1971), p. 165. Calculations in this paragraph are based on Akenson's figures.

¹⁰ *Fourth Report of His Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, H.C. 1837 (500), xxi, p.346.

¹¹ See Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 165.

¹² *Fourth Report of His Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, p. 382.

In absolute terms, however, Waterford fared less well - it was ninth, and Lismore was again eighth.¹³

In terms of other Protestant denominations, Anglicans formed the overwhelming majority in Waterford. There were only 625 non-Anglican Protestants.¹⁴ Most of these – 553 – lived in the city and its environs.¹⁵ The remaining 72 were to be found concentrated in two county parishes, with a minuscule number in another three.¹⁶

The number of Anglicans in the towns was considerable relative to their presence in other parts of the county. Munster Protestants were more urbanised than their Catholic neighbours and in the 1830s, 40 per cent of them lived in or near sizeable urban settlements.¹⁷ Eight city parishes had a Church of Ireland population of 4,388, distributed as follows:¹⁸

St. John's	1,002
Trinity }	2,300
St. Michael's }	
St. Olave's	356
St. Patrick's	102
St. Peter's	349
St. Stephen's	144
Kilculiheen	135

These parishes contained 52.7 per cent of the total Anglican population of Waterford. Four other parishes in relative proximity to the city returned 714 members of the Church and constituted 8.6 per cent of the total: Kilmeaden (118), Drummannon (182), Killea (253), and Kill St. Nicholas (161).¹⁹

¹³ See Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 165.

¹⁴ Calculations based on the *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 13C-17C.

¹⁵ *ibid.* In these parishes there were 110 presbyterians and 443 Dissenters returned. The vast majority of the latter were Quakers.

¹⁶ *ibid.* In the parish of Lismore there were 45 Presbyterians. Clonegam recorded 14 Dissenters. Kinsalebeg, Mocollop, and Tallow recorded 7, 1, and 5 Dissenters respectively.

¹⁷ Patrick Flanagan, 'Urban Minorities and Majorities: Catholics and Protestants in Munster Towns c. 1659-1859', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common Ground: Essays in the Historical Geography of Ireland*, (Cork University Press, 1988), p. 125.

¹⁸ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 3C-11C.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 6C-9C.

Outside the city and its environs, three towns, Lismore, Tallow, and Dungarvan were located in parishes of the same name which recorded relatively large Anglican populations. These towns were part of the duke of Devonshire's Irish estate. The incidence of Protestants in eighteenth and nineteenth century Munster owes much to the later Munster plantation period, beginning after the battle of Kinsale and ending with the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion. The towns were located in areas which experienced the most intensive New English immigration,²⁰ as the valleys of the Blackwater and Bride recorded some of the highest provincial land values.²¹ The parish of Dungarvan recorded 335 Anglicans,²² while Lismore's total was 494.²³ The town of Lismore is situated in the middle of the Blackwater valley. While its religious functions had been revived for the reformed faith by the earl of Cork, Lismore owed its relatively high Established Church population to the fact that it was the estate owner's principal Irish residence.²⁴ In effect, Lismore was an estate village.²⁵ The town of Tallow is located in the most intensively planted parish in early seventeenth century Munster and the fortunes of the town became linked with farming in the agriculturally rich land of the Bride valley.²⁶ The parish of Tallow recorded 352 Anglicans.²⁷ The adjoining parishes of Kilwatermoy and Templemichael also had significant Church of Ireland populations – 96 and 178 respectively.²⁸

Another parish recording a relatively large Anglican population – 245 – was Clonegam,²⁹ in which was situated the town of Portlaw. This was the location of the Malcolmson's cotton factory.³⁰ In Clonegam parish

²⁰ Flanagan, 'Urban Minorities and Majorities', p. 125. The history of settlement in county Waterford has been the subject of many excellent studies. See Burtchaell, 'A Typology of Settlement', pp. 541-69. See also Catherine Ketch, 'Settlement and Colonisation in the Marginal Areas of the Comeragh Mountains, Part 1', *Decies*, 35, pp. 61-71.

²¹ Flanagan, 'Urban Minorities and Majorities', p. 126.

²² *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 18C-19C.

²³ *ibid.*, 24C-25C.

²⁴ Flanagan, 'Urban Minorities and Majorities', p. 132.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁷ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 32C-33C.

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ *ibid.*, 16C-17C.

³⁰ For an account of the Malcolmson's factory at Portlaw, see Tom Hunt, 'The Origin and Development of the Portlaw Cotton Industry, 1825-40', in *Decies*, 53, pp. 17-32.

Curraghmore, the residence of the marquis of Waterford, is also found. As at Lismore, Anglicans settled near the great estate of a co-religionist.

A total of 6,802 Anglicans or 81.7 per cent of the county's total were to be found in eighteen parishes. Settlement patterns in Waterford appear to reflect those of other parts of the country for which studies have been done. Commenting on county Longford, around 1841, Liam Kennedy has observed:

There was some clustering of Protestants in relation to the 'Big Houses' of the gentry; they tended to be concentrated in the more fertile districts of the region; were likely to be found in areas characterised by village or town settlements; and were well represented where the local economy had (or once had) a significant industrial base.³¹

Dr. Ian d'Alton, in his study of Cork Protestants, has written of 'the existence of 'clusters' or large groups of Protestants in small areas'.³² A very large proportion of the Protestant population lived in or near to the many scattered urban areas.³³ Moreover, where the land was fairly good they were represented in relatively significant numbers.³⁴

If the vast majority of Waterford's Anglicans were to be found in eighteen parishes, fourteen parishes recorded no presence at all.³⁵ Some of these parishes were tiny. John O'Donovan described Monamintra as a 'very small parish, if parish it can be called'.³⁶ Killure was composed of 602 statute acres³⁷ and Kilronan (Waterford diocese) of 519.³⁸ Others were more substantial parishes: Kilgobinet (26,134 acres), Fewes (4,859), and Newcastle (3,906).³⁹ The absence of Anglicans from these places was due

³¹ Liam Kennedy, 'The Long Retreat: Protestants, Economy and Society, 1660-1926', in *Colonialism, Religion and Nationalism in Ireland* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1996), pp. 12-13.

³² Ian d'Alton, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1844* (Cork University Press, 1980), p. 13.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 5-13.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁵ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 13C-37C. These parishes were: Colligan, Fewes, Islandkane, Kilbride, Kiburne, Kilcaragh, Kilgobinet, Killure, Kilronan, Kill St. Lawrence, Lickoran, Monamintra, Newcastle, and Reiske.

³⁶ O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters*, No. 26.

³⁷ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 157.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 203.

³⁹ *Fourth Report of His Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage*, pp. 358, 368.

primarily to the poor quality of land, which had made these areas unattractive to planters. Kilgobinet included the southern end of the Comeragh Mountains;⁴⁰ the surface of Fewes was ‘chiefly mountainous’;⁴¹ and Newcastle presented ‘a dreary surface of naked rocks, intermixed with small patches of cultivation, and tracts of heath and furze’.⁴² To further illustrate the absence of a significant Established Church presence in many parts of Waterford, nineteen parishes recorded a figure of between 1 and 20 Anglicans.⁴³ These nineteen parishes contained only 210 members of the Church of Ireland. The county’s remaining 1,315 Anglicans – 15.8 per cent of the total – were distributed throughout the remaining twenty three parishes.

Paucity of Anglican numbers in Waterford in 1834 is all too clear. Excluding the eight city parishes, only thirteen parishes had a population of 100 and over.

Parish	Population
Kilrossanty	100
Aglish	107
Stradbally	112
Kilmeaden	118
Ballylaneen	126
Kill St. Nicholas	161
Templemichael	178
Drumcannon	182
Clonegam	245
Killea	253
Dungarvan	335
Tallow	352
Lismore	494

⁴⁰ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, vol. 2. p. 90.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 628.

⁴² *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 426.

⁴³ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 13C-37C. These parishes were (with the number of Anglicans in brackets): Seskinane (3), Clonea (4), Modeligo (4), Lisnakill (5), Kilrush (6), Ballymacart (8), Corbally (8), Kilbarry (10), Rossmire (11), Rossduff (11), Kilbarrymaiden (12), Kilmolash (12), Crooke (14), Faithlegg (14), Kilmacleage (15), Ballygunner (17), Kilmoleran (18), Dysert (19), and Fenough (19).

This paucity is highlighted even more when it is realised that only seven parishes recorded the Anglican percentage of the population at 10 per cent or over. These were:⁴⁴

Rathmoylan	10.4
Rossduff	12.1
Ballinakill	14.5
Trinity/St. Michael's	15
St. John's	18.2
St. Peter's	38.1
St. Olave's	40.7

These percentage figures, however, can be deceptive and serve to flatter the strength of Anglicanism. This is the case in relation to Rossduff – it was a tiny parish with only 11 Anglicans. While Rathmoylan and Ballinakill had respectable figures in the context of Church of Ireland parishes – 84 and 90 respectively – they can hardly be regarded as Anglican strongholds. The minority status of Anglicanism in the county is very apparent when one considers the Church of Ireland population in each of the thirteen parishes recording 100 members and over of the Established Church expressed as a percentage of the parish's total population.

Parish	Anglican population as percentage of total parish population
Kilrossanty	3.1
Aglish	2.8
Stradbally	3.0
Kilmeaden	4.4
Ballylaneen	3.3
Kill St. Nicholas	9.7
Templemichael	6.7
Drumcannon	5.4
Clonegam	8.7
Killea	9.8
Dungarvan	2.5
Tallow	7.1
Lismore	3.1

⁴⁴ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 3C-11C.

Only the city parishes had significant percentages of Protestants. The eight of them had a concentration of Anglicans which represented 15.5 per cent of the total population of the parishes.⁴⁵ In these the Established Church had a presence that was more than a token one. (See Appendix 11).

Regarding its findings as they related to Anglicanism, the 1835 *Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction* observed:

It will accordingly be found that there are some benefices in which there are no members of the Church of England; that there are others in which there are but a few; while, in others, more especially in the large towns, their number is considerable. It is also observable that in some instances, from the great extent of the benefice, the members of the Established Church are widely scattered amongst the other inhabitants.⁴⁶

These observations are an excellent summary of the distribution of Anglicans in Waterford. In the period 1819-1872, therefore, we are dealing with the members of a Church who constituted a definite minority.

Social Composition of Waterford Anglicanism

Notwithstanding the fact that Catholics composed the majority of the population, Protestants often asserted that they formed the social elite. This assertion became a source of consolation and inspiration for them, particularly in the face of the erosion of their political power. In the 1820s, it was claimed that Protestants were the proprietors of at least nineteen twentieths of the soil of all Ireland.⁴⁷ During the 1826 Waterford county election Protestants emphasised their social superiority as a counterbalance to the obvious numerical dominance of Catholics.⁴⁸ Protestant wealth and position were highlighted by the Protestant Conservative Society of Ireland in the 1830s;⁴⁹ while in the 1860s Protestants were described as constituting the intelligence and wealth of Waterford.⁵⁰ How are these assertions borne out by the facts?

Protestants have long been associated with the 'big house' and not without reason. In the 1850s there were twenty five houses in Waterford

⁴⁵ Calculations based on *ibid.* The Anglican population was 4,388 out of a total population of 28,278.

⁴⁶ *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Mail*, 8 Dec. 1824.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 24 Sept. 1825.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 28 Apr. 1832, 24 Nov. 1832.

⁵⁰ *Standard*, 3 Oct. 1863.

whose rateable valuation exceeded £50. At least sixteen of these were owned by Protestants.⁵¹ In the 1870s there were twenty one landowners whose holdings exceeded 5,000 acres, and sixteen were Protestants.

Size of holding	Annual Valuation	Proprietor (statute acres) (£s)
Marquis of Waterford	40,050	29,949
Lord Stuart de Decies	36,788	15,473
Duke of Devonshire	27,540	12,253
Representatives of Richard Chearnley	17,424	5,048
Earl of Stradbroke	10,782	4,428
Sir John Keane	9,558	2,163.
John Palliser	9,429	3,145
Trustees of Catherine Osborne	8,959	4,093
Viscount Doneraile	8,832	5,937
Earl of Dartry	8,918	4,090
Sir Richard Musgrave	8,466	5,199
Hon. C. W. Moore Smyth	7,025	3,506
Captain James Barry	6,809	2,152
Sir J. Nugent Humble	6,351	3,553
George L. Fox	5,422	4,490
Earl of Huntingdon	5,101	2,316

While the owners of the great houses and the landed proprietors were very important members of Protestant society, they formed a minority. A more complete picture of the social composition of Waterford's Anglican community outside of the city parishes may be formed by an examination of baptismal and marriage registers of a number of important parishes, in which are recorded the occupations of parents (most often that of the father only) and those of married couples (most often that of husband only). For the purposes of this study the baptismal registers of Dungarvan (for the years 1833-36, 1840, 1843-1844), and Tallow and Kilwatermoy (for the years 1833, 1836, 1842, 1847, 1852 and 1859) were examined, as were the marriage registers of Clonegam, Monksland, and Drummannon, for the years 1845-1855. In all there were 260 entries, and the occupations of

⁵¹ Burtchaell, 'Typology of Settlement', p. 557.

those registered may be summarised as follows: Table 1.4: Summary of occupations of 260 entries in church registers

Occupations	Number of Persons
Trade/Skilled worker ⁵²	81
Professional	18
Merchant/Shopkeeper ⁵³	18
Coastguard/Customs	15
Estate Worker/Domestic worker	25
Labourer/Miner/Factory worker	30
Gentleman	13
Police/Soldier	17
Farmer	9
Others	27
Not Specified	7

These figures are indicative rather than definitive, but nevertheless provide a useful means to profile Anglican society in Waterford. What emerges from an examination of the registers was the predominant position of tradesmen and skilled workers. They accounted for nearly one third of the entries. There was a strong middle class - nearly 20 per cent of entries – in the form of gentlemen, professionals, and merchants. The dependence of Anglicans on the state and the great estates for employment may be seen in the numbers of soldiers, police, customs and coastguard personnel, and estate workers – these making up a total of 22 per cent.

Tradesmen and workers of varying degrees of skill were represented in significant numbers in the parishes of Tallow, Kilwatermoy, and Clonegam. In the case of the former, the baptismal register gives the father's occupation as belonging to this social category on 35 occasions, out of a total of 76 entries.⁵⁴ This reflected a healthy local economy.⁵⁵ The

⁵² This category is broad as it is difficult to determine the level of skill of the person whose name is entered on a register.

⁵³ The description shopkeeper is a broad one as it is difficult to determine the type or extent of the business of the person whose name is entered on a register. Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether the person is an employee in a shop or a shop owner.

⁵⁴ See note 56 above for particulars of the register.

presence of Malcolmson's cotton factory, at Portlaw, explains the presence in the parish of Clonegam of many skilled workers. This social grouping was involved in 23 of the 48 marriages (providing either bride or groom; on some occasions both parties) in the years 1845-1855, accounting for 28 of the 80 occupational entries.⁵⁶

Clonegam parish also illustrates the importance of the great estates in the lives of Waterford's Anglicans. Curraghmore, the residence of the marquis of Waterford, was located in the parish. A total of 18 persons married in the parish between 1845-1855 were domestic or estate employees and the majority worked at Curraghmore.⁵⁷ The parish of Affane contained within its boundaries Dromana, the residence of Lord Stuart de Decies, and at least 6 of the 29 marriages performed in the parish church between 1848-1869 involved employees of this estate.⁵⁸

The middle class was a significant element among members of the Church of Ireland. This was especially so in a parish such as Drumcannon. The Anglican population of this area increased during the period 1819-1876, much of this increase being due to the attraction of the coastal location of Tramore for the middle class. In relation to 17 of the 26 marriages contracted for the years 1845-1855, the grooms may be broadly described as belonging to the middle class.⁵⁹ There was a total of 58 marriages in the parish between 1845-1869, and 38 of the grooms may be described as middle class.⁶⁰ Twenty five of the fathers whose names are entered on the baptismal register of Tallow and Kilwatermoy may also be so described.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary*, stated that an extensive brewery had been established in Tallow in 1835. There was also a malting concern and extensive flour mills (vol. 2, p. 589).

⁵⁶ Marriage Register, parish of Clonegam. See note 56 for particulars of the register.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Marriage Register, parish of Affane.

⁵⁹ See note 56 above for particulars of the register. Included in the category of middle class are those described as farmers, professionals, customs and coastguard personnel, clerks, and shopkeepers and merchants. It is recognised that some of these persons belonged to the lower end of the social category.

⁶⁰ Marriage Register, parish of Drumcannon. The 38 may be categorised thus: gentlemen (8); professionals (7); merchants/shopkeepers (7); farmers (4); police/customs (7); others (5).

⁶¹ See note 56 above for particulars of register. See also note 64 above for explanation of categories included as middle class. One of those categorised as others – a sailing master – is included in the calculation.

Regarding the social composition of the Church of Ireland community in the city, Dr. d'Alton's observation that Protestants were to be found at all levels in Cork city applies equally to Waterford.⁶² *Slater's Commercial Directory* of 1846 suggests a significant Anglican representation among the gentry, professions, and trades, with the latter composing the preponderant group.⁶³ The applications for admission to the freedom of the city, the majority of which were from Anglicans, gives a good indication of the type of person who made up city Anglicanism. For example, of the 58 persons admitted by the corporation on 6 October 1832, the occupations of 45 were listed. These included: gentleman (9), shoemaker (8), painter (7), cabinet maker (4), weaver (4), cooper (2), smith (2), and a draper, brazier, writing clerk, school master, musician, watchmaker, constable, stone cutter, and chaise driver.⁶⁴

As they were to be found at all social levels, not all of the city's Anglicans were economically prosperous. Some of them were unable to afford the fee of two pounds five shillings necessary to accompany applications to become freemen.⁶⁵ The poverty of others was attested to by the existence of various charities to relieve distress.⁶⁶ One important charitable agency was the Waterford Sick and Indigent Protestant Relief Society. Founded in 1835, during the first twenty-five years of its existence it administered over £3,000 in relief to the Protestant poor.⁶⁷ In 1859 it afforded relief to fifty-six families, including 156 individuals. Fuel and clothes were also distributed to those in need.⁶⁸ The society claimed that it was responsible for keeping tradesmen from the workhouse.⁶⁹ Poorer Anglicans were concentrated in the city parishes of St. Olave's and St. Peter's. Here they lived in often appalling conditions, sharing abject poverty with Catholic neighbours.⁷⁰

A more definitive account of the social composition of Waterford's Church of Ireland community may be attempted using information relating

⁶² d'Alton, *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork*, p. 34.

⁶³ *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (London, Slater, 1846), pp. 327-34.

⁶⁴ WMA, Corporation Minutes, 6 Oct. 1832.

⁶⁵ *Mail*, 12 Sept. 1832.

⁶⁶ *Report on Poverty in Waterford 1834, including Charitable Institutions*, NLI, Ms. 3,288 (Microfilm, Waterford Municipal Library), *passim*.

⁶⁷ *Mail*, 1 Feb. 1860.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ See Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford Trades Council, 1989), pp. 41-2.