Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

NEWSLETTER

No. 14 2009

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Editorial

Welcome to the 2009 edition of our Newsletter.
My thanks again to Bernadette Cunningham for her sterling work on the notices of books and research guides which are the backbone of our publication.

Thanks to our article contributors, Bernadette Cunningham, Harman Murtagh, Willie Cumming and Aideen Burke for excellent papers. Three of these were the result of our conference in Portumna last year. Thanks to Willie Cumming for giving such a clear exposition of the activity of the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage. It is already a major resource and with computerisation promises to provide a goldmine for researchers. I am very grateful to Margaret Murphy for writing a review of a very important publication on settlement — one that is to be part of a series that is very much anticipated. Thanks also to those speakers who were able to send an abstract of their talk in our up-coming conference.

This year our outing is to Dingle / Daingean Uí Chúis in county Kerry. This is the first time that the Group has been to Kerry. We will be based in Benner's Hotel and the lectures will be held in the Díseart Institute across the road. The list of speakers and lectures, abstracts and information concerning registration and other fees may be found on page 34 of this Newsletter. We owe a particular thanks to Isabel Bennett (Músaem Chorca Dhuibhne) who organised this conference for us including speakers and tours and provided us with advice that was invaluable.

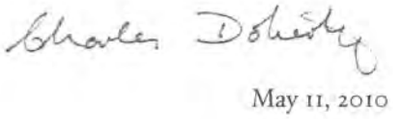
Our secretary, Linda Doran, had to withdraw from the position due to family commitments but she is still providing help and advice in the background and we wish her the best and look forward to the day when she can participate more fully again. I would like to thank her especially for her hard work on behalf of the Group and her common sense guidance that was always so helpful to me.

David Flemming agreed to assume the position of acting secretary and he has done sterling work in various areas not least providing us with a new web site that he intends to expand. The web site is beautifully designed and everyone ought to visit it. There you can find much information about our Group and back issues of our Newsletter in downloadable .pdf form.

I hope you will find this issue of the Newsletter of interest. I would make a special appeal to our conference speakers to contribute articles for the next issue. The articles in this issue are a guide to the length required and show how valuable it can be when there is a theme.

http://irishsettlement.ie/

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.



May 11, 2010

Articles

Portumna castle and estate formation in the Clanricard lordship, 1540–1640

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Figure 1 Portumna Castle, Co. Galway

1

The territory under the jurisdiction of the earls of Clanricard in the early modern period stretched east and south from Lough Corrib. It comprised some of the most fertile lands of the region known since about 1570 as County Galway. Throughout the sixteenth century the Clanricard Burkes had been expanding their area of effective influence to the south at the expense of lesser local magnates including the O'Shaughnessys and O'Heynes and to the west at the expense of the O'Flaherties. Successive earls of Clanricard also gradually expanded their influence eastwards into the O'Kelly territory of Hymany and into the O'Madden lands in the barony of Longford. However, although the Burkes of Clanricard had already re-established possession of the castle and lands of Portumna in the barony of Longford by 1582, the O'Maddens retained control of a large part of that barony well into the seventeenth century.[1]

The Gaelicised lordship of the Burkes of Clanricard in the mid-sixteenth century encompassed the region that now comprises the six baronies of Clare, Athenry, Dunkellin, Kiltartan, Loughrea, and Leitrim (see figure 2 on page 1). Loughrea was the power centre of the lordship, and the earl's jurisdiction was strongest at the core and weakest at the periphery of the lordship. In particular, the principal sub-lords of the barony of Clare, furthest from the centre of the lordship, were notable for their expressions of autonomy. The extent of the effective control of Ulick Burke, third earl of Clanricard, in the mid-1580s can be best judged from the terms agreed by the various parties to the Composition agreement of 1585.[2]

One element of this agreement on taxation, as negotiated with the Dublin government, involved commuting traditional exactions to fixed cash sums to be paid annually by the occupants of land to their recognised overlord. The special status of the earl of Clanricard, as traditional overlord, was recognised in five of the six baronies that comprised the Clanricard lordship.[3] In each of the six baronies the annual rent payable to the exchequer was 10 shillings per quarter of inhabited land, a quarter being estimated at 120 acres. But there was also a payment due to the earl in lieu of traditional local exactions and this varied from barony to barony. The highest annual rate per quarter of land, 13s. 4d., was payable in the core of the lordship in the baronies of Loughrea and Dunkellin. A slightly lower rate, 10s., in Kiltartan was a reflection of O'Heyne and O'Shaughnessy influence there, while the rates of 5s. in Athenry barony and just 3s. in Clare barony are an indication of the lesser degree of influence of the earl in those regions.[4]

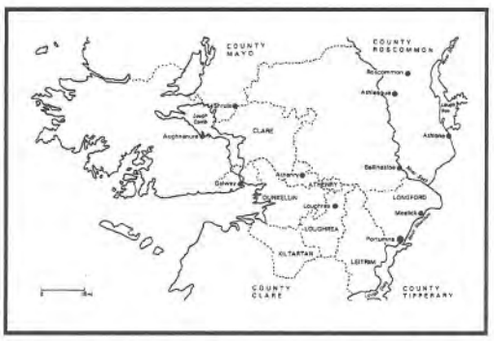

Figure 2 County Galway, baronies of Clanricard lordship

The barony of Longford, in which Portumna was situated, was dealt with separately from the baronies of the traditional Clanricard lordship during the 1585 Composition negotiations. The only part of the barony of Longford in which the earl established claim to any entitlements was in the immediate vicinity of Portumna itself. Under the

[1] Hubert Knox, 'Portumna and the Burkes', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 6 (1909–10), pp 107–9; T.M. Madden, 'The O'Maddens of Silanchia, or Siol Anmachadha', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1 (1900–1), pp 184–95.

[2] A.M. Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin, 1936).

[3] Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Composition of Connacht in the lordship of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577–1641', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24 (1984), pp 1–14.

[4] Freeman (ed.), *Compossicion Booke*, pp 39–46.

terms of the agreement, Ulick Burke, third earl of Clanricard, was granted exemptions from composition rent on the four quarters of land adjoining the old castle of Portumna. However, the O'Maddens who still held most of the land in the barony made no concessions to Clanricard as their overlord in 1585.[5]

Traditionally, a Gaelicised lord's jurisdiction had extended over the area in which he was able to demand military service from his followers, along with the necessary provisions to support his private army.[6] The anglicisation of political relationships in the region, from the mid-sixteenth century, meant that political authority gradually shifted away from the ethos of a warlord and his military entourage to a world in which the relationship between the earls and their supporters was increasingly that between landlord and tenant. The formal beginnings of that process can be traced to the establishment of the earldom in 1543.

Ulick Burke had been created first earl of Clanricard in the summer of 1543, accepting the title from King Henry VIII.[7] The initiative known to text-book writers as 'surrender and regrant' involved individual local magnates agreeing to surrender to the crown ultimate political authority and title to land in the territories under their jurisdiction. In return, the magnates received a grant of an earldom in recognition of their political status within their own territories. They were also to receive formal grants of their lands from the crown. These titles and lands were to be held and passed in primogeniture succession, according to the requirements of the common law, rather than by reference to Gaelic custom which allowed competitive succession. The objective of this strategy was political reform through demilitarisation. It was believed that the policy would permit the gradual extension of Tudor control throughout Ireland by peaceful means, with the cooperation of the indigenous elites.

The next important development was the establishment of an English style provincial presidency in Connacht in 1569, a logical continuation of the policy of 'surrender and regrant', in that it further encouraged anglicisation. The new institutional framework for the Irish provinces was modelled on the councils of Wales and the north of England. Almost from the beginning it was realised that the provincial administration could only succeed with local support. Lord Justice Fitzwilliam, writing in May 1571, observed that

> the state of Connacht can best be improved by the people of Connacht itself and by the service of the earl of Clanricard, for the chief . . . outlaws and rebels are the sons and the kindred and followers of the ablest freeholders and gentlemen inhabiting in Clanricard.[8]

The position of the provincial administration was rather tenuous through the early 1570s and it was only after Ulick Burke succeeded his father as third earl of Clanricard in 1582 that a military approach on the part of the president was deemed to be no longer required to handle the administration of the part of Connacht that fell under the earl's jurisdiction. If the Connacht presidency had been an exclusively military entity it might well have been suspended by 1583. But the institution had always been intended as considerably more than a resident military authority, and by the mid-1580s had evolved into an instrument of political and legal administration. The basis of this fundamental institutional adaptability had been laid in a taxation scheme initiated in 1577. The scheme not only provided the local financial support necessary to sustain a viable provincial administration, it also won political support for the presidency from the lesser magnates in the province.[9]

A more comprehensive scheme of taxation, drawn up in 1585, which became known as the 'composition of Connacht', had even more far-reaching implications for the province. It ensured that the presidency was financially viable thus allowing it to develop its own momentum. The tax also created a very direct link between the provincial administration and the inhabitants of the province. The simple fact that the composition rent was being paid annually was evidence that the presidency had earned a degree of local support. In 1586 it was calculated that the composition rent of £3,645 together with fines, impost and revenue from crown lands would amount to £4,745 per annum.[10] The cost of administering the province, on the other hand, was £3,167, a situation of self-sufficiency that allowed the then president, Sir Richard Bingham, a considerable degree of autonomy for much of his term of office, until the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Ulster in 1594 began to cause disruption in Connacht.[11]

II

The crisis of the Nine Years War from 1594 to 1603 proved decisive in the political career of the young Richard Burke, baron of Dunkellin, eldest son and heir of the third earl of Clanricard. A power vacuum was created in the province by the

[5] Freeman (ed.), *Compossicion Booke*, pp 70–9.
[6] Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp 116–46.
[7] The National Archives, Kew (TNA), SP 63/11, no. 15; SP 63/11, no. 20.
[8] TNA, SP 63/32, no. 41 (i).
[9] Cunningham, 'Composition of Connacht'.
[10] TNA, SP 63/124, no. 59.
[11] TNA, SP 63/124, no. 2.

death in battle of the fourth English Connacht president, Sir Conyers Clifford, in August 1599. It was intended that his successor would again be an Englishman, but in the interim the Dublin government had little choice but to rely on the support of the local elite. Richard Burke was given direct military control of the province of Connacht. Only the strategic garrisons of Athlone and Galway were excluded from his commission.[12] The queen's instructions for Lord Deputy Mountjoy in January 1600 had specifically stated that Richard Burke was to be commander of the military forces only 'until some governor of English blood is settled there'.[13] Nonetheless, his appointment indicated the extent to which the English administration in Connacht had become dependent on the Clanricard Burkes. The old third earl, Ulick, died on 20 May 1601 and the new fourth earl, Richard, clinched his reputation as a loyal supporter of the English by his performance at the battle of Kinsale, in December 1601, and was knighted by Mountjoy on the battlefield.[14] Richard Burke was almost 30 years of age when he succeeded his father, Ulick, in 1601. Just over three years later, on 1 September 1604, he was formally appointed as provincial president of Connacht, an office he held until 1616.

In 1604, too, he married Frances Walsingham, daughter and heiress of an Elizabethan secretary of state. His new wife was the widow of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, a man who despite having been a royal favourite was executed by Queen Elizabeth in 1601.[15] This marriage is a clear indication that Richard Burke's youthful association with the household of the earl of Essex in the 1580s determined the course of his life.[16] In line with English government policy for the education of heirs to significant Irish lands, he had been educated at Oxford, matriculating in 1584 at the age of twelve and obtaining an MA in 1598.[17]

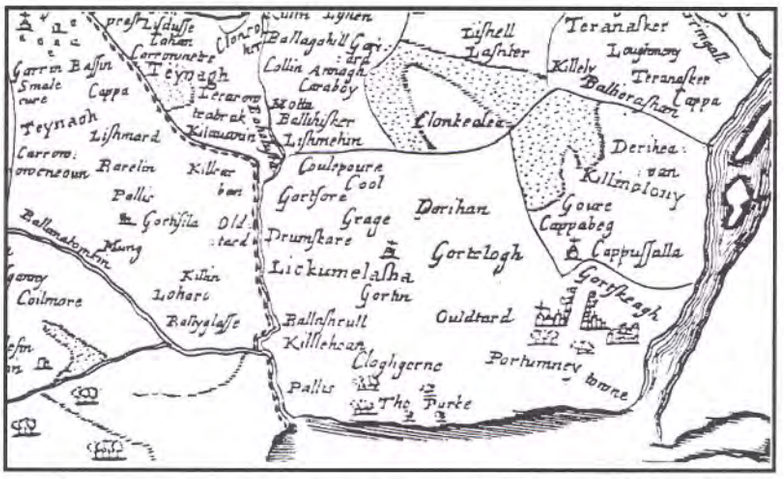

Figure 3 Portumna town and surrounding area, including park. Extract from map of county Galway originally published in William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio* (London, 1685).

Yet, despite the new social connections thus established, the basis of Richard Burke's position in society continued to be firmly rooted in his County Galway lands, and more crucially in his relationship with the people who occupied those lands. Throughout his adult life he remained closely involved in these two contrasting worlds. At the English Court, though he had influential friends, he was always just a minor player. At home in the Clanricard lordship he continued to be the undisputed leader of his people.

The longevity of his father, Ulick, and his grandfather, Riccard Sassanach, had greatly enhanced the political stability of the Clanricard lordship. His father had been a shrewd and experienced politician. While the English administration had succeeded in educating Richard Burke as an English gentleman, his own father had ensured that Richard fully understood the nature of his role as a local lord. That role centred on his relationship with the occupants of the land on whose loyalty and support he depended. Richard Burke valued his own intimate knowledge of his lordship, and hoped to pass on this understanding to his own son, Ulick, who became the fifth earl. Writing

[12] TNA, SP 63/205, no. 135; SP 63/205, no. 136; SP 63/206, no. 44.
[13] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1599–1600*, p. 445.
[14] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1601–3*, p. 269.
[15] G.E.C., *The complete peerage*, iii, pp 228–31.
[16] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury* (19 vols, London, 1883–1965), vii, pp 345–6. I own this reference to Thomas Connors.
[17] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714* (Oxford, 1892), i, p. 214.

about his newly-married son in 1626, the fourth earl explained that 'I do purpose to bring him along with me [to Ireland] for I must myself acquaint him with the country and by my presence settle him in such a knowing course as nobody else can do so well for him.'[18]

Richard Burke, fourth earl of Clanricard, and his wife were normally resident in England from 1605, and by the end of that decade their newly built country house at Somerhill, in Kent, had become their home. They also maintained a house in the Covent Garden area of London.[19] The decision to build a new castle at Portumna in the second decade of the seventeenth century, having already invested in the house at Somerhill (see figure 4 on page 10), is evidence of Richard Burke's ongoing commitment to his Galway lands. It was proof of the sincerity of his often-expressed wish that he would return to live in Ireland. At the time the new Portumna castle was built, however, there were other political dimensions to the decision to build in Ireland. The new castle at Portumna was planned and built before 1616 — during the years when the earl held the office of president of the province of Connacht.[20] Previous presidents had resided at the castle in Athlone, an option not available to Clanricard. The earl may well have chosen the Portumna site, on the river Shannon, as the nearest strategic approximation to Athlone on his own lands. When Portumna castle was commissioned for the Connacht president, he would also have had in mind the strategic location of Bunratty castle, residence of the Munster president, who was also Clanricard's southern neighbour and traditional ally, Donogh O'Brien, earl of Thomond. A generation later, the new MacMahon castle at Derryhivenny (see figure 1 on page 21) was constructed in 1643 on a similar Shannon-side location, though that building was conceived on a more modest scale.[21]

The earl of Clanricard's decision to resign the Presidency of Connacht in 1616 and retain only the governorship of County Galway was confirmation that his primary concern was with his own estates rather than the wider issues of Connacht politics. He was careful to retain the governorship of County Galway after 1616 so as to restrict any influence by a new provincial president in Clanricard territory. The office was used as a device to add new dimensions to his traditional authority as overlord, particularly through the use of the common law. After 1616, Clanricard continually worked to ensure that his jurisdiction within County Galway was not undermined from any source, internal or external.[22]

III

Richard Burke's youthful training in military affairs was such that as fourth earl of Clanricard he continued to take seriously the matter of the defence of his Irish lands. The acquisition of key strategic properties on the boundaries of the Clanricard lordship had long been a preoccupation. One observer, Francis Shane, writing in 1600 while the Nine Years War was in progress, noted the interest of the Clanricard Burkes in defence:

> These great men procure the principal strength of the province that is not already in their hands. They have taken Mylick upon the Shannon river from John Moore. Of their own they have Portdomno and Clondagawe upon the same. Upon the Suck river they have Ballinasloy, but which is most grevious, Athlone. They seek to compass Roscommon from Mr Malbie, and the Callo, a very strong castle, from me.[23]

It was an astute observation. Callow, which lay to the north of Loughrea in the barony of Kilconnell, did indeed come into the hands of the earl of Clanricard, and the policy of strengthening places on the borders of the lordship continued long after the war had ended. Athleague, in County Roscommon, was purchased by the earl in 1618, although he had to mortgage other land to do so. He decided to acquire it 'rather to run on in debt than leave a thing of that use to the humours of such as may prove no good neighbours to myself or my many friends and servants that dwell about and near it.'[24] His expansionist policy was noted by landowners across the river Shannon, Matthew de Renzy observing of the Burkes that 'there is no land almost that is to be had but they seek to get it by one means or other, and Athleague I think will be likewise theirs'.[25] In 1600, Athleague had been suggested as a suitable headquarters for the Connacht president, and the earl may have feared that the new provincial president appointed after 1616 might take a renewed interest in Athleague.[26]

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[18] Bernadette Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters: letters and papers, 1605–1673, preserved in the National Library of Ireland, manuscript 3111', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 48 (1996), p. 200.
[19] *The survey of London*, (44 vols, London, 1900–), St Giles in the Fields, v, pp 46–50. I owe this reference to Thomas Connors.
[20] TNA, SP63/215, no. 33.
[21] Aideen Burke, 'The Derryhivenny castle project', unpublished lecture delivered at GSIHS annual conference, Portumna, 9 May 2009. See now in this *Newsletter* page 21.
[22] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 175, 198.
[23] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1600*, pp 83–5.
[24] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 199–200.
[25] De Renzy papers, TNA, SP46/90, f. 55.
[26] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1600*, pp 286–7.

Richard Burke, fourth earl of Clanricard, retained a lifelong interest in security of title to land. To him, it was another vital element in his strategy of developing his Clanricard estates. A new patent granted to him in 1610 underpinned the significant expansion of the extent of land held by the earl that had taken place since 1585.[27]

Concern over the legal requirements regarding common law title to land continued thereafter. The earl was careful to ensure that appropriate procedures were followed in the taking of new inquisitions prior to having his lands regranted by letters patent.[28] The king's warrant of July 1615 in relation to Connacht land titles was most probably issued after lobbying from Clanricard's allies at court.[29] The earl insisted that in the matter of title to Connacht land he was not just concerned for himself, but also for 'the people there [who] are so careless and so far from understanding their own good that they must be rather forced into it'.[30] Matthew de Renzy observed Clanricard's activities on behalf of Galway landholders in 1616, claiming that he had promised

> that no plantation shall come amongst them, for at his coming over out of England he reported absolutely that there should be none, and they all flocked to see him at Galway and Portumna. But if he shall prevail he himself will be much the better for it in land, for every one will give him a portion.[31]

A regrant of the lands of Clanricard in 1619 reinforced and extended the earl's position as landlord in the six baronies of Leitrim, Loughrea, Athenry, Dunkellin, Kiltartan and Clare, and also marked a significant extension of his influence in the town of Galway.[32]

IV

Clanricard's Irish estates were administered on his behalf primarily by his steward, Henry Lynch, a native of Galway city. The surviving correspondence from the earl to Lynch provides evidence of the earl's attitude towards his Irish lands after he relinquished the office of provincial president.[33] His plans for the development of his Irish estates were multifaceted. Conscious of the uncertain political climate, the earl was particularly concerned with the defence of 'bordering places'. He took care to appoint suitable persons in strategically important castles such as Aughnanure, Athleague, Callow, Claregalway and Meelick, 'not knowing when a sudden blast may come'.[34] Early in 1624 he spelt out clearly to his agent his preference for Englishmen as principal tenants, seeking 'some sufficient men which I desire should be English than any other, and though two of them, I mean Clare and the Callow be not bordering places, yet they are not far from them and are places that may well serve for supply unto the rest'.[35] A concern with defence was clearly evident here, as also in the instruction to repair the three gates at Loughrea. Such work was not done in a vacuum and the earl was particularly conscious of the implications of his decisions for the local people directly involved in implementing them. The gates of the town of Loughrea, he noted early in 1624,

> are not much to do, and they will serve for ornament and strength and they will be very commodious and useful for those that take them in hand, and the speedy dispatch of them will make me much to favour and regard them that take that care and charge upon them.[36]

Soon afterwards it emerged that Francis Skerrett was going to repair the east gate while Ned Callan was to undertake the gate towards Portumna.[37] They were promised 21 year leases of the gates in return for undertaking the necessary repairs.

Repeating his wish that tenants should build houses at Loughrea, in line with similar requirements at Portumna, he again intimated that such persons would be rewarded.[38] When Thomas Coleman neglected to build a house at Portumna and to establish a ferry at Cappasallagh, just north of the town, the earl considered offering the land to William McHugh instead, because

> I was desirous to place such about Portumna as upon all occasions I knew were trusty, and men sufficient for defence to be put into the house, and so I could wish all the lands about that place or any bordering place were fitted accordingly.[39]

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[27] Breandán Ó Bric, 'Galway townsmen as owners of land in Connacht, 1585–1641', MA thesis, University College Galway, 1974, p. 110.
[28] Crown rental, Galway inquisitions, 1617, in Trinity College Dublin, MS 570; Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 168–9, 199–200.
[29] Bernadette Cunningham, 'Political and social change in the lordship of Clanricard and Thomond, 1569–1641', MA thesis, University College Galway, 1979, pp 247–51.
[30] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 199.
[31] De Renzy papers, TNA, SP 46/90, f. 28v.
[32] *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish Record Commissioners calendar prepared prior to 1830*, with foreword by M.C. Griffith (Dublin, 1966), pp 436–43.
[33] National Library of Ireland, MS 3111, edited in Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 162–208.
[34] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 174, 182.
[35] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 174.
[36] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 174.
[37] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 183.
[38] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 174.
[39] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 183.

Clearly, Portumna was seen by the earl as a strategic place on the borders of his estate where considerations of defence were important. He was less concerned about the defence of Loughrea, and was prepared to allow Coleman a lease there, on condition that he build a house, even though he had been deemed unsuitable for Portumna. The earl's intention for Loughrea was 'to plant a town there of some importance' and he was therefore 'resolved none shall have a foot [of land in Loughrea] but such as shall build and dwell in the town, only those of Teniosty upon consideration of their remove from the Parks. For without this course never expect any good dwelling in Loughrea'.[40] His intention was that the leases in the towns of Loughrea and Portumna would be taken up by Englishmen. Twenty-one year leases seem to have been the norm on offer.[41] Every detail of the development of his estates seems to have been given minute consideration by the earl and he marvelled, for instance, at the difficulty of attracting an innkeeper to Loughrea, despite there being 'not a better or fairer inn in Ireland'.[42]

Figure 4 Loughrea town and surrounding area, including Park. Extract from map of county Galway originally published in William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio* (London, 1685).

The concession to the former inhabitants of Teniosty about leases in Loughrea was in compensation for their removal from lands that were to be developed as a park. As part of the strategy to develop the Clanricard estates in an English style, the earl planned four areas of parkland, at Portumna, Loughrea, Callow and around his Galway townhouse at Tirellan. These were still only being planned in 1625, but they did become a reality, and they are depicted on William Petty's late-seventeenth-century map of county Galway (see figure 3 on page 3 and figure 4 on page 6).[43] The park adjacent to Portumna was the most extensive at 823 acres while 124 acres was allocated to parkland at Loughrea.[44] The deer for the park at Portumna were a gift from the earl of Cork's Lismore estate.

There is evidence that the English style towns planned for Loughrea and Portumna had taken shape by 1641, for when the young fifth earl, Ulick, returned to Ireland in that year he showed special concern for the safety of 'my English protestant tenants who have made very good plantations near my two principal houses'.[45] The fifth earl's concern 'to succour and relieve the distressed English in Galway, Loughrea and Portumna' in January 1642 indicates that the kind of settlement envisaged by his father had been realised. That they were successfully defended for a time is testament to the fact that the defensive concerns of the fourth earl had ultimately paid dividends, even though the fifth earl was worried in 1642 that 'I have no considerable place of strength and safety of my wife and children, or to make my own retreat unto upon any occasion'.[46] Clearly the house at Portumna was not designed for such last resort defence.

Outside the towns, leases of land usually contained stipulations about enclosure. Apart from Clanricard's principal tenants most others appear

[40] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 183.
[41] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 180, 182.
[42] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 180.
[43] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 185; Sir William Petty, *Hiberniae delineatio* [London, 1685]; a reprint of Petty's Galway map was included as a folded insert in R.C. Simington (ed.), *Books of survey and distribution, vol. iii, Co. Galway* (Dublin, 1962).
[44] Simington, *Books of survey and distribution, Galway*, pp 183 and 330.
[45] Ulick Burke, 5th earl of Clanricard, to the king (Jan. 1652), *Memoirs and letters of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricard* (London, 1757), p. 58.
[46] *Memoirs and letters of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricard*, pp 29, 58, 66; Cunningham, 'Political and social change', pp 227–8.

to have held their lands on an annual basis, from May to May.[47] The extant evidence regarding landholding and agricultural practice on the Clanricard estates is by no means conclusive, but it appears that in many regions a system of large-scale demesne cultivation was operated, in which the land was allocated through a form of métayage, and re-distributed annually on May Day. This explains Clanricard's continual concern to have 'middlemen' — either English or Irish — to oversee his tenants. It also helps explain the earl's claim that his rents were still paid in kind as late as 1626.[48] Under the métayage system, the earl as landlord would have received a share of the produce from the land in place of rent. In return, he or his agents would have furnished the stock and the seed. In so far as this was the norm, it appears that the changes on the Clanricard estates to make them more English in style had not been accompanied by an immediate modernisation of the relationship between landlord and tenant.[49]

Figure 1 Coat of arms of the earls of Clanricard

V

The story of the process of change that took place in Clanricard, most simply described as anglicisation, especially in the years from the establishment of an English provincial presidency in Connacht in 1569 down to the death of the fourth earl of Clanricard in 1635, provides the political and social context in which the building of Portumna castle can be understood. The building of a new castle at Portumna was an intrinsic part of the story of the political and social transformation of the lands of the fourth earl of Clanricard in County Galway. The fourth earl's decision to build a new castle in Ireland was not merely to impress Frances Walsingham, his English born wife. Portumna castle was planned during the years when Richard Burke, fourth earl of Clanricard, held the title of president of Connacht, and long before he realised that he would never return to live permanently on his Irish estates. The castle was built as a residence appropriate to the holder of the office of provincial president. Its location on lands relatively recently recovered by the Clanricard Burkes in the barony of Longford, downriver from the traditional stronghold of the Connacht presidents at Athlone castle, was suggestive of a reorientation of political power. It reflected the earl's English as well as his Irish tastes and ambitions; it was designed as a fitting home for his English wife, and an appropriate place in which the lord deputy of Ireland might be entertained.[50] It was a clear expression of the reality of Connacht politics that had seen successive earls of Clanricard use the techniques and offices of the English provincial administration to retain and strengthen their traditional authority west of the Shannon through a period of rapid political and social change. Portumna castle was the architectural expression of their success in managing change within that transitional world.

[47] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', pp 177–8.
[48] *Calendar of state papers, Ireland, 1625–32*, pp 147–8.
[49] Cunningham, 'Political and social change', pp 231–42.
[50] Cunningham, 'Clanricard letters', p. 176.

Survival in the seventeenth century: the Clanricard Burkes of Portumna

Harman Murtagh
(Past President, Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement)

Settlement in Connacht

Anglo-Norman penetration of Connacht was spearheaded by the well-connected de Burghs / Burkes, following the grant as fief to Richard de Burgh in 1227. Thereafter stone castles sprang up, subinfeudation occurred, and Norman names came on the scene, with de Burgh — in various formats — being particularly widespread. However, the range of settlement was patchy and its depth uneven, so that overall it never equalled that in the east and south of Ireland. Much preoccupied with great affairs elsewhere, the main line of the de Burgh family — earls of Ulster from 1263 — left control of Connacht to their kinsman William Liath de Burgh. His descendants, the rival Mayo-Sligo MacWilliam Iochtar and the Galway MacWilliam Uachtar (the Clanricard Burkes), transformed their power into ownership, following the murder of the 3rd earl in 1333. Thereafter, the Connacht Burkes 'struck out on their own in defiance of feudal custom and common law alike, the complete example of rebel, degenerate English'.[1]

Richard of Kinsale

In 1543 Ulick 'the beheader' Burke submitted to Henry VIII and was created 1st earl of Clanricard, with the subsidiary title Baron Dunkellin (generally borne thereafter as a courtesy title by the eldest son. For the Clanricard coat of arms see figure 1 on page 7. For the descendents of Ulick see figure 2 on page 8). These moves commenced the family's re-anglicisation, a process completed with the accession of Ulick's great-grandson, Richard, as 4th earl in 1601. He was an Oxford graduate and much of his boyhood was spent in England in the household of the earl of Essex. However, throughout his life he remained a catholic. He returned to Ireland in the late 1590s to serve in the government's forces against the Ulster chiefs, using his influence to deny them support in Connacht, especially Galway, and fighting with such distinction at Kinsale that he was knighted on the battlefield by Lord Mountjoy — hence his sobriquet, Richard of Kinsale.

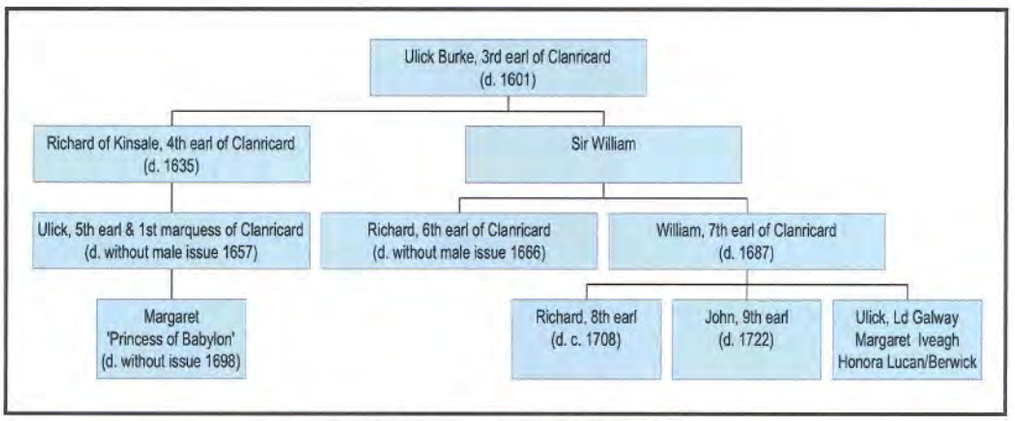

Figure 2 Genealogy of the Burkes

In 1604 he was appointed president of Connacht, an office he held until 1616, remaining thereafter governor of Galway city and county. In 1610 he contrived to pass patent to secure his title to the vast family properties in Connacht, probably in the region of 50,000 acres. After that, he seems never to have set foot in Ireland again, although he kept a close eye on his interests here, which were managed by the Galway merchant, Sir Henry Lynch.

In 1602 or 1603, he married Frances Walsingham, only child of the famous Elizabethan secretary of state of the same name, and widow, successively, of Philip Sidney, the Elizabethan poet, and Clanricard's mentor, Essex, who had been executed in 1601. They built Somerhill House at Tunbridge in Kent as their principal residence in 1613 (figure 4 on page 10). A few years later the earl built Portuma Castle (figure 1 on page 1), arguably the premier Jacobean mansion in Ireland and a symbol of his great wealth, prestige and sophistication. It was a reminder too, despite his absence, of his continued commitment to his Irish inheritance.

The earl and countess were figures at court, where they had important connections through the countess's previous marriages and friends, such as the influential duke of Buckingham. This,

[1] J.F. Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin & London, 1972), p. 200.

possibly lubricated by money, obtained the earldom of St Albans in the English peerage for Clanricard in 1628.

The 4th earl's final years were uncomfortable. His wife had died in 1632. Unable to cope with inflation (he had debts of £25,000 at his death), his Irish income of £29,000 per annum was threatened by Lord Deputy Wentworth's scheme for a plantation of Connacht, which would have reduced his property by a third (later increased to a half). The preliminary step in the plantation scheme was a commission of enquiry into Galway titles, which, adding insult to injury, sat in the hall of Portumna Castle. However, the jurors put their respect for the absent Clanricard before their fear of Wentworth and refused to find a crown title to County Galway.

Wentworth pursued the matter with his accustomed ruthless vigour: the unfortunate jurors were ill-treated, fined and imprisoned. Ultimately, as with so much of Wentworth's policy, the plantation scheme came to nothing, but in the midst of the stress, Clanricard died in 1635, and there was a feeling, as the earl of Danby told Wentworth, that 'the apprehension of your lordship's discourtesies and misrespect hastened his end'.[2]

Figure 3 Ulick, 1st marquess of Clanricard

Ulick, 1st marquess of Clanricard

The 5th earl was Ulick, only son of Richard of Kinsale (see figure 3 on page 9). Born in 1604 in Athlone, the residence of the president of Connacht, he grew up in England, and in 1623 married the daughter of the earl of Northampton. He set about improving the Clanricard estates by introducing innovative farming techniques and English tenants. In 1641 he returned to Ireland to live at Portumna, becoming governor of Galway. He had immense influence and prestige. However, his efforts to restore the family fortunes were undermined by the outbreak of civil war in the three kingdoms.

As a catholic, he was a leading representative of the Old English in Ireland. Nevertheless, he did not approve of the Rising of 1641, nor did he join with most of the Old English in supporting the rebellion, although he tried to mediate between the rebels and the crown. His position was that of a loyal royalist. As the earl of Clarendon was later to say, 'he was a person of unquestionable fidelity, and whom the king could without any scruple trust'.[3] Elevated to a marquessate in 1646, he commanded the royalist forces in Connacht, such as they were, and from 1648 the combined royalist and confederate forces in the province.

In 1650–2, following Ormond's departure from Ireland, he held the increasingly empty appointment of lord deputy. His correspondence reveals something of his personality: 'his devotion to and concern for his wife, family, servants and followers, his sharp sense of humour, his fortitude as he grappled with chronic ill-health and disability, and the very real personal dilemmas that he faced, as he struggled to reconcile his loyalty to his king, to his faith, and to his kin and countrymen'.[4] He was extremely well liked, even by his opponents. He was also well connected to all sides in the great conflict. In Ireland he had family and personal links to the various Burke dynasties and other Connacht Confederates, and to the leading royalist, the duke of Ormond. Amongst English royalists he had ties to King Charles I, to the earl of Northampton and the marquess of Winchester (his brothers-in-law), to the earls of Bristol and Holland and to the duke of Lennox. On the parliamentary side his half-brother, the earl of Essex, was the leading general until his death in 1646 and protected Somerhill for the absent Clanricard. Other parliamentary connections were the earl of Northumberland and Sir Robert Pye. He seems, too, to have enjoyed the respect of Oliver Cromwell and his son, Henry, who consequently declined a grant of the Portumna estate. Clanricard contracted debts of £60,000 in the royal service. After the surrender of Galway in 1652, he travelled to England with a safeguard and a guarantee from the Cromwellian government that he would not be arrested for debt. His Irish estate was forfeited, but in 1654 Cromwell awarded

[2] Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. 15, f. 279.

[3] Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The history of the rebellion and civil wars in England* (London, 1888), v, 219.

[4] Jane Ohlmeyer in *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 8, p. 853.

him £600 and agreed that his wife should receive 4,000 acres of profitable land from her husband's Irish property. This included Portumna Castle. When Clanricard died in 1658, the Cromwellian government gave £100 towards his funeral at Tunbridge.

The Princess of Babylon

The marquess's only child was his daughter, Margaret, who was restored to his English property after the Restoration in 1660. Her allegedly large fortune and plain appearance earned her the sobriquet Princess of Babylon. In the Grammont memoirs, penned by Anthony Hamilton, she is unkindly described as having 'the shape of a woman big with child without being so; but [she] had a very good reason for limping, for of two legs uncommonly short, one was much shorter than the other. A face suitable to this description gave the finishing stroke to this disagreeable figure'.[5] She had three husbands. The first, Lord Muskerry, was killed at the battle of Lowestoft (1665); the second, Robert Villiers, claimed (apparently with little justification) the title Viscount Purbeck, and died aged twenty-eight; and the third, Colonel Robert 'Beau' Fielding, who outlived her, was reputed a bully, bigamist, wife-beater, heiress-hunter, archlibertine and duellist. She died in 1698 and was buried at Tunbridge, her fortune squandered with the help of her husbands.

The 6th and 7th earls

The 6th earl of Clanricard was Richard Burke of Kilcoine, the marquess's eldest first cousin. He had been active as a military commander in Connacht during the confederate period, but as a royalist, although the distinction probably meant little to the Cromwellians. He later endured several years' imprisonment in the Tower of London for his involvement in royalist plots before escaping to serve abroad until the restoration. All of these factors contributed to his recovery of the Clanricard estate in Ireland after the Restoration, but the 'clincher', and undoubtedly his smartest move, was his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Butler, a widowed aunt of Ormond, who, as Restoration viceroy, ensured that his numerous catholic relatives, including Clanricard, were restored to their estates.

Figure 4 Somerhill House, Tunbridge Wells, *c.*1613

Richard died in 1668, without a male heir, and his successor, as 7th earl, was his brother, William. He benefited from the death of the 5th earl's widow in 1675, which reunited Portumna Castle and its adjoining lands to his estate. Like his brother, the 7th earl was a veteran of the campaigns in the west during the confederacy period, after which he had served on the Continent, being, it was said, in 'a low condition' until the restoration. He died in 1687, having a reputation for accomplished education, great honour and exemplary piety. Archbishop Oliver Plunkett praised his support and protection of the catholic clergy.

[5] *Grammont's memoirs of the court of Charles II by Anthony Hamilton* (London, 1906), p. 110.

He married twice. By his first wife, the daughter of a Northamptonshire baronet, he had three sons, two of whom were successively earls of Clanricard. The third, Thomas, embarked on a military career. Travelling to Hungary to experience warfare first hand, he was killed at the siege of Buda in 1686. The 7th earl's second wife was a daughter of the 1st earl of Clancarty, and therefore sister-in-law to the Princess of Babylon and niece of Ormond. By her, the 7th earl had three children: a son, Ulick, and two daughters, Margaret and Honora.

The 8th and 9th earls

Richard, 8th earl of Clanricard, appears to have been a rather weak and colourless character. As a young courtier in London, he had married the court beauty, Elizabeth Bagnall, but in other respects she was considered most unsuitable, being the daughter of a mere page of the backstairs at the royal palace. This marriage, wrote the duchess of Ormond, 'troubled all his friends', and she bemoaned 'the ruin that this unhappy young man has brought on himself and his family'.[6] To make matters worse, Dunkellin converted to the established church, a change from the traditional family allegiance that estranged him from his pious father. Charles II had to intervene with the 7th earl to seek an allowance for Dunkellin. By 1687, when he succeeded his father, the catholic James II was king, and the 8th earl prudently appears to have returned to the religion of his forefathers.

Soon after, all the family was caught up in the Irish Jacobite war that followed James II's overthrow in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. A large army was raised in Ireland, with French support, to restore James and consolidate the gains catholics had made during his short reign. To this the Clanricard Burkes made a sizeable contribution. The earl and his brothers, Lords Bophin and Galway, each raised and commanded infantry regiments, which in early 1691 had a combined strength of more than 2,000 men. There were several other Burke regiments in the army and Beau Fielding, the Princess of Babylon's husband, raised a regiment for the brigade sent to France in 1690, although he lost his command on arrival, when his unit was merged with others.

The war in Ireland ended in 1691, with the capitulations of Galway and Limerick after the catastrophic Jacobite defeat at the battle of Aughrim. The 8th earl was in Galway at the time of its surrender, and so benefited from the articles and saved his vast estate from confiscation. He was duly pardoned in 1692. He had no male heir, and on his death in 1708 or later was succeeded as 9th earl by his brother, John, Baron Bophin. He had been captured at Aughrim, which left him an outlaw, outside the Galway and Limerick articles, and liable to forfeiture. He took the oath of allegiance, however, and was undisturbed until 1697, when his case came under unfavourable review by the court of claims, following which he was deprived of his estate. Eventually he was pardoned by the English parliament, but on condition that he paid a fine of £25,000, placed his estate in the hands of trustees and had his children brought up protestants. The implications of this were very great, for it saved the vast Clanricard estate from confiscation, when John inherited it on the death of his brother. The Eton-educated 10th earl and his successors were protestants. However, the process of assimilation into the protestant ascendancy was more gradual than might at first appear: three of the 10th earl's younger brothers, presumably still catholic, served with the Irish brigades on the Continent, two in France and one with the Irlanda regiment in Spain.

Lord Galway and his sisters

Ulick Burke, the 7th earl's son by his second marriage, became a professional soldier, and in 1687 was created Viscount Galway. In 1688, aged about eighteen, he married clandestinely Frances Lane, the fourteen-year-old daughter of George Lane, 1st Viscount Lanesborough, Ormond's secretary, who had profited from his master's viceroyalty. She brought Lord Galway more than £10,000. Described as 'a nobleman of true courage and many good qualities', he was killed at Aughrim, reportedly 'despatched by foreigners after quarter given'.[7] Although outlawed, he had no estate of his own that could be confiscated. His widow remarried in England before the end of the year.

Lady Margaret Burke, the eldest of his two sisters, was first married at the age of sixteen to Brian Magennis, 5th Viscount Iveagh, a landless peer and, as such, 'an object of bounty and compassion', until he rose to some prominence in Jacobite Ireland, before dying in the imperial service in 1692. His widow — Lady 'Veagh, as she was afterwards always known — married secondly Ormond's nephew, the former Jacobite colonel, Thomas Butler of Kilcash, Co. Tipperary. Noted for her piety — three masses daily — hospitality, generosity and business acumen, she lived at Kilcash until her death in 1744.

The most spectacular marriages were made by the youngest sister, Lady Honora Burke (see figure 5 on page 12). First, in late 1690 or early 1691 at the age of fifteen, she married the famous Jacobite soldier, Major General Patrick Sarsfield. She preceded him to France, and in 1693 gave birth to his son, named (after the prince of Wales) James

[6] Quoted in G.E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage*, iii (London, 1913), p. 233.

[7] J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*... (revised by M. Archdall) (Dublin, 1789), i, p. 138; J.T. Gilbert (ed.), *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland* (London, 1892; repr. Shannon, 1971), p. 147.

Figure 5 Honora, countess of Lucan & duchess of Berwick

Francis Edward.
Left a penniless exile at the Jacobite court in St Germain-en-Laye after Sarsfield's death at the battle of Landen, in 1695 she married another leading soldier, James FitzJames, duke of Berwick and later a marshal of France, James II's able and much loved illegitimate son by Arabella Churchill (the great duke of Marlborough's sister). Honora, who loved dancing and was much admired in French society, died in 1698. Berwick had her heart preserved in a silver box. By him she also had one son, the later 2nd duke of Berwick and duke of Liria in the peerage of Spain. Both sons visited Ireland.

Conclusion

The survival of the Clanricard Burkes with their great estate, despite being catholics who were twice on the losing side in the seventeenth-century wars, was remarkable. There is no doubt that the political, military and financial upheavals and pressures of the time generally weakened the power of the Burkes in Connacht. In Galway lesser families, such as the Burkes of Pallas, Tulira, Dunsandle and Moyode, lost their properties, although others such as the Burkes of Glinsk, Marble Hill, St Cleran's, Tyaquin, Ballydugan and Ower survived and continued to maintain a high profile in the county. In Mayo, the Viscounts Mayo, the main line of the MacWilliam Burkes, were weakened by the bad financial management of the 5th Viscount, who by his death in 1681 had alienated most of their 50,000-acre estate. Colonel Walter Burke of Turlough, who was captured at the battle of Aughrim, forfeited a 6,000-acre estate, and there were others who lost out, and some who survived.
The Clanricard earls were men of great landed wealth and prestige. Typically their marriages, and those of their daughters, were into the English or Irish peerage. In Ireland they had particularly close relations with the Ormond Butlers and the Clancarty MacCarthys. The future 8th earl's marriage, 'beneath' this circle, caused much upset. Younger sons and cousins, on the other hand, often married into the non-aristocratic Old English families of Connacht. In this way, and in their association with the network of influential legal, business and landed families of Galway city and county, they renewed and maintained a dense network of influence, whose strength resisted even the ruthless drive of Wentworth in 1637. There was something almost of the Gaelic chieftain about it all, as shown in their ability to raise so many men for the Jacobite army.
The Clanricard Burkes were naturally concerned with self-preservation and their family alliances reflect this; but they also had a strong sense of duty — to protect their relatives, associates, dependants, county and country (in the sense of their territory); to remain loyal to and preserve their catholic religion; and to serve their king and country. These were the values persons in their position were expected to uphold. Doing so could yield great rewards, but in the crises of the seventeenth century, it also involved running great risks and incurring crippling expense. Local influence enabled the 4th and 5th earls to resist Wentworth. Loyalty to the crown, service abroad and the Ormond connection saved the Clanricards after the Restoration. The situation after the Jacobite war was more complex; it is difficult to identify what swung Lord Bophin's, albeit costly, pardon, but it is likely that the influence of the 2nd duke of Ormond or other connections in England was a contributing factor.
The house of Clanricard, especially perhaps the careers of the 4th and 5th earls, awaits its historian. An overall guide to the Burkes of Connacht would also be a useful addition to Irish historiography.

Figure 1 Cover of Louth Introduction

Former Market House,
Kenmare, Co. Kerry (*c.*1790)

John Street, Waterford City (1889)

Figure 2

National Inventory of Architectural Heritage

Willie Cumming
(Senior Architect, Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government)

The preparation of a national list of Ireland's post 1700 built heritage has long been an aspiration.[1] The first steps were taken in the 1970s by An Foras Forbartha with the preliminary county surveys by Maurice Craig and William Garner. But these were limited in the numbers of structures recorded and, although still a very useful reference, had only limited circulation. The Council of Europe *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe* (1985), known as the Granada Convention was an important statement of how Europe's built heritage should be protected.[2] Article 2 of the convention highlights the need for inventories...

"*For the purpose of precise identification of the monuments, groups of buildings and sites to be protected, each Party undertakes to maintain inventories and in the event of threats to the properties concerned, to prepare appropriate documentation at the earliest opportunity.*"

Article 1 defines 'architectural heritage' as...

- monuments: all buildings and structures of conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest, including their fixtures and fittings;
- groups of buildings: homogeneous groups of urban or rural buildings conspicuous for their historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest which are sufficiently coherent to form topographically definable units;
- sites: the combined works of man and nature, being areas which are partially built upon and sufficiently distinctive and homogeneous to be topographically definable and are of conspicuous historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest.

The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (NIAH) was established in 1990 as a unit in the Office of Public Works. It was transferred to the Dept of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands and again in 2002 to the Dept of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government, where it still resides. Ireland formally ratified the Granada Convention in 1997 and the NIAH was finally established on a statutory basis in 1999.[3] Initially the NIAH focused on the compilation of comprehensive town surveys. Twenty of which were published, most of them in paper format, with map books and text database.[4] Copies were sent to the relevant local authorities and to the copyright libraries. As every structure in the towns was recorded, photographed and evaluated, providing a detailed snapshot at a particular moment, they form an important record. But they are relatively inaccessible, other than for specialist researchers and not that user friendly. Some thematic surveys were also started but only one was completed and published.[5]

The enactment of the Planning & Development Act 2000, in particular Part IV which introduced the requirement for each planning authority to maintain a record of protected structures, changed the focus of the work undertaken by the unit.[6] Section 53 of the Act gives a role to the Minister, now the Minister for the Environment, Heritage & Local Government, in recommending structures to a planning authority for inclusion in its record of protected structures. It was clear that with existing resources and using the methodology for the town surveys it would be many years before there would be any comprehensive coverage of the country. The shift decided on was the preparation of county surveys of structures of Regional or above importance, so that ministerial recommendations could be made to every county authority within the quickest possible time. The fact that Dublin City and Dun Laoghaire / Rathdown already had a significant number of structures on their RPS also meant that work could be concentrated on the rest of the country.

The first county survey undertaken was for Co. Clare which was published in 2000 in a similar format to the Town Surveys. However the outbreak of foot and mouth disease, which prevented the undertaking of fieldwork in 2001, gave an opportunity to review our recording methodology. The standard recording form was simplified to include a description and appraisal, the description being a dispassionate record of the elements of the building being described and the appraisal a more subjective statement of its importance / significance. Also included are details of location, date, type, rating and a unique eight-digit identifying number — the minimum information necessary to identify, locate, record and evaluate a structure.

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[1] The NIAH's remit only includes the twenty-six counties that comprise the Republic of Ireland.
[2] http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/html/121.htm
[3] Architectural Heritage (National Inventory) & Historic Monuments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1999.
[4] Ballina, Carrick on Shannon, Castlebar, Cavan, Clonmel, Ennis, Galway, Kilkenny, Letterkenny, Longford, Monaghan, Portlaoise, Roscommon, Roscrea, Sligo, Tullamore & Wicklow in paper format. Navan, Athy & Tralee on CD ROM.
[5] *The Courthouses of Ireland. A Gazetteer of Irish Courthouses.* Compiled by Mildred Dunne and Brian Philips (1999).
[6] http://acts.oireachtas.ie/en.act.2000.0030.8.html

Structures are recorded and appraised in the field with a minimum of background information. Digital photography, rather than slide as previously, is used to record the visual character of the structure. On return to base the record is entered in a MS Access database. Databases are then returned to the NIAH office for checking and editing and mapping on GIS. The recording procedure is set out in the NIAH Handbook.[7] A further refinement we are currently developing is an online data entry system which would make the return of the field data to NIAH simpler, in that a record would go live to the NIAH as soon as it is entered. The recording fieldwork is contracted out, with the number of sites to be recorded and the length of time for the completion of the contract specified. All recording contracts are advertised on the web.[8] Originally the recording team identified the sites, subject to a specified maximum number. However this is now done by the NIAH by checking published sources but primarily by field identification, ensuring a more comprehensive coverage of sites of significance than previously achieved.

As the final decision on whether a structure is included on the RPS is a reserved function of local councillors, the encouragement of public awareness and local pride in the built heritage of an area was seen to be an important role of the NIAH. It was this which informed our publication strategy that the surveys should be as widely and readily available as possible. Our intention always was to have a website but, as the unit was in transition between Departments, the first seven surveys were published on CD ROM with an introductory book.[9] Now all surveys are published on a dedicated NIAH website and the eight original surveys, Co. Clare and those on CD ROM, have also been added to it (figure 1 and figure 2 on page 13).[10] To date over 28,500 records have been published and the increasing use of the site reflects the new data that is constantly being added to it.[11] The addition of mapping also makes the site more useful and helps give a context to the structures described. Although the web publication of the surveys fulfills the primary role of the NIAH, we have continued with the series of introductory books as being of particular importance in the encouragement of local interest.[12] These are available for sale, and in each county a complimentary copy is sent to every elected councillor, as well as to the local schools and public libraries.

There are, we know, weaknesses in our recording methodology. Probably the most significant is that interiors of private buildings are not recorded. There were a number of factors behind this decision. The privacy and security of owners is always a major concern. But there is also the logistical problem that if access had been required to every property to be recorded, we could never have made the progress that has been achieved. However despite the lack of interior recording, I would be satisfied that we generally get it right. It is not necessary, for example, to record the interiors of Castletown House to know that we are dealing with a building of significance. Further information can always be added once a structure has been identified. Another problem is that the survey is not comprehensive. There are missing sites, including some of major importance, in particular in the first few counties recorded where a greater emphasis was put on urban areas that were, at the time, facing major redevelopment and expansion. Counties will have to be revisited when the first round of surveys has been completed. Finally we can get it wrong, although the huge advantage of web publishing is that it allows corrections to be made. Our programme for 2010 is to publish Counties Limerick and Galway as well as the remaining areas of County Cork and to complete the fieldwork in Mayo and Donegal. This will leave Counties Cavan and Monaghan, the Cork City suburbs, Dublin City and Dun Laoghaire / Rathdown to complete the initial survey of the country.

Gardens

The Inventory of Historic Gardens & Designed Landscapes (figure 3 on page 17 and figure 4 on page 18), also undertaken by the NIAH, is a completely separate, although related, project. Unlike the buildings survey it has no statutory basis and, at present, inclusion in the survey does not imply any level of protection or proposed protection.[13] The aim of the project is to carry out a systematic identification, classification and evaluation of sites which demonstrate the criteria recommended by ICOMOS[14] (International Committee of Monuments & Sites). Sites which:

[7] *NIAH Handbook* (Edition June 2006) http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/Resources/NIAHHandbook/

[8] http://www.etenders.gov.ie/

[9] Surveys on CD ROM with introductory book — Kildare, Meath, Fingal, Carlow, Laois, South Dublin and Kerry.

[10] (1 February 2010) — Surveys published http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/ Louth, Meath, Fingal, South Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford (Urban), Waterford, East Cork, North Cork, Cork City Centre, Tipperary South, Tipperary North, Kilkenny, Carlow, Laois, Kildare, Westmeath, Longford, Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Offaly, Clare, Limerick City and Kerry. Wexford (Rural) to be published by March 2010.

[11] January – December 2009 the site had 455,570 users and 8,915,791 hits.

[12] Books published (February 2010) — Counties Leitrim, Roscommon, Wicklow, Waterford, Offaly, Kilkenny, North Tipperary, South Tipperary, Westmeath, Sligo, East Cork, North Cork, Louth, Clare, Wexford, Longford & Limerick City.

[13] There is a Project Advisory Committee: Finola Reid (Heritage Council), John McCullen (Office of Public Works), Cormac Foley (Office of Public Works) John Ducie (An Taisce), Terence Dooley (NUI Maynooth), Terence Reeves Smyth (Department of the Environment — Northern Ireland), Mary Forrest (UCD)

[14] http://www.international.icomos.org/

- demonstrate some aspect of garden history or design
- contain notable plant collections (including specimen trees on the *Tree Register of Ireland*)
- form an integral setting to an historic building
- are associated with particular people or events.

Our first objective was to prepare a full list of sites recorded on the first edition 1″ (1856–62) and 6″ (1836–46) OS maps. This was a desk-based exercise, facilitated by the fact that most demesne lands are identified by stippling on the maps.[15] Approximately 6,000 sites were recorded. The largest concentration is in the vicinity of the cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick. Less surprisingly is the density of sites in the counties with the better land, directly reflecting the post Restoration (1660) settlement patterns. The sites are primarily demesnes, but also included are urban parks, squares and the garden cemeteries of Mount Jerome and Glasnevin in Dublin. Private urban gardens are not included.

Gardens — Preliminary Condition Statement

	Condition Statement	Total	
1	Virtually no recognisable features	1,400	23%
2	Main features unrecognisable: peripheral features visible	2,853	48%
3	Main features substantially present: peripheral features unrecognisable	1,418	24%
4	Main features substantially present: some loss of integrity	260	4%
5	Main features substantially present: no loss of integrity	60	1%

An initial assessment of survival was made using the historic mapping and current (2000) OS aerial photography (figure 5 on page 19 and figure 6 on page 20). It is important to recognise that this assessment is only preliminary as many surviving features will not show up on the aerial photography. Field work will be required to confirm assessments. But it does give some sense of the scale of what we will have to deal with. The survey has been published on the web for each site with:[16]

- location data
- preliminary assessment of survival
- an extract from the 6″ first edition OS map
- an OS aerial photograph (2000) at the same scale
- any bibliographical references identified.

Fieldwork has now been completed for Co. Louth and Donegal. Some new sites were identified, but also some of the original sites were discarded as never having been historic gardens or designed landscapes of any significance.[17] Each published record, as well as the data originally compiled, has a more detailed description of the elements making up the site, and photographs — if possible. The Co. Louth fieldwork has been added to the website and Donegal should be published later this year. We plan also to carry out the fieldwork for Fingal in 2010, for publication in 2011. Because of the scale of what is required, it could be many years before fieldwork for the country is completed. However the initial identification of sites and their publication has provided an important resource for owners, planning authorities and those professionally working with landscape issues. Perhaps more importantly it is a free access website of value to a wide variety of interests, academic, professional and amateur, giving a unique picture of an element of the Irish landscape, with its changes and survivals, over the last one hundred and fifty years.

In conclusion I offer a general comment in relation to inventories. Some users come expecting greater levels of information. It is important to recognise that there is a distinction between an inventory and a comprehensive survey.[18] The NIAH's role is the preparation of inventories, not the latter. But a good inventory will provide the basis for future surveys of structures and sites of significance.

[15] The first phase was undertaken by Richards, Moorehead & Laing Ltd. with map research in the British Library in London.
[16] http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/Surveys/Gardens/
[17] Louth & Donegal fieldwork was undertaken by Lotts Architecture and Urbanism Ltd. with Belinda Jupp.
[18] Although not comprehensive our photographic collection comprises over 250,000 images.

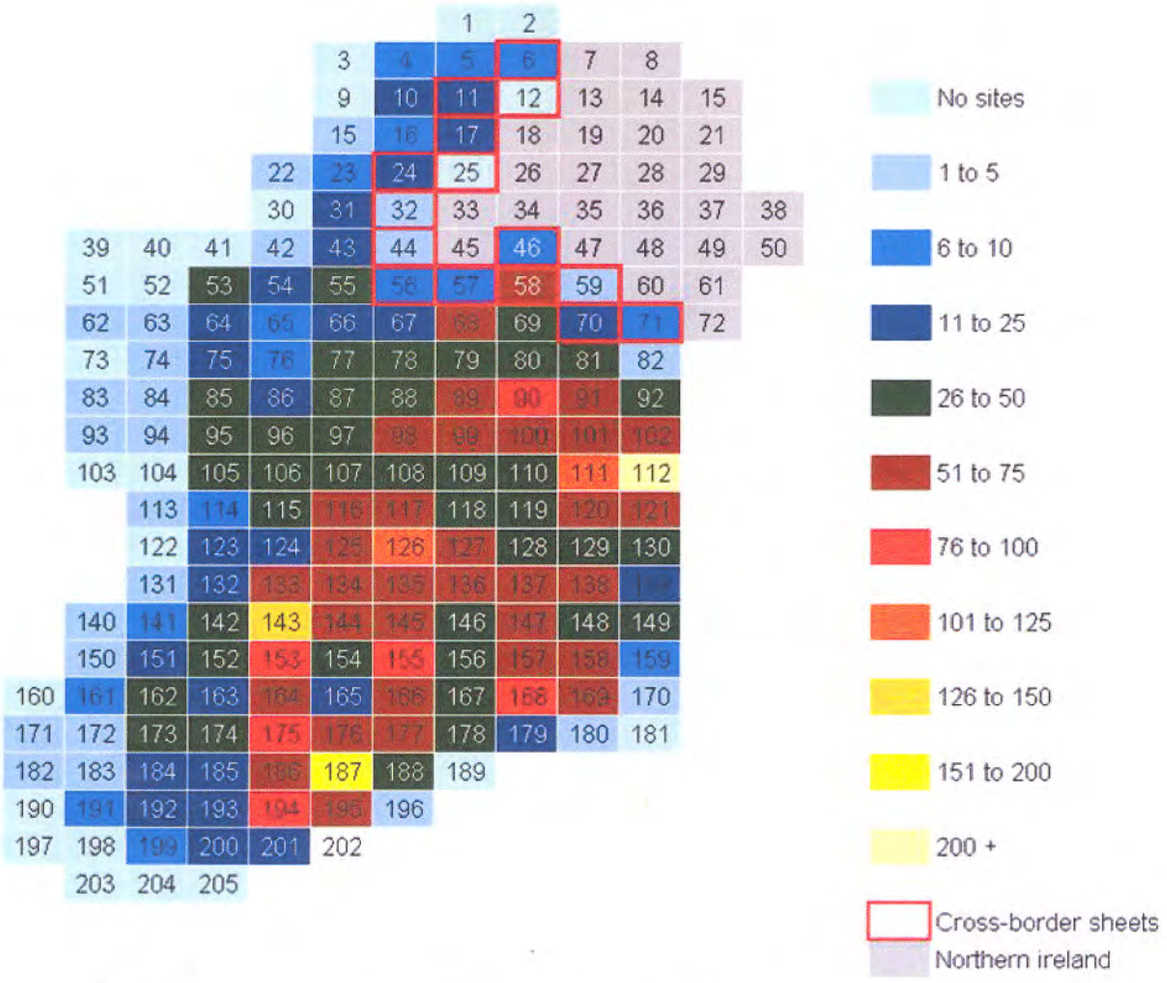
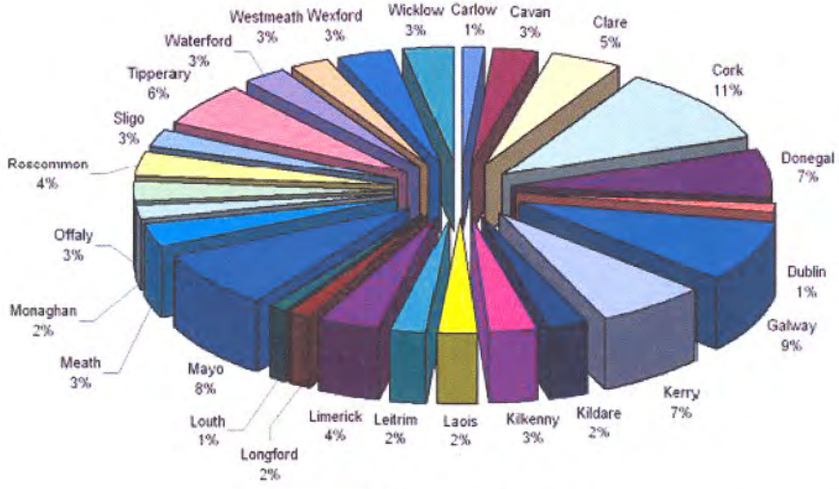


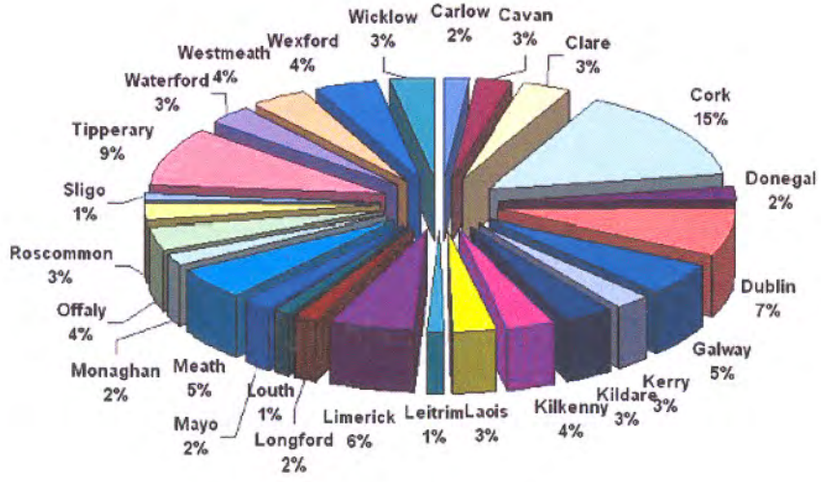
Figure 3 Distribution of garden sites. Numbers refer to the OS 1″ map sheet

Heywood House Garden, Co. Laois.

Pool overlooking lake, Glenveagh Castle, Co. Donegal

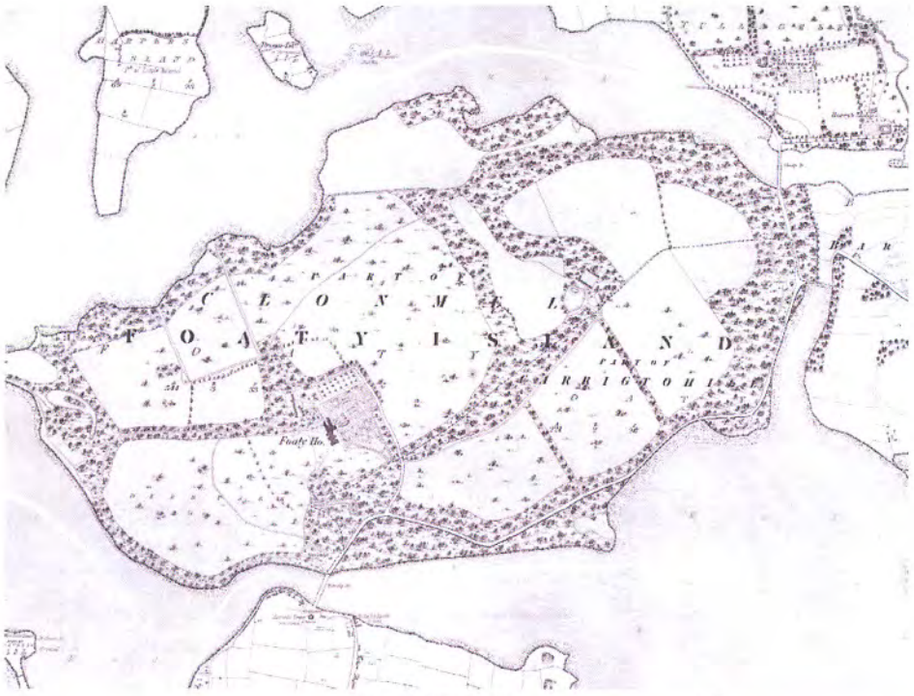


Percentage of land in each county.



Percentage of sites in each county.

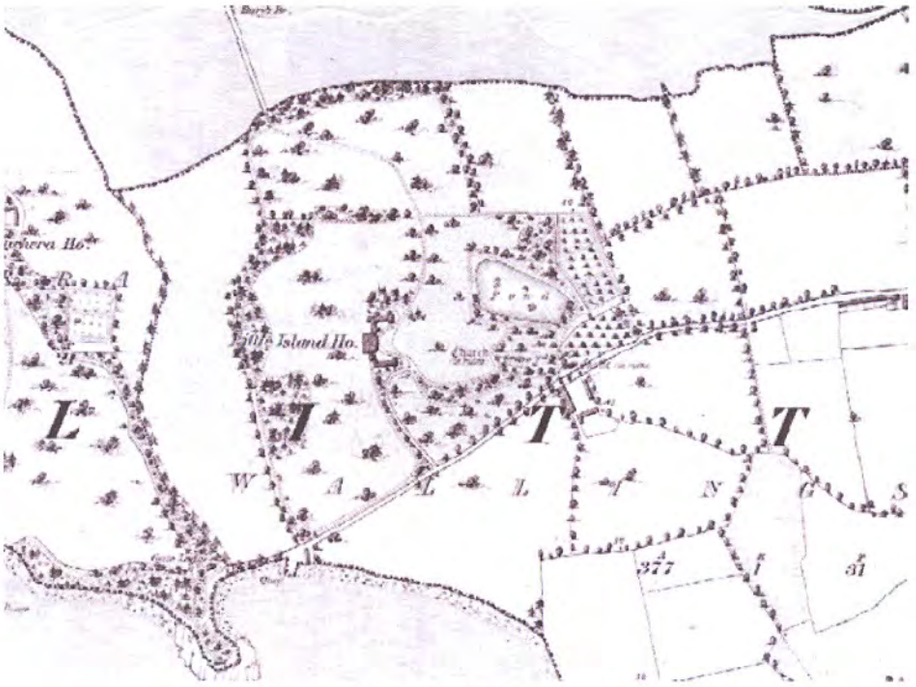
Figure 4 Gardens Inventory



Map of Fota House.

Aerial of Fota House.

Figure 5 Fota House, Co. Cork — A surviving site but with significant alterations. 1st Edition map (1845) & 2000 aerial photograph



Map of Little Island.

Aerial of Little Island.

Figure 6 Little Island, Co. Cork site, now an industrial estate, but still included on website.

The Derryhivenny Castle Project

Aideen Burke M.A.
(Landscape Archaeologist)

Introduction

Derryhivenny Castle is a seventeenth-century tower-house, located 5 km north of the modern town of Portumna and is sited close to the right bank of the River Shannon. According to the inscription on the corbels of a machicolation seen at battlement level on the northeastern angle of the castle, it was built by Daniel O'Madden — an important local landowner descended from the lordly family which had dominated this particular area since the thirteenth century — in 1643: **'D:O'M ME:FIERI:FECIT 1643'.**[1]

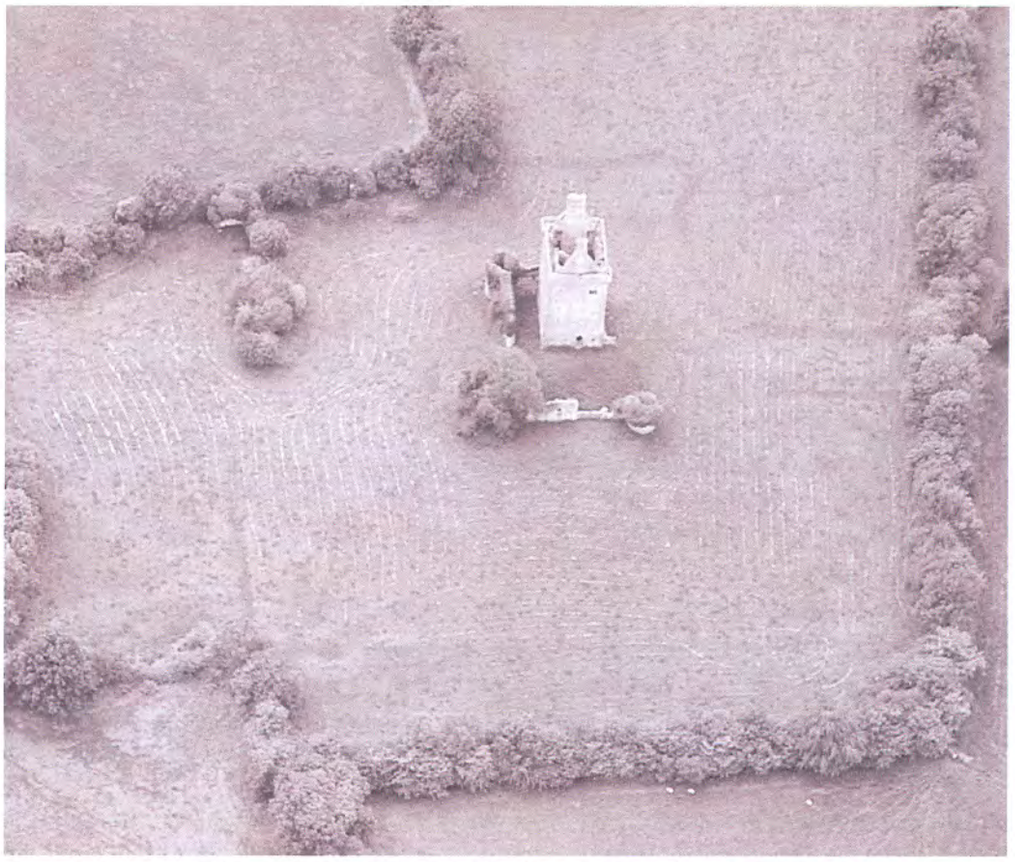


Figure 1 Aerial photograph of Derryhivenny from the east.

This research first began in 2004 as a minor M.A. thesis in Landscape Archaeology for which the objectives were fourfold. Firstly, to analyse the architecture of the standing remains of the tower-house and bawn to see how the castle was used when first occupied and whether the whole structure actually dates to the 1640s as the above-mentioned inscription suggests. Secondly, using various techniques such as fieldwork, cartography, geophysics, aerial photography and documentary research in order to recreate the immediate surroundings of the castle when it was in use. For example, were there outer defences around the standing tower-house and bawn? Is there evidence for original agricultural and administrative buildings at the site? How was the castle approached originally? Thirdly, why was the site at Derryhivenny chosen for a castle? Did earlier sites in the vicinity have a bearing on its siting?

Previous work on Derryhivenny Castle

Although Derryhivenny Castle has been given National Monument status, little detailed work has been carried out at this site to date. Harold G. Leask published a short article in 1938, giving a brief architectural description of the site including plans and elevations of the tower-house.[2] He also provided detailed drawings of specific features seen on the castle such as windows, fireplaces and doorways. A reconstruction of the tower-house and bawn is also included. This reconstruction also appears in Leask's book, *Irish castles and castellated houses* cited above. More recently, Derryhinvenny Castle has been discussed

[1] Harold G. Leask, *Irish castles and castellated houses* (Dundalk, [1941] 1964), pp 89–90, 104.
[2] Idem, 'Derryhivenny Castle, Co. Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 18 (1938–39), 72–6.

briefly in books by Maurice Craig and David Sweetman. However, until this research began, no attempt had been made to study the landscape setting of the castle nor had any attempt been made to look for other archaeological monuments associated with the castle.

Phase 1 of this project was carried out in 2004 and employed extensive field and desk research, cartography, aerial photography and geophysics, for which the results proved one thing — Derryhivenny Castle's archaeological landscape is far greater than previously documented. The tower-house of Derryhivenny Castle is well preserved, square in plan, and survives to its original height of four storeys and attic. It is located on the western side of an L-shaped bawn. This ivy-clad bawn does not survive in full and scarring shows evidence of renovation in parts — probably associated with activity contemporary with the nineteenth-century cottage lying in ruins in the southwest of the modern field boundary.

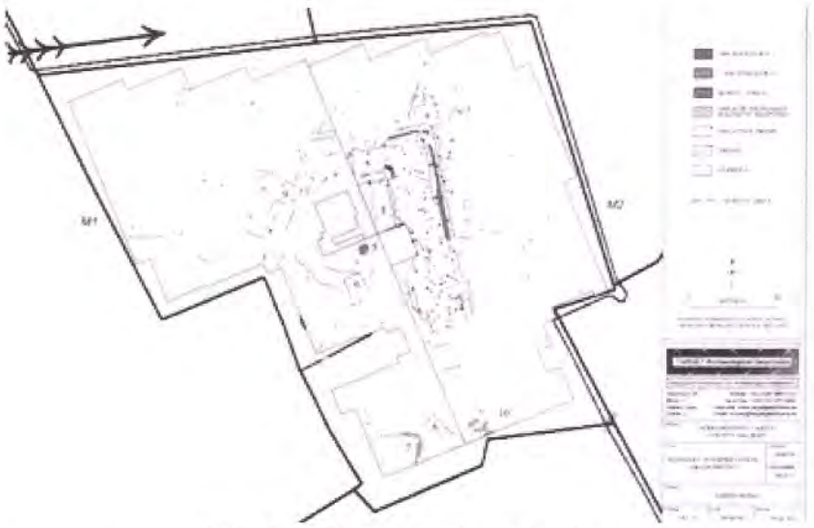


Figure 2 Phase 2 Geophysics Results.

The bawn wall possesses both domestic and defensive aspects. It has two flanking towers, one on the northeast angle and the other on the southwest angle of the bawn with gun loops providing massive protection to the bawn. These flanking towers, however, also catered for domestic activity and both provide first-floor accommodation and accompanying fireplaces. This domestic space is again evident in the double garderobe chutes in the west wall of the bawn abutting the southwest tower. Indeed, many bawn towers associated with Irish tower-houses provided extra living space and were not just purely military buildings.[3]

A one-storey building existed along the length of the eastern bawn wall. This probably served as a hall in which public meetings or feasts took place like those seen at Barryscourt Castle Co. Cork and Aughnanure Castle Co. Galway.[4] Although the west wall and floor space does not survive, the remains of a fireplace and recent evidence for four windows in the eastern wall suggest it was well-lit and that something was to be viewed in the eastern aspects of the castle grounds. It may be added that the only triple-mullioned window, located in the east wall of the third floor of the tower-house, further supports this theory.

Cartographic research and architectural analysis both confirm that the given date, 1643, for Derryhivenny Castle was most likely correct. This is illustrated by reference to John Browne's map of 1591 and Sir William Petty's map, *Hiberniae Delineatio*, of 1685. Derryhivenny Castle is absent in the former map and possibly represented on the latter as a placename, 'Derryhea : van,' in its location, which suggests that something existed in this area at that time (figure 3 on page 3). In addition, its architectural features such as the mullioned windows, Jacobean chimney stacks, large commodious rooms, numerous fireplaces and general size are expressive of the influence of the fortified house tradition such as that of the nearby Portumna Castle (see figure 1 on page 1), built by the Earl of Clanricarde around 1618.[5]

[3] Tom McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: feudal power in a Gaelic world* (London, 1997), p. 223.

[4] Ibid., p. 246; Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland: an archaeology* (Tempus, Stroud, 2000), p. 38; David Sweetman, *Medieval castles of Ireland* (Cork, 1999), p. 166; Idem, 'The origin and development of the tower-house in Ireland' in John Ludlow and Noel Jameson (eds), *Medieval Ireland: the Barryscourt lectures i–ix* (Carrigtwohill, 2004), p. 281.

[5] Sweetman, *Medieval castles of Ireland*, p. 175.

Conversely the defensive network of Derryhivenny Castle illustrates characteristics of the popular tower-house tradition, with its bawn wall, flanking tower, gun loops, parapet, machicolation, murder hole and spiral staircase.[6] It was concluded, however, that the ocular window lighting the staircase was part of the original structure, and is paralleled over the doorway of Portumna Castle. The Earl of Clanricarde was an entrepreneur whose architects would have had access to the latest fashions of renaissance Europe. Therefore it is most likely that this ocular window was copied by Daniel O'Madden and that the castle was built in 1643, thus fulfilling the first objective.

Aerial photography, site reconnaissance, cartography, historical research and geophysics were then employed to investigate the surrounding environs of the standing remains of the tower-house and bawn wall. The aerial photograph (figure 1 on page 21) clearly shows an outline of an outer bawn and possibly a circular bastion. This can be seen at ground level. To further support this theory, both the first and third edition OS maps indicate ancillary buildings and a possible pathway leading up to the castle from the Shannon, suggesting that this was the primary access route to the castle. This is evident in the modern landscape today — a detailed reconnaissance survey revealed the ruins of a possible gatehouse, an outer bawn wall and the primary access route leading up to the castle from the southeast towards the gatehouse.

The gatehouse is located *c.*30m south from the entrance to the inner bawn. It is a single storey rectangular building, collapsed and full of rubble, though part of the north wall and the east and west gables are still standing. This building was not mentioned in Leask's article of 1938, cited above. It is interesting to note that a gap appears in the north wall, measuring 2.2m in width. Furthermore, a slightly curving punch-dressed, chamfered stone of two orders belonging to an arch over a large doorway / entranceway lies close to this gap, camouflaged by overgrown nettles. The reconnaissance survey showed that the proposed entrance is heavily defended by the southwest flanking tower of the inner bawn wall.

Evidence of an outer bawn can be seen on closer inspection — faint scarring in the east gable extending eastward and scarring on the southeastern corner of the inner bawn suggests a wall ran southwards from it. There are no visible surface remains of this wall today, however, but a photograph in the possession of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland taken early in the last century shows some of it running southwards from the bawn. Presumably these two walls met and functioned as the southeastern side of an outer bawn.

A 2m high, 3m wide rubble heap, with a large number of stones in it, extends northwards for approximately 35m from the western gable of the gatehouse. This stops abruptly and a slight depression in the ground continues northwards along this line. This is clearly seen in the aerial photograph discussed previously. It shows that the line culminates in a circular protrusion that can really only be interpreted as the remains of a circular flanking defence. Therefore, this rubble heap can either be interpreted as clearance from the wall connecting the gatehouse to the inner bawn or the only standing remains of the western side of the outer bawn. All this provides good evidence of an outer bawn and gatehouse at Derryhivenny Castle — something not known before.

Phase 1 geophysics was carried out in August 2004 to investigate any subsurface features that relate to the above-mentioned results. A resistivity survey was the most suitable technique to be employed at this stage to establish any subsurface building remains masked by the modern landscape[7] The survey focused on the area around the western and eastern aspects of the modern field surrounding the castle. The interpretation of the results suggests the existence of an outer bawn wall as well as a secondary access route perhaps leading to an orchard garden, immediately north of the castle. This is characteristic of sixteenth and seventeenth-century tower-house and fortified houses.[8] In addition, the results suggest an enclosing ditch either earlier or contemporary with the castle complex.

As noted above, the triple-mullioned window of the east wall of the third floor of the tower, and the four windows of the hall house may indicate that something was to be viewed. Taking into account that the builder of Derryhivenny Castle was architecturally inspired, to some degree, by the earlier Portumna Castle it is not unreasonable to suggest that a fortified garden commands the eastern aspects of the castle complex, like the fortified garden at Portumna. The 2004 work illustrates that the Derryhivenny Castle complex is far greater than previously documented and that Leask's reconstruction is to a certain extent redundant, though still valid for the inner core.

Historical Background

Very little documented evidence survives in Ireland on the life of Daniel O'Madden. However, some information about his lineage and the O'Madden lordship before his time proved to be useful in demarcating the archaeological landscape of Derryhivenny Castle.

[6] Leask, *Irish castles and castellated houses*, pp 19, 75, 81, 98, 124; McNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, p. 218; Sweetman, *Medieval castles of Ireland*, p. 208.
[7] Antony Clark, *Seeing beneath the Soil. prospecting methods in archaeology* (London, 1996), p. 27.
[8] John Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London, 1981), p. x.

The ancestry of the O'Maddens of Hy-Many (as this region was known) can be traced back as far as 700 A.D. John O'Madden was the son and heir of Domhnall O'Madden who came from a lineage of sons and heirs of O'Maddens of Derryhewny (assumed to be Derryhivenny).[9] *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* lists the lands given back to a Domhnall O'Madden in 1585 under feudal tenure. One such piece of land is called 'Derryowen' (presumably this translates as Owen's oakwood).[10] There is no evidence for this placename existing around Derryhivenny or within the barony of Longford. Since placenames were often misspelled by the English due to their limited knowledge of the Irish language, it may be that 'Derryowen' is a misspelling of Derryhivenny. If this is the case, it hints that there was a degree of occupation at Derryhivenny Castle, or at least that the land was farmed intensively prior to the construction of the tower-house. This indicates that something may have existed at the site of Derryhivenny Castle prior to its construction in the 1640s. This hypothesis can really only be tested by future excavation.

Phase 2 of this research was carried out in 2006, funded by the heritage council. The geophysical survey was seen as one of the most successful techniques employed in Phase 1. It became, therefore, the primary field technique for this project (for Phase 2 geophysics see figure 2 on page 22). TARGET Archaeological Geophysics was appointed to conduct a comprehensive geophysical survey in and around the grounds of Derryhivenny Castle. This geophysical survey employed a high density fluxgate gradiometry survey that was used to investigate the entire site. A second phase of electrical resistance was carried out on the remaining area previously not surveyed by the 2004 survey.

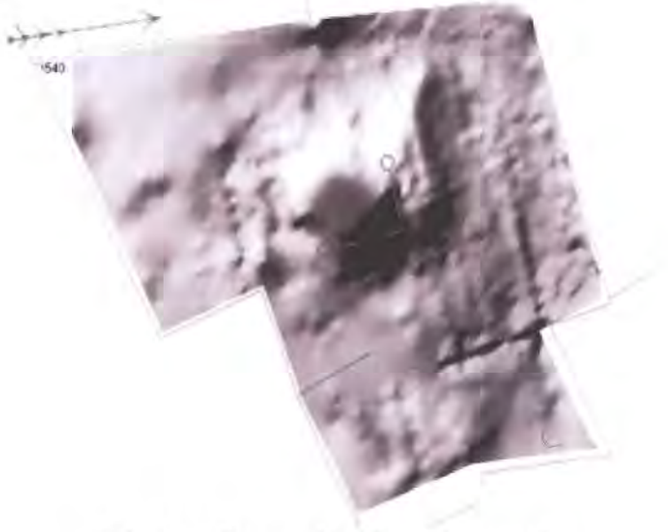


Figure 3 Topographical Survey in greyscale.

The gradiometry survey

A gradiometry survey was employed to investigate whether or not the castle is in fact encompassed by (earthen in this case) ditch and bank as suggested in the Phase 1 geophysics and aerial photography. The results proved successful, identifying much more than a ditch. The results demarcate the eastern outer bawn, comprising a linear ditch and possible stone-revetted bank. A sub-angular anomaly abuts the northeast corner of the ditch, not unlike a flanking defence, typical of many tower-houses; though there is no surface evidence of this and since the geophysics are unclear, it may be a feature that predates the castle. Other anomalies detected indicate areas of high magnetic responses, and could quite possibly be pit-like features occurring within the confines of the castle complex that could be the remains of kilns, hearths or furnaces associated with agricultural activity or that of the blacksmith, contemporaneous with the castle — if not from an earlier phase.

The Resistivity Survey

Phase 2 of the electrical resistance survey involved the areas not included in the Phase 1 survey, undertaken in 2004. The intention was to match both Phase 1 and 2 data sets to complete one image. However, this case proved to be a perfect example that the interpretation of geophysics is not absolute. The resistance of the ground to an electric current is almost entirely dependent upon the amount and distribution of moisture within it. For this reason, stone often

[9] Gerard Madden, *History of the O'Maddens of Hy-Many* (Mountshannon, 2004), p. 69.
[10] *The Compossicion booke of Conought / transcribed by A. Martin Freeman.* (Dublin : The Stationery Office, 1936), p. 79.

contrasts to less moisture resistant clays and soils. Given that both phases of the survey were conducted at different times of the year, their data sets reflect very different ground moisture levels and could not be matched. Nonetheless, both results produced a number of significant archaeological anomalies. Reinterpretation of Phase 1 by TARGET, illustrates anomalies previously unidentified, and complies with the linear ditch identified in the gradiometry survey. Phase 2 resistivity locates the pathway leading up to the entrance to the inner bawn, proposed from the reconnaissance survey. Also, a wall foundation was identified extending southwards from the west gable of the gatehouse.

Archaeological Context

The main findings of both Phase 1 and 2 geophysics have determined the probable limits of the castle complex and suggested areas of industrial and agricultural activity. The have outlined the eastern boundary in the form of ditch and revetments, and northeastern flanking defence. In addition, the wall extending from the gatehouse and the trends in the northwest and western aspects of the castle in turn define the respective limits of the castle complex. These results all illustrate a more precise interpretation of the archaeological landscape contemporary with Derryhivenny Castle — once again indicating that the castle complex was more extensive than had been thought. The previous work concluded that Derryhivenny Castle, like Portumna Castle, had a fortified garden, and that the presence of the only triple-mullioned window overlooking this area suggested that something was to be viewed. It can now be said with confidence that this area is delimited by the geophysics results.

The castle as we know dates to 1643. Considering that the tower-house, inner bawn, flanking towers, gatehouse, and southeast section of the outer bawn were all constructed of stone, is it not plausible to assume that the entire outer bawn was constructed of stone like the earlier Aughnanure Castle, Co. Galway? Consequently, could it be that the ditch and abutting flanking defence are earlier in date and part of a moated site, inhabited by Daniel O'Madden's ancestors? Thus addressing the third objective, did an earlier moated site have a bearing on its siting? This theory is supported by the evidence from the excavations at Barryscourt Castle. It too produced an unexpected moat.[11] Nevertheless, since the aerial photograph and the circular and linear feature have only been detected as positive trends in geophysics this evidence alone cannot be interpreted as archaeological. Firstly, since it can be clearly seen from the sky and has an ephemeral presence from the ground there was sufficient cause for further investigation. Secondly, the linear ditch and revetment that was revealed by geophysics needed to be assessed in greater detail. For these reasons a topographical survey was employed.

The Topographical Survey

Cormac Bruton was appointed to carry out a detailed topographical survey of the 1.9ha around the castle ruins. The topographical survey was conducted using GPS (Global Positioning System). This was carried out by recording a series of X, Y, and Z co-ordinates and plotted on a coloured 3D image, illustrating the varying altitudes using a range of colours (common co-ordinates illustrate possible subsurface features). The image projected is represented as a vertical overview with sun projection. In this case the sun is projected from the west, thus casting a shadow to the right-hand side of any possible subsurface features. The image clearly highlights the presences of linear anomalies encompassing the castle — some of which reflect the results of the geophysics. In particular, the anomalies to the eastern side of the castle may represent the large enclosing ditch and revetment. The topographical survey supports the findings of the geophysics that appear to demarcate the outer limits of the eastern side of the castle (see figure 3 on page 24). Similarly, the western limits of the castle display anomalies, characteristic of those of the eastern boundary. These indicate a raised ridge / platform running from the corner of the modern field boundary, extending north and curving eastward. As the geophysical results did not yield any clear information on this area it can be suggested that the topographical survey results demarcate the archaeology of the western side of the castle revealing an earthen bank and ditch with yet another flanking defence. Moreover, could it be that the 'rubble dump' as discussed earlier may be the original remains of this bank?

The earlier moated site?

It may be questioned why the outer bawn of the castle was not constructed of stone. This is further emphasised by the results of the topographical survey that illustrated subsurface earthworks. It is then noteworthy that the whole area encompassed by this 'outer bawn' is raised by 0.5–1.2m in height above normal ground level in the area. Let us suppose the tower and bawn were taken away, this would leave a raised, rectangular area surrounded by a ditch and bank. The castle itself is located in relatively flat, low-lying ground near the River Shannon, so water could have been easily diverted in order to facili-

[11] David Pollock, 'The Bawn exposed: recent excavations at Barryscourt' in John Ludlow and Noel Jameson (eds), *Medieval Ireland: the Barryscourt lectures i–ix* (Carrigtwohill, 2004), pp 155, 164, 173.

tate a moated site. Furthermore, the modern field boundary of the castle today comprises a low-rise bank and stream, in which access to the field is gained by a footbridge in the northwest corner. Again, it is noteworthy that the French drain detected by both Phase 1 and Phase 2 resistivity (see figure 2 on page 22), may have relocated the original ditch and bank to the existing field boundary as part of re-zoning of lands and new ownership. Moated sites were constructed in Ireland during thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in landscapes typical of that at Derryhivenny, and functioned as semi-defended homes of minor Anglo-Norman and Gaelic Irish lords during the high medieval period.[12] Therefore, the fieldwork evidence and the historical evidence all suggest that the landscape of Derryhivenny castle may be composed of a multi-phase archaeological complex.

Re-evaluation

This work shows that non destructive fieldwork techniques in archaeological investigation can provide substantial information when reconstructing archaeological landscapes (see figure 4 on page 26). Both the geophysics and topographical surveys indicated that the outer bawn comprises a bank and ditch that was reused not only as an outer bawn for the Castle but may also have been an earlier moated site. It has also been argued that Daniel O'Madden's ancestors dwelt within this landscape, and this argument was taken further by the presence of the moated site. The results of the gradiometry survey outlined areas of activity within the confines of the castle and it is argued that the processing of cereals may have taken place here. The main findings of this project again reinforced the idea that Derryhivenny Castle was much larger and was even more defensive and impressive than once thought. Yet we have not come to a final conclusion. Geophysics and topographical survey cannot be interpreted in isolation and the results are not absolute, as demonstrated in the comparison of Phase 1 and Phase 2 surveys. Each requires an archaeological backdrop to rationalise its archaeological context. It is suggested, therefore, that the archaeological hypotheses of this work should be tested by archaeological excavation.

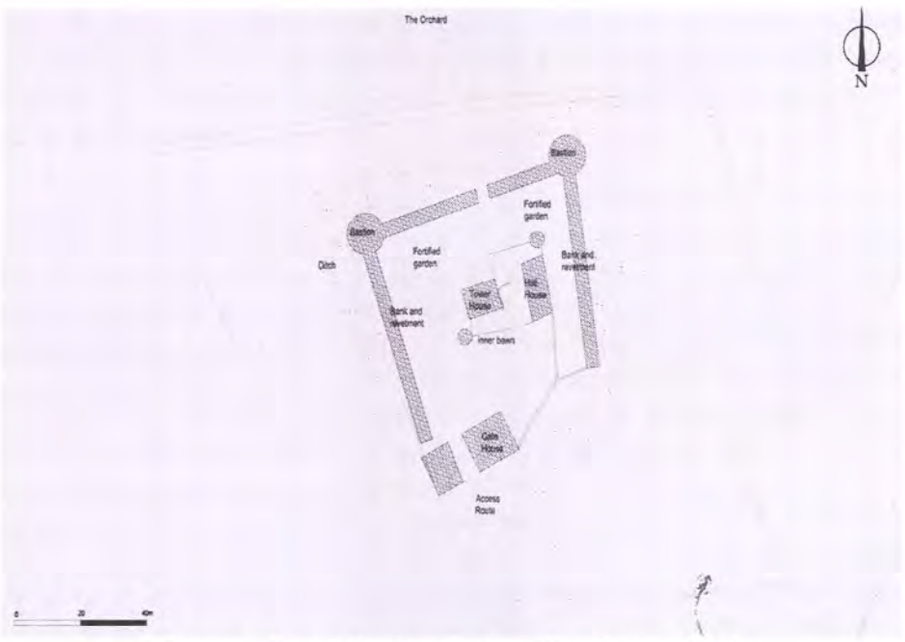


Figure 4 Proposed reconstruction of Derryhivenny Castle

Acknowledgements
This project could not have been carried out without the grant awarded by the Heritage Council under the Archaeology Grants Scheme 2006. Thanks are due to TARGET Archaeological Geophysics for carrying out the surveys and to Cormac Bruton for the geodetic surveying. Special thanks go to Paul Stevens and Maria Burke for assistance in the field. Thanks are due also to Dr Kieran D. O'Conor of NUI Galway, to Christy Cunniffe for his help and local knowledge, and to Katherine Kelly, the landowner for allowing the work to be carried out.

[12] Terry B. Barry, *Medieval moated sites of south-east Ireland* (Oxford, 1977), pp 101–2, 176; Kieran O'Conor, *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), pp 84–9; Idem, 'The morphology of Gaelic lordly sites in north Connacht' in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250–c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), pp 329–45 at 340.

Notices of Recently Published Books

Bernadette Cunningham

Archaeological inventory of County Kerry: volume 1: South-west Kerry, comprising the baronies of Dunkerron North, Dunkerron South, Glanarought and Iveragh

Compiled by Elizabeth Byrne, and others

(Dublin: Stationery Office, 2009, xviii, 698 p. Illus. ISBN 0755776232 Hbk, €40)

Twenty volumes have now been published in this ongoing series of county inventories, produced under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland. The inventory includes all known archaeological monuments from prehistoric times up to AD 1700. Three of the baronies covered by this volume (the exception is Glanarought) were the subject of a previous survey published separately in 1998 under the title *The Iveragh peninsula: an archaeological survey of south Kerry*. To avoid duplication, the present volume provides cross-references to descriptions of monuments published in that earlier work. Readers may also be interested in a related website, www.archaeology.ie, which provides access to the records of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland.

An archaeological survey of County Armagh

Ken Neill

(Belfast: The Stationery Office. Northern Ireland Environment Agency, 2009, xxviii, 657 p. Illus. ISBN 9780337088780 Hbk, £40)

This volume brings together the results of many decades of field survey, excavation and research to describe almost 850 archaeological sites in the county outside the City of Armagh. Individual descriptions and illustrations are complemented by detailed introductory essays which allow the reader to assess the significance of the monuments within both local and wider contexts. There are essays by Katharine Simms on early Christian and medieval Armagh and by the late Ann Hamlin on the ecclesiastical heritage of the county. Key sites in the inventory include Neolithic burial monuments like Ballymacdermot and Ballykeel, set in the spectacular surroundings of the Ring of Gullion in the south of the county. There is also the renowned complex of Bronze and Iron Age monuments focussed on Navan Fort. Significant Early Christian monuments include perhaps the earliest dated inscribed stone in Ireland at Kilnasaggart and one of the most important early convents at nearby Killevy.

Local worlds: upland farming and early settlement landscapes in southwest Ireland

William O'Brien

(Cork: Collins Press, 2009, 480 p. Illus. ISBN 9781848890213 Hbk, €40)

The Beara Peninsula in counties Cork and Kerry is one of the richest archaeological landscapes in Ireland. Hundreds of prehistoric monuments have been recorded in that area, dating from the Bronze Age to medieval times. The hill valleys of the peninsula also contain an important landscape record of early farm settlement, where entire field patterns are preserved under the growth of blanket peat. This book is the first detailed study to be published on pre-bog fields and early farming in Ireland. It contains the results of new archaeological research for anyone interested in prehistoric and early medieval Ireland, and in the story of Irish farming and its impact on the environment over the past 4000 years. [See review in this issue of *Áitreabh*]

Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations

Edited by Christiaan Corlett and Michael Potterton

(Research papers in Irish Archaeology, no. 1) Dublin: Wordwell, 2009, xi, 200 p. Illus. ISBN 9781905569328 Pbk, €40)

Recent discoveries in Irish archaeology that cast light on rural settlement in medieval Ireland were the topic of a 2005 seminar hosted by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Discovery Programme. Eight papers from the seminar are published here alongside an additional eight papers on related topics. [See review in this issue of *Áitreabh*]

Uncovering Medieval Trim: archaeological excavations in and around Trim, Co. Meath

Michael Potterton and Matthew Seaver, editors

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, 384 p. Illus. ISBN 9781846821691 Hbk, €45)

Findings from recent archaeological excavations at Trim are analysed in this book. Topics include the evidence to show that Trim's first church was located where the Church of Ireland cathedral now stands, the layout and development of religious houses in the town, and the location and form of the towns' medieval defences, as well as its streets, houses and suburbs. The book ends with a summary of the recently commissioned management and conservation plans for Trim's town walls.

Medieval Dublin, IX; Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2007

Edited by Seán Duffy

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, 250 p. Illus. ISBN 9781846821714 Hbk, €50; ISBN 9781846821721 Pbk, €25)

Reports on recent archaeological excavations and papers of historical interest published here together represent the proceedings of the 2007 symposium of the Friends of Medieval Dublin. There are some additional essays not presented at the symposium. Claire Walsh reports on findings at Chancery Lane, just south of Dublin Castle, including an early-medieval stone-lined well and a pre-Viking roadway, which may be related to the early monastic site of Duiblinn from which the city takes its name. Franc Myles reports on a millpond, watercourses and seventeenth-century defences along Ardee Street in the Liberties. Linzi Simpson suggests that the graveyard known as Bully's Acre may have been part of the early-medieval monastery of Kilmainham. Melanie McQuade describes the findings from an excavation at the site of the medieval castle at Meakstown near Finglas. Peter Harbison examines antiquarian drawings of St Doulagh's medieval church at Balgriffin in north County Dublin. The volume concludes with Tríona Nicholl's chronicle of her journey from Roskilde to Dublin on the Sea-Stallion of Glendalough, a reconstructed Viking-Age longship.

Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke

John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher & Anngret Simms, editors

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, xxxi, 584 p. Illus. ISBN: 9781846821547 Hbk, €50)

Among the many topics covered in this volume are the intellectual climate of Dublin in the 1970s, the theme of cross cultural processes between the Scandinavian settlers and the native Irish, focusing on language, settlement structure, maritime warfare, politics, childhood and family. Another part of the book, extending over the high-medieval period, deals with spiritual and secular aspects of medieval Dublin providing new research on Christ Church Cathedral, St Mary's Abbey, the hermits of St Augustine, intra-mural churches, Dublin castle, its medieval harbours, medieval land-use in the hinterland of Dublin, the meaning of a lost stone

cross and late-medieval relics of Holy Trinity Church, as well as two textual editions consisting of the earliest recension of the Dublin Chronicle and the accounts of the Holy Trinity Guild. The final section includes representations of Viking and medieval Dublin in texts, maps and finally 'Dublinia', the medieval Dublin heritage centre.

The Knights of Glin: seven centuries of change
Edited by Tom Donovan
(Glin: Glin Historical Society, 2009, 464 p. Illus. ISBN 9780953037339 Hbk, €50)

This luxurious and lavishly illustrated book traces the history of the FitzGerald family in County Limerick from their origins in the twelfth century to the present day. The Knights of Glin gained control of a large hinterland along the southern bank of the Shannon Estuary, initially as vassals to the Earl of Desmond. Through the centuries they adapted to a constantly changing environment and that story is recounted here. The interdisciplinary approach adopted by the seventeen contributors places the history of the big house, Glin castle, and the family that lived there in the context of the local history of the region. A study of the evolution of Glin village is included alongside an essay on the gardens at Glin Castle, and an overview of the historic maps of Glin.

The history and archaeology of Glanworth Castle, Co. Cork: excavations, 1982–4
Conleth Manning
(Archaeological Monographs Series, 4) (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2009, xiv, 156 p. Illus. ISBN 9781406424409 Pbk, €15)

Detailed excavation reports are accompanied here by an overview of the history of Glanworth Castle by Paul McCotter and Conleth Manning, though the authors note the paucity of archival documentation that survives for the castle. The partial excavation conducted in the 1980s uncovered a complicated sequence of occupation and building phases, and raised interesting questions about the distinction between timber and stone castles. While there were some prehistoric finds no clear evidence was found for early medieval activity on the site. Alterations in the fourteenth century are identified as a second phase in the evolution of the building, and there was a further phase of development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, strengthening its defensive features. A large proportion of the finds from the excavation dates from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when residential facilities were improved. Occupation continued up to the mid eighteenth century, though the high status occupation of the castle had probably come to an end a century earlier.

The Queen's last map-maker: Richard Bartlett in Ireland, 1600–3
J.H. Andrews
(Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008, viii, 120 p. Illus. ISBN 9780906602430 Hbk, €40)

Colour reproductions of twenty-one maps from the early seventeenth century are included in this volume to accompany J.H. Andrews' detailed analysis of the Irish maps drawn by Richard Bartlett, an Elizabethan cartographer. While the majority of the maps are now found in National Library of Ireland MS 2656, and some are already known from Hayes McCoy's *Ulster and other Irish maps* (Dublin, 1964), this volume also includes Bartlett maps from other archives including Trinity College Dublin, the British Library, and the National Archives at Kew. All aspects of the Bartlett maps are analysed in detail, including, for example, the cartographer's method of depicting settlements and territorial boundaries, in a chapter entitled 'Signs and signals'. The issue of rural settlement is discussed in some detail as part of a chapter entitled 'More distant prospects: the people', while the important matter of the accuracy of Bartlett's work is evaluated in a later chapter. This is a comprehensive study by a cartographic expert of a significant Elizabethan map-maker in early modern Ireland.

The Iveragh peninsula: a cultural atlas of the Ring of Kerry
Editors: John Crowley and John Sheehan. Cartographic editor: Mike Murphy
(Cork: Cork University Press, 2009, xiv, 496 p. ISBN 9781859184301 Hbk, €59)

Not a conventional atlas, this large, illustrated volume combines many different approaches towards understanding the distinctive character of the landscape of the Iveragh peninsula. It comprises over fifty individual chapters and case studies, providing the reader with a broad range of perspectives on the locality from prehistoric times to the present. All aspects of Iveragh's past are considered, using evidence from the disciplines of archaeology, art history, cartography, folklore, geography, geology, history, mythology and zoology.

Limerick history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county
Editors, Liam Irwin and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh. Associate editor, Matthew Potter. Series editor, William Nolan
(Dublin: Geography Publications, 2009, xxiii, 697 p. ISBN 9780906602492 Hbk, €60)

Among the twenty-seven varied chapters in this the 20th volume in the Geography Publications' county history series there are several of special interest to settlement historians. These include Brian Hodkinson on the medieval city, David Fleming on the eighteenth-century economy of the city, P.J. O'Connor on the growth and development of county Limerick's leading towns, Gerard Curtin on land tenure, farm economy and society in west Limerick in the early nineteenth century, and Jonathan Cherry on landlords, estates, demesnes and mansion houses in county Limerick from 1870 to 1920.

Offaly through time and its townlands
Thomas Lee
(Sandycove, Co. Dublin: Ottait Publishing, 2009, vii, 263 p. ISBN 9780956390509 Pbk, €12.68)

A substantial portion of this book is devoted to a gazetteer of the townlands in county Offaly, some 1136 of them, with a particular emphasis on the antiquities that exist in the landscape. This is preceded by an overview of the evolution of the county from its earliest times through to the formation of parishes in the medieval period, and the development of medieval route ways. It provides an important record of an historic local landscape at a time of rapid change.

Kilkenny through the centuries: chapters in the history of an Irish city
John Bradley and Michael O'Dwyer
(Kilkenny: Kilkenny Borough Council, 2009, xiv, 527 p. ISBN 9780956248916 Hbk, €35)

Designed to mark the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Charter of Kilkenny city, thirty essays are collected together in a substantial volume on the history of the city from its origins down to the present. There are reprints of important essays originally published in a variety of books and journals, and these are placed alongside essays written specifically for this compilation. It is an attractively produced book, containing some of the best research that has been done on the history of an Irish town, and a worthy contribution to Irish urban history.

Thomas Roberts: landscape and patronage in eighteenth-century Ireland
William Laffan and Brendan Rooney
(Tralee: Churchill House Press, for the National Gallery of Ireland, 2009, 416 p. Illus. ISBN 9780955024634

Hbk, €55)

The landscape art of Thomas Roberts (1748–1777), one of Ireland's most accomplished landscape painters, is the subject of this lavish book. Publishing many of his paintings for the first time, the book also pays particular attention to the patrons who supported Roberts' work. The aesthetics of landscape gardening, the concern with Irish antiquities, and the consequences of the philosophy of 'improvement' in the eighteenth century are each illuminated and contextualised.

Tuam (Irish Historic Towns Atlas, No. 20)
By J.A. Claffey
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009, 20 p, text, 15 p, maps and plates, Illus. ISBN 9781904890478 Pbk, €30)

The most recent *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* traces the growth and decline of Tuam, Co. Galway, through its origins as a monastic centre to its rise in the twelfth century as a cathedral city and to its development in the eighteenth century as an important trading centre in the west of Ireland. Histories of over 700 sites (streets, markets, schools, etc.) are detailed alongside a series of maps and views of the town presented in large loose sheet format. A CD-ROM of the text is also included.

Kilkenny: the struggle for the land, 1850–1882
Walter Walsh
(Thomastown: Walsh Books, 2008, xxviii, 531 p. ISBN 9780955964206 €45)

Landownership and the agricultural economy in County Kilkenny in the decades after the Great Famine are the theme of this substantial local study. In the immediate aftermath of the Great Famine landlords moved to consolidate their estates. Their position as owners of the land, the preeminent source of economic prosperity, was apparently secure. Yet, within forty years circumstances had changed so radically that not only was their right to determine rent levels being challenged but the system of landownership itself was under threat. This book uses the case of County Kilkenny to explain this momentous change, which prompted a political struggle for control of land and culminated in a transformation of landownership in Ireland by the early years of the twentieth century.

An illustrated history of the Phoenix Park: landscape and management to 1880
John A. McCullen
(Dublin: Office of Public Works, 2009, xv, 371 p. Illus. ISBN 9781406424256 Hbk, €40)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the public areas of the Phoenix Park in Dublin owed their landscape formation more to natural landforms and distant views than to designed landscapes. The various institutions and lodges within the park that incorporated landscaped demesnes added to the variety and beauty of the landscape. In the eighteenth century military functions came to dominate much of the Park's landscape, and the Park came to be used for a variety of institutional, defensive and military purposes. Much of the present landscape infrastructure of the Park dates from the years 1832–49 when Decimus Burton was employed as architect and landscape designer. The present volume focuses on the period from 1800 to 1880, during which time most of the modern infrastructural development of the Park took place. Designated as a National Historic Park in 1986, the landscape conservation and management of Dublin's Phoenix Park is overseen by the Office of Public Works. The author of the present volume, John A. McCullen, as Chief Park Superintendent, has had responsibility for the Phoenix Park and other historic properties for more than twenty-five years.

If trees could talk: the story of woodlands around Belfast.
Ben Simon
(Belfast: Forest of Belfast, 2009, 128 p. Illus. ISBN 9780955158322 Hbk, £10)

This engaging book explores the evolution of the landscape around Belfast. It visits the woodlands, historic demesnes, parks and gardens in Belfast's hinterland, highlighting the remnants of old woodlands on the hillsides around the city that are the key to historic landscapes. The author of this thoroughly researched and well illustrated book argues that if trees could talk they would encourage us to become more aware of the city environment and to explore, celebrate and cherish Belfast's woodland heritage.

Belfast: a history
By W.A. Maguire
(Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2009, X, 278 p. Illus. ISBN 9781859361894 Pbk, £20)

This revised and enlarged edition of a work originally published in 1993 provides a succinct account of the evolution of the city of Belfast. Its location, its industry and its particular religious and social mix have combined to produce a unique city in the context of both Ireland and Britain. This well illustrated volume is one of a series of town and city histories published by Carnegie since 2005.

Inisvickillane: a unique portrait of the Blasket island
Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine
(Dingle: Brandon, 2009, 284 p. Illus. ISBN 9780863224126 Pbk, €19.99)

First published in Irish in 2007, as *Inis Mhic Uibhleáin*, Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine's study of a small island community is now available in English from the same publisher. The book explores many aspects of the island from natural history to folklore to archaeology and above all its people. Just two or three families lived on the island in the nineteenth century, and their stories are traced in the context of the island landscape in which they lived and worked.

Newly published sources and guides to sources

Bernadette Cunningham

Directory of archaeological sources relating to County Kildare
Prepared for Kildare County Council as an Action of the Kildare Heritage Plan, 2005–2009
By Jason Bolton
(Naas: Kildare County Council, 2008, 148 p. Illus. ISBN 9780955245930 Pbk. npg)

Designed as a user-friendly guide to archaeological source material for County Kildare, this book offers a wealth of advice on sources for the study of a particular local landscape. Relevant maps, photographs, artefacts and textual sources are all detailed, and while the focus is specifically on County Kildare many categories of information outlined could be usefully consulted for other Irish counties also.

Medieval Gaelic sources
(Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History)
Katharine Simms
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, 131 p.
ISBN 9781846821370 Hbk, €39.95;
ISBN 978184 6821387 Pbk, €19.95)

Gaelic language sources for the history of medieval and early modern Ireland were the product of the bardic schools in history, poetry, law and medicine. This book provides a practical guide for those interested in researching Gaelic Ireland who would like to extract usable historical information from annals, poems, genealogies, etc. It discusses the purposes for which they were originally created, their survival and accessibility in print and on the internet, and, above all, how to make use of them as historical sources. The guide is of particular value to researchers investigating aspects of local and regional societies in the medieval and early modern periods.

Travellers' accounts as source material for Irish historians
C.J. Woods
(Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History)
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, 248 p.
ISBN 9781846821318 Hbk, €50;
ISBN 9781846821325 Pbk, €25)

Travel narratives are an important source of information on landscape, transport, the economy and society in the past. This guide records and annotates over 200 travel narratives from the years 1635 to 1948. Arranged in chronological order, the guide outlines the itinerary, the mode of transport, the purpose of the visit and the particular interests of the traveller. The indexes of travellers and places make it easy to identify those accounts that refer to particular localities throughout the country.

Ordnance Survey Letters, Galway
Edited by Michael Herity. Assistant editor, David McGuinness
(Dublin: Fourmasters Press, 2009, xxxii, 510 p. Illus. ISBN 97819033538159 Hbk, €90)
and
Ordnance Survey Letters, Mayo
Edited with an introduction by Michael Herity
(Dublin: Fourmasters Press, 2009, xx, 355 p. ISBN 9781903538135 Hbk. €75)

Nine volumes have now been published in the Fourmasters Press series of Ordnance Survey Letters. The letters edited here, from the originals in the Royal Irish Academy Library, comprise reports by researchers working on topographical and place-name research throughout Ireland in association with the mapping of the country in the 1830s and early 1840s. Research conducted by specialist scholars in pre-Famine Ireland as recorded in these letters provides a valuable record of many topographical and antiquarian features in the landscape. The letters are interspersed with many fascinating details of the people encountered by the researchers as they worked their way around the country.

Review

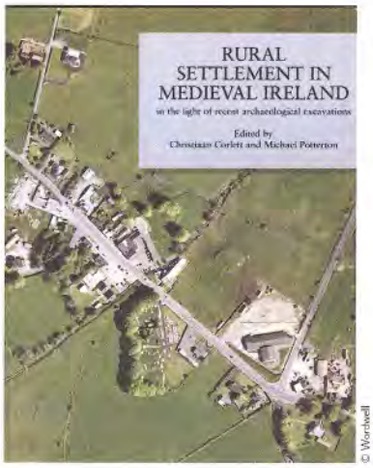
Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations
Edited by Christiaan Corlett and Michael Potterton
Paperback (ISBN 978-1-905569-32-8) Published 2009. 200 pp, ills. €40.
http://www.wordwellbooks.com

This volume, published by Wordwell in association with the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Discovery Programme, contains sixteen papers each detailing the excavation of a rural settlement site with substantial evidence of occupation in the medieval period. Five of these sites are located in Co. Meath, four in Co. Wexford, two in Co. Roscommon and one each in Counties Cork, Dublin, Kildare, Limerick and Wicklow. Apart from the two sites in Co. Roscommon, which were excavated as part of the archaeological research agenda of the Discovery Programme, these sites were investigated ahead of road construction or commercial development.

The majority of the papers were presented at a one-day thematic seminar organised by the editors Christiaan Corlett and Michael Potterton who have augmented the collection with a number of additional contributions and a *Foreword* written by Professor Terry Barry. The aim of the seminar was to highlight recent archaeological discoveries and disseminate information both within the archaeological profession and to a wider audience. Five such seminars have been held and this volume is the first to appear in a series called 'Research papers in Irish archaeology'.

The contributors to the seminar were requested to structure their presentations under a number of headings or subsections and the published papers, by and large, follow this arrangement, which greatly increases their usefulness and accessibility to non-specialists. A description of the site location along with the method of its 'discovery' is followed by an overview of the archaeological and historical context

before the details of structures and finds are given. The papers conclude with a discussion of the ways in which each site can contribute to debates within the field of medieval rural settlement studies. Some of the papers are accompanied by specialist reports on pottery, animal bones, metal objects and so on, which further increase their value.



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Three of the papers deal with excavations of moated sites. At Coolamurry, to the west of Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, Grace Fegan uncovered a classic example of one of these medieval farmsteads surrounded by a rectangular ditch or moat approximately 5m wide and up to 2m deep in places. Internally, the site was divided into a human habitation area and an animal enclosure. Evidence was found of an impressive entrance structure with a bridge which could be raised to cut off access to the site. The dating of the site suggests it was constructed in the thirteenth century and probably abandoned in the fourteenth. To the south of Coolamurry, Michael Tierney excavated another moated site at Carrowreagh between Wexford and New Ross. As with Coolamurry, there were no surface remains to be seen before excavation but knowledge of the site had persisted in local folklore and the lines of the moat were respected by later field boundaries. The moat at Carrowreagh was of similar dimensions to that at Coolamurry and would have formed an impressive defensive feature.

In contrast, the moat at the third moated site described in the volume, at Ballinvinny 7km north of Cork, was a much smaller structure which would not have presented any serious difficulty to a determined assault. The excavator of this site, Eamonn Cotter, speculates that here the moat functioned as a status symbol for its late-thirteenth century builders.

Several sites in the volume are categorised as undefended farmsteads. One of these sites was uncovered at Moneycross 2km south of Gorey in north Co. Wexford. In an area which is believed to have seen little in the way of Anglo-Norman settlement, Holger Schweitzer revealed the remains of a thirteenth-century longhouse divided internally into byre and domestic areas, along with associated fields and enclosures. The artefactual assemblage suggested habitation by Anglo-Normans and the settlement was probably abandoned at the end of the thirteenth century.

In contrast to north Wexford, southeast Meath was an area which saw very comprehensive and enduring settlement by the Anglo-Normans. At Baltrasna, near Ratoath, Donal Fallon excavated features associated with a farming settlement which appears to have been occupied more or less continuously from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. Just to the north, a site at Cookstown was occupied for an even longer period, perhaps as long as 4,000 years. In the later medieval period a ringfort was incorporated into the enclosure of a settlement which consisted of a house and a forge. Richard Clutterbuck makes the point that this medieval settlement's proximity to a modern farmstead lends weight to the suggestion that significant archaeological evidence for dispersed rural settlements may lie beneath such farmsteads. The settlement at Cookstown was focused on a lane, as was Christine Baker's site at Tullykane near Kilmessan in Co. Meath, which she characterises as an English tenant settlement of the thirteenth century. In settled and stable parts of Meath access was clearly a more important consideration than defence.

At Killegland, near Ashbourne Co. Meath William Frazer excavated a medieval farmstead which was situated near a mill and fish ponds and across from a castle which probably marked the location of the manorial centre. He contributes a thoughtful discussion about the possible occupants of the site and the phasing of its construction and occupation. Several of the authors, including Fraser, grapple with the difficulty of identifying the status and ethnicity of a site's occupants from the artefacts found. James Eoghan excavated the remains of an agricultural settlement at Attyflin Co. Limerick where the artefactual assemblage sent out mixed messages. The pottery contained a large proportion of glazed table ware signifying high status and there was a ring-brooch of Anglo-Norman type. There was also a stick pin of Irish type and the situation of the site, on a manorial periphery, indicated possible Irish occupants. Are we looking here at Anglo-Normans 'going native' and adopting Irish forms of dress accessories, or Irish farmers becoming 'Normanised'? In this case the excavator proposes that Attyflin may have been either a betagh settlement or the residence of a Gaelic free tenant.

The two sites in Co. Roscommon, in the territory of the O'Conors, were clearly Gaelic but are not without their surprises. Niall Brady's paper on Tulsk outlines the process whereby the excavation of a raised ringfort revealed a previously unseen but substantial masonry tower. It is suggested that

this may be the castle which documentary sources state was built by the O'Conor Roe in Tulsk in the early fifteenth century. To the south of Tulsk, Rory McNeary and Brian Shanahan undertook a detailed exploration of Carns townland which included aerial survey, landscape analysis, fieldwork and targeted small-scale excavation. Their work revealed a remarkable sequence of prehistoric, early and late medieval settlement and field boundaries and promises to add considerably to our understanding of land use and enclosures in medieval Gaelic Ireland.

Images are first rate throughout the volume, whether they are showcasing the latest technologies of laser scanning or the more artistic medium of reconstruction drawing. In this context special mention should be made of the late Simon Dick's excellent reconstruction of the gatehouse and bridge into the Coolamurry moated site. It is clear that the editors put a great deal of effort into the production of such a visually impressive volume which still manages to retail at just €40.

There is no doubting the huge quantity of information which has been generated as a result of the recent boom in development-led archaeology. There has, however, been some questioning of the degree to which this increase in data has been matched by developments in the quality of interpretation and explanation. This collection should put such doubts to rest as it presents clear evidence of a group of archaeologists who can put the results of their excavations and field work into a wider context and skilfully pose and answer questions relating to rural settlement in medieval Ireland.

Margaret Murphy
Project Historian
Medieval Rural Settlement Project
The Discovery Programme

Upcoming Events

Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society Annual Conference, 25–26 June 2010, University of Limerick.
Contact Dr David Fleming (david.fleming@ul.ie) for details.

Portrait of the City: framing the significance of historic urban landscapes
December 9–10–11, 2010 www.portrait-of-the-city.com
In December 2010 the School of Architecture, Landscape and Civil Engineering, University College Dublin, in collaboration with the Office of Public Works will host a multi-disciplinary international conference to explore the significance of cities, their constructed heritage, and the manner in which both the city and its heritage are framed for the public, the nation and the tourist. It will construct a portrait of the city as imagined, created, destroyed, manipulated and lived by its citizens.

In order to elucidate these topics, we have invited international scholars from different fields as keynote speakers. The invitation is now open to scholars and students to submit abstracts for the open sessions.

Dingle / Daingean Uí Chúis Conference Abstracts

The Settlement Archaeology of the Dingle Peninsula
Ms Isabel Bennett, Curator, Músaem Chorca Dhuibhne

There have been people living in Corca Dhuibhne since at least the Later Mesolithic period. In this talk, Isabel will give an overview of the settlement sites of the Peninsula from those earliest times until the present day. It will be presented more as an introduction to the area and its monuments, for those who may be unfamiliar with the peninsula, than as an serious academic exercise. As the Bronze Age and Early Medieval Period have left more traces behind than other periods of history and prehistory, these will provide most of the examples used. It is hoped that the talk will act as a taster for what is to come during the weekend, and will also encourage people to take some time to visit some of the many monuments still to be seen in the area, outside of those to be visited during the field trips.

Mackerel & Manx Fishermen — Visitors to the Dingle Peninsula 1880–1915
Dan Graham

This presentation will explore the relationship between the Isle of Man fishermen and the Dingle Peninsula. The Manxmen came, worked and lived on their boats for the spring mackerel season. They were the first professional fishermen to arrive on the peninsula in the 1880s. The Manxmen brought organisation and commercial expertise into the catching, harvesting and exportation of fish from Dingle. The Dingle fisherman learnt and adapted these techniques.

The Manxmen sailed up to 250 sea miles to reach the lucrative mackerel fishing grounds. In turn, the Dingle fishermen began a relationship with ship building and chandlery businesses in the Isle of Man. The arrangement between Dingle and Manx fishing communities, though transient, was mutually beneficial over a thirty-five-year period. The impact of the Manx fishermen on Dingle fishing practices, led to the development of 'The Golden Age' of the Dingle fishery.

This fascinating, though incomplete story of the movement of fishermen between both fishing traditions will be illustrated through photographs, maps and original archive material.

A perusal of Blasket Island settlements: scracfhéachaint ar áiteanna lonnaithe ar an mBlascaoid Mór
Mícheál de Mórdha

My talk will cover the social history and settlement pattern of the Great Blasket Island population — especially the latter days of the settlement there — say from 1800 onwards . . .
I propose to make a brief reference to Na Clocháin Gheala agus An Dún . . . but my main thrust will be a lead up to the final evacuation of that famous island in 1953/54.

If time allows I may show an excerpt from the documentary film 'The Last of The Brood' — the story of the last remaining islanders . . .

The talk will be amply illustrated with slides and other references . . .

Earls, Knights and Kings in Corca Dhuibhne: 1200–1550
Dr Paul MacCotter

The study of lordship and settlement in what had been the pre-Invasion kingdom of Corcu Duibne presents a uniquely complex picture of interest for several reasons. The chief actors were: the three regnal families of the old kingdom (O' Falvey, O' Shea, O' Connell); the MacCarthy kings of Desmond and their O' Sullivan followers; a selection of great Norman barons of the de Mareis, de Clare, Kildare Geraldine and especially Shanid Geraldine families. Lesser actors included the Anglo-Norman knightly settlers of the northern peninsula (Hoares and Husseys, Bowlers, Ferreters, etc.), the O' Moriarty lineage, and the Knights of Kerry. Interesting themes explored include the descent of lordship here and its territorial nomenclature; the willing subservience of the MacCarthy kings to the Earls of Desmond; the extent of colonial settlement and its relation to older, indigenous settlement patterns.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE
in association with
Dingle Historical Society and Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne, Baile an Fheirtéaraigh

Dingle / Daingean Uí Chúis

MAY 7–9th, 2010

Landscape and historic settlement in the Dingle peninsula

Registration, Reception and Official Opening in Benner's Hotel
Official opening: Una Cosgrave, Heritage Officer, Kerry County Council
Conference Centre: Benner's Hotel / Lectures: Díseart Institute
Speakers:
Isabel Bennett (Músaem Chorca Dhuibhne)
An overview of the settlement archaeology of the Dingle peninsula
Claire Cotter (formerly of the Discovery Programme)
Who lived in Dunbeg? A look at some of the more prestigious early medieval settlements on the Dingle peninsula
Dr Tomás Ó Carragáin (Dept of Archaeology, UCC)
A cross-carved landscape: early medieval Corcu Duibne
Dr Paul MacCotter (Dept of History, UCC)
Late medieval Corca Dhuibhne: earls, knights and kings
Dan Graham
Mackerel and Manx Fishermen: visitors to the Dingle peninsula, 1880–1915
Dr Breandán Ó Ciobháin (formerly Placenames Office)
Ecclesiastical structures of the early Christian period in Corca Dhuibhne
Dr Declan Downey (School of History and Archives, UCD)
Foreign presence along the west Atlantic coast in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries
Mícheál de Mordha (Blasket Island Centre)
A perusal of Blasket Island settlements: scracfhéachaint ar áiteanna lonnaithe ar an mBlascaoid Mór
Mícheál Ó Móráin, (member of a family resettled in Baile Riabhach in 1959)
The population and re-population of Baile Riabhach, 1850–1959

Sites to be visited:
Saturday: Dunbeg fort, 'beehive' houses, Riasc monastic site, Gallarus oratory and Killmalkedar monastic site (**Guides:** Terry Barry and Isabel Bennett)
Sunday: Field trip by private car to Baile Riabhach settlement (**Guide:** Isabel Bennett)

Annual Dinner: Benner's Hotel, Dingle: €37 per person. This price is for those who have not availed of the 2 nights B&B + Conference dinner package €197 (€147 sharing)
Lunch: Please avail of the several cafes and restaurants in Dingle town
Conference Fee: €60. Students €30. *Fee includes coffee, admissions and bus on field trips*
Individual Sessions: €18

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