Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

NEWSLETTER

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contents

Annual Outing

Sligo 2005

See page 25 for details

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Editorial

Welcome to the 2005 edition of our Newsletter. I would like first of all to thank our last President, Dr Raymond Gillespie for his leadership over the period of his office and for the hard work he put in at committee meetings, editorial work and other supportive activities on behalf of the *Group*.

I would like to congratulate our new President, Michael O'Hanrahan on his election to office. Michael has contributed so much to the cultural life of Ireland over the years and has given stirling service to our *Group*. The schedule of lectures for the Sligo conference indicates that he intends to work us hard.

I am very grateful to Dr Edward James, recently apointed Professor of Medieval History in the School of History, University College Dublin, where he once was a lecturer in the Department of Medieval History, for submitting an article on one of the most important books to be published on early medieval history for a very long time. This is Michael McCormick's *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900*. I think that this will be of great interest to our members. James Lyttleton has submitted an article on St Mullin's. This just goes to prove that serious work is done when we visit sites. James has given us some thoughts on the site that we visited last May. His work shows how it is possible to make sense of the jumble of walls and piles of stones that we find so often at the places we visit. It is also of the upmost importance in demonstrating the use of archaeology to throw light on obscure aspects of the past. Again he has shown the value of an interdisciplinary approach in the area of settlement studies.

I would like to thank Bernadette Cunningham once again for her many notices of recently published books.

This year our conference will be held in Sligo. Unfortunately this Newsletter could not be circulated with notice of the conference this year. I apologise for that. I wish to thank James Lyttleton for compiling the Guide for our field trips during the Sligo conference.

We now have a web site or rather a weblog site (a Blog). Why not visit and give comments on how it could be structured or improved. The address is long. I have hosted it on my .Mac account.

http://homepage.mac.com/charles.doherty/iblog/B1068827693/index.html

After you first log on make a bookmark of the site. Give it a name (why not **GSIHS**). Place it in your menu-bar for easy reference and then all future visits will require just one click.

PLEASE NOTE
This Newsletter could not be printed in time for the May outing to Sligo so some of the 'Upcoming Events' have already come and gone. It is, however, a record of 2005 activitites. I have added (thanks to James Lyttleton) material concerning our next major conference in 2006 (See pages 19–23). The Newsletter for 2006 will be ready for our May outing to Clonmel (see preliminary notice on page 24).

Charlie Doherty
January 31, 2006

Articles

Comment on: Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

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At first sight, Michael McCormick's *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) might not seem to have any interest for the Irish historian. Ireland figures only four times in the index, and only one of those references is substantial (a comment on Notker's assumption that Irish scholars in the ninth century travelled to the Continent on Anglo-Saxon merchant ships). But the title of the book is misleading; its more accurate subtitle is *Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* and its focus is the Mediterranean, where McCormick situates the generator for the medieval as well as the Roman economy.

One can disagree with McCormick in detail and even in some of his basic premises, but his book is nevertheless one of the most important studies of the early medieval world to be published in recent decades. Not only has he assembled a huge amount of data about Mediterranean trade (which shows precisely what historians, archaeologists and numismatists have been doing since 1938, when Henri Pirenne's *Muhammad and Charlemagne* was published), but he has given us models of economic decline and recovery which are going to fuel debate for years to come. Discussion has already begun: I chaired a session on the book at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo in 2002, which I edited for publication in the journal *Early Medieval Europe* (vol. 12 (2003), pp. 259–323). Here an introduction and a conclusion by McCormick himself frame interventions by a social historian (Joachim Henning), a late Roman historian (Andreas Schwarcz), an east European historian and archaeologist (Florin Curta), a numismatist (Allan Stahl) and an archaeologist who has written on European trade, but who now works on the production and distribution of glass (David Whitehouse).

McCormick's book started as a study of diplomats operating in the Mediterranean world in the Carolingian period; it expanded into a study of travellers on the Mediterranean Sea between AD 700 and 900, and this is at the core of the book. About 800 of the 970 pages of this book (excluding appendices and a massive bibliography) are devoted to the Mediterranean between 700 and 900. He has put together a database of 669 individual travellers: diplomats, merchants, pilgrims and others, and discusses these in Part II, "People on the Move", which follows a section on economic changes between AD 300 and 700, which puts this material into some kind of context. Not content, however, with looking at travelling people, he devotes Part III to "Things That Travelled": the evidence of travel derived from material survivals, most notably relics and coins. Part IV, "The Patterns of Change" examines the practicalities of travel, and the routes used, not only the sea-routes but also new overland routes that were being opened up in this period. And finally, in Part V, McCormick looks at the mechanics of trade, re-examining some of Pirenne's famous commodities—papyrus, spices and silk—and ending with the one which he sees as most important: slaves. McCormick ends with a generous tribute to Pirenne, for his boldness in seeking out new patterns. But he turns Pirenne's patterns on their head. Islam did not so much "apply the coup de grace to a moribund late Roman system", but instead "offered the wealth and markets which would fire the first rise of western Europe", in the concluding decades of

the eighth century. "So, in a paradoxical and profound sense, perhaps Pirenne was right, even when he was wrong: without Muhammad, there would have been no Charlemagne" (p. 798).

The collapse of the Roman economic system, a necessary prelude to the "rise of the European commercial economy, or indeed the rise of the European economy, period" (p. 791) is dealt with in somewhat summary fashion. There are excellent discussions of some of the elements of transformation, such as "the number of rural settlements, the array of diseases, the extraction and transformation of metals, or the production of pottery" (p. 61), and these are made to stand as the main pieces of evidence for the decline of the Roman economy; "the fate of western towns, the patterns of public building, the production of bronze coinage" (p. 61), and so on, are merely alluded to. The chronology of this decline, and of the emergence of new economic patterns, is also treated rather summarily. The crucial period, one suspects, is the seventh century, and this is to some extent a yawning gap in the middle of the period of 300 to 900 covered by this book. It is a century which needs much more study, McCormick acknowledges, but as a result of the chronological vagueness surrounding this century it is at times a little difficult to see the base-point from which his Carolingian revival is taking place.

As an example, I could take one instance of a significant change in economic geography: the shift from the Rhône corridor to the Rhine corridor as the main route into Gaul and the north, a shift, that is, from a water route to a land route involving an Alpine crossing. As McCormick says (p. 79) the collapse of the Rhône route meant the death-knell for low-value high-bulk imports. McCormick does leave us wondering when this happened, however. He says that there were problems from the late sixth-century onwards, as "epidemiological evidence has argued that bulk shipping was having difficulty reaching Lyons on a regular basis" (p. 79), which I think has to be translated as saying that Gregory of Tours does not report that Lyons was ravaged by bubonic plague. However, Gregory does say that in 588 plague spread rapidly from Marseilles to a village near Lyons, something mentioned in the context of a miracle (*Histories*, 9.21). In the seventh century the Abbot of Corbie was having to transport goods from the Rhône delta by wagon, which suggests that by then the river route was infrequently used. On the other hand (p. 81), the Lombard invasion of 568 placed obstacles in the way of the would-be Alpinist; it was not until the eighth century that the land-route over the Alps to Rome becomes normal. The coin evidence suggests that the Rhône corridor was in use until the early eighth century; stray finds of Byzantine coins from the first half of the seventh century have been found there, and also some finds of copper and gold Arab coins minted between the 690s and the mid-eighth century. "As Arab and Byzantine coins dropped along the Rhône dwindled away in the eighth century, those from the Rhine corridor grew" (p. 380). The picture as McCormick presents it is one of a very slow decline of the Rhône route, from the age of Gregory of Tours to the age of the first Carolingian king, and the rise of the Rhine corridor at the same time, in the mid-eighth century, but it is a story that seems filled with internal contradictions. And it seems to neglect totally—as do almost all McCormick's discussions of the sixth and seventh centuries—the mass of evidence from Merovingian cemeteries. There are a number of classes of object found among Merovingian grave-goods, particularly the so-called "Coptic" bronze bowls and jugs, whose distribution pattern strongly suggests that from perhaps the early seventh century goods were being imported from the Mediterranean, over the Alps and down the Rhine.[1]

[1] See most recently P. Périn, 'A propos des vases de bronze "coptes" du VIIe siècle en Europe de l'Ouest: le pichet de Bardouville (Seine-Maritime)', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 40 (1992), pp. 35–50.

Much of the English-speaking readership of this book is going to be surprised by the way in which northern Europe—which Pirenne had taught us was the heart of the economic world of the Carolingians—is treated in very summary fashion. This was no doubt part of the project: McCormick wants to emphasise the importance of Italy and of its Mediterranean trade in the Carolingian economy. The commercial route of the "northern arc", as he calls it, is "far and away the best known of the early medieval land corridors, and consequently calls for least comment" (p. 562). One does suspect sometimes, however, that this neglect of the north is not so much out of choice, as much as from a lack of familiarity. Thinking that England is an island (p. 27) and referring to exports from the Rhineland to Roman Britain as "English imports" (p. 77) betrays that lack of familiarity, by committing a couple of solecisms that one would hope not to see in undergraduate essays. Ireland and Scotland are largely ignored (and Wales is absent altogether), despite the recent work on trade routes in this area, and (very relevant to his theme) despite the appearance on the north-western sea-routes of quantities of Mediterranean pottery. It is rather refreshing, perhaps, that Sutton Hoo, with its evidence of wide-spread contacts from Byzantium to Sweden, is wholly missing; it has become rather too predictable in the literature. But it is rather more serious that no reference is made to any of the recent literature on the urban archaeology of the north. The litany of "Haithabu, Birka, Dorestad and Hamwic" appears on p. 12, but there are other more recently studied sites which are just as important, and which moreover demonstrate the widespread nature and real significance of this commercial revival in the north. I think that it is only on p. 792 that it is finally acknowledged that "we now know that the North Sea trading economy had been going, perhaps in fits and starts, since the mid-seventh century", although the evidence for the "fits and starts" is not presented. The possibility that this northern revival is important, not only in itself, but also for the revival of the Mediterranean economy a century later, is not given an airing, save perhaps in one place: at pp. 157–58 he raises the possibility that the fact that a high proportion of known pilgrims from the north to the holy places of the Mediterranean come from near these trading-places may be an indication that these emporia may already be connected to the great Mediterranean routes. What *was* the relationship, if any, between the economic revival of the north and that of the south, or between those revivals and the expansion of the Carolingian empire? An additional point: given the supreme importance of the slave-trade in McCormick's picture of economic revival, one imagines that Charlemagne's conquests and slave-captures were of major importance, yet we rarely see the role of the "state" in this economic revival. On the contrary: the collapse of the state-subsidised grain supply system of Late Antiquity is seen as paving the way for a new and exciting world of private enterprise, "in which individual shippers ran greater risks, but also had more opportunity and incentive for discovering niches beyond the feeding of the super-cities of late antiquity" (p. 568).

I have looked at what I see as some of the chronological and geographical distortions; there remains what I called his "thematic" distortions. McCormick has put forward a wonderful collection of data on Mediterranean trade, a series of entrancing life-stories of people who travelled and equally entrancing life-stories of "things that travelled". He has shown both the enduring worth, and the problems, of Pirenne's famous approach to some of these same problems. But he continues to repeat what I had always felt was Pirenne's major mistake: the privileging of long-distance trade, particularly Mediterranean trade, within the economic history of Europe. There are two reasons why this still seems wrong, and why it still to me seems to distort our picture of the economic development of Europe: first-

ly, because much movement of goods (whether by trade or by internal transfer within great estates) was relatively local; and secondly, because in terms of GNP, farming and stock-rearing was far more significant than trade. McCormick does acknowledge the importance of both these things, and justifies himself on the grounds that dynamic growth can only come from the opening up of trade; agrarian developments happen at a much slower speed. Yet in this volume, and to some extent in the book, McCormick acknowledged the importance of agrarian developments, in particular in the Carolingian world. In a truly global account of the "origins of the European economy" one would have hoped for a more systematic explanation which brought together the two halves of the equation.

All these criticisms are not meant to diminish by very much the extraordinary achievement of this book, which is one of the most inspiring and stimulating to have been written on the early Middle Ages in the last half-century. The accumulation of knowledge, and the insights which McCormick gleans from it, have shown the wealth of material that is now available to us, in an age of great archaeological activity and with the potential of the digital age at last being made available to the early medievalist in a substantial way. We should take the book as McCormick clearly intended it, as a stimulus for debate and for future enquiry. If I had my way, and if I had funding, I would explore the ways in which a study of cemeteries, and above all of the grave-goods contained in them, illuminate our understanding of internal patterns of production and distribution, in the period before McCormick's Carolingian revival. It might be noted that the major research project which has culminated in this book could only have come from an academic environment (Harvard University) that does not demand substantial output every five years or so, as with the British "Research Assessment Exercise", and which still funds a library system at a level necessary for sustaining this kind of wide-ranging research.

Why should those who are mainly interested in the development of Irish settlements read this book? Because it is immensely stimulating; methodologically fascinating; a model, despite its flaws, for any kind of interdisciplinary research in the early historical period; and a proof of the benefits of looking at problems in the broadest chronological and geographical perspective.

St. Mullin's Abbey Church in the Era of Reformation and Confiscation: a Reflection

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Introduction

In the early modern period the Reformation wrought a tremendous impact upon religious architecture in Ireland. Some churches were refurbished for Protestant worship, while a small number remained in Catholic hands. Other church buildings fell completely out of use often falling victim to quarrying, or saw reuse as secular domestic buildings. St. Mullin's Abbey church was to suffer the latter fate sometime in the sixteenth century (Plate 1 on page 6). At the thirty-third annual regional conference of 2004 organised by the Group in conjunction with the UK based *Medieval Settlement Research Group*, a number of medieval and early modern sites along the Barrow valley in county Carlow were visited. One of the sites was the early monastic complex of St. Mullin's, scenically perched on high ground overlooking the wooded banks of the River Barrow.

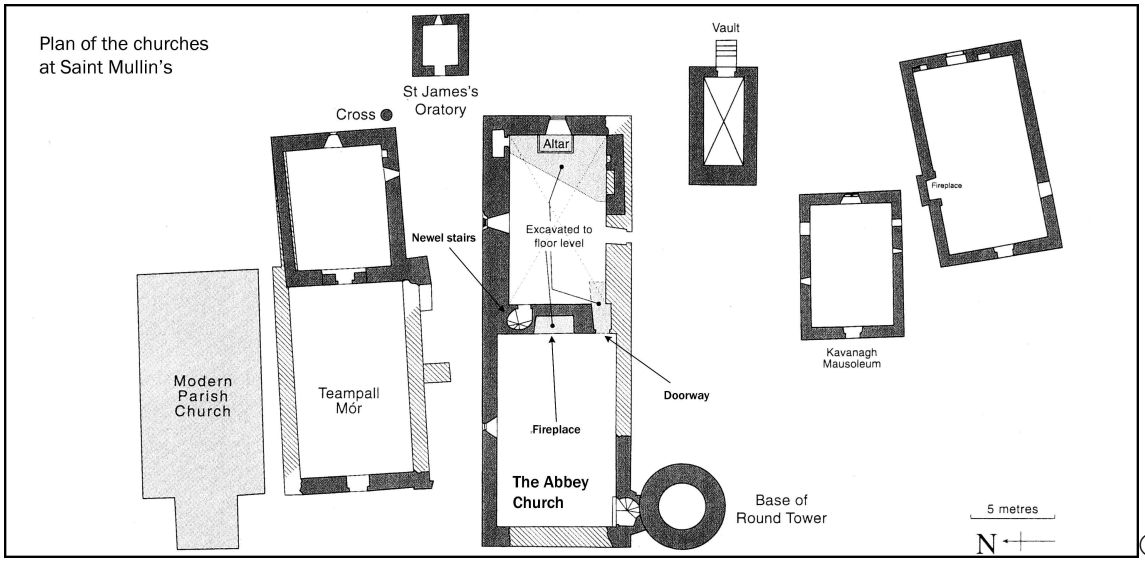

Figure 1 Plan of churches at St. Mullin's, county Carlow. Note the fireplace in cross wall between nave and chancel, facing into the nave in the Abbey church.

Why the conversion from sacred to profane?

St. Mullin's was an important ecclesiastical centre in south Leinster. There are a number of churches to be found on the site as well as the basal remains of a round tower, a high cross and a holy well. A motte-and-bailey castle to the northwest overlooks the site. Of interest to the early modern scholar is the conversion of the largest church in the complex, known as St. Mullin's Abbey, into a domestic residence sometime in the sixteenth century. It was not unknown for New English grantees to convert church buildings into domestic spaces in this period. In a country where the vernacular building tradition was characterised by the prevalent use of clay, sods and post-and-wattle, often the only stone building in an area suitable for occupation by newly arrived settlers was the church. Richard Bartlett's drawing of Armagh circa 1600 depicts the ruins of the cathedral there as fortified with a bartizan projecting from the east wall. A pair of gun casements flank the south wall of a roofless chapel built against the south aisle of the nave. This appropriation of church buildings allowed English soldiers or settlers to establish relatively robust residences, conveniently and cheaply. This was an important consideration as one of the more frequent complaints by government officials was that grantees across Ireland often lacked the financial wherewithal to establish permanent residency on newly acquired properties.

Ownership of St. Mullin's in the early modern period

A number of years after the suppression of the monasteries in 1540, St. Mullin's along with its barony was granted to a planter family by the name of Colclough as part of the possessions belonging to a Cistercian foundation in county Wexford, Tintern Abbey. However, it appears that the Kavanaghs under Brian McCahir McArte Kavanagh retained control of the barony, which was granted to his father in 1539 on a number of conditions, including the obligation to construct a house in the area. It would be tempting to see St. Mullin's Abbey church being reused as a residence by the Kavanaghs sometime after this date, particularly in light of the fact that the church was originally provided with lodgings in the form of

vaulted accommodation over the chancel area. However the Colcloughs managed to remain at St. Mullin's itself, as in 1581 Anthony Colclough was commissioned to erect a strong fort at the site to hold a government garrison, which was maintained there until 1634.
Whether the residence was part of a Gaelic Irish estate centre or an English garrison, it is certainly beyond question that space considered hitherto as sacred was converted to more profane uses. The conversion of St. Mullin's Abbey church into a residence can be seen as symptomatic of the greater trends that were taking place in the Irish countryside, with medieval religious and secular polities being transformed by the expansive tendencies of the Tudor state.

Plate 1 View of St. Mullin's Abbey church sitting adjacent to Teampall Mór from the northeast.

The church as domestic residence

St. Mullin's Abbey is poorly preserved with only the north wall along with portions of the east and south walls now surviving. The original church consisted of a fifteenth-century nave and chancel building, built of roughly coursed granite rubble. High up, stretching along the internal north wall of the chancel, is the degraded spring of a vault, which originally supported first floor accommodation over the chancel area. A newel stairwell built into the north end of a partition wall between the chancel and nave allowed access to this first floor area from the chancel area (Plate 2 on page 7, Figure 1 on page 5). From the surviving remains it appears that the chancel was in effect a tower, with the nave extending westwards in a hall-like fashion. The basal remains of an earlier round tower (circa 1100 in date) abuts directly onto the southwest corner of the church (Plate 3 on page 8). This feature is built

of well-cut blocks of granite and was originally a free-standing structure with a doorway located well above ground floor level. Direct access between the round tower and the nave was via a small newel stairwell located in the thickness of the south nave wall.

Plate 2 The interior of the Abbey church from southeast. Note the spring of the vault that would have supported an accommodation floor over the chancel area. The remains of the newel stairwell leading to the first floor level can be seen in centre of photograph.

At some stage in the sixteenth century, whether after the 1539 grant to the Kavanaghs, or the 1581 commissioning of an English fort, the nave of the church was converted into domestic space with the insertion of a first floor and attic level. Corbels marking the first floor level, and joist holes indicating attic level are to be found in the remaining north and south walls (Plate 2 on page 7). A segmental-headed fireplace with cut granite quoin stones was inserted into the cross wall between the nave and chancel facing into the nave area (Plate 4 on page 9). The granite lintel of this fireplace is typical of examples found in tower houses and fortified houses of the early modern period. Such a large fireplace (2.48m in width and 1.44m in height) would typically heat the hall or principal room of contemporary houses, which suggests that the most important space in the converted church was located at ground floor level.

Many houses of the gentry in this period were provided with the three-fold configuration of hall, kitchen and parlour at ground floor level. Since the interior of the nave has been built up subsequently with grave interments it is not possible to ascertain the nature of room layout at ground floor level. However it is noteworthy that the only extant window in the nave is an original cusped ogee-headed window lighting the first floor level. While a first floor location for such a window is appropriate, the lack of fenestration for the ground floor is at odds with its interpretation as containing prin-

cipal rooms such as a hall, as evidenced by the provision of a fine fireplace. It could be argued that this fireplace served a kitchen instead, though the lack of accompanying ovens somewhat militates against this interpretation. The lack of extant evidence for ground floor windows may indicate a need for an extraordinary level of security. Even the most defensive basement levels of fortified houses were provided with small opes or gun loops, which would have allowed some degree of lighting. The round tower at the southwest corner of the church, if it survived to a substantial enough height could have been utilised as a flanking tower. This appropriation of round towers for defensive purposes by English settlers in the early modern period is not unknown as testified by the much-altered round tower at Dysert O'Dea in county Clare.

Plate 3 The interior of the Abbey church from southeast. The basal remains of an early medieval round tower can be seen abutting onto the southwest corner of the nave. The interior of the nave itself was converted into residential space by the insertion of a first floor and attic level as indicated by the rows of corbels and joist holes.

The new occupants, who transformed the nave into residential space, certainly could have appropriated the clergy's accommodation above the chancel. A roughly dressed granite door jamb is evident between the fireplace and the south wall of the church, which allowed access from the nave area into the chancel, where a newel stairwell allowed access into the accommodation above (Figure 1 on page 5). Oddly the chancel itself appears to have been left untouched as evidenced by the remaining granite altar table with its appurtenances such as piscina and sedile (Plate 5 on page 10). Vestiges of respect for such a sacred space and for the sanctity of the altar itself on behalf of the Kavanaghs or Colcloughs may have ensured the preservation of the altar. It was certainly practice in the late medieval period for the

wealthy to inter their relatives in close proximity to the altar so as to allow conferring of special blessings on the departed. With this in mind, it should be no surprise that the chancel was left unaffected by these alterations. However, the same Colcloughs felt no such constraints at Tintern, county Wexford, where they acquired a substantial Cistercian abbey in the sixteenth century. Here the belfry tower above the church crossing was converted to a house in its earliest phase of secular use, followed in a subsequent phase by an expansion into the chancel area, blocking medieval lancets and inserting floors lit by square hooded mullion and transom windows with segmental heads. In the same process, the Colcloughs or the Kavanghs at St. Mullin's could have first utilised the vaulted chamber over the chancel before extending into the nave of the church. A closer comparison of features such as fireplaces between the Carlow and Wexford sites may pay dividends.

Plate 4 Remains of a fireplace with its granite segmental lintel presently placed on the backwall of the fireplace. This fireplace is placed into the cross wall between the nave and chancel, facing into the nave area.

Conclusion

Despite the political and social transformations obvious in the transformation of St. Mullin's Abbey church into a residence, the site still continued as an important religious venue as testified by the numerous late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century headstones with rather attractive figural sculpture. The Kavanaghs maintained a significant presence in the locality as evidenced by their construction of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century mausoleum just to the south of the Abbey church. Of further interest is an unusual building adjacent to the mausoleum, which is provided with a western doorway, a fireplace in the north wall, and a niche, and an unusual diamond shaped window in its east wall (Figure 1 on

page 5). Regarded as no earlier than the seventeenth century, Con Manning suggests that the structure may indeed represent a penal period chapel, a remarkable building which encapsulates the survival of St. Mullin's as an important religious centre in an era of reform and confiscation.

Plate 5 Granite altar table overlooked by remains of two-light window in east wall.

Suggested reading

Ffrench, J.F.M. 1892 St. Mullin's, Co. Carlow. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **22**, 377–88.

Harbison, P. 1970 *Guide to the national monuments in the Republic of Ireland*. Dublin.

Manning, C. 1999 *St. Mullin's: an early ecclesiastical site and medieval settlement in County Carlow*. Archaeology Heritage Guide No. 5. Bray.

Manning, C. 1999 An early catholic church at St. Mullin's, Co. Carlow. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **129**, 132–35.

O'Leary, P. 1913 *St Mullin's illustrated: a local history and life of St Moling*. Graig-na-managh.

Notices of Recently Published Books

Bernadette Cunningham

George Petrie (1790–1866): the Rediscovery of Ireland's Past
Peter Murray
With essays by Joep Leerssen and Tom Dunne (Kinsale: Gandon Editions, for Crawford Municipal Gallery, Cork, 2004, 240p, ills, ISBN 0948037091, hbk, €35; ISBN 0948037105, pbk, €20).

George Petrie (1790–1866) is known as a painter, antiquarian, historian, scholar, academician, archaeologist, musicologist; the range of his achievements was immense. Petrie, together with John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, dominated the newly emergent field of Irish studies in the nineteenth century. As Peter Murray shows in this important book, Petrie's view of the Irish landscape is still with us, not only pictorially, but also iconographically. It was he who began to explore the Irish landscape for its evidence of the remnants of native cultural traditions and antiquities. For Petrie, the Irish landscape was more than just a sublime panoramic vista—it was filled with cultural resonances.

This lavishly illustrated book was published to coincide with a major exhibition of Petrie's work at the Crawford Municipal Gallery Cork, in Spring 2004 and subsequently at the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. It is much more than just an exhibition catalogue, containing an extensive analysis by Peter Murray of Petrie's artistic achievements; his involvement with engravers and publishers; his tours of the west of Ireland; his role in the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Hibernian Academy and the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The book also includes an essay by Joep Leerssen on 'Petrie: polymath and innovator', and one by Tom Dunne on Petrie's two versions of 'The last circuit of pilgrims at Clonmacnoise'.

Navan Fort: Archaeology and Myth
Chris Lynn
(Bray: Wordwell: 2003, xii, 131p, ills, ISBN 1869857674, hbk, €25).

The site of the legendary and 'far-famed' Emain Macha (now known as Navan Fort) has been known from before the beginning of Irish history, and it is recognised as Ulster's most significant prehistoric site. In the myths and legends of the Ulaid, Emain is portrayed as a royal headquarters, the capital of a warlike aristocracy and a place of assembly for the people occupying the northern part of Ireland. This illustrated book offers a synthesis of the results of forty years of excavation and research at Navan Fort, presented as a lively personal account of the author's first hand experience of working on the site.

Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Anngret Simms
Edited by Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy
(Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004, xxxii, 802p, ills, ISBN 0906602424, hbk, €50).

This impressive new collection of thirty-one essays on Irish geography, historical geography and history will be of particular interest to members of the *Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement*. Presented to Anngret Simms, a former President and now honorary Vice President of the *Group*, in honour of her outstanding contribution to promoting the study of Irish geography in its historical context, it touches on an extraordinarily wide range of topics. In chronological terms the topics range from the end of prehistory to the twentieth century, and there is a good balance between urban and rural themes. Settlement issues are a particular feature of the essays by Tadhg O'Keeffe on 'Space, place, habitus: geographies of practice in an Anglo-Norman landscape'; Mark Hennessy on 'Manorial agriculture and settlement in early fourteenth-century Co. Tipperary'; Raymond Gillespie on 'Small worlds: settlement and society in the royal manors of sixteenth-century Dublin'; Kevin Whelan on 'Reading the ruins: the presence of absence in the Irish landscape'; and Patrick J. Duffy on 'Unwritten landscapes: reflections on minor place-names and sense of place in the Irish countryside'.

Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641–1770
Toby Barnard
(New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004, xxii, 497p, ills, ISBN 0300103093 hbk, Stg £30, €42.50 approx.)

Making the Grand Figure presents an innovative investigation of the material culture of the peoples of Ireland, both rural and urban, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Buildings, parks and gardens are among the great variety of possessions that come under close scrutiny in this volume. Barnard presents a wealth of new evidence and a sophisticated analysis of life, lifestyle, and environment in Stuart and Hanoverian Ireland.

Byrne's Dictionary of Irish Local History, from Earliest Times to c. 1900
Joseph Byrne
(Cork: Mercier Press, 2004, 350p, ISBN 1856354237, pbk, €20)

This reference book is designed to answer many of the technical questions that confront Irish historians and historical geographers in the course of their researches. What was a copyholder? a cartron? a carucate? a pinfold? a pipe roll? a portioner? a pracas? a purlieu? How long was an Irish perch? Byrne offers concise, well-informed explanations for about 2,000 terms with a particular emphasis on land law, administrative structures, parliament and the courts, religion, political movements, architecture and archaeology.

To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes, c. 1600–2000
Edited by Patrick J. Duffy with the assistance of Gerard Moran
(Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004, vi, 203p, ills, ISBN 0906602378, pbk, €20)

The essays in this collective volume look at the way in which migration of groups of people was managed and facilitated by a variety of agencies in Ireland since 1600. The state and other agencies such as landowners or philanthropists tried to 'engineer' migration so that more desirable social and economic outcomes might be achieved. Topics include migrations from Ireland to Spain and to north America, and internal planned migration of communities from the west of Ireland to mid Leinster. Of particular interest to settlement historians are Thomas Power's 'The Palmerston estate in County Sligo: improvement and assisted emigration before 1850' and the essay on 'State-sponsored migrations to the east midlands in the twentieth century', jointly written by Martin Whelan, William Nolan and Patrick J. Duffy. The eight essays in this collection were originally presented at a conference on migration hosted by the Airfield Trust, Dundrum, Dublin, in September 2000.

'The Land for the People': the Land Question in Independent Ireland
Terence Dooley
(Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2004, ills, xii, 306p, ISBN 1904558143, hbk, Stg £39.50, €58.50; ISBN 1904558151, pbk, €25)

Drawing on a wide variety of little-used sources, this book draws attention to the continuing importance of the land question in Ireland since 1922. The Land Commission became the most important and controversial government body operating in Independent Ireland. Dooley explores its significance for Irish rural life, concluding that its influence was matched only by that of the Catholic Church. The Commission was an agent of social engineering, compulsorily acquiring lands from traditional landlords, large farmers, graziers and negligent farmers and passing them on to smallholders, ex-employees of acquired estates, evicted tenants and their representatives, members of the pre-Truce IRA and the landless. It migrated almost 14,500 farmers onto lands totalling almost 400,000 acres. Continuing the story up to the time of Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community in 1973, Dooley provides evidence of successive governments manipulating land reform for political purposes, through the twentieth century.

The Heart's Townland: Marking Boundaries in Ulster
Edited by Brian S. Turner
(Downpatrick: Ulster Local History Trust in association with The Cavan-Monaghan Rural Development Co-Operative Society, 2004, 128p, ills, ISBN 095428321X, pbk, €12, Stg £8)

This book presents the proceedings of an Ulster Local History Trust conference held in Monaghan in 2003. The theme is defining space in Ireland, taking as a starting point the thousand year old townland system. Within the context of the changes being introduced by urbanisation both in geography and in the mind, the participants consider both physical and psychological boundaries; where they are, how they have been created, and what they mean. Contributors include Patrick Loughrey, Patrick J. Duffy, Cahal Dallat, Myrtle Hill, Stan Brown, Tess Maginess, Bryan Gallagher, Eugene McCabe, Annesley Malley, Wendy Swan, Emer Ní Cheallaigh, Patrick McKay, Brian Lambkin, Patrick Fitzgerald, Jack Johnston, John B. Cunningham and Bryonie Reid.

Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship & Settlement
Edited by Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 454p, ISBN 1851828001, pbk, €29.95)

This important collection of essays, published to critical acclaim in hardback in 2001, has now been issued in paperback at a very reasonable price. The seventeen essays in the volume explore many aspects of the Gaelic cultural landscapes of medieval Ireland. They are grouped in three categories: 'the lordships: political structure and social organization' with essays by David Edwards, Simon Kingston, Patrick J. Duffy and Fiona Fitzsimons; 'the natural and built environment: some documentary and scientific records' with essays by John H. Andrews, K.W. Nicholls, Valerie A. Hall and Lynda Bunting, Nollaig Ó Muraíle and Katharine Simms; and 'settlement studies: the architectural and archaeological record', with essays by Rolf Loeber, Colm J. Donnelly, Kieran D. O'Conor, Thomas E. McNeill, Elizabeth FitzPatrick, Audrey J. Horning, Aidan O'Sullivan and Colin Breen. Most of the essays in the volume were originally presented at a special the-

matic conference on Gaelic lordship society hosted by the *Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement*, and held at All Hallows College, Dublin.

Maps and Map-making in Local History
Jacinta Prunty
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 352p, ills, ISBN 1851828702, hbk, €60; ISBN 1851826998, pbk, €24.95)

This book aims to introduce the local history practitioner to the world of maps. Jacinta Prunty explores the special character (and appeal) of maps as an historical source, discussing why they are invaluable in local history research, and drawing attention to questions that must be addressed when using maps as sources. Building on the pioneering work of J.H. Andrews, the historical background to map creation in Ireland is outlined, with details on the major classes of cartographic and associated material and the repositories where they may now be found. The Plantation series, travel and county maps, maps as part of published reports and journals, military mapping, estate and property mapping, and maritime maps, historic Ordnance Survey and Valuation Office maps, and more recent OS mapping, including the 1:50,000 Discovery series, are discussed. There is a section on essential map reading skills, including basic issues such as scale, representation, and accuracy, to assist the researcher to explore this coded world. Step-by-step guidance for starting out to locate maps relevant to one's study area is provided. Guidelines for map-making are also included.

Enclosing the Commons: Dalkey, the Sugar Loaves and Bray, 1820–70
Liam Clare
(Maynooth Studies in Local History) (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 64p, ills, ISBN 1851828184, €9.95)

Enclosing commonage means more than land clearances and personal traumas; it is a complex process spanning a millennium. This book examines the origin and concept of commonage and its subsequent enclosure by grasping landlords, desperate squatters and land speculators. Vignettes of events in County Dublin illustrate the process within different contexts, as do longer case studies of Dalkey Commons with its squatters and land speculators, the Big Sugar Loaf with anti-enclosure riots, the Little Sugar Loaf with individual small encroachments, and Bray where Commissioners organised a rejuvenated environment.

The Land Movement in Tullaroan, Co. Kilkenny, 1879–91
Edward Kennedy
(Maynooth Studies in Local History) (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 64p, ills, ISBN 1851828192, €9.95)

In this book the rich seam of information provided by the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers and the Kilkenny newspapers for the years 1879–91 are used by Edward Kennedy to show how this rural parish embraced the ideas and organizational principles of a succession of agrarian/political movements. The focus is removed from prominent national leaders and placed on the local people who joined the Land League, the Ladies' Land League and the Irish National League. The emphasis is on the relationships between the local leaders, their friends, neighbours and protagonists and how these relationships changed over twelve tumultuous years.

The Hook Peninsula, County Wexford
Billy Colfer
(Irish Rural Landscapes) (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004, 260p, ills, ISBN 1859183786, hbk, €40)

This is a lavishly illustrated guide to the history, landscape and cultural heritage of the Hook Peninsula in County Wexford. The peninsula, and the harbour it protects, has been a gateway to south-east Ireland for successive waves of newcomers, including the Vikings, Anglo Normans and the English. The book also depicts the larger area between the estuaries of Waterford Harbour and Bannow Bay. Billy Colfer demonstrates how landscape and environment fundamentally affected the development of the region, illustrating the way in which natural resources, on land and sea, influenced the selection, nature and development of population centres as well as the occupations and lifestyles of the inhabitants.

Fairs and Markets of Ireland: a Cultural Geography
Patrick J. O'Connor
(Newcastle West: Oireacht na Mumhan Books, [2003], 158p, ills, ISBN 0953389634, hbk, €30)

Patrick O'Connor offers an ambitious synthesis of recent research on Irish fairs and markets, ranging in time from the early Christian period to the mid-twentieth century. The volume has a special emphasis on the nineteenth century. It is illustrated with maps and photographs and draws on a diverse range of personal memoirs in addition to the more usual sources.

Georgian Belfast, 1750–1850: Maps, Buildings and Trades
C.E.B. Brett with contributions by Raymond Gillespie and W.A. Maguire
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy (Irish Historic Towns Atlas) and Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, 2004, 88p, ills, ISBN 1904890024 hbk, €65, Stg £45)

C.E.B. Brett annotated the Incumbered Estates Court maps for Belfast incorporating details from the leases of the Donegall family. The annotated maps have been known to scholars for some time but not extensively used and this publication draws attention to this unique documentation of the town of Belfast. The volume comprises 28 maps in colour; an historical introduction to relations between the town and the Donegall family by W.A. Maguire; an account of the maps, leases and Incumbered Estates Court by C.E.B. Brett; commentaries on the maps by Raymond Gillespie; and a directory by C.E.B. Brett to the tradespeople mentioned in the leases.

A New History of Ireland, VII: Ireland 1921–1984
Edited by J.R. Hill
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, lxxxiii, 1057p, plates, ISBN 0198217528, hbk, Stg £125)

The core of this final narrative volume of the 'New History' is the political narrative which occupies fourteen chapters, but as in earlier volumes in the series, space is also devoted to the historical geography of the island of Ireland. Thus, chapter three, by Desmond Gillmor has as its title 'Land and people, c. 1926', (pp 62–85), while the same author also contributes chapter sixteen, entitled 'Land and people, c. 1983' (pp 426–51). Among the themes dealt with by Gillmor are rural population, settlement and land use, farming, manufacturing, transport, energy, tourism, population change, urbanisation, migration and emigration, housing conditions and regional diversity. The topics of land use and population change are illustrated in a series of accompanying maps. Also of interest to social historians and students of settlement history is J.J. Sexton's chapter in the same volume on 'Emigration and immigration in the twentieth century: an overview' (pp 796–825).

Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1150–1650: Essays for Kenneth Nicholls
David Edwards
(Cork Studies in Irish History) (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, 288p, ISBN 1851827420, hbk, €55)

The fourteen essays in this volume are published to honour the contribution of Kenneth Nicholls to the study of late medieval Irish society. Settlement historians will be particularly interested in the contributions by Seán Duffy on 'The lords of Galloway, earls of Carrick, and the Bissetts of the Glens: Scottish settlement in thirteenth-century Ulster'; David Edwards and Adrian Empey on 'Tipperary liberty ordinances of the "Black" earl of Ormond'; Elizabeth FitzPatrick on 'Parley sites of Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill in late sixteenth-century Ireland'; and Paul McCotter on 'The Geraldine clerical lineages of Imokilly and Sir John fitz Edmund of Cloyne'. The collection also includes essays by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Conleth Manning, Katharine Simms, David Sellar, Fiona Fitzsimons, Jerrold Casway, Bernadette Cunningham, Ciaran Brady, and Bríd McGrath. A bibliography listing 106 publications of Kenneth Nicholls, spanning the years 1967 to 2004, is also provided.

Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison
Colum Hourihane
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, xix, 310p, ills, ISBN 1851828478, hbk, €55)

The focus of this volume, in honour of Peter Harbison, is Irish art history, and it includes a selection of essays on manuscripts, book shrines, reliquaries and brooches, by Lawrence Nees, Niamh Whitfield, Michael Ryan, Paul Mullarkey and Griffin Murray. The volume is richly illustrated throughout and includes drawings by Louis le Brocquy and Imogen Stuart. Among the authors adopting an architectural approach are Roger Stalley in his discussion of the Cistercian church at Corcomroe and Patrick Wallace on the restoration of the tower house at Ballyportry, also in County Clare. John Bradley discusses the funeral monuments in St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, and there is also a collaborative article by Mary Cahill, Aideen Ireland and Raghnall Ó Floinn on James Carruthers, a mid nineteenth-century Belfast antiquarian.

Encylopedia of Irish History and Culture
Edited by James S. Donnelly, Jr. Associate editors Karl S. Bottigheimer, Mary E. Daly, James E. Doan, and David W. Miller
(Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, an imprint of Thomson Gale, 2 vols, ills, ISBN 0028659023, $240) (Also available from Thomson Gale as an ebook ISBN 0028659899)

This encyclopedia was designed as a basic source of reference on Irish history and culture for the 'educated lay public' interested in Ireland. Rather than focussing on personalities the approach here has been to produce essays that discuss long-term developments in Irish history and culture. The outcome is a series of articles on historical geography and social history well worthy of notice. 'Landscape and settlement' is the subject of an extended essay by Patrick J. Duffy, who also writes on 'rural settlement and field systems'; 'Land settlements from 1500 to 1690' are discussed by David Finegan; 'Agriculture' is given extensive treatment with essays by K.W. Nicholls on the period 1500–1690, Martin Dowling on the years 1690 to 1845, Michael Turner on the period 1845–1921, and Alan Matthews on the twentieth century. Related essays are also provided on 'Land Questions' by Philip Bull, 'Migration' by Kerby Miller, Enda Delaney and Anne O'Dowd, 'Population, economy and society from 1750 to 1950' by Liam Kennedy, 'Rural life' by W.A. Maguire and David Fitz-

patrick, 'Subdivision and Subletting of holdings' by W.A. Maguire, and 'Tenant right or Ulster Custom' by Martin J. Dowling. Though intended primarily for use in a North American context, the Encyclopedia of Irish History and Culture has much to offer settlement historians and other readers closer to home.

Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 13, Fethard
Tadhg O'Keeffe
Edited by Anngret Simms, Howard Clarke and Raymond Gillespie
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2003, 12 pages of maps and plates and 12 pages of text, ISBN 0954385578 pbk €30)

The maps published in this volume include two early eighteenth-century maps by Redmond Grace followed by Steile and Swiney from 1752 and 1763 respectively which trace the town's growth for that period; an estate map of 1845 based on the Ordnance Survey; a new colour reconstruction map of the town in 1840; two Ordnance Survey maps showing Fethard in its surroundings and the modern town; and a number of smaller black and white maps. The topographical information section lists historical and archaeological details of over 380 sites. Tadhg O'Keeffe's introductory essay outlines the development of the town to 1900.

Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 14, Trim
Mark Hennessy
Edited by Anngret Simms, Howard Clarke and Raymond Gillespie
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2004, 12 pages of maps and plates; 16 pages of text, ISBN 1904890016, pbk €30)

The latest volume to be published in the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series contains an introductory essay by Mark Hennessy tracing the development of Trim to 1900 together with a detailed topographical information section that lists historical and archaeological details of over 440 sites. The maps published in this volume include a Down Survey map (1655); a map showing Trim parsonage (1747); a map showing ownership of the town in 1770; two maps showing the Manor of Trim in 1781 and 1816; a large colour reconstruction of the town c. 1836; two Ordnance Survey maps showing Trim in its surroundings and the modern town; and a number of smaller black and white maps, which illustrate the discussion presented in the text.

Avenues to the Past: Essays Presented to Sir Charles Brett on his 75th Year
Edited by Terence Reeves-Smyth and Richard Oram
(Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2003, 365p, ills, ISBN 0900457600, hbk, Stg £16)

This handsomely illustrated book contains 26 essays on historic buildings and their conservation, architectural history, architects, garden history and the history of art. The Festschrift also includes a select bibliography of the works of C.E.B. Brett.

Ireland's Round Towers: Buildings, Rituals and Landscapes of the Early Irish Church
Tadhg O'Keeffe
(Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2004, 159p, ills, ISBN 0752425714 pbk, €20).

The book explores the towers' qualities as works of architecture and examines their relationships with other buildings at the sites on which they stand. The author adopts a theoretical approach and suggests how the towers might have been employed in ceremonies and other ritualised activities of the Viking age church in Ireland.

Goodly Barrow: a Voyage on an Irish River
T.F. O'Sullivan
(Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2001 [Originally published Dublin: Ward River Press, 1983], 268p, ills, ISBN 1901866777, pbk, €19.99).

A classic work, recently reissued, O'Sullivan's charming book charts the history and character of Ireland's second-longest river, from the Slieve Bloom mountains to the sea in Waterford. This riverine narrative embraces legend and song, literature and anecdote, viewing Irish history through the prism of the waterway: from the early tribal kingdoms of the Celts, to the Vikings and Normans who made passage up the estuary, leaving a legacy of castles, abbeys, monasteries and towns; from the Tudor and Cromwellian settlements on the fertile plains of Carlow and Kildare, to Quaker bridge-builders and Huguenot refugees. It opens up a little-known part of Ireland's countryside and heritage.

Gothic Art in Ireland, 1169–1550: Enduring Vitality
Colum Hourihane
(New Haven & London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2003, x, 187p, ills, ISBN 0300094353, hbk, €67.15)

Brought to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans and religious reform movements, the Gothic style was adopted and adapted locally, first appearing in monastic architecture and subsequently in the other arts including sculpture, metalwork, manuscripts and frescoes. This book looks at what survives of this style in Ireland, the influences that led to its unique qualities and the role that it played in the changing socio-political situation for nearly three hun-

dred years. Hourihane brings to light previously unknown material and demonstrates how Gothic art became firmly rooted thorughout Irish society, under the auspices of the Church at first, and later in secular Ireland.

Medieval Dublin, V: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2003
Edited by Seán Duffy
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, ills, 301p, ills, ISBN 185182801X, hbk, €55; 1851828028 pbk, €24.95)

This fifth volume in Duffy's valuable series on Medieval Dublin presents a selection of essays on medieval architectural and cultural history, together with reports on four recent major archaeological excavations in the city. Two of the excavated sites are close to the site of the original Dubh Linn or 'black pool', where the Vikings first established themselves, and two from Dublin north of the river Liffey, one exposing something of the origins of the pre-Norman parish of St Michan's and the other revealing the development of the north Liffey quays in the Anglo-Norman era. Two papers deal with the hinterland of Dublin: Emmett O'Byrne on ethnic relations in the south of the county and beyond in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman invasion, and Michael O'Neill on the way in which the architecture of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin influenced the design of the medieval parish churches of the Pale. Aspects of Dublin's cultural and social history are explored in essays by Alan J. Fletcher, and Raymond Gillespie, and Pádraig Ó Riain.

Cavan: Essays on the History of an Irish County
Edited by Raymond Gillespie
(Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2004, 240p, ills, ISBN 0716533316, hbk, €45, ISBN 0716533324, pbk, €25, Stg £18.50)

This volume of essays on the history of County Cavan, first published in 1995, has now been reissued by Irish Academic Press. The original essays are un-revised, but the preface to the new edition contains a historiographical essay by Raymond Gillespie which draws attention to new research on the county published over the past ten years. Special mention should perhaps be made of P.J. Duffy's seminal essay in this volume, 'Perspectives on the making of the Cavan landscape', which explores a range of cultural and economic processes that impacted on the settlement history of Cavan, and is recommended reading for all interested in the Irish historic landscape.

The Quaker Meeting Houses of Ireland: an Account of the some 150 Meeting Houses and 100 Burial Grounds in Ireland from the Arrival of the Movement in 1654 to the Present Time and a Guide to Sources
Text and drawings by David M. Butler
(Dublin: Irish Friends Historical Committee, 2004, ills, 256p. ISBN 0951987062, hbk, Stg £18, €25)

This well-illustrated book presents an outline of the history and appearance of every Quaker meeting house in Ireland from 1654 to the present. The text is accompanied by David Butler's distinctive plans, sketches and location maps. An account of all the known Quaker burial grounds in included, together with notes on the schools and missions associated with each meeting house. The author's earlier work on Quaker meeting houses in Great Britain was published in 1999.

The Cries of Dublin: Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760
Edited by William Laffan, with contributions by T.C. Barnard, Anne Crookshank, Desmond Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, William Laffan, Joseph McDonnell, Brendan Rooney, Sean Shesgreen
(Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003, ills, 205p, hbk, €40; ISBN 0954569113, pbk, €25)

The recent discovery in Australia of an album of hitherto unknown drawings by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740–1808) caused a sensation in Irish historical and art historical circles. The album is unique in eighteenth-century Irish art because of its realistic depiction of the most humble citizens of Dublin, the hawkers who made their living on the streets of the capital. Almost entirely ignored in the art of the period, the urban poor are here depicted going about their daily lives. Sixty-six drawings are published for the first time in this book. The collection also includes essays by an international team of scholars exploring the images from historical, economic, stylistic and iconographical perspectives.

The Land and People of County Meath, 1750–1850
Peter Connell
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004, ills, 266p, 1851826211, hbk, €55)

This book traces the impact on County Meath of the dramatic growth in the Irish population at a time when the Irish economy was being transformed under the influence of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Long characterized as a rich county, of extensive sparsely populated grasslands, dominated by strong farmers involved in the fattening of beef cattle, the picture of Meath that emerges here is a more complex one. Drawing on the evidence of estate records and the surviving manuscript census of 1821 for Navan, the book explores the relative position of the different classes in rural society. The census captures, in striking detail, the ordinary lives of the people of the town at a critical time in its history. Connell provides evidence

that by the 1840s a large proportion of the population had been marginalized by changes in the economy, by the decline in the domestic linen industry and by the growing demand for land. The Great Famine is set in this context and portrayed as the denouement of Meath's landless labourers and cottiers. The geography of the thousands of mud cabins that disappeared from the landscape in these years is explored as a lost, and largely forgotten, generation that succumbed to the workhouse, death and emigration.

News

The Galway Excavations Project
Elizabeth FitzPatrick

The Galway Excavations Project (GEP), funded by the Heritage Council, was established in 1998 in order to publish the results of 79 licensed archaeological investigations conducted in Galway city between 1987 and 1998. A fuller report of this project was included in the last issue of the Newsletter. The publication of *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City 1987–1998* edited by E. FitzPatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh is now available. The publication has been generously supported by the Heritage Council, Galway City Corporation and the former Dúchas office.
(Wordwell Books, Bray, ISBN 1869857763 €90.00.)

The Manor in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland
James Lyttleton and Tadhg O'Keeffe editors

The Group, in association with Four Courts Press, was delighted to announce the addition of a new title to its series of 'ground breaking' publications in the last issue of the Newsletter. It is now in print. This publication brings together new and exciting research carried out by recent graduates from universities across Ireland. The various chapters look at aspects of the manorial system from a multidisciplinary perspective utilising archaeological, historical, geographical and geophysical approaches. Mark Keegan tackles issues relating to the archaeology of thirteenth-century manorial settlement in west Limerick. Linda Shine traces the development of the manor of Earlstown in the heart of Anglo-Norman Kilkenny. Matthew Seaver presents a view of manorial boroughs in the Meath lordship utilising critical theory. Sinead Armstrong-Anthony analyses the development of Monasteroris, County Offaly from its role as a manorial centre in the thirteenth century to a plantation estate in the seventeenth century. Brian Shanahan presents an account of the manor in Wicklow from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries spanning both sides of the 'Gaelic Revival'. William Roulston provides an account of castles, towns, villages and rural settlement in the barony of Strabane, County Tyrone in the context of landownership change in the seventeenth century. Brian Graham and Tadhg O'Keeffe, as recognised leading scholars in the field of medieval settlement in Ireland, provide in their foreword and afterword respectively, a critique of research over the last few decades and a call for the advancement of scholarly endeavour in this area.
(Four Courts Press, ISBN 1-85182-746-3, hbk, €50 / £45 / $50.)

Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c. 1100–1600. A Cultural Landscape Study
Elizabeth FitzPatrick
Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004, 328p, ills, ISBN 1843830906, hbk, Stg £40

This is a major publication by a leading member of our *Group*. Much has been written about kingship in early and medieval Ireland but very little about the places associated with kingship and especially about the places of inauguration. This is a solid and innovative contribution to this very important area of scholarship. Dr FitzPatrick begins with the ceremony of royal inauguration. In this she deals with the royal regalia and the inauguration rites. She then examines the landscape in the light of placename and written evidence. She brings her archaeological expertise to bear on an examination of mounds, hills of stones and mottes associated with kingship. Chapter 3 deals with the stones (*leaca*) upon which kings are said to have stood and the motif of the rite of the single shoe. Chairs associated with inauguration are examined. The role and influence of the Church in relation to kingship are considered particularly in light of the twelfth-century reform of the Church. Finally the last two chapters deal with the keepers of the mounds and the landholding associated with the office and the end of the tradition. This book has been meticulously researched and is a rich quarry. Although the focus is on the high and later middle ages Dr FitzPatrick does not hesitate to look to the distant past, and where necessary to parallels elsewhere. Her work is thoughtful and frequently provocative in the best scholarly sense. The work is richly illustrated. As a member of the *Group for Irish Historic Settlement* she has shown the great value of interdisciplinary settlement studies. She has read the landscape as a document alongside the evidence of the literary sources and all who read her book cannot travel throughout Ireland without an awareness of that rich dynamic layer that she has brought to life and revealed. This very important book will be given more detailed consideration in the next issue of this Newsletter.

Upcoming Events

Comhdháil ar an Rúraíocht Maigh Nuad
24–27 Meitheamh 2005
Conference on the Ulster Cycle
24–27 June 2005
National University of Ireland, Maynooth

This international conference devoted to the Ulster Cycle of tales will be held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Co. Kildare. The conference will be hosted by the University's Departments of Modern Irish and Old- and Middle Irish. In addition to the academic programme, a number of social events are planned, including a tour to some sites associated with the Ulster Cycle. For details contact **Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, NUI Maynooth, Maynooth, Co. Kildare or E-mail: nua.ghaeilge@may.ie Tel: 353-1-7083666**

Nineteenth Irish Conference of Medievalists
23–26 June 2005
St Kieran's College, Kilkenny

Lectures will be given on archaeological, historical, literary, liturgical, musical, linguistic and onomastic topics. There will be a reception; a tour of St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny; Annual Dinner; and a field trip to medieval Waterford. There is also a Summer School for Beginners in Old Irish from 13–22 June also in St Kieran's College. Enquiries should be sent to **Dr Catherine Swift, c/o Dept of Modern History, NUI Maynooth, Co. Kildare.** Further details (including download of registration forms) may be found on **http://www.nuim.ie/kilkenny/ICM2005.shtml**

Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group

Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

CONFERENCE

The Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG) in conjunction with the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, is holding its 6th Annual Conference on 24th - 26th February 2006 in Boole 1, University College Cork.

The theme for this conference is:

Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550-c.1700

This conference will serve to highlight the significant role that settlement and materiality has played in the transformation of Irish society. Material culture in the form of artefacts, architecture, grave memorials, as well as documentary sources such as maps, inventories and treatises can provide a perceptive commentary on the lives of people who lived in a society that was undergoing a fundamental change from medieval lordship to capitalism and centralised state authority. Contributions from a multi-disciplinary perspective (archaeology, history and historical geography) will help to realign the study of settlement and material culture as essential to our understanding of how society in Ireland was transformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

For more details of the 2006 IPMAG conference please contact:

James Lyttleton (jilyttleton@hotmail.com)
Tracy Collins (t.collins@ucc.ie)
www.science.ulster.ac.uk/crg/ipmag

Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c. 1550–c. 1700—what is it all about?

Compiled by James Lyttleton
Department of Archaeology
University College Cork

IPMAG in conjunction with the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement is hosting a conference that will serve to highlight the significant role that settlement and materiality has played in the transformation of Irish society. Material culture in the form of artefacts, architecture, grave memorials, as well as documentary sources such as maps, inventories and treatises can provide a perceptive commentary on the lives of people who lived in a society that was undergoing fundamental changes from medieval lordship to capitalism and centralised state authority. Material culture is a form of expression that not only mediated but also controlled the expression of social mores and identities. This conference with contributions from a multi-disciplinary perspective (archaeology, history and historical geography) seeks to realign the study of settlement and material culture as essential to our understanding of how society in Ireland was transformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A number of speakers from various academic institutions both home and abroad have been invited to give their insights into the challenges met by early modern society in Ireland.

Professor Raymond Gillespie of the Department of Modern History, NUI Maynooth, who has been a doyen of studies in the sphere of colonisation and religion will open the conference. It is envisaged that the event will be followed by the publication of a conference proceedings on the lines similar to the example set by the thematic monograph published a number of years ago by the **GSIHS**, *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650, land, lordship and settlement* edited by Patrick Duffy, Dave Edwards and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick.

Terence Reeves-Smyth of the Environment and Heritage Service of Northern Ireland in his paper on *Ireland's 'Great Rebuilding' and the Revolution in Domestic Architecture 1610–1640* will be arguing that early seventeenth-century architectural developments in the country can be equated with Hoskin's famous thesis. This will involve a consideration of the unprecedented building programme of the era, the new forms of architecture emerging and the reasons why.

Sharon Weadick of the Department of Medieval History, Trinity College, Dublin will discuss *How popular were fortified houses in Irish building history? —a look at numbers and distribution*.

Kenneth Nicholls will present a paper the title of which has yet to be decided.

James Lyttleton, an IRCHSS doctoral student from the Department of Archaeology, in University College Cork in his presentation entitled *Faith of our fathers: the Gaelic aristocracy and the Counter-Reformation* will be looking at how the native aristocracy in the midlands contended with the changing cultural and political environment of the time with reference to the persistence and display of Catholic worship. Such activities were taking place in lordships that, by the 1620s, had experienced plantation and assimilation into a new shire by the name of King's County. Despite the general decline in the fortunes of the native nobility, certain families were able to maintain their preeminence in local society as illustrated by their continued patronage of church buildings, the donation of communion chalices, and the erection of memorials, plaques, and statues. These acts of munificence in a contested spiritual and physical arena suggests that evasion and compromise were aspects of life in Plantation Ireland, and as such, offers researchers an invalu-

able insight into relations between natives and colonists at a local level.

Harold Mytum of the Department of Archaeology, University of York in his talk entitled *Archaeological perspectives on external mortuary monuments of Plantation Ireland* examines graveyard commemoration in Ireland, and compares them with contemporary forms in Britain. Results from site surveys in west Ulster will be set in a wider comparative light, examining the role of heraldry and trade symbols on the one hand, and the varied emphases in inscription content on the other. The extent to which existing social, ideological and material structures were merely transferred to the plantation context is to be considered through this data. Likewise, any innovations prompted by this different set of contexts are also to be highlighted. Whilst seventeenth-century monuments are not numerous, they are widely spread. They created a set of expectations regarding the form and content of a graveyard monument that had an important influence on the development of memorials leading up to the graveyard boom in the eighteenth century.

Clodagh Tait from the Department of History, University of Essex, in her paper *Relics and the past: the material culture of Catholic Martyrdom in Ireland* intends to look at the relics of clerics and laypeople who died as martyrs for Catholicism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland, comprising both their physical remains and items associated with them. Landscapes and buildings linked with the martyrs will also be considered. As items with very special resonances for Catholics (attracting new interest at intervals quite recently—especially when Oliver Plunkett was canonised in 1975, and a group of other candidates were beatified in 1992), these bodies, possessions and places are both relics of the past and relics for the present.

Rolf Loeber of the University of Pittsburgh in his *Biblical and Roman Signposts to the Colonization of Ulster* considers an unpublished document from around 1608 laying out a strategy for the Ulster plantation based on biblical and Roman examples. Past studies on Irish plantations has focused on classical texts—often of Roman or Machiavellian origin—that provided templates for Irish colonization. However, in comparison the bible was a much more widely read source, which also provided accounts of successful colonial ventures. The document of around 1608 highlights the successful arrival from Egypt and subsequent settlement of the Jews in the land of Canaan under Moses and Joshua. It also provides examples from Roman history of successful and unsuccessful colonisation strategies. Although unsigned, the document is very likely from the hand of Sir John Davies, who became one of the principal architects of the Ulster plantation, acquiring a large estate there in the process. An examination of this document shows that many of the eventual steps taken to create the Ulster plantation such as patterns of confiscation, the relocation of natives, the lottery of lands for the new settlers, and the measurement survey of the lands, were formulated on the basis of biblical and Roman examples articulated in this document.

Dr Annaleigh Margey, is an IRCHSS Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Department of Geography in Trinity College, Dublin and will be exploring the role of maps in the Ulster plantation. In the later half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, mapping in Ulster began apace, as the English Crown and government struggled to visualise unknown lands. As a result, a wide range of maps and map types exist for Ulster. It is this dynamic nature of mapping in the province that will form much of the analysis. Specific reference will be made to five major map genres—preliminary maps of the province, particularly those of the early lordship geography; military mapping; political mapping that sought to portray the emerging political geography of the province in the 1590s; plantation mapping, encompassing three phases: the claiming of property to the Crown, the assigning of lands to grantees, and the performance of grantees; and estate

mapping, with reference to the Clandeboye estate in Cos. Down and Antrim.

Diarmuid Ó Seaneacháin, an IRCHSS doctoral student in the Department of Archaeology, NUI Galway will be considering the transatlantic dimension and how the Irish colonial experience is placed within it. In 1607, at around the time the Flight of the Earls heralded the beginning of concerted English plantation settlement in Ulster, the first permanent English colony in the New World was established at James Fort, Virginia. This small bridgehead of English settlement subsequently expanded into Jamestown, which served as the capital of Virginia until the end of the seventeenth century. Excavations carried out by the Jamestown Rediscovery project since 1994 have recovered a wide range of seventeenth-century artefacts, from pipe stems to Bartmann jugs and from household nails to suits of armour. These artefacts can reveal a great deal about the everyday lives of the people who used them. However, the analysis of these objects has relevance not only in North America, but also on this side of the Atlantic. At least some of the early seventeenth-century inhabitants of Jamestown had served in Ireland during the Nine Years War. Furthermore, a number of the members of the Virginia Company chose to settle in Ulster rather than the New World. Since the same type of clients undertook to settle either Virginia or Ulster in the early seventeenth century, there is an expectation that attributes of their material culture may be shared on both sides of the Atlantic. This paper explores the comparability of plantation material culture in Virginia and Ulster.

Colin Breen of the Centre for Maritime Archaeology in the University of Ulster in Coleraine will examine the seventeenth-century archaeologies in the southwest of Ireland. Historical studies of the century have tended to concentrate on the macro-political aspects of the period and the decades of conflict associated with shifting aspirations to power and religious tension. Archaeological studies of the century have largely concentrated on the physical process of plantation with Ulster receiving particular attention. Munster has been the subject to less specific period-driven research, yet its landscape and social structures were subject to significant change at this time. This paper will attempt to review aspects of existing archaeological evidence for the southwest and try and develop a number of themes which are emergent in this area of study. Greater analysis of the urban process at the larger town sites is important while also addressing the archaeologies of smaller-scale settlement sites across the province. Shifting paradigms will address the scales of economic relations and the mechanisms for the generation of capital in a physical and material sense. Interactions and interconnections between the created web of social relationships also needs to be addressed in the context of settler, visitor and existing community.

Colin Rynne lectures in early modern and industrial archaeology in the Department of Archaeology, University College Cork and will be presenting a paper on *The social archaeology of iron-working in seventeenth century Munster*. During the seventeenth century, Irish ironmasters were obliged to provide, in varying degrees, accommodation, land and a basic social infrastructure for their skilled workers. These latter measures were largely an inducement to attract the requisite personnel from English—and even European—iron-working regions to settle in Ireland, and by this means relatively large immigrant communities were to become temporarily settled throughout the island. This same settlement pattern was to be continued in the nineteenth century in key Irish extractive industries, where again English and Welsh mining specialists were to be housed in what were often self-sufficient industrial communities. This paper proposes a social archaeology for early modern iron-working settlements in south Munster, with special emphasis on the degree to which they might have been socially exclusive.

Tadhg O'Keeffe from the School of Archaeology in UCD Dublin will consider Plantation culture and the birth of the *Georgian Order with reference to the seventeenth-century castles of Munster*. In this paper, the so-called, and inaccurately-termed, 'semi-fortified' houses of the seventeenth century are presented in much of our secondary literature as occupying a somewhat marginal position in the trajectory of Irish architectural development, albeit one that bridges the chronological gap, and also the perceived stylistic gap, between the tower-houses of the late middle ages and the Georgian country houses of the 1700s and early 1800s. Taking Munster's corpus of houses as its point of departure, this paper will attempt a more sensitive architectural contextualisation of these buildings, as well as an evaluation of how they articulated the values and world views of contemporary elite culture.

Audrey Horning of the Department of Archaeology in the University of Leicester offers her thoughts on *Memory, materiality and the mutability of settlement in the Plantation period*. Understandings of rural and urban settlement during the plantation period have long focused upon the abundance of documentary and cartographic sources on English and Scottish settlement, and the dearth of information on rural Gaelic land use. Archaeological data, however, not only has the potential to reverse this imbalance, but also to challenge assumptions about the transient character of Gaelic life and the presumed predictability of English and Scottish approaches to land use and town development. Archaeological case studies from the north and west of Ireland are discussed in reference to the broader context of British expansion in the Atlantic world, prompting a reconsideration of the impact of colonial texts on historical memories of plantation (and by extension upon research agendas).

Toby Barnard of the Faculty of History, in Hertford College, Oxford will conclude the conference with his talk entitled *The final phase of plantation? 1670–1740*. It is generally agreed that the pace of official plantation slackened after the seismic upheavals of the 1650s. Although there were fresh confiscations thereafter, notably in the 1690s, these involved smaller acreages and did not stimulate comprehensive schemes of the type seen earlier in Munster, Ulster and across the country during the Cromwellian interregnum. Nevertheless, there was continuing emigration from Scotland into Ulster. In addition, both the state and individual landlords were still keen to encourage immigrants with scarce aptitudes, such as proficiency in the textile industry. As a result, Protestant refugees from the Low Countries and France and (finally) the Palatines from the Rhineland were encouraged to settle in Ireland. Also, a number of proprietors connected the well-being of their estates and improvement of their incomes with the creation and growth of towns. Accordingly, this paper will concentrate on the motives behind, principal characteristics, and impact of these late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century ventures. In particular, the schemes of the Percevals, earls of Egmont, for their holdings centred on north Cork will be considered in detail. They shed light on thinking about plantations, and the ways in which it may have changed.

It is envisaged that this conference will provide an ideal forum for academics, students and members of the general public to exchange and receive valuable insights into one of the most profound periods for the development of modern Irish society. In order to achieve this, the conference organisers have gratefully received sponsorship from the Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government, the Heritage Council and the Faculty of Arts and Celtic Studies in UCC. For further information, please contact:

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Group for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

35th Annual Conference

Clonmel

(Hotel Minella)

Friday May 5 — Sunday May 7

Speakers to include

Linda Doran	W.J. Smyth
C.A. Empey	Barry O'Reilly
Mark Hennessy	Michael Ahern
John Morrissey	David Edwards

The above is a preliminary notice of our Thirty-fifth Annual Regional Conference 2006.
See you all in Clonmel.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE
in association with
Sligo Field Club
MAY 6–8th, 2005

SLIGO AND ITS SETTLEMENT

Official Opening by Alderman Declan Bree, Mayor of Sligo.
Speakers:
Mr Jerry O'Sullivan, *Innishmurray Monastic Settlement*
Mr Patrick E. O'Brien, *W.B. Yeats' Brawling Squireen Cousins, The Elizabethan Ormsbys of Castledargan*
Dr Desmond Norton, *Developments on Three Sligo Estates in the 1840s*
Mr Derry O'Connell, *The Development of Functional Structure in the Nineteenth-Century Town*
Dr Fidelma Mullane, *A View of the Vernacular Architecture of County Sligo in Contemporary Ireland*
Dr Christina Fredengren, *Lough Gara Lake Settlement*
Dr Elizabeth FitzPatrick, *The Cultural Landscape of Aughris Headland, Co. Sligo*
Mr John Malcolm, *English Castles and their Landscapes in O'Dowd's Country, c. 1235–c. 1400*
Mr David Fleming, *Social and Economic Change in Sligo in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*
Martin and Mary Timoney, *Benada, Skreen and Carrowmore: The Legacies of Irwin, Diamond and Walker*
Sites to be visited: Parke's Castle, Lissadell House, Sligo Abbey and Carrowmore
Annual Dinner: Park Hotel, Pearse Road, Sligo.
Tour Guides: Mr Con Manning, Mr Martin Timoney, Ms Angela Leonard and Dr Stefan Bergh.
Conference Fee: €50 / £35, Students €30 / £20. *Please note this fee includes coffee, admissions and bus on field trip.*
Individual Sessions: Frid. €5/3; Sat. €10/5; Sun. €10/5.

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Application for Membership and information about the *Group*: Please contact Denis Cronin, Hon. Secretary, Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, 81, Lucan Heights, Lucan, Co. Dublin.

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, Early Irish History, School of History, John Henry Newman Building, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4; or e-mail charles.doherty@ntlworld.ie. Contributors are requested, where possible, to supply material both in typescript and on disk, stating PC/MAC, name of programme used to create document, and version number of programme. **http://homepage.mac.com/charles.doherty/iblog/B1068827693/index.html**