

# GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEWSLETTER

IRELAND

No. 21

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British Miles.

South Kildare

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€5 (Free to members)



## President's Welcome

The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS) was founded by Dr Robin Glasscock, then of Queen's, in 1969. We are now talking of a celebratory conference in Dublin in 2019 to mark that occasion. GSIHS can rightly be proud of all that it has achieved over the last forty-eight years. Not only has it held together but it has gone from strength to strength. The aim of the Group was clearly set out at its inaugural meeting and was often repeated in the bulletins and newsletters of the 1970s. The three principal aims still are:

1. to produce and circulate useful information concerning Irish historic settlement
2. to promote and co-ordinate studies of particular aspects of settlement
3. to express opinions on matters of historic settlement which are of national and local concern, and, where necessary, to press for action.

The Group annual meeting has been successful for a variety of reasons. First, it has always believed in an inter-disciplinary approach and in its publications and meetings has avoided a too narrow and off-putting specialism. Yet the annual meeting has always combined a high level of expertise with a warm friendliness towards all who attend, be he or she a professor in a history department or a rank and file member of a local historical society. Everyone who attends is valued for what they can contribute to settlement studies.

Like another great event, the National Ploughing Festival (which has its home in Athy) GSIHS has insisted on going about the country and to a different province each year so as to kindle enthusiasm for the aims of the organisation and build on the amateur and voluntary effort in so many historical and archaeological societies. The task of circulating *useful* information has been made easier by technology while, curiously, it may be more difficult to get people to travel to a weekend such as ours. Yet the effort is worthwhile for the friendships made and learning uncovered. The farmer going to the annual ploughing event learned that years ago.

Another reason to make the pilgrimage to South Kildare is to honour the memory of Lord Walter Fitzgerald (1858–1923) who gave the last forty years of his life to his historical and genealogical pursuits, not excluding folklore, place-names and archaeology. Fitzgerald was a founder member of the Kildare Archaeological Society in 1891 and was its secretary for thirty years. Under him the journal of that society flourished. He was no antiquarian in the pejorative sense of that word. It is good to see that our members Con Manning and Ray Gillespie both now contribute greatly to that Society, as they have and continue to do for GSIHS. Another with Kildare leanings and a regular contributor both to our meetings and to our bulletins is Dr Arnold Horner. In the mould of Fitzgerald (save that noble lord was unmarried) is that great team of Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber who will be speaking at our South Kildare conference on the Annals of Ballitore. They have been coming to Ireland since the 1960s and must rank among the great icons for our organisation. One could say the same of others who have served the Group well over many years. Our thanks also to the other speakers at the Carlow-based South Kildare weekend including Gillian Barrett, Sharon Greene, Annejulie Lafaye and Peter Connell. I also wish to thank Kildare County Council and in particular its heritage officer, Brigid McLoughlin. I believe that GSIHS should continue to work closely with the county heritage officers and the Heritage Council to build a county network for GSIHS throughout the country and to use the best of the social media tools to get our message across.

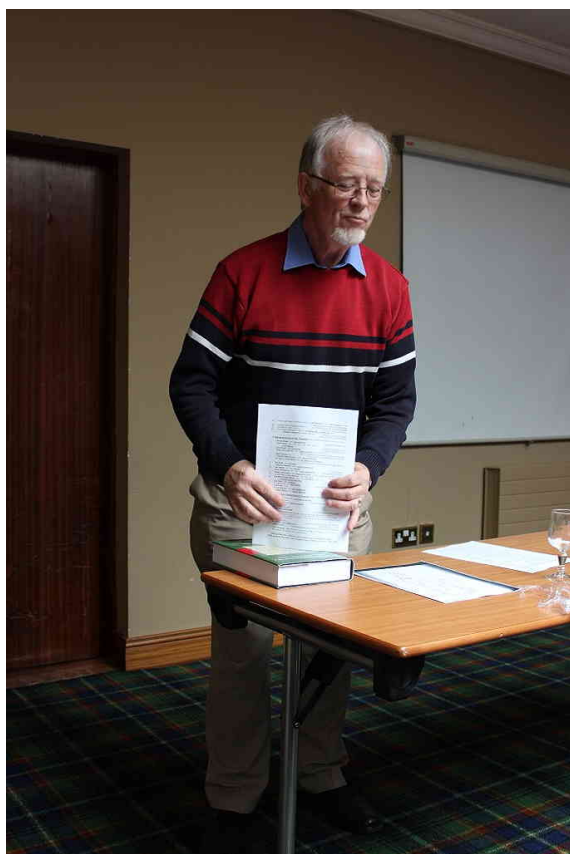
A read through the newsletters (now online) since the 1970s is to be reminded of the progress in settlement studies; of the gigantic contribution of members such as Ray Gillespie and Bernadette Cunningham and of officers of the Group in the past such as Michael Hanrahan and Niamh Crowley. One recalls too, great weekends such as those at Youghal, Carnlough, Bantry, Portumna and Ballina last year. My first introduction to the Group was back in 1972 when the annual meeting was held in Athlone and the Offaly-based committee member was Fr Conor McGreevy (of the booming voice) and local friends included Billy English and Harman and Ann Murtagh.

I did not yet mention two other speakers at the South Kildare conference, Charlie Doherty and Margaret Murphy. GSIHS is delighted to have them in such major roles on our committee. It would be fair to say that not much would happen without Margaret who has proved to be an excellent secretary general for GSIHS. For the last few years we have been favoured with a hard-working committee comprised of

Margaret, David Fleming (treasurer) James Lyttleton, Rachel Tracey, Matthew Stout (my predecessor and now a vice-president), Geraldine Stout, David Kelly, Charlie Doherty, Linda Shine and Paul MacCotter. It is good that we hold our committee meetings at the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Merrion Square. The house is home to settlement inquiry for 100 years this year and, of course, was founded in 1849. It is also home to Lord Walter Fitzgerald's archive.

For the honour of serving you as president I have to thank Matthew Stout (my hard-working predecessor) and you the members who attended at Ballina. I look forward to meeting you at the South Kildare conference and hearing your suggestions for the continued good fortune of our GSIHS.

Michael Byrne (President) May 2017  
 info@offalyhistory.com



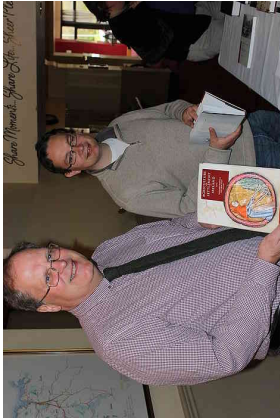
Nollaig Ó Muraíle



Rory Sherlock

2016 Conference, Ballina: Photographs courtesy of Michael Byrne (President GSIHS)





Matthew Stout and James Lyttleton



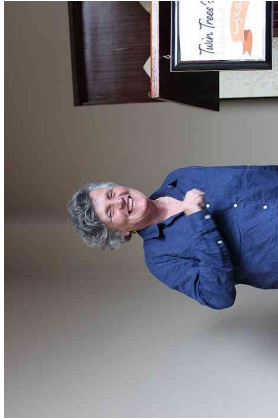
Graeme Warren



David Kelly



Yvonne McDermott



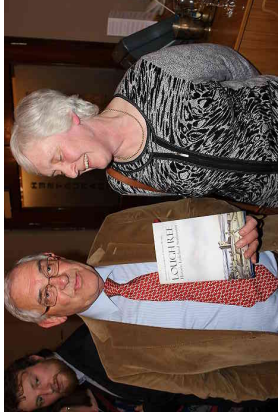
Geraldine Stout



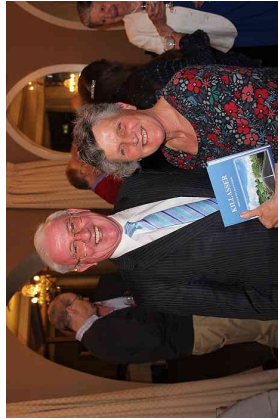
Seamus Caulfield



David Kelly, Michael Hanrahan,  
Matthew Stout and Geraldine Byrne



Harman Murtagh and  
Bernie Cunningham



Bernard O'Hara and Geraldine Stout



Ray Gillespie



David Kelly, Margaret  
Murphy and Matthew Stout



A prehistoric baker

2016 Conference, Ballina: Photographs courtesy of Michael Byrne (President CSIHIS)



Annual Conference, Youghal, 1994: Tadhg O'Keefe (right) describes Romanesque archway at Lismore Castle (Photograph courtesy of Michael O'Hanrahan (former President GSHS))

## Articles

Bernard O'Hara<sup>1</sup>  
(Former Registrar of GMTI)  
**An overview of Mayo's  
archaeological and  
historical settlement**

### Introduction

County Mayo has a rich archaeological heritage, covering all periods from the Mesolithic Age until recent times. The first major study of a monument type in the county was carried out on megalithic tombs from 1959 to 1963 by Ruaidhrí de Valera and Seán Ó Nualláin.<sup>2</sup> During the 1960s research commenced on what became known as the Céide Fields. Over the years, various amateur and professional archaeologists made an enormous contribution to the discovery and identification of archaeological monuments in the county. Recent research, especially on and around Croagh Patrick, 1992–2004, on Clare Island, 1994–8, as well as archaeological work undertaken during road and sewerage schemes, increased the number of known sites. There are now over 8,560 monuments recorded for the county on the national Site and Monuments Record (SMR) database.<sup>3</sup> (This illustrated presentation provided an overview of the main archaeological monuments in County Mayo over the various periods).

### Mesolithic Period (c.8000–4000 BC)

The earliest evidence for the presence of human beings in Ireland comes from a site at Mount Sandel on the banks of the River Bann, near Coleraine, County Derry, dating to about 7000 BC but settlement there may have spanned a few centuries. Several other sites have been discovered around the country. Archaeological evidence from the later Mesolithic period, c.5500–4000 BC, has been found in various parts of Ireland including all Connacht except Leitrim. The first colonisation of County Mayo probably took place during the Late Mesolithic Period. A Bann Blade from this period was found in Lough Urlaur in the parish of Kilmovee. Other material from this period was discovered in a bay near Belderg, close to the Lough Feagh and Furness river system in Burrishoole, on the shore of Lough Lannagh, near Castlebar, and close to the River Robe near Claremorris.<sup>4</sup>

### Neolithic Period (c.4000–2400 BC)

According to present evidence, our first farmers arrived in Ireland shortly after 4000 BC during the Neolithic (New Stone Age), with some of them settling in

Mayo. Apart from farming activities, they introduced the custom of constructing elaborate funerary monuments known as megalithic tombs, and the remains of many of these have been found in the county. Irish megalithic tombs are divided into four classes: court tombs, portal tombs, passage tombs and wedge tombs, each type named after its chief diagnostic feature.

Of the 427 court tombs known in Ireland, eighty-five (20%) are located in County Mayo, the highest number for any county. Distribution of court tombs in Mayo falls into three main groups: the north-east, the west coast and the Moy valley. The densest cluster, containing over thirty tombs, occurs in the north-east, including some well-known tombs like Ballyglass, Glenulra, Behy and Belderg More. There are also a number of court tombs to the west on the way to Belmullet, some near Crossmolina, two near Newport, two south of Louisburgh and two on Achill Island, as well as others along the valley of the river Moy. There are three court tombs in Killasser parish, east of Foxford, located in the townlands of Cartronmacmanus, Coollagagh and Knockfadda.<sup>5</sup> The Cartronmacmanus Court tomb has two well-defined transepts on the northern side, with one opening off each chamber – a rare feature in Irish court tombs. It was the first Irish court tomb with transepts to be published.<sup>6</sup> This feature of a transepted gallery occurs in some nine court tombs in Mayo, eight of which were recorded in the 1964 survey (Knockfadda was discovered in 1989). Three court tombs, Ballinillaun, Pollnagawna and Pollsharvoige, are located near a loop in the River Moy. Cappagh and Coogue North tombs are in Aghamore parish, and there are two near Claremorris, Shinganagh and Ballynastangford Lower. There are three dual court tombs in Mayo: Cappagh, Carrowkilleen and Carbad More. The county also has two central court tombs: Ballyglass and Muingerroon South.<sup>7</sup>

Eight of the known 200 portal tombs in the country are in County Mayo. These are in the north-west and west of the county: two at Ballyknock, near Ballycastle, Enagh Beg, near Crossmolina, Claggan, near Mallaranny, Doogort West on Achill Island, Gortbrack North and Knocknalower, west of Glenamoy, and a collapsed portal tomb in the townland of Prebaun in Killasser.

Most of the 229 passage tombs discovered in Ireland to date are concentrated north of a line from the mouth of the River Boyne to Ballina. There is a passage tomb in Carrowreagh near Bunnyconnellan and another in Westport Demesne. There are a few large circular mounds in the Ballinrobe/Cong region of the county which could contain passage tombs.

The last type of megalithic tomb to make its appearance

<sup>1</sup> Author *inter alia* of *The Archaeological Heritage of Killasser, Co. Mayo, Killasser: Heritage of a Mayo Parish*, Davitt and editor of *Mayo: Aspects of its Heritage*.

<sup>2</sup> Ruaidhrí de Valera and Seán Ó Nualláin, *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland*, vol. ii, County Mayo (Dublin, 1964).

<sup>3</sup> National Monuments Service website at [www.archaeology.ie](http://www.archaeology.ie) Mayo.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Gibbons, Jim Higgins and Myles Gibbons, 'Hunter gatherer strategies in the Mesolithic: the evidence from western Connacht', *Cathair na Mart: Journal of Westport Historical Society*, 24 (2004–05), 43.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard O'Hara, *The Archaeological Heritage of Killasser, Co. Mayo* (Galway, 1991), pp 46–56.

<sup>6</sup> R.B. Aldridge, 'An important unrecorded court cairn in Co. Mayo', *JRSAI*, 86 (1956), 104–6 (Fig. 1).

<sup>7</sup> de Valera and Ó Nualláin, *Survey of Megalithic Tombs*, ii, p. 106.



on the Irish landscape was the wedge tomb, a relatively simple structure when compared with earlier tombs. Of 576 examples in the country, thirty-seven are located in County Mayo, chiefly in the eastern section. Most are located in clusters, for example: Creevagh, Breastagh, Rathfranpark and Townplots West, near Killala; Lettera and two at Castlehill near Ballycroy; Srahwee, Feenune and Delvin South near Louisburgh, Carrowcrom (Figure 1 below) and Carrowcastle south-west of Bunynconnellan, Largan Beg near Belmullet, Bunnaflinglas and Derrynabaunshy in Attymass parish and Carrowgarve South near Crossmolina. Three wedge tombs were discovered in Killasser: Callow, Cullin and Doonty. Further south, there are others at Knockshanbally near Strade; Cuillaun overlooking Killaturly Lough, and Brackloon near Midfield Church, as well as Clooncous and Stripe close to Charlestown. The Barnalyra wedge tomb is located near Ireland West Airport Knock. Others include Killeen, near Charlestown; Greenwood, which was excavated in 1982 by John Sheehan,<sup>8</sup> Feamore, which was destroyed in the late 1950s, and Larganboy East, all in Began parish; Harefield, near Balla; Bargarriff, near Ballyhaunis, as well as Lisduff and Knockadoon, east of Ballindine, and Burris near Irishtown.



Figure 1 Carrowcrom Wedge tomb

There are seventy known unclassified tombs in County Mayo, with their main distribution along the north coast and the Moy valley. Those on the north coast include Ballina, two in Glenulra, one in Belderg, two in Faulagh and another in Bangor. There is one at Lissaniska West, near Pontoon, with four in Killasser: Cartronmacmanus, Creggaun, Doonty and Prebaun.<sup>9</sup> There is an unclassified megalithic tomb in Cloonygowan, near Foxford, and another at Killeen in Meelick. Others include Cloonconlon, near Strade village, Murneen North, near Claremorris, and Coogue South in Aghamore, and a possible one at Mountaincommon, Aghamore.

#### Neolithic field systems and structures

The blanket bog which covers parts of Ireland developed from the third millennium BC onwards and eventually covered the field systems, habitation-sites and

tombs of some early farmers. This pre-bog landscape is being revealed in modern times as the peat is cut away. Extensive pre-bog field systems, with long stretches of stone walls, have been discovered in many parts of Ireland, but most notably at Behy, Glenulra and Belderg in north Mayo.

Extensive excavations were carried out in this area by Dr Seamas Caulfield since the 1960s and by others. This region, known as the Céide Fields, contains a 1,500 hectare archaeological site and is the most extensive Stone Age monument in the world. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal and other artefacts from the site has returned Neolithic dates.<sup>10</sup>

#### Bronze Age (Copper Age 2400–2200 BC; Bronze Age c.2200–600 BC)

In addition to the wedge tombs, the chief field monuments from the Bronze Age which decorate the landscape today are cist graves, standing stones, stone circles, stone alignments and what are believed to be ancient cooking-sites. A common type of burial found under a mound or cairn is a cist. Cist type burials, with both cremated remains and inhumations, have been discovered in several places in Mayo like Ballinchalla, south-west of Ballinrobe, Corrower in Attymass, Letterkeen in the Nephin Beg range and Nymphsfield, near Cong.

Other types of burial sites from this period are the ring barrow and bowl barrow, the former a low circular mound, generally level at the top, enclosed by a fosse and an external bank, and the latter a structure resembling an upturned bowl. There are barrow clusters around Urlaur Lough, Mannin Lough, and at Magheraboy in Kilcolman parish. There are other ring barrows in Laghtavarry, Carrownedden, Cuillaun, Brackloon, Barnacahoge, Tombohola, Craggagh, Lugbrack, Mountaincommon, Aghamore, Scregg, Coolnaha, Island and Kilmannin. There are four ring barrows located in Carrowcloghagh, near Crossmolina. Nine ring barrows at Carrowjames, south of Belcarra village, were excavated in 1935–6 and contained at least forty-seven cremations. Several sites here were dated to the second millennium BC, and two to a later period.<sup>11</sup> There are two bowl barrows in Cuillaun on Kilbride Hill, near Swinford, with others at Rathcash, west of Killala, Sheean, near Westport, and Shean/Knockatemple, near Bellavary.<sup>12</sup>

A standing stone, a stone erected upright in the ground, may vary in height from less than a metre to about six metres. Excavation has revealed that some such stones mark prehistoric burials, usually small cist graves. Perhaps the best known standing stone in the county is 'The Long Stone of the Neale', 1.10m high, situated before the turn for Cong on the Neale/Cross Road. There are a number located near Killala: Banagher, Cashel, Foghill, Kilroe and Moyne, and further west, in Doonfeeny, there is a fine example which was later adopted as a Christian monument bearing the inscription of

<sup>8</sup> John Sheehan, 'Excavation of the wedge tomb at Greenwood, Began, Co. Mayo', *JGAHS*, 41 (1987–8), 17–22.

<sup>9</sup> O'Hara, *Archaeological Heritage of Killasser*, pp 62–8.

<sup>10</sup> Seamas Caulfield, 'The Neolithic settlement in north Connaught' in Terence Reeves-Smyth and Fred Hamond (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983), pp 195–216.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Raftery, 'The tumulus cemetery of Carrowjames, Co. Mayo', *JGAHS*, 18:1 and 4 (1939), and 19:1 and 2 (1940); J. Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* (Galway, 1998), p. 367.

<sup>12</sup> Christy Lawless, 'Bronze Age barrows and associated natural burial mounds in County Mayo', *Cathair na Mart: JWHS*, 22 (2002), 117–47.



two crosses. Those in the vicinity of Croagh Patrick include a standing stone complex at Annagh/Killadangan, which comprises a stone row, three single standing stones, a stone pair and a stone circle, as well as standing stones at Boheh, Cloonmonad, Cross, Derryheagh, Formoyle, Killadon, Lanmore, Lankill, Knockalegan, Murrisk Demesne, Rossgalliv and Rusheen. An isolated rock crop at Boheh known as St Patrick's Chair, 6km south-west of Croagh Patrick, is covered with Bronze Age artwork, chiefly cups and circles.<sup>13</sup> There are a number of standing stones around east Mayo and two in the monastic enclosure of Moyne in south Mayo.

Stone circles were used for ceremonial, ritual and/or burial purposes during the Bronze Age. Of the approximate 200 in Ireland, twenty-four are located in County Mayo. Sometimes a single stone stands outside, associated with, but not part of the circle, as at Dooncarton, near Pollatomish. An impressive collection of stone circles can be seen in close proximity in Glebe, Nymphsfield and Tonaleaun, near Cong. Other stone circles are situated at Gortbrack North, Letterbeg, and Knocknolower, west of Glenamoy; at Rathfran, near Killala; at Knockfarnaght on the west shore of Lough Conn, and on Achill Island.

A stone alignment, or a stone row, is a straight line of three or more closely set standing-stones, which are generally low, often less than one metre in height. Of some 260 sites in the country, thirteen are located in County Mayo. There is a double stone alignment at Askillaun near Louisburgh, with another containing a row of four stones at Killadangan, near Croagh Patrick, as well as the remains of yet another at Liscarney.<sup>14</sup> Still others are located at Eskeragh, Dooleeg More and Kildaree, near Crossmolina, two in Killasser, at Corlee and Cuillonaghtan,<sup>15</sup> as well as at Carrowcrom near Bunynconnellan and at Corrower in Attymass.

Several sites believed to be ancient cooking places, called *fulachtaí fia* ('burnt mounds'), have been found in Ireland. There are now over 600 sites known in County Mayo.<sup>16</sup> About 150 were discovered by one man, Christy Lawless, chiefly in the parish of Turlough.<sup>17</sup>

#### Early Iron Age (c.600 BC–400 AD)

From the Early Iron Age, people lived in small thatched huts erected on *crannóga* in lakes and also in ringforts. *Crannóga* date from the Late Bronze Age to the seventeenth century AD, but the majority belong to the Early Christian Period, AD 400–1100. There are about 1,200 *crannóga* known in Ireland, with 262 recorded for County Mayo – they can be seen in Loughs Beltra, Carra, Conn, Cullin, Urlaur and Mannin, and in numerous other smaller lakes.

Ringforts were habitation sites of the more affluent Irish farmers, with most dated to the early medieval pe-

riod, 400–1100 AD.<sup>18</sup> To date, a total of 288 stone-built, 1,527 earthen and 87 unclassified ringfort sites have been identified in County Mayo. There is a high density of ringforts in the south of the county, especially in the Ballinrobe-Kilmaine areas, as well as in east Mayo, with thirteen in the townland of Tullanacorra, near Swinford, over 130 in Killasser,<sup>19</sup> and a considerable number around Ballyhaunis. There are several in Kilmovee, with a number of large stone forts. A large trivallate ringfort, known as *Lios na dTréan Dubh*, is located in the townland of Ballymartin, Kilmainemore parish. Rausakeera, a bivallate ringfort in the same parish, was the inauguration site of the chiefs of the Mayo Burkes. Several more ringforts are located around Clew Bay. Souterrains are generally found in ringforts, and occasionally in isolation from any settlement sites.

There is an example of a hillfort at Brodullagh South in the parish of Shrule. Of more significance in Mayo are promontory forts, with eighty-eight coastal and six inland sites recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record for the county. In particular these forts can be found along the Mullet Peninsula and on Broad Haven, Achill Island and Clare Island as well as on a number at Loughs like Carra, Conn and Feeagh. Some have been damaged by erosion, notably the spectacular Dún Briste at Downpatrick Head near Ballycastle and Doonamona on the Mullet peninsula.

#### Early Christian Period (400–1100 AD)

Some monastic sites in County Mayo became well-known, including Aghagower, Balla, Ballintober, Cong, Errew, Inishmaine, Killala, Kilmoremoy, Mayo, Meelick and Turlough, as well as island settlements off the Mullet Peninsula like Duvillaun More, Inishkea North and South and Inishglora – these last having several examples of cross inscribed stones.

Ogham inscriptions, representing the oldest written form of the Irish language, are believed to date, for the most part, from about the late fourth to the early sixth centuries AD. Of more than 300 ogham stones to be found throughout Ireland, nine are located in County Mayo. There is a fine example at Breastagh, near Killala, and another at Corrower in Attymass. Others include Kilgarvan, Aghaleague, near Ballycastle, and Dooghmakeon, near Louisburgh, Island, Kilmannin and Tullaghaun (more correctly Ballybeg) near Ballyhaunis, and Rusheens East in Kilmovee.<sup>20</sup>

Excavations carried out on Croagh Patrick under the direction of Gerry Walsh in 1994–5 discovered the walls of an early Christian oratory and a drystone rampart at the summit. A report and an archaeological survey of the surrounding area were published in 2001 by Leo Morahan.<sup>21</sup>

A total of 216 children's burial grounds are recorded

<sup>13</sup> Christian Corlett, *Antiquities of West Mayo* (Bray, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Corlett, *Antiquities of West Mayo*, pp 111–12.

<sup>15</sup> O'Hara, *Archaeological Heritage of Killasser*, pp 92–3.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Guinan, *On the Plains of Mayo: archaeological discoveries on the Lough Mask Regional Water Supply Scheme Stage 111: Claremorris-Knock Ballyhaunis-Ballindine* [Volume 5 of Mayo County Council archaeological series] (Castlebar: Mayo County Council, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> Victor M. Buckley and Christy Lawless, 'Prehistoric cooking in Co. Mayo', *Cathair na Mart: JWHS*, 7:1 (1987), 32–6.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew Stout, *The Irish Ringfort* (Dublin, 1997), p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> O'Hara, *Archaeological Heritage of Killasser*, pp 109–44.

<sup>20</sup> Máire Lohan, *An 'Antiquarian Craze': The Life, Times and Work in Archaeology of Patrick Lyons RIC (1861–1954)* (Dublin, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> Leo Morahan, *Croagh Patrick, Co. Mayo: Archaeology, Landscape and People* (Westport, 2001).

throughout County Mayo, where unbaptised children were buried from Early Christian down to the time of the Second Vatican Council, 1962–5.

### 'Mayo of the Saxons'

The county derives its name from the diocese of Mayo which evolved from a seventh-century monastery established by Saint Colmán (605–76 AD) and some English monks at Mayo, about 3 km south of Balla. Thereafter, it became known as 'Mayo of the Saxons' (*Mag nÉo na Sachsan*/'Mayo of the English'). Mayo became a diocese after 1152, a reflection of the esteem in which the monastery was held. Early in the thirteenth century, Mayo became a collegiate church, and an abbey of Augustinian Canons Regular was established there about 1370 (St Michael's). It survived until the Reformation, when it was badly damaged. Rome tried to end the existence of Mayo diocese from the thirteenth century, but it survived with its own bishops, some of them absentees, with the last one appointed in 1585. After the start of the Reformation, the Established Church united the diocese of Mayo with Tuam.<sup>22</sup> Rome eventually absorbed the diocese of Mayo into the archdiocese of Tuam by papal decree around 1631.

### Round Towers

From the tenth century, and continuing down to the late twelfth, round towers were erected in Irish monastic enclosures, primarily as bell-houses. Of about sixty-four extant round towers in Ireland, five are in County Mayo: Aghagower, Balla, Killala, Meelick and Turlough.

### Medieval Period (c.1100–1550 AD)

The Anglo-Norman colonisation of Ireland commenced in 1169, although the new arrivals did not launch an all-out assault on Connacht until the year 1235. At first the settlers erected wooden towers on artificial mounds or mottes, with enclosures known as baileys. These were followed by the erection of substantial stone castles, fortified residences built in strategic locations. Ballylahan close to the river Moy near Foxford is a good example of an early castle (Figure 2 above right). From about 1450 onwards, smaller buildings, known as tower houses, were erected to serve as both protective buildings and dwellings. Some of the native Irish emulated the Anglo-Normans and built their own tower houses. These are large square or rectangular stone towers, generally three or more storeys in height. According to the Sites and Monuments Record, there are six castles and mottes, thirty-seven tower houses and 149 other unclassified monuments from the period in County Mayo. Some well-known examples of Mayo tower houses include Castleburke, Clare Island, Deelcastle, Kildavnet on Achill Island, Rockfleet, Robeen and Moyne on the Black River.



Figure 2 The ruin of Ballylahan Castle

### Abbeys and friaries

From the twelfth century onwards, new religious orders arrived in Ireland, with the Cistercians founding their first monastery at Mellifont, Co. Louth, in 1142. They were followed later in the century by the Augustinian Canons, and in the following century by the four main orders of friars – Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Augustinians. A number of early monastic sites in the county such as Ballintober, Cong and Inishmaine were chosen as locations for houses of the Augustinian Canons Regular under the patronage of Gaelic families like the O'Connors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The best-known abbey in Mayo, and perhaps in Ireland, is Ballintober, where Mass has been said without a break since its foundation in 1216. A Cistercian cell was established on Clare Island in the fifteenth century linked to Abbeyknockmoy in County Galway; it is noted for the exquisite frescos that adorn the chancel.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 3 The founder's tomb in Srade Friary

<sup>22</sup> Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'An Outline History of County Mayo' in Bernard O'Hara (ed.), *Mayo* (Galway, 1982), p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Paul F. Gosling, Conleth Manning and John Waddell (eds), *New Survey of Clare Island, Volume 5: Archaeology* (Dublin, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> Yvonne McDermott, 'Srade Friary: patronage and development at a medieval mendicant friary', *Cathair Na Mart: JWHS*, 27 (2009), 92–108.

Strade Friary (Figure 3 on page 4) was founded under the Norman patronage of Jordan de Exeter around 1240 for the Franciscans, but at the insistence of his daughter-in-law, Basilia Bermingham, it was transferred to the Dominicans in 1252.<sup>24</sup>

A Dominican friary was established at Rathfran, near Killala, Urlaur in the parish of Kilmovee, and Burrishoole, near Newport. The Prendergasts founded Ballinasmalla, near Claremorris, for the Carmelites, and another house was established for the same order in Burriscarra (it was later taken over by the Augustinians). The Franciscans built friaries at Strade, as well as Moyne and Rosserk, near Killala. The Augustinians established friaries in Ballinrobe, Ardnaree, Ballyhaunis, Burriscarra (after its abandonment by the Carmelites) and Murrisk. All these foundations were impressive structures, but they were dissolved during the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

### **Change in land ownership**

The Cromwellian land confiscation in 1652–3 was the start of a major change in land ownership for the rest of that century. Catholic ownership of land in County Mayo was reduced from about 85% in 1640 to 43% by the 1680s, to under twenty 20% by the end of that century and that figure was reduced further over the following one.

Out of the fury of the confiscations and plantations of the seventeenth century, a different Ireland emerged during the following century. This was the era of 'Big Houses' of the landed gentry and the humble single-storey thatched cabins of the native-Irish. Most of the latter were tenants-at-will of landlords and had no security. Mayo became dominated by big landlord families like the Bingham of Castlebar, the Brownes of the Neale and Westport, the Cuffes of Ballinrobe, the Fitzgeralds of Turlough, the Gore and Knoxes of Ballina, the Jacksons of Enniscoe, and the O'Donels of Newport.

### **Ulster migration**

Sectarian strife was high in Ulster during the last decade of the eighteenth century. About 20,000 people decided to leave Ulster and went to America, Scotland and the West of Ireland, with about 4,000 arriving in County Mayo, chiefly to Aghagower, Ballina, Castlebar, Crossmolina, Foxford, Louisburgh, Newport and Westport. Most of the refugees were weavers, who used their skills in many parts of Mayo to develop thriving linen industries.

### **The Great Famine**

There was a succession of regional famines, especially in the West of Ireland, culminating in the Great Famine of 1845–9. Five unions and workhouses were established in County Mayo in the early 1840s to relieve distress, but they were unable to cope with the scale of the demand. They were located in Ballina, Ballinrobe, Castlebar, Swinford and Westport. Four additional ones were provided from 1849 to 1852 at Belmullet, Claremorris, Killala and Newport. The 'official' statistics for the county show that the population dropped from 388,887 in 1841 to 274,499 in 1851, but it is accepted that the actual figure in 1841 was much higher. Ironically, the great reduction in Mayo's population led to the annihilation of landless cottiers and enabled those that survived to improve their standard of living over the following years.

### **The Land League**

County Mayo had a big role in the development of the Land League in 1879, an agitation started by James Daly, the editor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, but it was developed into a national movement by the organisational talent of Michael Davitt (1846–1906), under the presidency of Charles Stewart Parnell. Eventually, a succession of Land Acts provided the finance to enable the tenant farmers to purchase their holdings from the landlords and to repay the loans over 30 or more years. The Wyndham Land Act of 1903, the most influential Irish Land Act, led to about 300,000 holdings being transferred to occupying tenant farmers. The Land Acts from 1870 to 1923 replaced the landlords and turned the tenant farmers into owner-occupiers, bringing about one of the greatest social changes ever witnessed in Ireland.

### **Rich heritage**

The archaeological monuments of County Mayo represent a palimpsest of change over seven thousand years of human habitation, covering all periods from the Mesolithic Age to recent times. Past generations of its inhabitants have left a rich heritage, and this and future generations can leave no greater legacy to posterity than by leaving untouched the many fine archaeological monuments which adorn the landscape of the county.

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**Marie Boran**  
 (Special Collections Librarian, James  
 Hardiman Library, NUI, Galway)  
 and  
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<http://www.landedestates.ie/>)  
**Mayo landed estates and  
 their owners, 1750–1914:  
 a view from the archives**

**Introduction**

By the mid eighteenth century there were many different types of landlords in Co. Mayo following the Acts of Settlement and the disruption caused by the Ja-

cobite War and Williamite confiscation of the previous century. Some were from old established families such as the Brownes and the Blakes, others were descendants of Cromwellian soldiers such as the Jackson family of Enniscoie, Crossmolina; others had Gaelic backgrounds for example the O'Malleys. Many were absentee landlords and some had conformed to the Established Church due to the Penal Laws so they were a fairly diverse group from many historical backgrounds. After the Famine there was another widespread change in land ownership as many landlords were forced to sell their estates in the Land Courts and the new landowners included entrepreneurs, companies, investors, sportsmen, missionary societies among others. A variety of sources exist for some, at least, of these estates which allows us to build up a picture of their physical landscapes as well as, sometimes, their management and the personal lives of those who owned and lived on them.

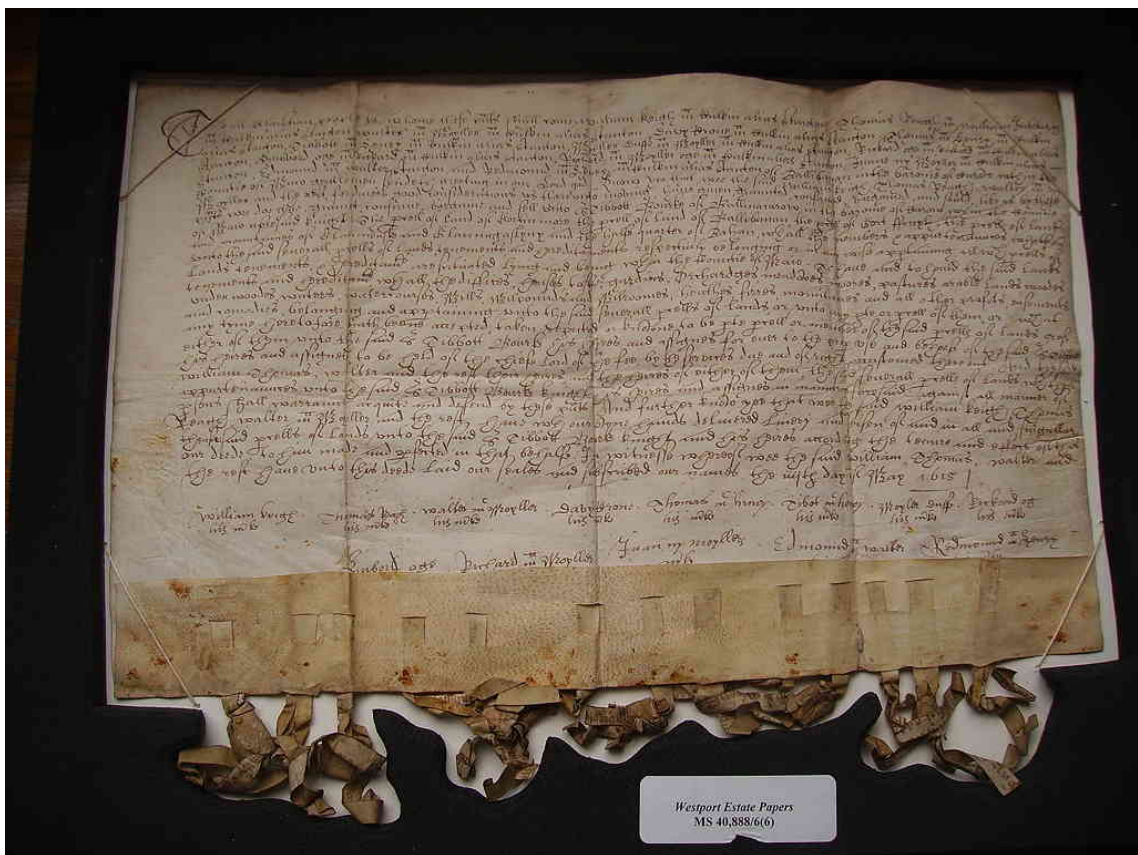


Figure 1 Westport Estate Papers Ms 40

**Landed Estate Archival Collections for Co. Mayo**

The records generated by landowners, their estate agents and solicitors, in the administration of Co. Mayo estates, include deeds, leases, rentals, accounts, correspondence, legal papers, maps – and some collections contain family papers and photographs. The most significant collection for Co. Mayo is the Westport Estate Paper Collection (Figure 1 above) which relates to the ownership and management of the largest estate in the county, amounting to almost 115,000 acres in the 1870s. It was centred on the town of Westport and belonged to the Browne family. The collection is comprised of almost 43,000 items, including more than 300 bound volumes and over 600 maps and is one of the largest in the National Library. It is unique among Connacht

landed estate collections for the amount of seventeenth-century material it contains. Many of the early documents give an insight into changes in the land holding structure of Co. Mayo, including the gradual infiltration of the Galway merchant families from very early in the seventeenth century and the effects of the various acts of settlement and restoration on land ownership in the county. It also documents the growth of the town of Westport at the end of the eighteenth century. However the main bulk of this collection is made up of estate administration records from the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. During the second decade of the twentieth century most of the estate was sold to the Congested Districts Board and ultimately to the Land Commission.



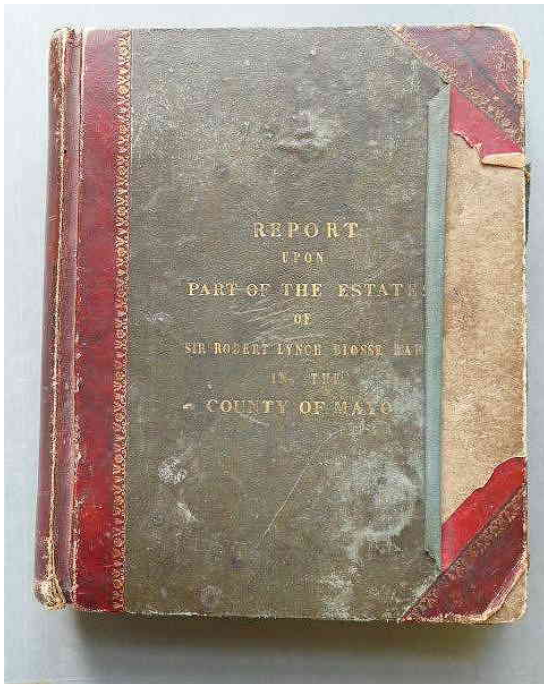


Figure 2 Samuel Nicholson’s Report 1844 (Tuam Diocesan Archives P45/09/14)

Large numbers of records were generated in this procedure, which provide a wealth of information about the estate. The family retained Westport House and less than 4,000 acres. Other papers relate to the personal lives of family members recording their military and political careers and their interests in sport, art, travel

and family history.

The National Library also holds a collection of estate papers for the O’Donels of Newport, who settled in Co. Mayo in the seventeenth century. Over many years solicitors’ records relating to Co. Mayo landed estates have been deposited in the National Archives and these include those of the Palmer estate in north Mayo. An example of a much smaller collection of family and estate papers is that of the Kenny family of Ballinrobe 1730–1939 in the Mayo County Library, Castlebar. A large portion of this collection relates to the family’s business interests as owners of mills and a brewery. Archives for the study of the Lynch Blosse estate in the baronies of Carra and Clanmorris are held in a number of different locations and they include a collection of estate papers held in private hands. Kenneth Nicholls compiled a report and detailed listing of this collection which was published in *Analecta Hibernica*.<sup>1</sup> The Lynch family acquired their estate in the barony of Carra, Co. Mayo in the early seventeenth century and by the mid eighteenth century were in some financial difficulty due to the expense of a lawsuit over the Moore estate in the barony of Clanmorris centred at Balla. In 1749 Sir Robert Lynch, later 6th Baronet, married an English lady, Elizabeth Barker, heiress of Tobias Blosse and came to an agreement with his parents whereby he would pay off their debts and they would settle the estate on him. Following his marriage he became a Protestant and the family surname became Lynch Blosse.

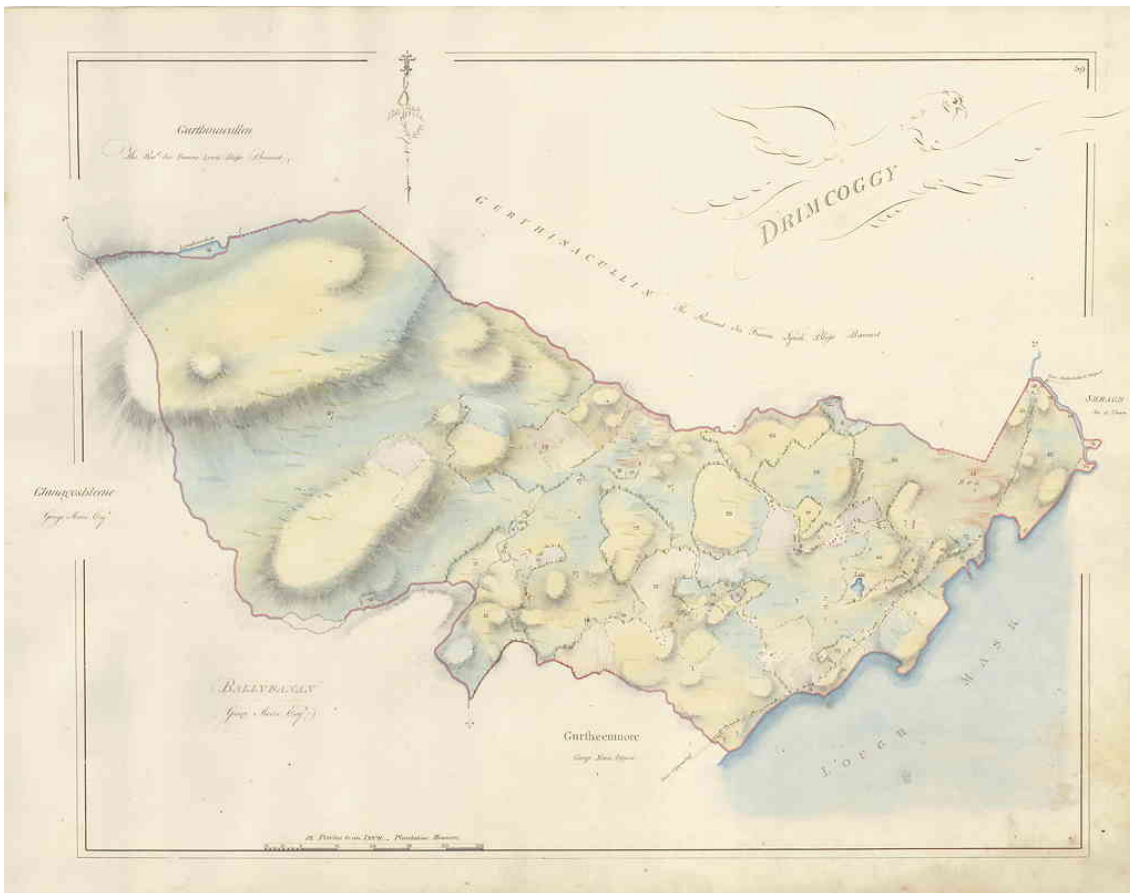


Figure 3 Drimcoggy circa 1830 from the Lynch Blosse Map Collection (Courtesy of Mayo County Library)

<sup>1</sup> K. W. Nicholls, ‘The Lynch Blosse Papers’, *Analecta Hibernica*, 29 (1980), 115–218.

Maps of the Lynch Blossie estate, dating from both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have luckily survived. They are now preserved in the Mayo County Library and can be accessed on line through the library's website (<http://www.mayolibrary.ie/en/MayoMaps/#HMaps>). The maps date from four different periods, 1720–1, 1811, 1830 and 1856–8. A survey and report about the estate, compiled by Samuel Nicholson, was completed in April 1844 (Figure 2 on page 7). Used together, the maps of 1830 and the survey give a detailed description of each townland or group of townlands on the estate before the Famine began. The introduction to the survey focuses on the geological character of the estate, its soil type, roads, farm buildings, farm sizes, towns, fairs, woods, manures, stock, crops, the conditions of the tenantry, rents, wages and so on. The plots in each townland, which correspond to those on the maps in Castlebar, are then itemized.

The general remarks in Nicholson's survey about the

area known as Drimcoggy (Figure 3 on page 7) tell us something about settlement in the Partry locality. There were five villages, each holding a portion of mountain. The immediate tenants numbered eighty two with seventeen under tenants 'who pay a certain rent to each village, the tenants of which divide it amongst themselves in proportion to the rents which they pay'. Nicholson recommends that detached holdings should be consolidated and poor tenants sent to the mountain to reclaim it. He writes that most of the tenants have horses and cows and 'a good many sheep' and that the tenants appear more comfortably off than those in other areas. Wheat was grown and there was some meadow, the soil was improvable. This survey gives a detailed description of human settlement on the slopes of the Partry Mountains before the Famine struck, documenting the multilayered nature of Irish land holding by recording the presence of a number of under tenants while the map gives a visual image.

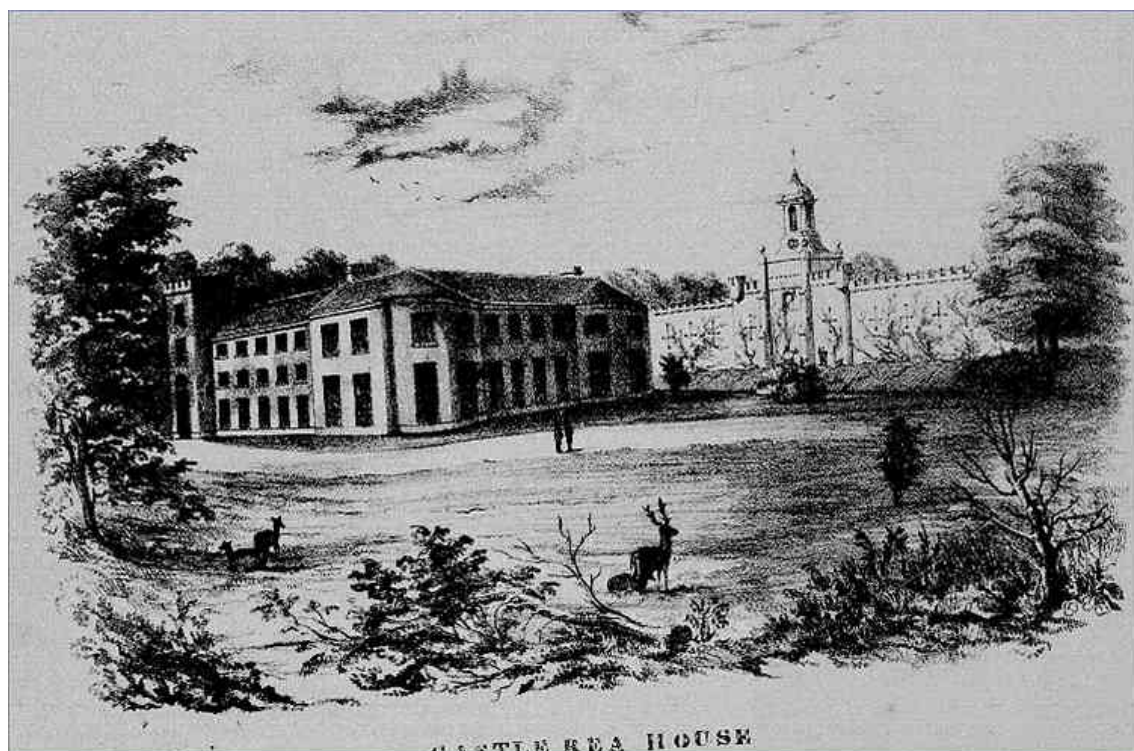


Figure 4 Castlereagh, lithograph from Encumbered Estate sale notice, 24 November 1853

### Some printed resources relating to Mayo estates

#### *Landed Estates Court Records 1850–85*

By the mid-nineteenth century many of the large Irish estates were in serious financial difficulty. Landowners found themselves legally obliged to pay out annuities and charges on their land, mainly to pay mortgages or 'portions' to family members contracted by marriage settlements and/or wills of previous generations. All of these payments had to be met, before the owner/occupier could take an income from their estate. The impact of these financial difficulties was compounded by the Famine and the inability of many tenants to pay rent. The Encumbered (later Landed) Estates Court was established in 1849 to facilitate the sale of all or parts of estates in order to alleviate these financial problems. The Encumbered/Landed Estates Court material takes the form of Sale Notices. These are effectively printed

sale-catalogues, which were circulated to prospective purchasers in advance of the sale. The title page usually identifies the estate and gives the date and place of the sale. This is normally followed by brief descriptive particulars of the estate and its situation. The Sale Notices frequently contain rentals or lists of tenants, especially the Lot descriptions. These outline the ownership and occupation history of the lot, the quantity of land and the yearly rent that can be charged. Most significantly, they also include the list of tenants, the size of the holding and the terms of tenure.

Mayo estates which were offered for sale in the Court usually have a reference to the date of sale in the estate entry on the Landed Estates database (<http://www.landedestates.ie/>). Substantial collections of original sale notices are available in the National Library of Ireland, the National Archives and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The National Archives O'Brien Col-



lection has been digitised and is available to search and view on the subscription service, *Find My Past* (<http://www.findmypast.ie>). A valuable aspect of some of the sale notices is the maps and illustrations which are sometimes included in the sale notices, e.g. the sale notice for the Knox estate of Castlereagh, near Killala, includes a drawing of the house, which no longer survives (Figure 4 on page 8).

The Verschoyle estate in Ardnaree parish was offered for sale in 1857 and the accompanying maps include evidence of mills and breweries operating in Ballina at that time.

#### **Ordnance Survey Name Books**

The Ordnance Survey Name Books were compiled in the 1830s at the same time that the 1st Edition maps were being prepared. These cover every townland in each county. Physical descriptions of the townlands are noted and explanations of the place-names are given. In addition the landlord's name is often noted as well as any Big House in the townland.

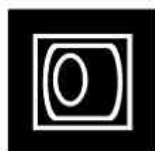
About sixteen counties were later produced in type-

script form and these volumes are held in some reference libraries. Digitised data for some other counties is available in the Griffith's Valuation section of the Ask-aboutireland website (<http://www.askaboutireland.ie>) and additions are constantly being made to this collection.

#### **Conclusion**

The landed estates of Co. Mayo and their owners have left a physical mark on the landscape of the county. Some country houses and many of their features are still extant, such as walled gardens, gate lodges, long estate walls and parkland. Landed estates are also important components of both our individual and collective history as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nearly everyone lived on an estate or in a town associated with an estate. The records generated by these estates are an important element in the study of the historical legacy of landed estates whether it is economic, social, cultural or personal.

For the archives



### **Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement Lectures for Heritage Week**



Ballycowan Castle, Co. Offaly built by Sir Jasper Herbert in the 1620s (J. Lyttleton)

### **Settlement, Architecture and Material Culture in Plantation Ireland**

**11am: Dr James Lyttleton**, *The Archaeology of Settlement and Architecture in Plantation Ireland*

**12pm: Rachel Tracey**, *Material Culture & Cultural Identity in Early Modern Carrickfergus*

**Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> August 2016**

Helen Roe Theatre

63 Merrion Square, Dublin 2

(Admission is free and no booking is necessary) Website: [www.irishsettlement.ie](http://www.irishsettlement.ie)

Ruth McManus  
 (School of History and Geography, DCU)  
***Tigers, textiles and tax incentives:  
 recent settlement change in  
 Enniscrone and Killala Bay***

**Asahi**

This talk, presented at the GSIHS conference in Balina in May 2016, explored settlement changes in the locality from the 1970s to the present, using case studies of the impact of the Asahi plant on Killala and of seaside tax incentives on Enniscrone. The first of these draws on work undertaken with a team from the Open University which is now available online,<sup>1</sup> while the second updates a case study from the 2nd edition

of the *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*.<sup>2</sup>

Many different factors have been responsible for the changing landscape of the last forty years, some of which are named in shorthand in the title. A major influence on the Killala Bay area over that period has been the Asahi textile factory. One of the largest industrial plants ever built in Ireland, it was described on its completion in 1977 (Figure 1 below) as ‘the jewel in the crown of the IDA’ (Financial Times, 26 July 1977). This Japanese multi-national branch plant, dramatically located in the heart of rural Ireland, owes its location to a combination of national policy (the Industrial Development Authority’s policy from the mid-1960s of ‘taking jobs to the people’), international economic change (the emergence of the Multi-national Corporation with branch plants) and local lobbying (via the Killala Community Council).



Figure 1 Asahi factory on completion in 1977

The two manufacturing plants located at the 400 acre Killala site; Asahi Synthetic Fibres (Ireland) Limited and Asahi Spinning (Ireland) Limited, were both subsidiaries of the Tokyo-based Asahi Chemical Industry Company Limited. The plant operated continuously on a 24 hour day, 7 days per week basis manufacturing synthetic fibre and spinning it into yarn. In 1997, the final year of operation, 315 people were employed with a production capacity of 18,000 tonnes per year of synthetic fibre.

The dramatic visual impact of the plant, appearing so incongruous in this remote rural area, was just one aspect of the factory’s significance. Coming to an agricultural area with low farm incomes and standards of living, the jobs which Asahi brought had a huge social impact. The local economy clearly benefited, as might be expected, from a major new employer. But there were also deeper changes to the social structure. Traditionally, this was an area of small-scale peasant proprietors who earned a living from agriculture and fishing. Now, a section

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/openlearn-ireland/ireland-places-culture-heritage/the-environmental-impacts-asahi-on-killala-the-1980s-and-1990s>

<sup>2</sup> Ruth McManus, ‘Celtic Tiger Housing’ in F.H.A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*, 2nd. ed. (Cork University Press, 2011), pp 156–65.



of the community was able to make a living locally by earning a wage through working for others. A significant proportion of the new industrial waged labour was female, enjoying a new degree of financial – and social – independence. Furthermore, the introduction of industrial waged labour led to new definitions of work and time, as industrial time-keeping became necessary. This required some adjustment, on the part of locals and the company, particularly as many workers continued as part-time farmers. Indeed, Asahi organised the shifts so that part-time farming and industrial work could be compatible.

While it operated, Asahi was a boon to the local community – emigrants returned home, schools saw increased numbers, there was more business in local shops. There was a recognition locally, however, of the dangers of over-dependence on a single employer who made decisions in Tokyo based on the European market. In the mid-1980s, Killala Community Council actively sought development of small businesses, preferably with some indigenous base of personnel, raw materials, product or market. One example was a small precision engineering firm set up by a returned emigrant with financial help generated through the Community Council and with the support of Asahi itself. Killala Precision Engineering outlived the Asahi plant and retains links with Japan by exporting products there.

Asahi had played a major role in regenerating the local community, but its eventual closure in 1997 left a huge vacuum in the area. One tangible legacy of Asahi was the Killala Community Centre which it helped to build. In a gesture of goodwill at the time of closure, Asahi also contributed £200,000 towards job creation projects

in North Mayo.

The arrival of the multi-national-owned Asahi factory in 1977 brought a new type of economy to the area. Since then, the world economy and Irish economic policy have both evolved considerably. New types of industry and employment are now found in Killala involving, among other activities, knowledge and information-technology-based industry, recycling and waste management, and the production of bulk containers. Interestingly, all these developments are located on the former Asahi site.

In April 2015, Killala once again made headlines, when plans for a \$300 million high-speed fibre-optic cable linking New York to Ireland's Western seaboard, and landing at Tawnaghmore, Killala (beside the former Asahi site), were confirmed. On 14 August 2015 the RTÉ News showed Taoiseach Enda Kenny joining investor Chris Bake of Aqua Comms to mark the 5,475km transatlantic cable being brought ashore at Killala. The cable has the capacity to handle up to one third of the world's telephone calls and can cover the entire internet traffic of Europe and the USA. The new digital infrastructure is expected to create a significant number of jobs and business opportunities, particularly in the area of data centres and cloud computing. Whereas in the 1970s Killala was seen as 'remote' from developments in Europe, this time the location of Killala had the advantage of being 'near' the industrial centres of the East coast of the USA. Killala and its hinterland is set for an economic boost; indeed, the Mayo News, 29 Apr. 2015 suggested that Killala could become 'County Mayo's Silicon Valley'.



Figure 2 Aerial view of Enniscrone

### Enniscrone

Along the coastline to the east of Ballina, the popular

seaside resort of Enniscrone, Co. Sligo (Figure 2 above), has also experienced dramatic changes in recent times.

Here, the cause was largely home-grown, relating to the property-based tax reliefs of the Celtic Tiger era. Enniscrone is a small seaside settlement which grew in a linear manner along the Main Street, Cliff Road and Pier Road. In the second half of the twentieth century, small residential developments stretched along the approach roads, with some clustering of housing estates outside the town core to the east.

Major change came in the mid-1990s, when Enniscrone

was one of 14 seaside resort towns to be designated for generous tax incentives under the 1995 Finance Act.<sup>3</sup> With the intent of addressing perceived weaknesses in the tourism sector, the Seaside Resort Scheme provided tax incentives for a wide range of development, including hotels, guesthouses, B&Bs, hostels, self-catering accommodation and all-weather facilities. However, as was the experience with other area-based tax-incentive schemes, there were unintended outcomes.

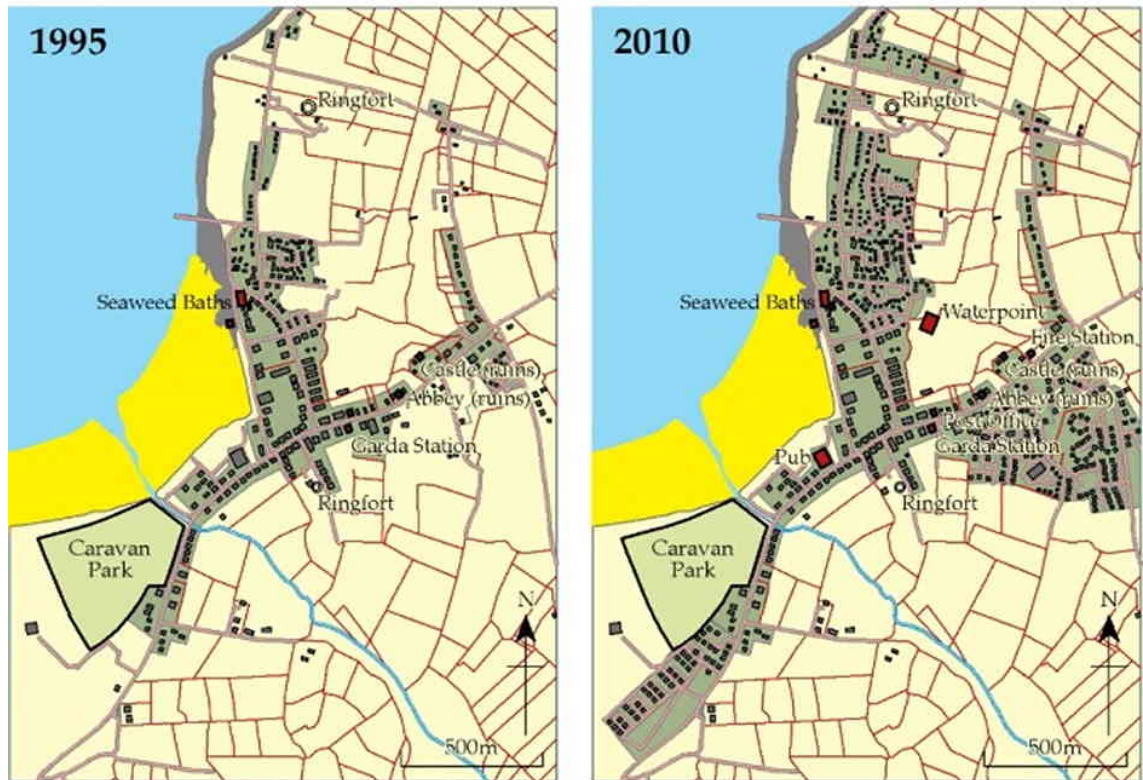


Figure 3 Maps of Enniscrone in 1995 and 2010

Whereas the Seaside Resort incentives were intended to encourage regeneration of the resort towns, the main effect was extensive development of self-catering holiday homes which remain empty for most of the year. Aside from the highly-successful €2 million Waterpoint all-weather indoor health and fitness facility, Enniscrone's development under the incentives was similarly dominated by holiday homes. These holiday home developments or "villages" were built in a largely random manner, with one scheme at the eastern end of the town and several others to the north of the Main Street. The scale of development was unprecedented (Figure 3 above). Between 1996 and 2002, there were 265 house completions, exceeding the total number of houses that had been built in Enniscrone during its entire settlement history. Approximately 73% of residential new build planning applications over the period were for holiday homes, with just 27% built to cater for full-time residential living. By 2004, nine years on from the first announcement of the tax reliefs, the Enniscrone Local Area Plan was adopted, in recognition of the substantial development pressure which had been experienced and the need for greater diversification. Recognising

the issues posed by the uneven pattern of recent development, the LAP focused on improving the residential land supply, commercial fabric and tourism product of the town, and provided a detailed framework for the future sustainable development of Enniscrone.<sup>4</sup>

A huge number of properties were purchased as second homes and lie vacant for most of the year, but have greatly increased the summer time residential population. In 2002 the year-round population of Enniscrone was 668, while at peak season it was estimated that it exceeded 3,000 people (including locals, day-trippers and holidaymakers), necessitating a €5 million investment in a new wastewater treatment plant which opened in December 2009.

The outcome of tax incentive-fuelled holiday home development in terms of high vacancy levels can be seen by the 2006 census returns for Kilglass townland. The housing stock of 1,023 units comprised 476 (46.5%) which were occupied and 549 (53.6%) which were unoccupied. Vacancy rates had improved slightly but remained high at the next census in 2011. On census night in 2011, the total housing stock in Kilglass had increased

<sup>3</sup> Bundoran, Enniscrone, Achill, Westport, Salthill, Lahinch, Kilkee, Ballybunion, Clonakilty, Youghal, Tramore, Courtown, Arklow, Bettystown and Cloughthead.

<sup>4</sup> Enniscrone Local Area Plan, 2004-2013 (Sligo County Council, 2004).



to 1,208, of which 577 were vacant (45.7%). Overall, there were 1,066 houses within the census boundary of Enniscrone town, with 594 being unoccupied (55.7%). A 2013 survey undertaken by the Planning Section of Sligo County Council estimated a residential vacancy rate of 43% (440 units).<sup>5</sup>

The experience of Enniscrone since the economic crash has been mixed. Some 'distressed properties' have been sold off, and a number of estates were described in Council meetings as 'growing wild'. In common with other towns where de-zoning of land has been implemented due to housing oversupply following the collapse of the housing market, de-zoning has taken place in Enniscrone. Some 59 hectares of undeveloped greenfield land had been zoned for development, but this is now being reduced to no more than 14.8 hectares. Despite these difficulties, however, it appears that population growth in Enniscrone has been kick-started and is continuing, with adaptation taking place.

Recently, a new pattern of residential use has begun to emerge in Enniscrone. As the tax incentives run out after a ten year period, some of these previously-designated holiday homes may ultimately be sold for full-time residential living. Already due to the shortage of family accommodation in Enniscrone, and the attractive location of many of these holiday homes, such homes have been bought by retirees or younger families for full-time residential living. This has caused some problems for the occupiers, as the holiday homes were not designed for permanent living and are lacking in private open space, storage space and have inappropriate heating systems. There are also issues over the taking in charge of the estates by the local authority. This needs to be examined further when the 2016 census results become available, but it seems that the new housing has resulted in a new settlement pattern, facilitating commuting to Ballina and Sligo town.



Figure 4 Enniscrone holiday homes

According to Census 2011, the town of Enniscrone had grown to a population of 1,223, nearly double that counted in 2002. In the same period, the population structure has also changed, with a strong growth in the population of working age, and in particular the growth of a professional, degree-educated workforce living within the areas of Kilglass and Castleconor West EDs. These factors, combined with lower-than-national-average unemployment rates, seem to indicate that a large number of workers are commuting to urban centres other than Enniscrone. This could be an effect of the availability of a significant housing stock built during the boom years as holiday homes, but eventually becoming occupied on a permanent basis.

The examples of Killala and Enniscrone present snapshots of settlement change over a relatively short pe-

riod, and demonstrate how each unique place is constantly evolving in response to influences and decisions made at a variety of scales. Economic cycles of boom and bust, lifestyle changes such as second-home ownership or the popularity of surfing, government policies around industrial location or area-based tax incentives, migration patterns and local community initiatives are among the multiple factors influencing the changing shape of the landscape. Ultimately, there are many possible futures for Killala and its hinterland, and for Enniscrone, with each location constantly evolving in response to a variety of forces, yet each retaining their uniqueness as new layers are inscribed on the landscape.

<sup>5</sup> Enniscrone Local Area Plan, 2014–2020 (Sligo County Council, 2014), p. 38.

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***Moyne and Rosserk: ways  
 of being Franciscan in  
 the late medieval period***

### Introduction

This article will consider the late medieval Franciscan friaries of Moyne (Figure 1 below) and Rosserk (Figure 2 below right), both located in Co. Mayo, close to Killlala Bay (see figure 3 on page 15). In belonging to the Franciscan First and Third Orders respectively, they demonstrate two of the varied ways of being a Franciscan in the late medieval period and show the architectural implications of these forms of Franciscan life. The following will briefly address the histories of both friaries and their specific Franciscan affiliations in order to compare and contrast the two friaries and assess how two Franciscan houses of this scale could co-exist in such close proximity.



**Figure 1** Moyne friary viewed from the west. The domestic buildings lie to the left-hand side of the tower, the church beneath and to the right of it.

### Forms of Franciscan life

By the late medieval period, the Franciscan umbrella encompassed a variety of forms of religious life (see figure 4 on page 15). Ostensibly, the Franciscan Order was divided into three distinct orders: however, there were further subdivisions within these three. The First Order was the Order of Friars Minor, which was established by St Francis and was for men only. Tensions regarding the direction and strictness of the order had become apparent following the saint's death, leading to divisions (Lawrence 1989, 244), which will be considered further below. The Franciscan Second Order was for women only and was known as the Poor Clares, in reference to their founder. The Franciscan Third Order was originally designed for those who wished to pursue a religious vocation but whose circumstances, such as marriage, children or work, rendered this impossible (Moorman 1988, 40). While St Francis has frequently been acknowledged as founder of the Third Order, Ó Clabaigh (2002, 82) explains that it developed from the Order of Penitence, which predated the Franciscans and was subsequently brought into the Franciscan fold and given a rule in 1289. Followers committed themselves

to a life of simplicity, devotion and discipline. They could not take oaths or bear arms but did not have to renounce their old life, as did First and Second Order members (Moorman 1988, 43–4).

St Francis had built his order upon the tenets of humility, simplicity, poverty and prayer (Moorman 1988, 3). Beyond his lifetime, the interpretation of these ideals, especially his emphasis on absolute poverty, emerged as a source of conflict within the order. This manifested itself by the late thirteenth century in the emergence of two groups within the order and again in the late medieval period with the Observant Reform. This reform of the mendicant orders aimed to return to the original principles upon which these orders were founded, in response to the perceived laxity of standards that had emerged within the orders. While all the mendicant orders were affected to varying extents, the Observance was to prove most divisive within the Franciscan Order, building on existing tensions concerning interpretations of the founder's wishes. In contrast to the Observant faction, who desired reform and a return to the principles of St Francis, the Conventual bloc insisted that a certain level of compromise was required for practical reasons.



**Figure 2** Western façade of Rosserk friary. The domestic ranges and church are somewhat smaller than those at Moyne but follow the same orientation.

They highlighted the privileges that successive popes had already granted to the order in support of this stance (Moorman 1988, 582–3). While attempts were made to reconcile the two groups, divisions continued to deepen. Pope Leo X issued a bull in 1517 formally splitting the order, in the misguided belief that the Conventuals would reform themselves and even rejoin the Observants (Moorman 1988, 584–5). The predicted reunion never occurred.

The Observant Reform had 'shallow roots' (Flynn 1993, 7) in England where only seven Franciscan houses joined the reform (Ellis 1998, 197). Greater enthusiasm for the reform was evident in Ireland where the Franciscan Observance emerged between 1417 and 1460, with existing houses converting to the reform (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 49). The year 1460 became known as 'the year of the Observance' among Irish Franciscans, as it was during that year that new friaries began to be founded explicitly as Observant houses (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 53). Moyne friary was to play a significant role in these developments. By 1534, ten Franciscan houses had been established in Ireland specifically as Observant friaries, while 23 houses had converted to the reform. In addition, 24 friaries remained under Conventual jurisdic-





**Figure 3** Map of County Mayo showing friaries established in the late medieval period

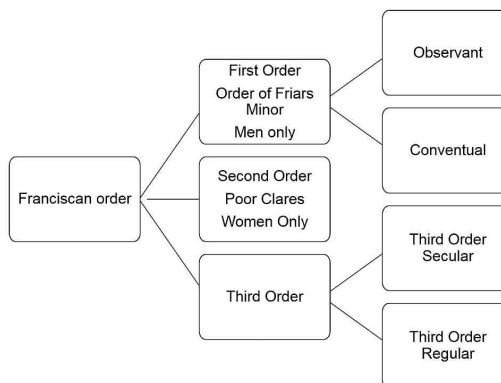
tion (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 66).

The Franciscan Third Order initially consisted of men and women following a life of prayer and discipline while living within their own homes, as opposed to a conventual setting, saying seven canonical hours daily, dressing modestly and observing set times of fasting (Shinners 1997, 294–8). Adherents of this way of life eventually became known as the Franciscan Third Order Secular to distinguish themselves from Tertiary counterparts who, from the thirteenth century onwards, began a move towards claustration, thus establishing the Franciscan Third Order Regular. This initiative appears to have begun in Germany and involved members joining a religious house and following the Third Order Rule, as opposed to adopting the established mode of following the rule while living in ‘the world’ (Moorman 1988, 219).

The Franciscan Third Order Regular was to prove remarkably popular in late medieval Ireland, with 47 houses established (Gwynn & Hadcock 1988, 267–8). Significantly, no Franciscan Tertiary houses were established in England, while only two small houses of sisters were founded in Scotland (Gwynn & Hadcock 1988, 265). Paradoxically, in spite of their popularity and influence in Ireland, they left relatively little trace in the historical and archaeological record compared to the other mendicant orders, thus they are not particularly well understood (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 80). Rosserk friary was part of this significant, though elusive, tradition and is exceptional for both the extent and quality of survival of its remains. Having established the practice of Tertiary claustration, there was little to distinguish the Third Order Regular from the First Order, other than some differences in their respective rules (Hamilton 2003, 113).

While the Secular Tertiary way of life was promoted by the Observant faction of the Franciscan First Order, the Observants’ relationship with the Regular Tertiaries was rather more strained as the latter gained more independence, having ‘chafed somewhat’ under the Observants’ supervision (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 92–5, 102). This begs an interesting question as to the nature of the relationship between the communities of Moyne and Rosserk. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to elucidate this issue. Nonetheless, it is apparent that al-

though the two friaries were in close proximity, there was adequate support and patronage available to sustain both houses, even beyond their ostensible dissolution during the Protestant Reformation.



**Figure 4** Medieval ways of being Franciscan referred to in the article

### Rosserk friary and the Tertiary friars

The construction of Rosserk friary may have begun by 1441 when Eugenius IV granted permission to Tertiary friars Patrick, Philip and Andrew Yclumain to establish houses at Tisaxon, Rosserk and Ballymote, indicating that the building of a monastery was already underway at one of these sites (Twemlow 1921, 155). The chief patron was a member of the Joye (Ware 1705, 277) or Joyce (Blake 1928–9, 28) family.

An account of Rosserk’s history by O’Hara (1898, 259) alleges that the friary ‘was placed under interdict and subsequently deserted by the friars’ due to the community’s disobedience in refusing the Observant reform. He cites no authority for this assertion, which he further claims led to the establishment of the nearby Observant friary of Moyne. This account has been challenged on the basis of lack of supporting evidence (Mooney 1958–9, 59–60). It may be the result of the misinterpretation of a papal letter of 1455, which refers to ‘divers fights, manslaughters, depredations and arsons’ (Twemlow 1921, 215). These events, for which Rosserk acquired ‘a comparatively large degree of monastic celebrity’ (Anon. 1846 viii, 178) refer, however, to the secular clergy, rather than the friars. In any case, it was the Franciscan First Order, rather than the Tertiaries who were subject of the Observant Reform. Numerous friaries in late medieval Ireland remained outside the reform and therefore Conventual. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that Rosserk was placed under interdict as described (McDermott 2011, 60).

### Moyne friary and the Observant Reform

It is difficult to date the foundation of Moyne friary with certainty; however, it was described in 1460 as ‘lately built’ (Twemlow 1921, 583), putting its foundation in or close to the ‘year of Observance’ discussed above. The original bull relating to the foundation of Moyne appears to have been lost but it has elsewhere been implied that it was founded on the authority of Pope Nicholas V (1447–55) (Mooney 1958–9, 43). It has been suggested that Moyne was the first Franciscan friary in Ireland to be officially subject to the Observant hierarchy, rather than to the Conventual leadership (Mooney 1958–9, 44). However, Ó Clabaigh (2012, 68)

argues that Adare, Co. Limerick, was the first specifically Observant community to be founded. Nonetheless, Moyne appears to have played a significant role in the Franciscan Observance in Ireland and this commitment to Observant principles was exemplified in its architecture, discussed below. An entry for 1460 in the *Annals of the Four Masters* refers to the involvement of Nehemias O'Donoghue, Papal Legate and 'one of the most zealous of those early Observants' (Mooney 1958–9, 44), in the foundation of Moyne.

Μαγερται ηλ Μαγνη ηι τικ Δαλζαδλ ι  
 ηερκοροικεττ ελλε ηαλαδ ι κομμαδταιθ το  
 εδζβαλ λλ Μακ υλλιαμ βυρκ αρ ιμριθε ηεηεμαρ  
 υι τονηατοηα αν σεθ βιοαηηε ηηουηηι βαοι ι  
 ηεηητο λζ ορη .S. ηηαηηεηη τον οβρεηυαντια.

The monastery of Maighin in Tirawley, in the diocese of Killala, in Connaught, was founded by Mac William Burke, at the request of Nehemias O'Donoghue, the first Irish provincial vicar of the order of St. Francis de Observantia.

AFM, 1460 (vol. 4, pp 1004–5)



Figure 5 Switchline tracery window in the south wall of the transept of Moyne friary

O'Donoghue [O'Donohue] was appointed Vicar Provincial of the Irish Franciscan Observant province in 1460 (Mooney 1958–9, 44). In this position, he was unlikely to have acted as patron himself but could have exercised his influence to secure Mac William Burke patronage. The Mac William Íochtair title passed from Edmund na Féasóige to Thomas Óg Burke in 1458 but it is not clear which of these brothers established Moyne friary.

Moyne was consecrated in 1462 by Donatus O'Connor, a Dominican friar, and although Kelly (1898, 288–9) describes the friary as being 'finished' by this time, many additions and alterations were to follow, as the friary buildings were expanded to accommodate a growing community of friars and a burgeoning lay congregation. This would have taken place over a period of 50 years or more (Conlan 1988, 134), reflecting the incremental nature of construction that characterised late medieval

friary building.

### Franciscan architecture



Figure 6 Carved head label-stop on the southern side of the east window of Rosserk friary

Moyne's Observant affiliation is expressed in the simplicity of its architecture, which, though well executed, is devoid of decorative sculpture. Simple switchline tracery is employed (see figure 5 opposite). Ross Errilly, Co. Galway, is a Franciscan Observant friary of similar scale to Moyne. While it does feature some decorative sculpture, the repertoire of forms employed is limited, with low-relief vine-leaf motifs most common. Both sites feature ship-etchings in plasterwork (see figure 9 on page 18), with additional evidence at Moyne, including traces of red paint and an outline drawing of a human head (Morton 2007, 515–8), suggesting the Observants favoured cheaper but ultimately perishable materials for their decorative schemes. Simplicity and avoiding excessive cost were emphasised by Italian Observants, who favoured fresco or wood in preference to marble or bronze (Johnson 1999, 645–7). The Irish Observants appear to have adopted similar ideas, with Moyne and Ross Errilly representing shades of Observance, the former exemplifying the stricter interpretation.

Just as Moyne and Rosserk represent different ways of being Franciscan, distinct interpretations of Franciscan architecture are present at the two friaries. In contrast to Moyne's apparent austerity of design, Rosserk is home to a range of stone carvings including interlace; carved heads of a friar, nobleman (see figure 6 above) and noblewoman; depictions of angels, beasts and a round tower; in addition to the vine-leaf motifs so popular in late medieval contexts in Ireland (see figure 7 on page 17) (McDermott 2011, 57–70). As the evidence for wall paintings at Moyne indicates, the stone ruins that survive at sites such as Moyne and Rosserk can only hint at the colour and richness of what was once to be



seen (Moss *et al.*, 2006, xv.).



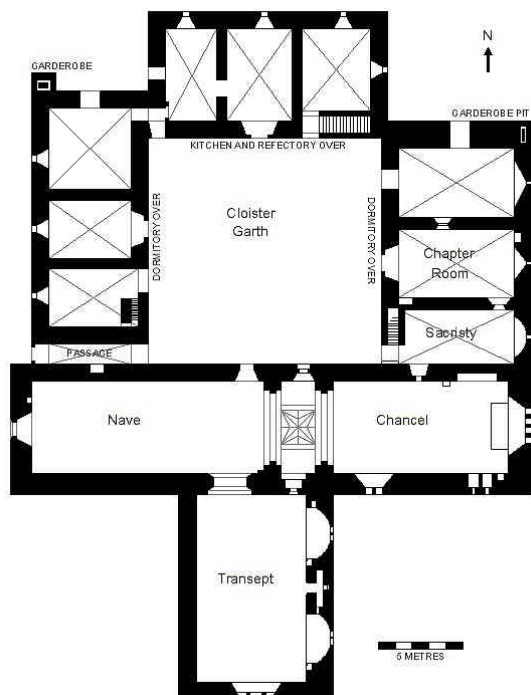
**Figure 7** Vine-leaf motif on north-west corbel of crossing of Rosserk

The layout of Rosserk friary (see figure 8a below) reflects the classic layout of Franciscan First Order houses in Ireland, consisting of a central courtyard with the church to the south of it and the various domestic spaces arranged over two floors around the remaining three sides of the courtyard. While typical of Francis-

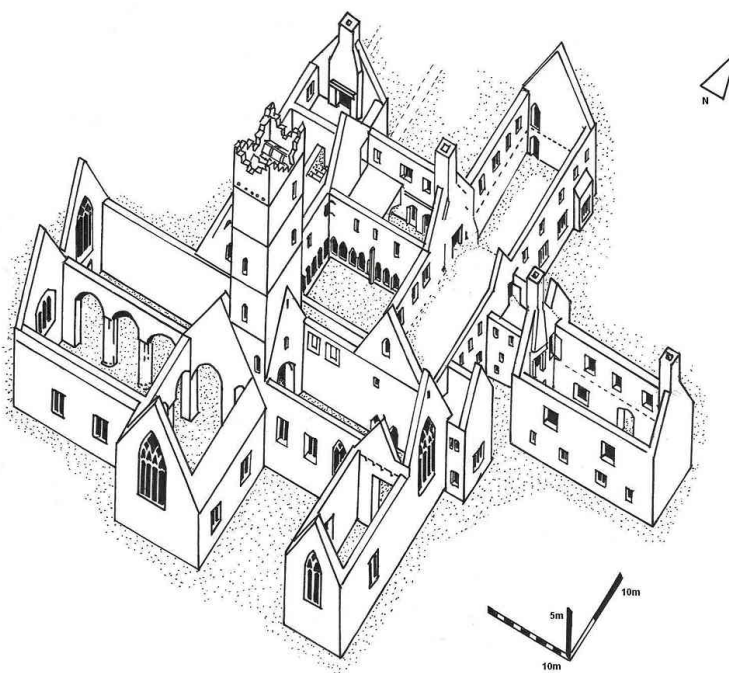
can First Order houses in Ireland (see figure 8b below), this plan was unusual in houses of the Third Order. Tertiary friaries tended to be smaller in size than those of the First Order. It is rare to find such an extensive set of buildings as those that survive at Rosserk.

### Conclusion

The friaries of Moyne and Rosserk demonstrate the enduring appeal of the Franciscans in the late medieval period in Ireland with two houses of impressive size being supported by lay benefactions, in spite of their close proximity in a rural area. The different ways of being Franciscan espoused by these two friaries succeed in attracting both recruits and patrons, and these friaries must surely have contributed significantly to their own locality in the provision of pastoral care. Tertiary Rosserk and Observant Moyne represent two Franciscan movements that made a distinct impact on the religious landscape in late medieval Ireland. Their impressive structures stand as a reminder of the significance of these two Franciscan communities.



a) Plan of Rosserk friary (redrawn after Mooney 1958–9)



b) Isometric view of Moyne friary (after Conlan 1988)

**Figure 8** Plan and drawing of Moyne and Rosserk friaries

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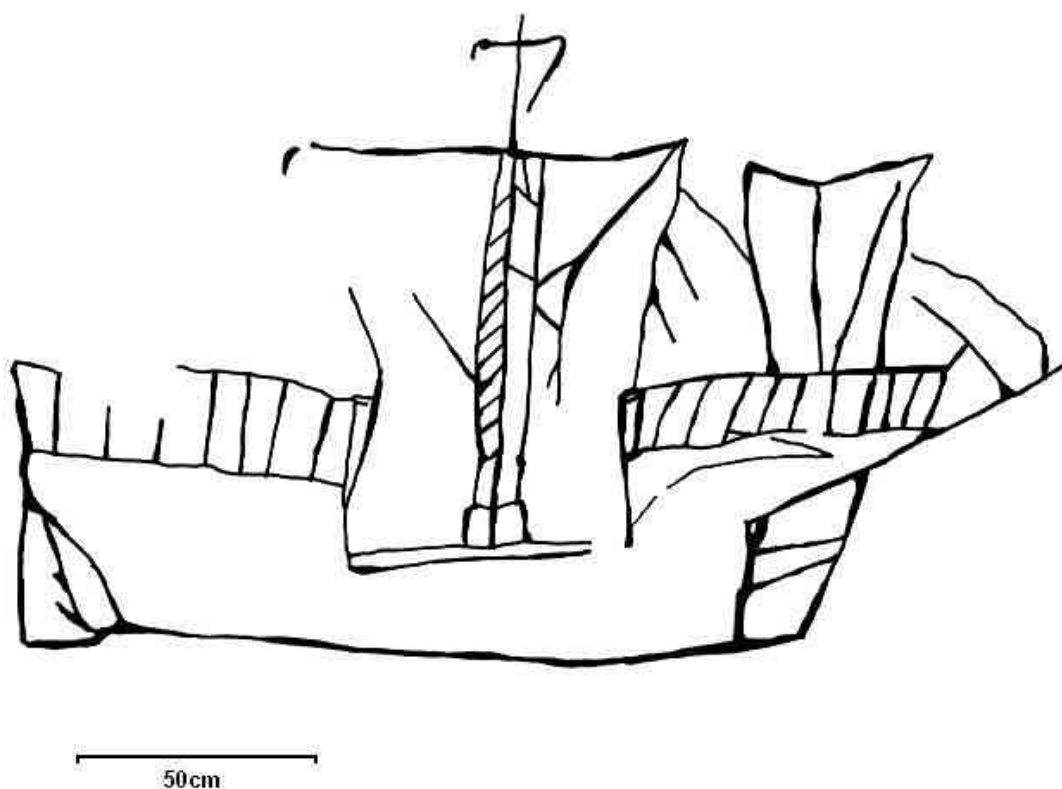


Figure 9 Ship etching from north side of west doorway of Moyne friary

**Eugene Costello**  
 (National Endowment for  
 the Humanities Fellow)  
 (University of Notre Dame)  
***Recent advancements in the  
 study of past transhumance  
 practices in Ireland***

**Introduction**

The phenomenon of people moving with their livestock on a seasonal basis between pastures is a

fairly widespread one across the world, from the Zagros mountains of western Iran to the Alps of Central Europe. Known as ‘transhumance’ to those who study it, it is a practice which can vary hugely, depending always on the environmental and socio-economic context of the farmers and animals involved. One universal aim of the system, however, is the utilisation of as much grazing land as possible in order to maximise the number of livestock one can sustain and be sustained by. In many cases, the importance of transhumance is accentuated by the need to free up space for arable land and fodder production around the homestead.



**Figure 1** Knocknascrow booley house, Kilbeheny, Co. Limerick

**Booleying**

In Ireland, transhumance is best known as ‘booleying’, a small-scale version of the phenomenon attested in the western half of the country up to early twentieth century. Details of the system first came to light through ethnographic work carried out by the Irish Folklore Commission and others. It has since been studied by a few ethnographers and historical geographers (Graham 1954; Ó Danachair 1983), but has been largely neglected by archaeologists until very recently. This is a shame as in many cases the ruins of summer transhumant settlements, or ‘booley houses’, are now the only solid evidence we have of transhumance ever taking place. The role of these structures and those who constructed them in wider farming and society forms a central concern of a PhD project at NUI Galway (completed June 2016), supervised by Dr Kieran O’Conor and supported

by the Irish Research Council. This project is entitled ‘Transhumance practices in Ireland, and their role in post-medieval settlement and society, AD1550–1900’. It builds on recent archaeological work carried out by Gardiner in the Mourne Mountains (2012) and by McDonald in Achill (2014), but broadens the perspective somewhat.

**Galtee Mountains**

Initial work focused mainly on the Galtee Mountains, a well-defined area of upland which covers parts of both south-east Limerick and south Tipperary. Some important aspects of this research have since been published (2015). In summary, it shows that at least 30 structures potentially associated with past transhumant activity (most of which are not presently in the SMR) have been identified in these mountains. Based on an oral account

from Kilbeheny in the south-west of the range, published by Caoimhín Ó Danachair in 1945, it is postulated that many of these constitute the remains of what one would call 'booley houses', used up to the nineteenth century by some tenant farmers in the foothills who kept dairy cows on the open mountain from April till late October/November. It is argued that small-scale transhumance of this kind survived here because of the emergence of the butter trade as a source of cash income for small farmers, before eventually succumbing to population pressure on the uplands, which led to the improvement and permanent colonisation of large swathes of the southern Galtees. Other, smaller huts found in the Galtees are thought by the present writer to have been used by shepherds and turf cutters as more ephemeral shelters.

#### **Iorras Aithneach and Gleann Cholm Cille**

Two other study-areas were examined as part of the thesis as well, namely, the peninsula of Iorras Aithneach in South Connemara and the parish of Gleann Cholm Cille in south-west Donegal. These are somewhat different to the Galtee Mountains region in that they are located in what is very much a western, coastal envi-

ronment, with much-reduced capacities for agriculture. Nonetheless, or perhaps because of this, dairy cattle formed an important part of the economy in these areas during post-medieval times. Again, these livestock seem to have been managed as part of a transhumant system up to mid- to late-nineteenth century. In both South Connemara and Gleann Cholm Cille, however, human relocation was more pronounced in seasonal movements. This is based on preliminary field survey, which has shown that booley houses occur more frequently than they do in the Galtees, relative to permanent settlements. Whether or not this is due to survival remains to be seen. It may be, in Iorras Aithneach at least, that less intensive improvement of marginal land allowed transhumance to operate without much alteration into the nineteenth century. Some of the organisational details of transhumance in Iorras Aithneach are discussed in a recent chapter in an edited collection on cattle in ancient and modern Ireland (Costello 2016a). Post-doctoral research by the writer is currently examining the role of young people in post-medieval animal husbandry, focusing particularly on young women and the communities of practice which they formed at summer settlements.

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## Notices of recently published books

Bernadette Cunningham

This is a selection of recently published books thought likely to be of interest to readers of *Áitreabh*. Some notices are partly derived from information supplied by the publishers.

### *In search of the Irish dreamtime: archaeology and early Irish literature*

J.P. Mallory

(London: Thames & Hudson, 2016. 320p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780500051849. £18.95)

This book explores the origins of the Irish and compares the world depicted in the earliest Irish literary tradition with the archaeological evidence available on the ground. Mallory seeks to check the reality of the earliest narratives of the history of Ireland, and to situate apparently mythological events on a concrete timeline of invasions, colonizations and reigns of kings.

### *Mapping society: settlement structure in later Bronze Age Ireland*

Victoria Ruth Ginn

(Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2016. viii, 254p. Illus. ISBN 9781784912437. £40)

This book analyses domestic settlement patterns in Ireland in the Middle-Late Bronze Age (c.1750–600BC). Available data relating to domestic settlements have been collated, and a chronology for settlement established. Relationships between settlements and the surrounding environmental and social landscapes are analysed through a GIS. The results reveal a distinct rise in the visibility, and a rapid adaptation, of domestic architecture, which seems to have occurred earlier in Ireland than elsewhere in western and northern Europe.

### *The prehistoric burial sites of Northern Ireland*

Harry & June Welsh

(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014. xi, 478p. Illus. ISBN 9781784910068. £19)

This work brings together information on all the known prehistoric sites in Northern Ireland associated in some way with burial. A total of 3,332 monuments are recorded in the inventory, ranging from megalithic tombs to simple pit burials. Several large and previously unrecognised clusters of prehistoric burial monuments, some located at unusual landscape features, are highlighted. The book also includes an introduction to the prehistory of Northern Ireland, and a full bibliography.

### *Archaeological excavations in Moneen Cave, the Burren, Co. Clare: insights into Bronze Age and post-medieval life in the West of Ireland*

Marion Dowd

(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016. x, 98p. Illus. ISBN 9781784914547. £28)

Pottery, an antler implement, and part of a human skull were discovered in 2011 by cavers exploring a little-known cave on Moneen Mountain in County Clare.

An archaeological excavation followed, leading to finds of large quantities of Bronze Age pottery, butchered animal bones and oyster shells. The material suggests that Moneen Cave was visited intermittently as a sacred place in the Bronze Age landscape.

### *Meitheal: the archaeology of lives, labours and beliefs at Raystown, Co. Meath*

Matthew Seaver

(TII Heritage 4)

(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2016. x, 208p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780993231544. €25)

The archaeological significance of Raystown in County Meath was detected by geophysical survey as part of archaeological investigations along the M2 Finglas–Ashbourne road project. Excavations revealed that Raystown began as a cemetery in the fifth century AD and evolved over the next 200 years into a large farming settlement surrounding the cemetery. In the eighth century the site developed further into a milling centre and continued in use for another 400 years. At Raystown there were eight mills, an unprecedented cluster in the Irish archaeological record. There are descriptions of the artefacts recovered, including dress accessories, domestic equipment and the tools and by-products of craft working. Finds included imported luxury goods, indicating that Raystown was connected to a trade network with Anglo-Saxon England and the European mainland in the fifth to mid-sixth centuries.

### *Above and below: the archaeology of roads and light rail*

Edited by Michael Stanley

(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2016. vii, 167p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780993231537. €25)

Investigations on national road and light rail projects have uncovered much about Ireland's archaeological legacy. *Above and Below* invites readers to explore the subterranean confines of an early medieval souterrain in north Kerry, amble through the magnificent Conamara landscape in search of west Galway's industrial past, or take a virtual bird's-eye view of the archaeological landscapes of north Roscommon. There are contributions by Eoin Grogan, Noel Dunne, Com Moloney, Katharina Becker, Ben Gearey, James Eogan, Meriel McClatchie, Martin McAcree, Cólín Ó Drisceoil, Jacqueline Cahill Wilson and Stephen Davis.

### *Cattle in ancient and modern Ireland: farming practices, environment and economy*

Edited by Michael O'Connell, Fergus Kelly & James H. McAdam

(Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016. xvii, 147, [1] p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781443888950. £47.99)

'Cattle in Ireland: beef, bulls, butchers and biodiversity' was the theme of the 2014 annual conference of the Agricultural History Society of Ireland, while a further Autumn symposium was held on the theme of 'Cattle: a long-term mainstay of Irish farming and economy' also in 2014. Thirteen papers presented at these events are now published in this large-format book. Topics range from geology to law and essays explore many aspects of cattle farming and beef production in Ireland from the first introduction of cattle into prehistoric Ireland down to present day grassland management. There are essays by James F. Collins, Peter C. Woodman, Karen Molloy & Michael O'Connell, Fergus Kelly, Louisa J. Gidney, Theresa McDonald, Eugene Costello, Patricia Lysaght, Jean M. Walker, Jonathan Bell & Mervyn Watson, James H. McAdam, Helen Sheridan and John Feehan.

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***Making Christian landscapes in Atlantic Europe: conversion and consolidation in the early Middle Ages***  
 Edited by Tomás Ó Carragáin & Sam Turner  
 (Cork: Cork University Press, 2016. xvi, 622p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781782052005. €39)

Conversion of peoples to Christianity and the development of ecclesiastical power structures transformed landscapes across Europe, both physically and conceptually, in the early medieval period (c.400–1200). Adopting a comparative approach, encompassing sites in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, England, Galicia, Brittany/Normandy, and Germanic and Nordic lands, this book explores how early medieval Christian communities chose to shape their landscapes. The research was funded by the Irish Heritage Council under the INSTAR (Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research) programme, based at University College Cork. Analysis of Irish sites draws on evidence from many recent excavations. Patterns of settlement and categories of landholding in ecclesiastical estates, royal land and 'ordinary' landscapes are considered, and the evidence for parish formation and the functions of medieval parish frameworks are analysed.

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***The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: Excavations 2009–12***  
 Geraldine Stout & Matthew Stout  
 (Dublin: Wordwell, 2016. ix, 278p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780993351815. €30)

Bective Abbey, founded in 1147, was the first Cistercian monastery in Meath. Recent research excavations revealed the farming methods practised by this monastic order, long credited with much agricultural innovation in Ireland. The chance discovery of a medieval barn – with drainage systems, plough and grain store – proves that the abbey acted as the nerve centre of their vast (1,800ha) ecclesiastical estate farm. Finds from the Abbey's fifteenth-century remodelling and subsequent transition into Tudor mansion, illustrate the material culture of the Abbey before and after the Reformation. Reports on the finds are provided by thirteen specialists. This analysis reveals aspects of the Cistercian diet and behaviour that represent a compromise between local circumstances and the harsh rule of the order. The book provides fresh accounts of the Abbey's history and architecture, detailed plans and

original reconstructions, and is an essential guide for visitors to the site, and researchers on Cistercian history.

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***Peasants and lords in the medieval English economy: essays in honour of Bruce M.S. Campbell***  
 Edited by Maryanne Jowaleski, John Langdon & Phillipp R. Schofield  
 (The medieval countryside, vol. 16)  
 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015. xxv, 433p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9782503551562. €110)

Fifteen essays are arranged in four thematic groups, on 'Lords, peasants and agricultural performance', 'Lords and villeins', 'Peasants, lords and markets', and 'Peasants, poverty and the environment'. The essays in honour of Bruce Campbell are about medieval England, and each is accompanied by a lengthy list of primary and secondary sources. The book is one of a series of regional studies on European rural history in the middle ages, which explicitly seeks to explore settlement, the functioning of the economy, food, and agricultural practices in diverse parts of medieval Europe.

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***Medieval Dublin XV: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2013***  
 Edited by Sean Duffy  
 (Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 319p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846825668. €50); Pbk. 9781846825675. €24.95)

These essays report on Claire Walsh's discovery of the remains of Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman houses at Back Lane; Paul Duffy's excavations at Baldoyle that produced evidence from the Viking Age onwards; and Edmond O'Donovan's discovery of a large early Christian cemetery at Mount Gamble in Swords. The volume includes an important study of the ecclesiastical and political history of the Swords area by the late Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin. Craig Lyons analyses the emergence of Dublin as a more distinctively Irish sub-kingdom in the late tenth and early eleventh century; Catherine Swift revisits the account of Brian Boru and the battle of Clontarf in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*; Daniel Brown reveals what happened in 1223 when Hugh de Lacy, the dispossessed earl of Ulster, raised a rebel army and marched on Dublin; Bernard Meehan describes the recent acquisition by Trinity College Library of a fourteenth-century manuscript compiled in St Mary's Abbey; Brian Coleman reports on his study of the elite of Dublin city and county in the later Middle Ages; Dianne Hall examines everyday violence in the medieval city; and, to mark the 700th anniversary of the Scottish invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce in 1315, there is a hitherto-unpublished essay by James Lydon on the Scottish threat to capture Dublin.

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***A place of great consequence: archaeological excavations at King John's castle, Limerick, 1990–8***  
 Ken Wiggins  
 (Dublin: Wordwell in association with Shannon Commercial Properties, 2016. xiv, 548p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781905569915. €30)

King John's Castle, Limerick, is a prominent medieval fortification located along the western side of a large island in the River Shannon. It is a National Mon-

ument in Guardianship, and one of the most important Anglo-Norman castles in Ireland. The castle formed part of the urban defences of Englishtown, one of the two walled settlements that defined the medieval city of Limerick. Four major excavations were carried out at the castle between 1990 and 1998, revealing a wealth of new information. This volume communicates the findings of these excavations in a format useful to academics with an interest in medieval fortifications, and accessible also to the wider public. There are specialist contributions by L. Buckley, J. Carroll, A. Halpin, B.J. Hodkinson, E. Murray, E.O. Carroll, E. Whyte and J. Wren.

***Hugh de Lacy, first earl of Ulster: rising and falling in Angevin Ireland***

**Daniel Brown**

**(Irish Historical Monographs)**

**(Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016. 327p. Hbk. ISBN 9781783271344. £75)**

**H**ugh de Lacy was granted the earldom of Ulster by King John in 1205. Ulster's remoteness from centres of colonial administration allowed de Lacy to operate beyond the normal mechanisms of royal control, forging his own connections with other powerful lords of the Irish Sea province. The documentary evidence discussed here casts fresh light on themes of power and identity, the intersection of crown and nobility, and the risks and rewards for ambitious frontiersmen in the thirteenth century.

***William Marshal and Ireland***

**Edited by John Bradley, Cólín Ó Drisceoil & Michael Potterton**

**(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 352p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846822186. €50)**

**W**illiam Marshal (c.1146–1219), with his wife Isabel de Clare, transformed the lordship of Leinster by the sword but also through the establishment of castles, churches, towns and strategic infrastructure. He also instituted a new administrative framework that stabilised the Anglo-Norman colony. These essays present the Marshal in a new light – one that differs substantially from his better known persona as the ‘greatest knight that ever lived’ and a ‘flower of chivalry’. (See review on page 33 below.)

***Medieval Wexford: essays in memory of Billy Colfer***

**Edited by Ian Doyle & Bernard Browne**

**(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 540p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846825705. €50)**

**A**rchaeology, history, language, settlement and landscape, are all explored in these essays. Dunbrody abbey, the deserted medieval boroughs of Bannow and Old Ross, the towns of New Ross and Wexford and the villages of Ferns and Taghmon are among the areas discussed. The history and architecture of the thirteenth-century Tower of Hook lighthouse is detailed and a new analysis is presented of the ecclesiastical buildings at Ferns. The role of the medieval frontier and the interactions between Gaelic-Irish and colonizers is set out in studies on personal names and plantation settlements, and in the identification of a brehon law school settle-

ment at Ballyorley. The book also includes an essay on post-medieval millstone extraction and one on the career of the antiquarian and genealogist Colonel Herve de Montmorency-Morres. These studies highlight the significance of Wexford's medieval settlement landscapes. (See review on page 34 below.)

***Frontiers, states and identity in early modern Ireland and beyond: essays in honour of Steven G. Ellis***

**Edited by Christopher Maginn & Gerald Power**

**(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 240p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846826054. €49.50)**

**E**xplorations of the history of Tudor Ireland form the core of this essay collection. The chronological and geographic scope is broadened with essays on late-medieval Ireland, the Tudor far north and on the Netherlands and Iceland in later times. There are essays by Raingard Esser, Guðmunder Hálfðanarson, Kieran Hoare, R.W. Hoyle, Henry Jefferies, Joseph Mannion, Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, Gerald Power, Andrew Sargent, Brendan Scott and Brendan Smith.

***Landscape and history on the medieval Irish frontier: the king's cantreds in the thirteenth century***

**Thomas Finan**

**(Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. xv, 215p. Hbk. ISBN 9782503542928. €75)**

**R**oscommon is the main focus of this study of a ‘frontier’ landscape, which examines the interplay between Gaelic lords, Anglo-Norman lords and the medieval environmental landscape that connected them. Finan argues that the landscape of Roscommon helped shape the identities and destiny of its inhabitants in the thirteenth century.

***Galway / Gaillimh***

**Jacinta Prunty & Paul Walsh**

**(Irish Historic Towns Atlas, 28)**

**(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2016. 48p. + maps. Pbk., with loose-leaf maps and prints, some folded. Includes CD-ROM. ISBN 9781908996916. €35)**

**T**he evolution of Galway is described in a topographical essay in this atlas in relation to its physical site and setting, and its development from the earliest evidence of urban settlement down to the end of the nineteenth century. This narrative is accompanied by detailed, classified listings of dateable topographical information. A large-scale map of the town, reconstructing how it would have been c.1840, is presented. Based on the town plan produced by the Ordnance Survey and maps created by the General Valuation Office in the mid-nineteenth century, the reconstruction map depicts buildings, streets, roads, paths, yards, gardens, parks, fields and surface watercourses. In addition, selected pre-existing maps of the city and representative topographical illustrations are reproduced in an accessible format.

***Dublin: the story of a city***

**Main text by Peter Harbison; illustrations and additional text by Stephen Conlin**

**(Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2016. 240p. Hbk. ISBN 9781847178138. €29.99)**



Meticulous reconstruction drawings of Dublin, from Viking times to the present day, are at the core of this elegant book. The first third of the book has a medieval focus, with depictions by Stephen Conlin of the Viking settlement, the walled town, c.1275, a view of Woodquay in the same era and St Mary's Abbey as it would have been c.1450. St Patrick's Cathedral and Dublin Castle are each shown as they would have been at the close of the fifteenth century. The Georgian city architecture, streetscapes, and people are then shown, featuring key buildings such as Trinity College, the Parliament building on College Green, and the Rotunda and Rutland Square. The final third of the book concentrates on places and people in the city in the twentieth and twenty-first century. The enlightening accompanying text by Peter Harbison encourages the reader to really look at the cityscape and appreciate how it has evolved over the centuries.

***Grave matters: death and dying in Dublin, 1500 to the present***

Edited by Lisa Marie Griffith & Ciarán Wallace  
(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 252p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826016. €24.95)

Gasnevin Cemetery Museum hosted a conference in 2014 on death and dying in Dublin, and this book is based on fourteen papers presented on that occasion, using death as a way of understanding social conditions. There are essays on topics as diverse as the political dimension of public funerals, the fate of the city's Catholics under the penal laws and the use of the death penalty. There is a particular emphasis on the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

***Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c.1500–c.1750: essays in honour of Colm Lennon***

Edited by Salvador Ryan & Clodagh Tait  
(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016, 280p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846825743. €55)

Essays in this book examine the interplay of politics and religion in early modern Ireland, with a particular focus on urban communities. Topics include the Reformation in sixteenth-century Cork; the often turbulent lives of nuns in early modern Galway; relations between various Protestant groupings in early modern Belfast; the career of an Old English Catholic physician in Limerick; the tale of how migrant Dublin textile workers found themselves before the Spanish Inquisition; and the hagiography of an eighteenth-century Dublin priest.

***Making the Book of Fenagh: context and text***

Edited by Raymond Gillespie, Salvador Ryan & Brendan Scott  
(Cavan: Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne, 2016. xi, 158p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781782808459. €15)

Commemorating 500 years of the Book of Fenagh (Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 26), this collection includes an essay by Chris Read on 'Sacred landscapes of Fenagh, County Leitrim', and one by Liam Kelly and Brendan Scott on 'Fenagh in 1516'. Other essays on the saint's cult, the manuscript and the shrine, are by Pádraig Ó Riain, Raymond Gillespie, Paul Mullarkey and

Bernadette Cunningham.

***Lough Ree: a short historical tour***

Harman Murtagh  
(Athlone: Old Athlone Society, 2016. 60p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780955125874.)

This gazetteer of sites on the shores and islands of Lough Ree offers an historical tour of the lake for the 'water-borne traveller'. Starting north of Athlone at the headquarters of Lough Ree Yacht Club, it takes an anti-clockwise tour around the lake, heading north to Lanesborough, and returning southwards to Hodson Bay and Athlone, providing information on sixty-eight points of particular interest along the way. Maps and many original sketches enhance the historical commentary offered in this elegant and informative book.

***Balbriggan: a history in maps, 1655 to 1900***

Peter F. Whearity  
(Balbriggan and District Historical Society, 2016. viii, 167p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 0953750353. €20)

A wealth of maps and other illustrations are used to good effect in this study of the north County Dublin town of Balbriggan as seen through the lens of its cartographic history. The coming of the Dublin to Drogheda railway to the town in 1844 was a pivotal event in its evolution, and is the dividing point between the two parts of this well researched history of a small Irish town.

***Lords, land and labourers: the big houses and landed estates of Royal Meath***

Edited by Brian Casey  
(Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2016. 239p. Pbk. ISBN 9781845880873. €25)

From the conquest of Meath in the 1170s, through to the demise of the landed aristocracy at the beginning of the twentieth century, the history of Meath has been shaped by the struggle for land and the wealth and power that it confers. This collection of essays explores aspects of the system of landed estates in County Meath through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

***The Gate lodges of Leinster***

J.A.K. Dean  
(Dublin: Wordwell, 2016. xii, 457p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780993351839. €40)

Despite displaying architectural sophistication to rival the 'big house' to which it is a prelude, the gatekeeper's lodge has received scant scholarly attention in Ireland. This gazetteer celebrates these domestic buildings of modest proportions. The first volume in a new series, Leinster, follows the style of a volume on Ulster by the same author, published in 1994. Volumes on Munster and Connacht are due to follow from Wordwell in 2017. In this Leinster volume, there are descriptions of 3,136 gate lodges in twelve counties, and more than 1,500 illustrations. Entries are numbered and listed by county for ease of reference, with Dublin divided into north and south of the River Liffey. The gazetteer is preceded by an extensive essay on the history of the gate lodge in Leinster, and the book is fully indexed.

***Life in the country house in Georgian Ireland***

Patricia McCarthy

**New Haven & London: Yale UP, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2016. x, 260p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780300218862. £65)**

Based on archival collections in public and private ownership, this book explores the various ways in which aristocratic and gentry families tailored their homes to their personal needs and preferences. These grand houses were arranged in accordance with their residents' daily procedures, distinguishing between public and private spaces, with functional layouts accommodating the roles and arrangements of servants. McCarthy's book illustrates how the lives and residential structures of the gentry and aristocracy were inextricably woven together.

***Woodlawn, a history: Woodlawn Heritage Group***

Edited by Bernadette Doherty

**(Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2016. 144p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781845889074 €16.99)**

Woodlawn is best known to many people as a rural stop on the Galway to Dublin railway line. An area rich in archaeology, history, architecture and politics, it is both unique in its character and yet emblematic of many rural communities across Ireland. This book on the history of the local area is the result of a decade of research by Woodlawn Heritage Group. The landed estate of Woodlawn House, the railway and postal services, education, and emigration are among the topics discussed.

***Trim***

Anne &amp; Jake Crinion

**(Ireland in old photographs)****(Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2016. 128p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781845881665. €16.99)**

Founded in the fifth century on the banks of the River Boyne, the history of Trim is already well documented. Here, a photographic overview, featuring local landmarks, people and snapshots of ordinary daily routines, portrays the development of the town and shows how life in Trim has changed over the years.

***Youghal***

Kieran Groeger

**(Ireland in old photographs)****(Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2016. 128p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781845889012. €16.99)**

The historic seaside town of Youghal is captured in this collection of archive images. A popular tourist destination today, historian Kieran Groeger explores the development of the walled town from its role as a military base and port to its subsequent transformation into a seaside resort.

***The churches of Cork city: an illustrated history***

Antóin O'Callaghan

**(Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2016. 223p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781845888930. €17.99)**

The site of some of the city's great architecture, and home to some of its most treasured art, Cork's

church buildings can also be used to trace the development of the city over time. This comprehensive guide provides a definitive and accessible record of the city's churches for all those with an interest in the shaping of Cork itself.

***A history of St George's Church, Belfast: two centuries of faith, worship and music***

Brian M. Walker

**(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2016. x, 230p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 97810909556539. £19.99)**

Since its establishment in 1816, St George's Church has been an important cultural and spiritual landmark in Belfast, as the city evolved from market town to industrial centre to administrative city. The author draws on a rich photographic and documentary parochial archive to tell the story of one of Belfast's best known churches.

***Nun's Cross Church, Co. Wicklow and its treasures, 1817–2017***

Patricia Butler

**(Killiskey Select Vestry, County Wicklow, 2016. 228p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781909751590. €25)**

Illustrated with photographs by Mark Boland, this study of the Church of Ireland church at Killiskey, in north County Wicklow, includes an introductory chapter on earlier ecclesiastical settlement in the area before the present church was built in 1817.

***Food and drink in Ireland***

Edited by Elizabeth FitzPatrick and James Kelly

**(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2016. xix, 430p. Pbk. ISBN 9781908996848. €25)****[Originally published as *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C.115 (2015)]**

As archaeological evidence, food and drink help illuminate broader societal trends and behaviours. The fourteen essays in this collection range from the Mesolithic and Neolithic to modern agriculture and environmental sustainability. Topics include the foods gathered by the earliest settlers, cooking methods in the Bronze Age, the diet of rich and poor in the medieval era and the impact of the conquest on food in Ireland, aspects of nineteenth-century Irish diet in the pre- and post-Famine eras, rural domestic architecture in the mid-twentieth century, and the environmental sustainability of modern agriculture.

***The Post Office in Ireland: an illustrated history***

Stephen Ferguson

**(Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2016. xii, 448p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781911024323. €24.95)**

Communications and transport, economics, technology and national identity are among the areas touched on in this comprehensive history of the Irish Post Office over the past 300 years. The existence of the postal service has been vital to the way the country has evolved, reaching into the furthest corners of Ireland and sustaining connections with the wider world. This well-researched and beautifully presented volume is a reliable guide to the history of a vital part of national infrastructure.

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*The Ha'penny Bridge, Dublin*

Edited by Michael English

**(Dublin: Dublin City Council [distributed by Four Courts Press], 2016. 276p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781907002298. €24.95)**

Marking the 200th anniversary of Dublin's favourite landmark, and Ireland's first iron bridge, this well-illustrated book has contributions from Michael B. Barry, Annelie Black, David de Haan, Seán Harrington, Michael Phillips, Logan Sisley and Gerard Smyth.

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*1847: a chronicle of genius, generosity and savagery*

Turtle Bunbury

**(Dublin: Gill Books, 2016. 370p. Hbk. ISBN 9780717168347. €24.99)**

Bunbury's study of a single year includes tales of intrepid explorers who charted the Americas; the Famine Irish; persecuted German emigrants; horse-bound Comanche warriors in Texas; American opium magnates; Irish soldiers who fought for Mexico; the inventors of the telegraph; Arctic explorers and Australian settlers, and much else.

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*Figures in a famine landscape*

Ciarán Ó Murchadha

**(London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. xii, 227p. Pbk. ISBN 9781472511553. £21.99)**

Individuals with public roles in County Clare during the Great Famine – a newspaper editor, a Board of Works official, two landlords, two doctors, two clergy, and a Poor Law inspector – are the focus of this impressive series of interlinked studies. The ideas and actions of each of these individuals had a major effect on the lives of many thousands of the destitute poor. Their views and actions are explored in this insightful volume.

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*The rivers Dodder and Poddle: mills, storms, droughts and the public water supply*

Don McEntee &amp; Michael Corcoran

**(Dublin: Dublin City Council [distributed by Four Courts Press], 2016. 296p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781907002243. €29.95)**

This book concentrates on Dublin's engineering history and topography. The Dodder's role in supplying water to Rathmines and Rathgar and the later integration of this system with the wider Dublin public water network is explained. The Bohernabreena Reservoirs, more properly known as the Glenasmole Reservoirs, and their unique role in water supply, millers' compensation rights and flood control, are a central feature. The authors describe the Dodder – as with any other river, having its own unique catchment and other attributes – from as many different viewpoints as possible. The Poddle, in essence a tributary of the Dodder, is also explored. This river, which is now mostly underground, is famous for the *Dubh Linn*, the peaty pool which formed at its confluence with the river Liffey.

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*The limeburners: a history of Clogrennane Lime Works, 1816–2016*

Shay Kinsella

**(Clogrennane, Carlow: Clogrennane Lime, 2016. 167p. illus. No price given)**

Clogrennane Lime Works were developed by the Rochfort family in the early nineteenth century, and this book tells of the fluctuating fortunes of the lime kilns down to the present.

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*The Ordnance Survey and modern Irish literature*

Cóilín Parsons

**(Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016. ix, 247p. Hbk. ISBN 9780198767701. £55)**

Beginning with the archives of the Ordnance Survey, which mapped Ireland between 1824 and 1846, Parsons argues that one of the sources of Irish modernism lies in the attempt by the Survey to produce a comprehensive archive of a country emerging rapidly into modernity. The Ordnance Survey instituted a practice of depicting Ireland as modern, fragmented, alienated, and troubled, both diagnosing and representing a landscape burdened with the paradoxes of colonial modernity. Drawing on the history of cartography, literary theory, studies of space, postcolonial theory and much else, this book paints a picture of modern Irish writing deeply engaged in the representation of a multi-layered landscape.

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*Michael Davitt after the Land League, 1882–1906*

Carla King

**(Dublin: UCD Press, 2016. xv, 728p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906359928. €50)**

The 24 years that followed Michael Davitt's leadership of the Land League, down to his death in 1906, are explored in this scholarly volume, drawing on extensive archival research not least on Davitt's own papers. Themes include education, nationalism and democracy, prison reform, imperialism, international affairs, women's rights, and the labour movement. Davitt's continued commitment to the land question and Irish affairs are demonstrated through his involvement with Home Rule, the Plan of Campaign and the United Irish League. His role as a public intellectual in his later career, giving voice to a strand of radical, secular, anti-imperialist nationalism, is assessed.

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*Architects of Ulster: Young & Mackenzie. A transformational provincial practice, 1850–1960*

Paul Harron

**(Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2016. xvi, 399p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780900457807. £28)**

Ulster's built environment since the 1850s owes much to the influence of the architectural and engineering firm of Young & Mackenzie. Their work included many large-scale Belfast structures such as the department stores Robinson & Cleaver and Anderson & McAuley, banks, hotels, and many Presbyterian churches. Paul Harron's richly-illustrated large-format book discusses the firm's commercial, domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and institutional buildings. It also contains a comprehensive gazetteer of the work of Young & Mackenzie. The book is thoroughly indexed and there is a comprehensive bibliography.



***Sir John Keane and Cappoquin House in time of war and revolution***

Glascott J.R.M. Symes

(Maynooth Studies in Local History)

(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 66p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826139. €9.95)

John Keane inherited the Cappoquin estate in the early 1890s, and aside from his role as a landlord he found time to serve in the British Army during the Boer War and the First World War, the Cooperative movement, the Farmers' Union and even the Free State senate. Cappoquin house was destroyed by fire in 1923 during the Civil War but was later rebuilt. This short book tells the story of the man, his house, and his world.

***Farming and country life 1916: History talks presented at Teagasc Athenry, 10 and 11 June 2016***

(Carlow: Teagasc, 2016, 264p. Pbk. ISBN 9781841706252. €5).

As part of the official national 1916 Rising commemorations, Teagasc, in partnership with Galway County Council hosted a major 2-day event at Athenry in June 2016. The event recreated many aspects of farming and country life in the early twentieth century. There were lectures on social and economic conditions and the state of farming at the time. Forty-one short lectures are reproduced in this volume, which was published to coincide with the June 2016 Teagasc commemorative event ([www.teagasc.ie](http://www.teagasc.ie)).

***More than concrete blocks: Dublin City's twentieth-century buildings and their stories: vol. 1. 1900-1939***

Edited by Ellen Rowley

(Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2016 [distributed by Four Courts Press]. 368p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781903703422. €24.95)

Planned as the first of three volumes, this is an architectural history of Dublin in the first third of the twentieth century. Essays on building culture in Dublin, together with case studies of particular streets or buildings selected to characterise the architectural work of the pre-war era, portray the Dublin streetscape as a layered and complex place.

***Dublin, 1950-1970: houses, flats and high rise***

Joseph Brady

(The making of Dublin City)

(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016, 464p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781846825996. €29.95)

Domestic housing occupies more land than any other urban use and it helps define the character of any

city. Dublin expanded its footprint during the 1950s and spilled over into the county area. Dubliners favoured a low-density city, and a three- or four-bedroomed house with a garden was seen as the norm. Dublin Corporation was an active house builder, though it slowed its housing provision in the late 1950s, and large developments appeared on the northern edge of the city where most land was available. In the private market, the scale of house building, largely in the southern suburbs, reflected a more confident economy. Builders turned to the United States for ideas on estate design. Up to the 1960s, apartments were largely an inner-city phenomenon, mainly built by Dublin Corporation. The big housing experiment of the period was with system building and high-rise on the periphery of the city in Ballymun and, for a time, it seemed as this approach would dominate future provision in both public and private sectors. These and other issues are explored in this latest illustrated volume in *The Making of Dublin City* series.

***Dublin in its global setting: from Woodquay to Silicon city***

Kevin Whelan

(Sir John T. Gilbert commemorative lecture, 2015)

(Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2016. ii, 30p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781907002281.)

Presented as a public lecture in 2015, this survey of Dublin's evolution outlines the changing global geography of the city over a long period of time, from the coming of the Vikings to the reinvention of the city since the 1990s as a transnational city, like Dubai, Hong Kong and Sydney. Whelan argues that Dublin is now positioned at a key global intersection that facilitates flows of money, goods, people and ideas: 'Dublin is where Europe and America meet'.

***This place speaks to me: an anthology of people and places***

Edited by John Quinn

(Dublin: Veritas, 2016. 236p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781847307477. €16.99)

Based on an RTÉ radio series of the same name, *This Place Speaks to Me* is an evocative collection of interviews with well known personalities about the locations that have, for good or for ill, had a profound and lasting influence on their lives. John Quinn invites the reader on a journey around Ireland, and beyond, to explore the inextricable links between people, place and personal growth.

*Notices of sources and guides to sources*  
Bernadette Cunningham

***Reform treatises on Tudor Ireland, 1537–1599***

**Edited by David Heffernan**

**(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2016. xxix, 381p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865627. €40)**

Aspects of government policy formation in sixteenth-century Ireland are revealed in this selection of 70 documents, drafted by those concerned with policy for the administration and reform of Ireland.

***Campaign journals of the Elizabethan Irish wars***

**Edited by David Edwards**

**(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2014. xxi, 310p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865511. €40)**

Editions of accounts of military operations by crown forces, on land and sea, are published in this volume. Ranging in date from 1557 to 1599, they cast light on how the Tudor conquest of Ireland was experienced by the soldiers involved.

***Early Stuart warrants, 1623–1639: the Falkland and Wentworth administrations***

**Edited by Mark Empey**

**(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2015. xxxii, 321p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865566. €40)**

Over 600 warrants are edited here, providing insights into many aspects of political, administrative, military, economic, social and cultural affairs in early seventeenth-century Ireland.

***The acts of James II's Irish parliament of 1689***

**Edited by John Bergin & Andrew Lyall**

**(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2015. xiii, 263p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865498. €40)**

Legislation enacted by the 1689 Irish parliament dealt with the land settlement, war, taxation, trade and economic development, the legal system and the constitutional relationship with England, amongst other matters. The acts are made easily accessible here in a scholarly edition.

***The Boulter letters***

**Edited by Kenneth Milne & Paddy McNally**

**(Dublin: Four Courts, 2016. 320p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846822902. €55)**

This is a comprehensive, scholarly edition of the correspondence of Hugh Boulter, archbishop of Armagh and primate of the Church of Ireland, a man active in Irish political circles in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

## Historic Settlement in County Mayo

### *Report on the Forty-Fifth Annual Regional Conference of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, Ballina, 6–8th May 2016*

This was the first time that the conference has taken place in Mayo since Westport in 1996, and the first time that it has taken place in North Mayo. It took place in the wonderful confines of the Twin Trees Hotel on the outskirts of Ballina, Co. Mayo. This conference was organised in conjunction with the North Mayo/West Sligo heritage group. We may have been in danger of being overshadowed by a local man creating a new settlement site of his own up the road in Enniscrone, by bringing a commercial jet into shore which he had towed from Shannon airport.

#### **Friday 6 May 2016**

The conference opened with Bernard O'Hara giving a tour de force in talking about the settlement of Mayo from prehistory right up until the present day. He is probably best known for his work on the history of the parish of Killasser, *Killasser: Heritage of a Mayo parish*. His talk ranged from the very first settlements in Mayo along the North coast, through the early medieval period – particularly ringforts (of which the composite ones within the Killasser parish are especially interesting). He continued his talk turning to round towers leading on to the big houses of the landed gentry. It indeed set the tune for the rest of the conference.

#### **Saturday 7 May 2016**

Dr Graeme Warren kicked off proceedings on Saturday morning with a talk on the prehistoric field systems in the North Mayo landscape. He focused on the site of Belderrig, where UCD students for the past forty years have tried their hand at excavations. The work was originally begun by Seamus Caulfield, whose father, Patrick Caulfield, a local schoolteacher, had begun to notice piles of rock emerging from the bog as the peat was being cut. The survival of many of the field systems in the Belderrig area may be due, in part, to the lack of agricultural potential of the land, whereas in other areas, such as nearby Ballycastle, those wall systems under the bog may have been destroyed through generations of agricultural activities.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle gave a paper on the Patrician place-names of Mayo, to which he gave credit to one of his former students, Fiachra Mac Gabhann, for his work on the place-names of Mayo. This paper focused on the place-names to be found within the hagiographies of St Patrick written to justify Armagh's primacy as the main ecclesiastical seat in Ireland. This focused on the work of Tírechán, who both as a local to the area, having been born in North Co. Mayo, and being based at Armagh, made him a perfect candidate to look through the prism of Patrician place-names of Co. Mayo.

Dr Yvonne McDermott from the GMT campus in Castlebar, then gave us a paper on the Franciscan friaries at Rosserk and nearby Moyne. She talked about the architectural styles but also the development of the Church in Connacht at this time, especially the expansion of the mendicant orders into more rural areas with the assistance of Gaelic and Gaelicised chieftains – happening as it was during the Gaelic revival of the later medieval period. Despite their name, mendicant, deriving from the Latin for beggar, these structures are impressive, even in their ruined state, and said to have been burnt in 1590 during the zeal of the Elizabethan reformation.

Dr Rory Sherlock of the Galway archaeological Field School, talked about the use and abuse of tower houses in the county. Compared to the areas of Southern and Eastern Ireland, there is a relative paucity of tower houses in Co. Mayo. Sherlock's work on tower houses has focused on the use of domestic space, following the Tom McNeill school of thought that tower houses were primarily social in function, whereas Prof. Emeritus Terry Barry argued for a defensive nature. There seems to be no homogenous class of tower houses, with classes A, C and D as identified by Dr Sherlock being predominant within the West with, for example, Rockfleet tower house, which was the residence of the Pirate Queen, Gráinne Mhaol, in the mid-sixteenth century, falling into Group C of this classification.

The field trip took place on the Saturday in what could only be described as inclement conditions, more usual of winter or springtime rather than the early days of summer. Our first port of call was the site of Belderrig, where Dr Seamus Caulfield explained both the history and archaeology of the site and gave us a tour of the facilities for the further scientific study of the site and its surrounding hinterland. On the return journey we stopped at Céide Fields, a site which has attracted controversy over the last few months and which will probably continue to rage on. A number of us braved the conditions to look at the largest field system of its kind in the world. The final stop on the field trip was to Rosserk Friary on the banks of the Moy estuary (by which time the rain had dissipated to a large extent), where Yvonne McDermott showed us the examples of the architecture which she had talked about in her presentation earlier in the day.

During the trip many other sites of note were pointed out, including the round tower in the town of Killala, which is one of six extant round towers in the county, but some, such as the one at Balla, do not survive to their original height. Another site of interest which was pointed out to us by Bernard O'Hara was the area where Kathleen Lynn was born. Known to some as 'The Rebel Doctor' she was the chief medical officer during the Easter Rising. She went on to found St Ultan's hospital in 1919, and it was as a result of these efforts that Bernard O'Hara thought that a fitting tribute to her efforts would be to name the new children's hospital after this particular Mayo woman.



Once we returned from the field trip, we had the launch of two publications, *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland*, edited by Matthew Stout and Margaret Murphy and *Lough Ree: Historic Lakeland Settlement*, edited by Bernadette Cunningham and Harman Murtagh.

### Sunday 8 May 2016

Marie Boran and Brigid Clesham kicked off proceeding on Sunday morning after the AGM, giving us an overview of the landholdings of two of Mayo's most prominent families, the Browne family, better known as the Marquess of Sligo, and the Bingham, better known as the Lucans, whose name has recently emerged due to unpaid land rents around the Castlebar area. The Browne family of Westport House, who were a cadet branch of the Brownes of the Neale, also in Co. Mayo, were founded by Colonel John Browne and a great-great granddaughter of the Pirate Queen, Gráinne Mhaol. Their grandson would go on to become Lord Altamount. Although George Browne 3rd Marquess of Sligo sold some property in 1854, he remained the largest landholder in county Mayo, owning 114,881 acres in 1876. This shows the immense landholdings that these people possessed at the time. Another contrast between the two households was that the Lucans for the most part were absentee landlords and their properties were managed by agents which might explain that whereas the Browne family had a modicum of sympathy for their tenants, this is in stark contrast to the Bingham, who often evicted their tenants from their homes.

Dr Fiona White gave a paper on the life of Louisa Moore, of Moore Hall, who was a niece of the aforementioned Brownes of Westport House, showing the inter-connectivity of the landed gentry of Mayo at the time. Thus paper illustrated the figure of a woman trying to maintain her independence in a male dominated world, or to use Dr White's words "a unique, feisty woman in a man's world". She accounted for Louisa's role as the estate manager for Moore Hall. Louisa successfully oversaw the running of the 12,000 acre estate, several hundred tenants and dozens of house servants during these times. Dr White also explained the relationship between Louisa and her son, George Henry (a controversial figure), before he became a politician. She also documented the correspondence between mother and son, who was a notorious gambler and womaniser, once escaping to Russia to avoid the consequences of his action, but went on to become a hero for his famine relief work.

The next paper was on cartography by Arnold Horner, who talked about the problems of mapping Mayo in the early nineteenth century, particularly in the years before the establishment of the Ordnance Survey. Mayo, and Connacht more generally, was much less well mapped in the early modern period. Cartographers like Speed (1610), while relatively accurate for the rest of the country seem to cut Mayo off the map almost entirely, and with it Connemara as well. This paper tended to focus on the work of the engineers employed by the Bog Commission, some thirty-five years before the Ordnance Survey 6, but also from a socio-economic point of view, before the Great famine of the late 1840's.

Dr Ruth McManus was the last speaker with a talk on the effect of globalisation on the area of North Mayo and South Sligo, particularly on Enniscrone and the area around Killala Bay. She spoke about the large tax incentives, mainly regarding corporation tax, which attracted large multi-national companies to Ireland in the latter stages of the twentieth century to take advantage of the single market of the EU, the availability of labour. One of the largest employers in the region at that point was the complex Japanese company Asahi in 1977. Along with the tax incentives and availability of labour they wanted to exploit the ample supplies of water. She talked of the socio-economic change for the local people, many of whom had worked the land or the sea and had a hard time at the beginning to adjust to the rigours of the shift work which Asahi employed. The site was so big that the foremen were issued with bikes to traverse the 400-acre site. The argument over jobs in an economically depressed area over the cost to the environment is one that has been repeated time after time, most recently with the objections over the Shell and the Corrib Gas project. The site now hosts a number of other enterprises, including a biomass-fired power station. She also mentioned the new tourism drive that the area has been making, including the creation of the Quirky Glamping village in Enniscrone, just up the road from the venue where the conference took place. The owner, David McGowan, hopes that the different accommodation, ranging from black London cabs to eight suites on a Boeing 767 will attract more visitors.

Unfortunately I was unable to attend the trip to the Jackie Clarke collection (<http://www.clarkecollection.ie/>) on Sunday afternoon, but have always found something new every time I enter the collection of 100,000 items. Of all the objects that are stored there, the historical maps astound me and I often lose myself in the moment looking at the maps.

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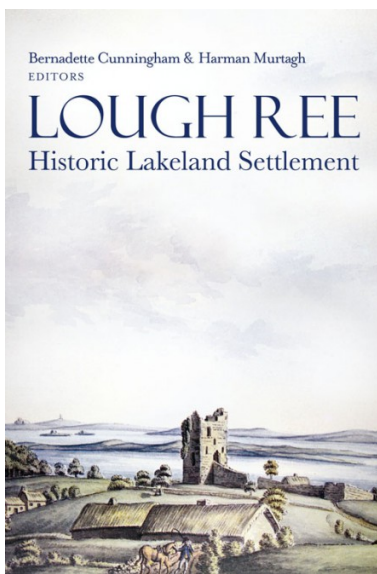
## Reviews

### **Lough Ree. Historic lakeland settlement**

Edited by Bernadette Cunningham & Harman Murtagh

(Dublin: Four Courts Press [for the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement], 2015. 272pp. colour ill. section. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-84682-576-7. €49.50)

This volume is a fine addition to the series of published studies promoted by the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement and published to such an excellent standard by Four Courts Press. It has ten very well illustrated chapters mostly the fruit of a conference focussed upon Lough Ree and its environs held in May 2012. The editors, Bernadette Cunningham and Harman Murtagh, aside from excellent editing, are key contributors – in the case of that doyen of Irish Midland Studies, Harman Murtagh, in effect three chapters: an Introduction on ‘the landscape and heritage of Lough Ree’, a chapter on ‘Daniel Grose’s depictions of the island monasteries of Lough Ree’ and one on ‘Boating on Lough Ree’. Bernadette Cunningham, a leading scholar of seventeenth-century Ireland in her chapter discusses the short but eventful history of the Poor Clare nuns in ‘Bethlehem, Athlone and Killenure: the Poor Clares and the Franciscans in the seventeenth century’.



The attractions of each contribution will vary with readers: I immediately read Kieran O’Conor, Paul Naessens and Rory Sherlock on ‘Rindoon Castle, Co. Roscommon: an Anglo-Norman fortress on the western shores of Lough Ree’. They give us the overview of the castle’s features, history and historiography that has long been needed. Next I read the fascinating chapter by Rolf Loeber which provides a comparative analysis, based on literature and field work, of the demesnes surrounding the big houses on the shores of Lough Ree and Lough Erne from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In just over thirty beautifully illustrated pages which contain a wealth of references we are given an exemplary treatment of landscape scholarship which alone makes this book worth buying. These chapters have a permanent value and are unlikely to be surpassed.

Having enjoyed and learned so much already my cup began to overflow as I read Mary Shine Thompson’s wonderful chapter entitled ‘Magical, but tame and tranquil’: writers’ impressions of the Lough Ree area’. She surveys a range of travel and literary writings relating to Lough Ree and Athlone from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. We are guided to appreciate the mentalities behind the ‘tourist gaze’ – generally ‘see Ireland, think Britain’ – except for Heinrich Böll’s Irish Journal. This is described as ‘probably the richest, most evocative and provocative, though short, Lough

Ree traveller’s tale’; his approach is ‘see Ireland, re-think post-war affluent Germany’. We are reminded that verse linked to this region includes Oliver Goldsmith, Ted Hughes and more recently Vona Groarke. Novelists including L.A.G Strong, George Moore and John Broderick have made this the locale for novels.

Four more expertly written chapters awaited the reader: Aengus Finnegan has analysed the toponymy of the ninety or so islands and some of the shallows on the lake showing what may be learned about the layers of human settlement in the place-names. His chapter, ‘The island names of Lough Ree’, has an appendix, listing and explaining the names of virtually every island on the lake and as Harman Murtagh notes this is a valuable resource in itself. Gearoid O’Brien in the final chapter, ‘Island living: the modern story of life on the islands of Lough Ree’ gives us a social, economic and familial portrait of those who lives were shaped by island conditions. Gearoid O’Brien was a co-author with Sean Cahill and Jimmy Casey of an important study *Lough Ree and its islands* (Athlone, 2006). When the names of Charles Doherty and Matthew Stout are attached to essays the quality is assured: Charles Doherty writes on ‘Lough Ree and mythic landscapes’ and Matthew Stout on ‘Early medieval settlement on Lough Ree’.

This volume draws together a very wide range of scholarly disciplines with contributors who write generally clearly; the book is very well illustrated and it can be safely said that it ought to be widely studied. It is certainly a boon to those of us who treasure local studies and local history particularly ‘where the three counties meet: Longford, Westmeath and Roscommon’. As Harman Murtagh observes in his Introduction of the essays:

Gaelic chiefs, monks and nuns, Vikings, Norman and Tudor settlers, aristocrats, marginal farming and fisher folk, sportsmen and travellers all make their mark . . . The contributions are not static descriptions, but often rich in analysis, interpretation and explanation, thus providing new insights, exploring fresh concepts and raising further questions. In this sense this book is the beginning and not the end of a fresh examination of the challenges Lough Ree presents to those seeking to unlock and better understand its history and antiquities.

This reviewer can exclaim ‘what a beginning!’ and what an excellent foundation it provides for further explorations in this fascinating region.

Dr. Fergus O’Ferrall

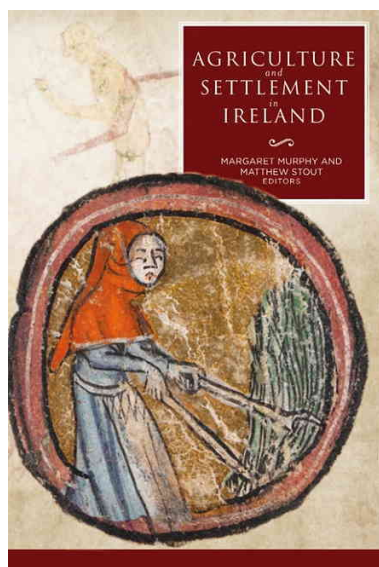
Fergus O’Ferrall has co-edited (with Martin Morris) and contributed to *Longford history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Geography Publications: Dublin, 2010); he has written a comparative essay on ‘Athlone, Longford and Mullingar’ in H.B. Clarke and S. Gearty (eds.) *Maps & texts. Exploring the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Royal Irish Academy: Dublin, 2013); he is a frequent contributor to *Teathbha. Journal of the Longford Historical Society*.

### **Agriculture and settlement in Ireland**

Edited by Margaret Murphy & Matthew Stout

(Dublin: Four Courts Press [for the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement], 2015. 256pp. ills. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-84682-507-1. €45.00)

This is one of a series of volumes on various themes produced by the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement. It arose from a conference on ‘Farming systems and settlement, c.1200–1914’ in 2009. The introduction to this collection by Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout is erudite, engaging and scholarly – a hard trick to pull off! The editors give the prehistoric and historical background to farming and settlement and the link between agriculture and urbanisation in Ireland. This is a connection most people know ‘at the back of their minds’ but worth highlighting in a volume on agriculture.



Patrick Cunningham provides a clear and informative account of the centrality of cattle to Irish society from the earliest evidence to the twentieth century. There is a fascinating account of the implications of the distribution of lactose intolerance (Figure 1.3). In his paper, ‘The early medieval farm’, Matthew Stout uses the law tracts and the distribution of ringforts to estimate the landholding units in early medieval Ireland. The discussion is clear and aided by the use of informative diagrams and tables. The paper describes an experiment conducted by a modern farmer to test the practicality of overwintering cattle in the open. Using Kerry cows he discovered that (among other aspects) as they were light in weight, their hooves did not tear up the ground. A serious problem when heavier, modern cattle are kept in wet conditions.

Geraldine Stout’s essay on ‘The Cistercian grange: a medieval farming system’ addresses a neglected aspect of medieval farming – that on ecclesiastical land. The paper includes an outline of the working of Cistercian farms that is very useful. There is a case study of four Irish houses of various sizes: Bective & Kilbeggan (small), Boyle (medium) and Baltinglass (large). Excellent maps, aerial photos, plans and charts accompany the essay. The Bective Abbey Project examined the relationship between the Abbey and its granges. The environmental analysis carried out as part of the project is the largest archeobotanical and charcoal study at an Irish monastic site. Among other significant findings the excavation produced one of the largest assemblages of cultivated peas in a monastic setting. The examination of these four houses revealed that at Boyle in Co. Roscommon, in contrast to the other three estates, all located in the east, pastoral rather than tillage farming predominated. This is an important and accessible paper. The author notes in her conclusion that the impact of this farming network was considerable: ‘the legacy of their efficient courtyard farm has continued into modern times’.

Margaret Murphy’s paper, ‘Manor centres, settlement and agricultural systems in medieval Ireland, 1250–1350’, looks at the revolutionary impact of the introduction of the manorial system. As with the previous essays this paper provides an accessible and extensive overview of the manor in Ireland. Both documentary and physical evidence is considered. Again there are really useful distribution maps, reconstructions and charts. Katherine Simms discusses the origins of the *creaght*, a mixed herd moving with its herders and their belongings. Rather than a movement of animals this is a ‘village on the move’, and its appearance would seem to coincide with a change in farming practice. There is a useful appendix of a list of cow prices from the early twelfth to the late sixteenth century.

Later changes in farming practices are the subject of Raymond Gillespie’s paper. Using statistics for various periods in the seventeenth century the author provides a fascinating snapshot into trade changes, some linked to political development. At Chester, for example, only sixteen live animals were landed from Ireland in 1607, yet by 1639 this had risen to 15,814. New settlers developing their estates responded to the rise in price for live cattle in the English market, which had increased by 80 per cent between 1600–09 and 1630–9. The writings of travellers and archaeological evidence are used to look at aspects of agriculture not captured by the trade data. These are particularly useful in highlighting production for local consumption. The author notes that travellers in the sixteenth century give the impression that cattle dominated Irish agriculture. This may be a political as much as an economic vision – tillage and associated settlement being associated with civility. This paper underlines



the fact that the structure of Irish agriculture in the seventeenth century was the product of a complex series of interactions.

In a wide ranging and inter-disciplinary paper Mathew Stout, Michael Carey, Jim Collins, L.M. Cullen, Tony Leavy and Eileen Murphy look at 'Collon, Co. Louth: the landscape legacy of an eighteenth-century estate'. The essay is focused on Arthur Young's interview with Baron Foster, owner of Collon, in July 1776. The paper assesses surviving evidence for the improvements outlined by Young. This paper includes really useful maps and charts, and the authors capture in a tangible way the optimism represented by these eighteenth-century improvers. Young's account is made available in an appendix.

The last essay by Brendan Riordan, a 'stand alone' study in its own right, serves also as a 'summing up' piece for this collection. The author takes the broad view and includes fishing and forestry. This kind of essay is essential in such a chronologically broad volume. This is a well edited, smart and modern collection – a delight!

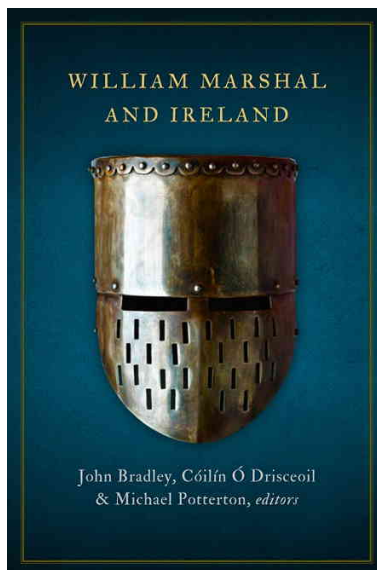
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### ***William Marshal and Ireland***

Edited by John Bradley, Cóilín Ó Drisceoil & Michael Potterton

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016. 352pp. colour ills. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-84682-218-6. €45.00)

In his preface Cóilín Ó Drisceoil notes the passing of a number of scholars, Emma Devine, Billy Colfer and John Bradley (credited as a co-editor of this collection), who were instrumental in the organisation of the conference on Marshal, held in Kilkenny, on which this volume is based. It is a timely reminder of their loss.



In his paper, 'William Marshal in exile', David Crouch, one of the foremost scholars on Marshal, discusses his early career. Noting that as there is a biographical poem commissioned by his followers on his death, his is one of the few medieval lives we can reconstruct. He outlines Marshal's growing fortune from tournaments, some of which he used to repair Chepstow Castle. He notes that he was barely literate and, perhaps less in keeping with the image of a medieval knight, not interested in hunting. Crouch notes that he paid little attention to woodlands in his charters.

In his essay, 'The evolution of the demesne in the Lordship of Leinster: the fortunes of war or forward planning', Adrian Empey looks at an aspect of Norman settlement that is often overlooked. It is one of the few essays in this collection to take account of the lordship as a whole. Empey notes there was a need on the part of kings and lords to extract the maximum returns from their lands. This paper gives a great overview of the process of laying out lordships. Empey says of Marshal and the organisation of Leinster: 'For a man so deeply immersed in, and distracted by, the affairs of England and France, this represents an achievement as remarkable as it was enduring'.

Miriam Clyne's paper, 'Kells and its priory', is detailed with lots of useful, clear illustrations. The drawings of the floor tiles are particularly lovely. The author highlights the interconnectedness of the various foundations in Leinster. Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler's short piece on 'Kells Priory, c.1500: a fortified monastic house' brings the history of the house beyond the period of Marshal. It has some really detailed illustrations.

Ben Murtagh, the excavator of Kilkenny Castle, part of which dates to the period of Marshal the elder, looks at military architecture in his paper, 'William Marshal's great tower at Pembroke, Wales: a view from Ireland'. This extensive overview covers the architectural, archaeological and historical context. The French material is particularly interesting given the attachment of Marshal to France. This is a very long piece, covering seventy-one pages of the book, and a more focused study might have served the theme of the collection better. Again, as with Kells, there is a follow-on paper on the Marshal castle at Kilkenny by Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler, 'William Marshal's castle at Kilkenny in about 1395: a new reconstruction'. This is an interesting piece, but in a book dedicated to Marshal the elder it is possible to ask did it add to the picture of the subject of the volume?

The next paper, begun by the co-editor, John Bradley, before his death (completed by Ben Murtagh), 'William Marshal's charter to Kilkenny, 1207: background, dating and witness', is rich in detail and broad in scope. It includes Bradley's translation of the 1207 charter. The only off-note is could the extended Butlers be called 'a clan'? This is a really useful paper and the biographies of the signatories to the charter allow a snapshot of the leading players in this new adventure.

The paper by the late Billy Colfer, 'Monastery and manor: William Marshal's settlement strategy in Co. Wexford', is a fine, clear and scholarly account of the evolution of the Norman settlement in Wexford. There is particular emphasis on the ecclesiastical element. This paper underlines what a great loss Billy's early death was to historical research into medieval Wexford.

The co-editor of the volume, Cólín Ó Drisceoil, returns to the study of New Ross which was the subject of his postgraduate thesis. I would like to take the opportunity here to thank Cólín for making this available to me for the research on the Irish Historic Towns Atlas of New Ross. It is lovely to see Isabel de Clare's role in the development of the Lordship of Leinster being appreciated here and throughout the collection. The author makes a very valid point that the lack of documentation means that most discussion of the medieval town focuses on the late thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries. The author has attempted to look for the Marshal town in this piece. Isabel de Clare is the subject of one of the most enjoyable papers, Gillian Kenny's, 'The wife's tale: Isabel Marshal and Ireland'. Given how fragile and spare the information on Isabel is, this paper provides a wonderful portrait. The discussion of landholding and inheritance by women is useful as is the family chart showing lines of inheritance. It is a great finish to an ambitious book.

This is a much-anticipated volume and there is much to recommend it. It fails, however, to do what it says on the cover and the volume is very focused on the southern end of the Marshal Lordship. It would have been good to have a broader view of Marshal and Ireland. There is a noticeable lack of a consideration of economic strategy that underlaid the success of the Marshal enterprise. A discussion of the link between the development of New Ross and agricultural output of the manors would have been useful to expand the focus. The archaeological papers, which form the greater part of this volume, deal with periods beyond that of Marshal and add little to the understanding of his relationship with Ireland. But these are small points against a real contribution to Irish medieval studies.

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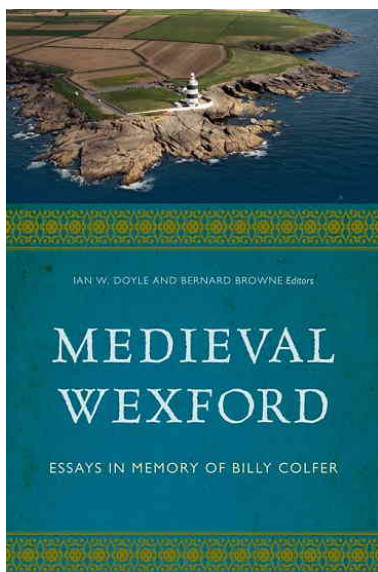
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### *Medieval Wexford. Essays in memory of Billy Colfer*

Edited by Ian W. Doyle & Bernard Browne

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016. 544pp. 16pp colour plate section. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-84682-570-5. €45.00)

This is a massive volume consisting of twenty-five essays in 544 pages. It is divided into seven parts – each part is given a title in the table of contents. Most essays are variously accompanied by excellent photographs, figures, maps and tables. They range from the early medieval period to the modern, reflecting the research interests and writings of Billy Colfer. Part I has two articles on early medieval archaeology. Ian Doyle provides an overview of the archaeology of the period c.500–1170AD for county Wexford. He points out that despite the predominance of the Anglo-Norman presence in the landscape the pre-Norman period is also strongly imprinted in the archaeological record. John Flynn and Tommy Grennan report on the investigations at the site of Kilmokea enclosure on Great Island over a number of years including those of the local Sliabh Coillte Heritage Group. Although limited to a small area of the enclosure the investigations reveal prehistoric activity and strongly suggest that the enclosure had an ecclesiastical function.



Part II 'Medieval religion' has two articles that take us into the high medieval period. The first is by Tadhg O'Keefe and Rhiannon Carey Bates concerning the abbey and cathedral of Ferns. Their aim is 'to connect these physical remains to people and events between 1111 and 1253, and, in so doing, help to promote Ferns' claim to be one of the jewels in our heritage crown'. Geraldine Stout also has an architectural focus on the abbey of the Port of St Maria, Dunbrody. She provides a meticulous and detailed examination of the remains of the building over the centuries. This will surely lay the foundations of any future work on Dunbrody.

Part III: 'Seascapes' deals with the medieval Tower of Hook by Ben Murtagh and 'Pirates, slaves and shipwrecks' by Connie Kelleher. Murtagh's article runs to fifty-six pages. It is a meticulous re-examination of the documentary and archaeological record relating to 'one of the oldest working lighthouses in the world'. Perhaps inspired by William Marshal its construction was more likely to have commenced during the time of his younger sons. Inspiration and models are suggested in the great circular tower at Pembroke castle and the ribbed Gothic vaults in the contemporary great towers in France. Kelleher's exploration of the Waterford harbour area both on the sea floor and on the neighbouring coastline throws a flood of light upon maritime history: 'Hidden sites within the more remote bays and inlets

connect those on land with those at sea in a seamless divide of both legitimate and illicit activities, the thin veil of

which blurred lines and became the way of life for many'. One of the shipwrecks examined (Duncannon I) may turn out to be that of HMS *Hastings* and if so will add greatly to sparse information on *demi-batterie* ships. It may also have been involved in the events of the 1641 rebellion.

Part IV: 'Medieval landscapes urban and rural' is the longest, containing eight chapters. Terry Barry returns to moated sites that was the subject of his pioneering doctoral research completed in 1975. This is a reflection upon the discoveries, techniques and methods that have come into use since his original contribution. Very many more moated sites are now known including those in Gaelic areas: 'These moated sites in Wexford were either built by well off peasants of mainly English origin, or by minor Anglo-Norman lords, with some in the northern half of the county also probably built by Gaelic lords'. The general conclusion of scholars would suggest that the prosperity of rural Ireland was greater than previously thought. James Eogan and Bernice Kelly in 'New roads to medieval Wexford' discuss fourteen medieval sites uncovered and excavated as a result of road projects in Co. Wexford during a fifteen year period. Some of these excavations of moated sites brought to light many aspects of their construction and layout that had not been previously known. More is now known of the occupation of these sites, their use of space for habitation, animal husbandry and working areas. Other less substantial settlements of probably the lower social orders was also uncovered giving a view of peasant life that is also barely visible in the historical record. There was little evidence of coin use suggesting the predominance of exchange of goods and services and payment in kind.

Sinéad Marshall and Tori McMorran take us to nucleated settlement in 'People and places: a bird's eye view of medieval Old Ross'. This gives the results of the investigations carried out by The Old Ross Research Project (ThORRP). The motte and bailey and its borough were established in the late twelfth century (replaced by a stone castle by 1233) and continued to develop until eventual decline in the fourteenth century. Previously known monuments were more clearly defined and traces of a possibly pre-Norman ecclesiastical enclosure were discovered. This research clearly shows what can be achieved by non-invasive archaeological techniques.

Christiaan Corlett and Seán Kirwan examine 'The medieval parish church at Bannow, Co. Wexford'. The medieval borough of Bannow has almost completely disappeared. The authors have uncovered the history of the church at Bannow through a minute observation of its fabric. The scale of the church reflects the size of the borough when it was flourishing. Their historical introduction to this study is an important and thought-provoking review of the evidence suggesting the possibility of pre-Norman activity. We remain at Bannow with Paul Murphy, 'Medieval rabbit farming and Bannow Island'. However this is no local study. We are given a short history of rabbit farming and how such farms may be recognised in the landscape. It ranges from the evidence of place-names to the economic and theological significance of the rabbit. It is surely a pioneering work in an Irish context. Further research on Bannow is brought to us by Ian Magahy, 'Rebuilding Bannow: mapping the abandoned town of Bannow'. It was thought by some that Bannow town had been swallowed by the sea. However Magahy's detective work, using the old road system, historical records and field walking has brought the layout of the town to light. While, as he points out, geophysical survey may revise some of his suggestions his research has placed any future work on a sound footing.

Linda Doran has been working on the Historic Towns Atlas for New Ross. She gives us a glimpse of her work in 'The New Ross corporation books: a window on an age'. The Minute Books of the Town Commissioners of New Ross survive from 1635. This is a marvellous resource: 'The construction of foot-paths, drainage, the placing of post-boxes, the purchase of a fire-engine, the regulation of the marketplaces and the provision of health, educational and recreational infrastructure – all these and more are discussed and considered by the town officials'. These and other matters Dr Doran situates within a national and international context.

Catherine McLoughlin and Emmet Stafford give the results of their 'Excavation of the remains of an early thirteenth-century house at the Thomas Moore Tavern, Cornmarket, Wexford'. Remarkably, evidence of a 'Dublin Type 1' house was uncovered. It would seem that the house, located beside the marketplace, represents the earliest expansion of the Viking town to the north by the Anglo-Normans in the late twelfth century. It shares similarities with houses in Waterford, Dublin and Cork. The artefacts provide an insight to the life of the town c.1200AD and is a significant addition to knowledge of medieval Wexford.

With James Lyttleton's, 'Clohamon castle and Lord Baltimore' we move to the seventeenth century. Baltimore's family established settlements on both sides of the Atlantic and James Lyttleton has carried out important research on what is a relatively new area of investigation. This work emerges from a project that looked at the manor and its associated village. Geophysical survey and archaeological excavation threw much light on this settlement. Although the appearance of the original manor house of 1625-6 could not be determined it is likely that it resembled those in contemporary Ulster. Excavation at the poorly preserved castle suggests that it was occupied in the late medieval period by the Mac Murrough Kavanaghs before its occupation by Lord Baltimore.

Gaelic and Anglo-Norman Ireland have traditionally been studied independently. But now research such as Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Cólín Ó Drisceoil, 'The landscape and law school settlement of the O'Doran brehons, Ballyorley' is throwing a flood of light on a very neglected area. While very many studies have been made of the literary activity of learned families little has been known of where these families were settled in the landscape and how their landholding related to that of their lords. O'Doran was brehon to MacMurrough. One of the important results of this research is that 'it strengthens the case for the survival of Gaelic cultural practices alongside the Anglo-Norman



manorial system in north Wexford through the late twelfth and thirteenth century into the first quarter of the fourteenth century when the colony retreated'. It also invites reconsideration of other settlement forms. The archaeological excavations and surveys did not link the O'Doran school-house directly with the substantial stone building on a moated site at Ballyorley. However this is not as important as the stimulus this research gives to this area of scholarship. A further investigation of the late Gaelic world is by Conchubhar Ó Cruaíoch, 'Personal names among the Gaelic-Irish of native descent in Wexford, 1540-1650'. Ó Cruaíoch explores the *Fiants, Calendar of Patent Rolls, Inquisitions* and the list of those involved in the 1641 Rebellion published by Whelan in 1990 in order to identify personal names in place-names but also (in this chapter) to study the trends in personal fashion among the native Gaelic-Irish in Wexford during this period. This research provides a fascinating view of the Gaelic Irish and their relationship with the Anglo-Normans and others. It is further evidence, if such were needed, of how subtle was the interaction within Irish society as it evolved.

Niall Colfer, 'Ballyhack millstones: turning stone into bread in post-medieval Ireland', states that 'The millstone is a deceptively simple circular object that links the development of industry, agriculture and society in a way no other stone object does'. His chapter demonstrates this with a wealth of information concerning stone, stonemasons, geographical locations and the nature of the stone itself. We can now look again at the coastal landscape with fresh eyes drawing clues from place-names and signs of stone working and the links between what seem like insignificant places and centres of production at home with important centres abroad.

Conleth Manning takes us into the eighteenth century in his examination of 'Colonel Hervey de Montmorency-Morres (1767-1839), United Irishman, antiquary and controversial genealogist'. Hervey Morres was of minor Catholic gentry and in his early life fought in a number of military campaigns on the Continent eventually returning to Ireland with a young Baroness. He was involved in 1798 leading to further adventures. He wrote the first book to be published on round towers. His other literary activity was designed to give his family the most respectable ancestry. Conleth Manning has produced a wonderful detective story revealing how many scholars were misled by Hervey's research into his supposed Anglo-Norman past.

Maurice F. Hurley's chapter, 'A lost gateway at Richfield (Ballymagir Castle), Co. Wexford', is a further demonstration that even the most insignificant field monument can illuminate the past. In taking us through the gate pillars at Richfield Maurice Hurley looks back along the avenue of time to an estate that was established in the early years of the Anglo-Norman conquest and came to be held by Alicia de Headon. Through her marriage to Sir Phillip Devereux the estate came into the hands of the Devereux family who held it until the eighteenth century when it passed to the Loftus family. The gate pillars originally stood on the old shoreline reminding us that main access to the house (and very many similar properties) was by sea.

Edward Culleton, 'The barony of Forth and the practice of history', explodes the myth of the colonization of Forth by Flemings. It suited those historians, in particular Goddard Orpen and Philip Hore who favoured maintaining the connection with England, to look upon the native Irish as inferior until they received the benefits of 'civilization' from outside. As Edward Culleton has pointed out it may be said that Orpen and Hore were men of their time - but echoes of their ideas are still found in historical writing.

The essay by the late Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, 'A sense of place: Forth and Bargy's enduring legacy', is a short but illuminating look at the dialect called by the inhabitants, Yola, 'Old'. 'It contained elements of French, Irish, Friesic, Flemish and the four great dialects of English. It survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century.'

The last essay is a memory of Billy Colfer by Nicholas Furlong. It celebrates the life of a great and gifted scholar who was loved and admired by all who came in contact with him.

Each essay in this collection is an example of first rate scholarship and each makes an important contribution. It is a fitting tribute to Billy Colfer whose own work has done so much to highlight the richness of this small area of the country.

Charles Doherty  
Editor  
Áitreabh

## News from the Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA), Royal Irish Academy

Sarah Gearty, Cartographic editor



Paul Walsh and Jacinta Prunty (authors) with President Michael D. and Sabina Higgins at launch of *Galway/Gaillimh* in Galway City Museum, 1 November 2016

### Galway published and more to come

*Galway/Gaillimh* by Jacinta Prunty and Paul Walsh was published as no. 28 in the IHTA series and was launched by President Michael D. Higgins in Galway City Museum in November 2016. Galway's rich cartographic history is evident on the thirty loose, large-format pages, where early maps such as those by Barnaby Googe (1583), Thomas Phillips (1685) and Michael Logan (1818) are presented alongside the intriguing mid-seventeenth-century pictorial map and nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey town plan extracts. IHTA 'regulars' include the reconstruction map of the city in 1839 at the scale of 1:2500 (allowing direct comparison with other towns in the Irish and wider European series); an aerial photograph and a selection of turn-of-the-century Lawrence pictures. The accompanying topographical gazetteer presents historical details of over 2,000 sites in the city. Many of the maps were reproduced for an exhibition based on the atlas that was displayed in the Galway City Museum for several months following the launch.

Meanwhile, authors continue to research towns and cities all over Ireland for the IHTA series — Arklow, Ballyshannon, Cavan, Cork, Drogheda, Dungarvan, Tralee, Tullamore, Westport and more are under active preparation.

### Branching out — mapping the suburbs

A new series dedicated to Dublin suburbs and under the editorship of Colm Lennon and Jacinta Prunty is a recent development for the IHTA project. With the support of Dublin City Council, research and editorial work is now under way on Clontarf and several other suburbs are at planning stage (see figure 2 on page 38).

### Seminar — Mapping townscapes

The annual IHTA seminar takes place on Friday 19 May 2017 in the Royal Irish Academy. The Irish project has teamed up once again with colleagues working on the British Historic Towns Atlas and this year the emphasis will be on 'Mapping townscapes'. Roger Kain, who has recently published a book on *British town maps*, will present the keynote. More information on this seminar can be found on [www.ihta.ie](http://www.ihta.ie).

### IHTA now available online

The past year has seen the online publication of the first twenty-five atlases, which have been released thematically according to their period of origin. This work was carried out in association with Eneclann and the digital editions



include the full text (essay, topographical information, bibliography, appendices, notes) for each town or city, as well as the core maps (see figure 1 below).



**Figure 1** Raymond Gillespie, Michael Potterton, Anngret Simms, Howard Clarke, Sarah Gearty, Frank Cullen and Derek Cosgrave in the IHTA office at the launch of the digital editions of towns of early modern, Gaelic and plantation origins (Bandon, Belfast, Derry Londonderry, Longford and Ennis), 13 February 2017



**Figure 2** Extract of Clontarf from *An actual survey of the county of Dublin, 1760*, by John Rocque (courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy)

## FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE

## Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow

5-7 MAY 2017

## Historic Settlement in South Kildare

*In association with  
The Castledermot Local History Group*

**7:00 pm (Friday) Registration and Opening Reception**

Sponsored by Kildare County Council

**Speakers:**

**Keynote speaker:** Dr Gillian Barrett (formerly Senior Lecturer in Geography, School of Applied Sciences, University of Wolverhampton, UK)

*Discovering the 'hidden' archaeological landscapes of Co. Kildare: an aerial journey*

Dr Sharon Greene (The Castledermot Local History Group)

*The early-medieval ecclesiastical site of Killeen Cormac*

Charlie Doherty (UCD, retired)

*Desert Diarmata / Castledermot and Uí Bairrche connections*

Dr Annejulie Lafaye (Discovery Programme)

*Castledermot Franciscan friary: a mendicant community and its environment in medieval Ireland*

Dr Magda Stouthamer-Loeber & Dr Rolf Loeber (University of Pittsburg)

*The Annals of Ballitore*

Dr Margaret Murphy (Carlow College)

*Towns and boroughs in South Kildare 1200-1500*

Arnold Horner (UCD, retired)

*The landscapes of South Kildare eighty years before the Ordnance Survey: images from the 1750s maps of John Rocque*

Dr Peter Connell (TCD)

*The remaking of an Irish provincial town - public housing in Athy, 1900-45*

**Field Trip:** Saturday 2:00 pm by bus to Killeen Cormac, Moone, Ballitore

**Field Trip:** Sunday 2:15-4:00 pm: Guided tour of Castledermot led by Dr Sharon Greene

**Conference Dinner:** Saturday 8:00 pm: €30

**Conference Fee:** €50/£45. Students €20/£17. Fee includes coffee and bus for fieldtrip

**Individual Day [Saturday/Sunday]:** €30/£27

**Annual membership fee:** €20/£17

**Annual student membership fee:** €10/£8

**Sunday 9:15 am** Annual General Meeting of Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement



**COMMITTEE 2016-17**

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Margaret Murphy (Hon. Secretary)	Paul MacCotter
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*Contributions are invited on topics related to historic settlement in Ireland and the Irish-sea region, the history, conservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape and on local and regional studies. These should be sent to the Editor, Mr Charles Doherty, 13 Bancroft Road, Tallaght, Dublin 24; or e-mail: [charles.doherty@upcmail.ie](mailto:charles.doherty@upcmail.ie)*

*Contributors are requested, where possible, to send materials, text and graphics by e-mail. For further information visit our web-site.*

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