

# GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEWSLETTER

IRELAND

No. 26

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(See page 37 for details)  
€5 (Free to members)





Group  
for the Study  
of  
Irish Historic Settlement

## President's Welcome

Warmest greetings to all our members and friends !

They say 'third time lucky' so I am keeping my fingers crossed that all will go as planned and we can finally hold our annual conference in Donegal this year. It is quite remarkable that both our speakers, and the hotel in Donegal town, have been so willing to adjust to our ever-changing plans. We have a wonderful programme of talks and field trips and we will all know much more about Donegal after this weekend. There is also a special treat – our book launch will be in Donegal Castle; and we are grateful to the Office Works for agreeing to this. The Group is delighted to partner this conference with the Donegal GAP Heritage and History Group and their help to date has been invaluable.

In 2020 we said that the Group would build on the success of our 50th Anniversary Annual Conference, *Ireland-Galicia*, and the lessons learnt about the power of the sea to connect rather than divide communities. I am delighted to be able to announce that we will hold an international Thematic Conference on this subject in Dublin on the 10th–12th November, 2022, entitled *Sea and Settlement in Ireland: an international perspective*. The programme includes an impressive line-up of speakers who will discuss Irish connections with Wales, Scotland, France, Spain, Italy and North America. Further details of this international conference will be posted on our website in the coming weeks. I encourage you all to attend for a highly significant conference in the history of the group.

As President I want to extend my sincerest thanks to our committee members who have been a tower of strength in the last few years of the pandemic. Thanks also to our loyal members and friends who supported our online meetings. A huge thanks goes out to Charles Doherty who has produced another excellent and informative edition of our newsletter. This year will mark his twentieth year producing the GSIHS newsletter and for that the Group is truly in his debt.

On behalf of Donegal GAP Heritage and History Group and the GSIHS committee I look forward to extending a hearty Donegal welcome at our next annual conference in May.

Geraldine Stout (President) April 2022  
Geraldinestout56@gmail.com



Tullamore town in 1838 from the Ordnance Survey six-inch sheet, no. 17, King's County

## Articles

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Former President GSIHS

Practising solicitor and a notary public

(Lives in Tullamore)

***Tullamore***

***The Growth Process, 1622–2022***

### Introduction

The subject of urban growth was surveyed in 1994 by B.J. Graham and L.J. Proudfoot in a study which was further developed in Proudfoot's monograph on the management of the duke of Devonshire's towns in Ireland over the period 1764 to 1891. Proudfoot saw Irish urban history as still in its infancy with only a limited number of studies published that shed light on the workings

of the urban system during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and on the role of landed patrons within it. In Proudfoot's view many of the questions that were then commonplace on the agenda of British urban history had yet to be asked in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> That was almost thirty years ago and in the meantime the Irish Historic Towns Atlas Series (1986– in progress) has grown to thirty-three town studies and ancillary volumes providing the research base from which informed conclusions can now be drawn.<sup>2</sup> David Dickson in his exploration of ten Irish towns and cities in the 'long eighteenth century' (from the Restoration to the Union) has produced an immensely valuable and entertaining volume.<sup>3</sup> Dickson was always available to his students (and to many who were not as in my case) who could consult with him on the development of Irish towns and the role of the building speculator, among many other issues.



Charleville Square, Tullamore about 1910. The market house is to left and was probably designed by John Pentland and dated to 1789. The building with the canopy on the right was the new post office of 1909 designed by H.G. Leask and C.W. Crowe.

### Tullamore today

Tullamore today has a population of almost 15,000 and is the county town in Offaly and the fourth

largest town in the midlands with a population two-thirds that of each of the towns of Athlone, Mullingar and Portlaoise. The year 2022 is the

<sup>1</sup> B.J. Graham and L.J. Proudfoot, *Urban improvement in provincial Ireland, 1700–1840* (Athlone, 1994); L.J. Proudfoot, *Urban patronage and social authority: the management of the Duke of Devonshire's towns in Ireland, 1764–1891* (Washington, 1995). <sup>2</sup> H.B. Clarke and Sarah Gearty (eds), *More maps and texts: sources and the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Royal Irish Academy: Dublin, 2018), pp ix–x.

<sup>3</sup> David Dickson, *The first Irish cities: an eighteenth-century transformation* (Yale University Press, 2021) and see his short piece in *GSIHS Newsletter*, 25 (2020–21), 31–2.

400th anniversary of the grant of the lands of Tullamore to the Elizabethan soldier-settler family of Moore with the usual rights to hold markets and fairs and a manor court.<sup>4</sup> This year could be said to mark the beginning of the forms of local government and formality around market functions in Tullamore. The number of fairs would increase to twelve by the 1890s and formed an important part of the local economy up to the 1960s.

### Plantation

It was as part of the policy for the reconquest of Ireland by way of plantation that forts were erected at Philipstown (Daingean) and Maryborough (Portlaoise) in the late 1540s and the shires of King's (Offaly) and Queen's (Laois) counties established with Philipstown and Maryborough serving as the shire towns. The Laois-Offaly plantation followed but the two new towns remained little more than fortified garrisons.<sup>5</sup> The Moore family were among the new soldier settlers in King's County securing plantation grants near Croghan Hill and acquiring more by purchase from the O'Molloys in the vicinity of Tullamore.

The second phase of urban development in Offaly came with the plantation schemes of James I over the period 1610–1620. It was at Parsonstown (Birr) that the urban form found its most visible expression and the town was to maintain its primacy in the King's County urban hierarchy until the 1850s when it was overtaken by Tullamore, due to its central place in local administration and the development of the canal and rail networks. Philipstown was the shire or county town from 1557 and lost this status in 1832 after a fifty-year battle between the Ponsonby owners of Philipstown and the owners of Tullamore — the Bury family. Philipstown's status as the county town had been on the wane from the 1760s with the provision of the county infirmary in Tullamore.<sup>6</sup> A useful guide to the rank status of the King's County towns in the early growth phase is the '1659 census', otherwise a poll tax return of 1660–61. Parsonstown was almost three times

the size of Philipstown in terms of population, but in a regional framework it was similar in size to Mullingar and one-third the size of Athlone. Tullamore 'town' was included in the parish of Kilbride with 171 householders of which thirty-one were English.<sup>7</sup> Neither it nor the townlands of Kilbride parish were enumerated separately. Using a multiplier of three would suggest a population in Kilbride parish (Tullamore and Durrow) of over 500. In Arnold Horner's view, Athlone, Birr, and Mullingar were 'primate' centres, without rivals and dominating the surrounding areas.<sup>8</sup>

### Grant of Tullamore 1620

The 1620 grant of Tullamore (enrolled in 1622) included the castle, town, and lands and one watermill together with the grant of a weekly market, a two-day fair and the right to hold a manor court. There is little evidence of the growth of Tullamore in the seventeenth century. The long lease of eighty-one years granted by the Moore family to a Forth in-law in 1633 was detrimental to the growth of Tullamore and it was not until c.1700 that the first of the Moore family moved from Croghan and erected a house in the vicinity of the present O'Carroll Street where the canal harbour is now located.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly, the midland towns such as Athlone, Mullingar, Birr, Tullamore and Edenderry all developed strong market functions in the first half of the eighteenth century. Over the period 1700 to 1841 Tullamore's town centre was developed and has largely survived. During that period agricultural output increased; communications improved as did distribution and market functions; mostly resident landlords encouraged development from c.1700; security considerations led to the building of a barracks in Tullamore in 1716 and Tullamore's status was considerably enhanced with the development of the canal from 1798; the build-up of military during the Napoleonic wars led to more house building, a second barracks and an ordnance magazine. In what was a largely Protestant town it was the immigrant population, especially Quakers, who pro-

<sup>4</sup> *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish Record Commissions calendar prepared prior to 1830*, Foreword by M.C. Griffith (I.M.C.: Dublin, 1966), pp 360–1. <sup>5</sup> R.A. Butlin, 'Land and people, c.1600' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, volume iii, *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), p. 162. <sup>6</sup> Michael Byrne, 'The medical charities in King's County, 1767–1921' forthcoming in *Offaly Heritage*, 12 (2022). <sup>7</sup> S. Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland, circa 1659 etc.* (Dublin, 2002). For the value and limitation of this 'census' see William J. Smyth's new introduction in Pender, *A census*, pp v–lxii; see also 'Society and settlement in seventeenth century Ireland; the evidence of the "1659 census"' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground; essays on the historical geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), pp 55, 83. Towns and townlands were excluded in the '1659' returns for Ballycowan barony in King's County. <sup>8</sup> A.A. Horner, 'Stability and change in the towns and villages west of Dublin' (PhD, TCD, 1974), p. 30. <sup>9</sup> For more on the development of Tullamore see: T.W. Freeman, 'Tullamore and its environs, Co. Offaly', *Irish Geography*, 1:5 (1948), 133–50. Michael Byrne, 'The development of Tullamore, 1700–1921' (Unpublished M.Litt., TCD, 1979); Michael Byrne, 'Tullamore: the growth process, 1785–1841' in William Nolan and Timothy P. O'Neill (eds), *Offaly history and society* (Dublin, 1998), pp 568–626; Michael Byrne, 'Economic development in Offaly's towns and villages in the eighteenth century and the Vallancey survey of 1771', *Offaly Heritage*, 4 (2006), 95–166.

vided the entrepreneurial skills for development. Surviving leases in estate papers and memorials in the Registry of Deeds provide ample evidence of this.

#### **A period of growth: 1780–1840**

The period from the 1780s to the 1840s was crucial for Tullamore, as for many Irish towns, but there was an earlier progressive period from the late 1720s to the early 1760s when the town was owned and managed by Charles, Lord Tullamore who became earl of Charleville in 1758. In 1740 Lord Tullamore bought the old Forth mansion (built in 1641) at Redwood and renamed it Charleville. He improved the house and demesne and gave three-lives forever leases of town plots. His early death in 1764 (childless) and the long minority of his grand-nephew Charles William Bury stifled development until 1785. Bury had plans for the demesne from his coming of age in 1785 and substantial work was undertaken including demesne enlargement, a new lake, farmyard, and his new house, Charleville Castle.

Work started on the mansion in 1800 and was not finished until 1812. The building of a such a large house was a major mistake – and combined with an insecure spendthrift son would leave the family in debt to the extent of £75,000 at Bury's death in 1835, but still with a clear income, after all charges, of about £8,000.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the house being too big, its situation did not please commentators such as Edward Wakefield who, when visiting in 1809, remarked that neither the house nor grounds commanded any distant views ... 'I never saw an instance of so much money expended in erecting a princely mansion in so bad a situation.'<sup>11</sup> Also, unlike Birr, the house was an Irish mile (two km) from the town centre and its physical detachment would, from the late 1830s, lead to a social and economic distancing from the town's economy.

There were many reasons for this ongoing detachment, not least being a second minority (that of the fourth earl) from 1859 to 1873, his death at twenty-two in 1874 and the passing of the fifth earl at the age of forty-six a year later. A third short minority (that of Lady Emily Bury), and the Land War of the 1880s, largely terminated the connection with the town. It was not revived by her only surviving son Colonel Bury (of Mount Everest fame) who choose to live at Belvedere, Mullingar, a house or lodge inherited from a cousin in 1912. Charleville was shut up in 1912 and the contents

sold in 1948.<sup>12</sup> The great gallery in the house was considered by Girouard to be 'perhaps the most splendid example of a Gothic interior in Ireland'. The castle has been occupied since 1970.

Charles William Bury presided over the fortunes of Tullamore from his coming of age in 1785 to his death in 1835. That fifty-year period from 1785 can be identified as the great growth phase for Tullamore (the same is true for many Irish towns) and it continued until the end of the Napoleonic Wars of 1815. The darkness that fell over the world in 1816 ('the year without a summer'), was manifest in many Irish towns from 1816 to 1819 with growing typhoid outbreaks due to poverty and recurrences of fever with cholera in 1832. The Famine period of the 1840s and the emigration that followed destroyed the building process in many Irish towns until the 1890s.

#### **Factors for growth**

The factors for the successful growth of Tullamore from the mid-1780s, as with other towns, were: a period of sustained economic activity to bring about a pattern of demand; a planning process (landlord controlled or at least initiated) which created a well-ordered environment and provided for the public utilities and amenities such as church, school, courthouse, jail and hotel; a supply of land relatively free of legal restraints and title complications militating against development; the growth of a class of developers or building speculators (usually not the head landlord but businessmen who became tenants-in-chief) who having secured a landbank with good title from the landlord, managed the building process and tenancy system for long-term income advantage. The generous long leases to Tullamore's merchants were an impetus to development and gave them a strong degree of independence from their Charleville landlord.

What was exceptional for Tullamore was the construction of the Grand Canal to the town in 1798 and its completion to Shannon Harbour in 1804, providing a direct link with Dublin. The hundreds who worked on the construction of the canal, the new harbour, the canal hotel, and the passengers arriving in the town for transfer to other parts of Ireland greatly improved the local economy. Tullamore was the canal terminus for six years. Building speculators took on leases in new streets close to the canal and new areas were opened up for development. Even the parish priest was able to secure some funding from the Grand Canal Com-

<sup>10</sup> Mark Girouard, 'Charleville Forest, Co. Offaly, Eire', *Country Life*, 132 (No. 3421, 27 September 1962), 710–14; for the finances, see Nottingham University Library, papers of R. Warwick Bond, MS Marlay Letters, ii, pp 787–9; Burke's *Irish family records* (London, 1976), pp 190–2. <sup>11</sup> Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland: statistical and political*, 2 vols (London, 1812), i, pp 44–5. <sup>12</sup> R. Warwick Bond (ed.), *The Marlay letters 1778–1820* (London, 1837), p. 106.

pany directors for a new church in a location that ten years earlier, in 1794, was a back street. Tullamore's isolated position, distant from the main route to the west and the south, was no longer an issue.

### The new canal

The new canal provided a direct link with Dublin for the transport of goods at a cost which seems to have been relatively low. Turf, building materials and manure were carried at a lower rate. It was probably from this time onwards that the Tullamore limestone quarries began to be worked with vigour. An extensive trade was also carried on in bricks which were manufactured along the line of the canal west of Tullamore. In the 1840s up to 40,000 tons were carried but rising labour costs led to the introduction of a larger brick produced nearer Dublin.<sup>13</sup> That said the canal hotels were built to a lavish scale and were a costly failure. The two King's County canal hotels at Tullamore and Shannon Harbour ceased to operate in the 1830s while all passenger boat services terminated in 1852 as they were unable to compete with Bianconi coaches and the developing railways. As with some country houses in post 1921 Ireland the Tullamore hotel with its large garden was acquired by the Catholic clergy of Tullamore for a school and residence in the late 1850s. Some of the surrounding sites at Bury Quay, where the building of Georgian terraces was begun in 1800, were, in the 1830s, put to institutional use for a new primary school and a Mercy convent. Second level schools would follow in the same location in the early 1900s.

### Town planning

The first thirty years of Charles William Bury's career as Tullamore's landlord were interventionist in support of development with the completion of a hotel in late 1785 (not long after the disastrous balloon fire of May in that year). In 1788 a new county infirmary was built in the creation of a new Church Street instead of Church Avenue and a site provided for a new Methodist church. The following year the construction of the market house saw the completion of the town's first market square which had been in progress since at least 1713. The church of 1726 in Church Avenue was replaced over the period 1808 to 1815 by St Catherine's church at Hop Hill. In 1811 new schools were provided close to the infirmary. In all of this can be seen the careful attention to town

planning much as Bury had lavished on the creation of the enlarged demesne in the 1785–1815 period. After using lesser-known architects, Bury and his wife Catherine Maria employed Francis Johnston to design the castle and he was also involved in the design of St Catherine's and the late Georgian terrace at Church Street.<sup>14</sup> Bury's last contribution was to oversee the creation of a new square closer to the harbour for the sale of livestock and the weekly market. It was close to the ample stores at the canal harbour. The shambles, initially located at the back of the market house, were relocated to the new market square by 1820 on the site of the old Protestant church. The residents of the old Charleville Square could now enjoy its amenities without nuisance with the removal of the weekly fairs and the markets to an area close to the canal harbour. The thirty-year old market house was now to be used as a chapel-of-ease for the Church of Ireland on the first floor, and at ground floor for a local savings bank and later the Protestant YMCA. In pursuance of the economical approach of the councillors Tullamore did not possess a civic town hall until 1992. Acres Hall (1786), the home of Tullamore's first building speculator / middleman, Thomas Acres, was adapted for this purpose, with significant beneficial results for Tullamore's architectural heritage and streetscapes.

### Political connections

The Rosses in Birr were making similar improvements and had more political clout at national level. Tullamore was often called Tullamoore at this time in deference to the town's first owners, the Moore family, but the first earl of the second creation, Charles William Bury, never enjoyed the same political leverage as did Charles Moore, first earl of the first creation. The second and third earls of Rosse had the ear of government and the third earl made a great match, both financially and intellectually, in his marriage to Mary Field.

The second earl of Charleville (born in 1801 and within a year of the third earl of Rosse), who appears to have been insecure in himself, made a financially disastrous marriage at the age of nineteen when he was on the Grand Tour with his parents in 1821, and involved himself in expensive parliamentary elections in Carlow and Cornwall in the 1820s and 1830s. Neither he nor his father was able to secure a parliamentary seat in King's County. It was not surprising that when the young Lord Tullamore persuaded the grand

<sup>13</sup> Ruth Delany, *The Grand Canal of Ireland* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 197. <sup>14</sup> Judith Hill, 'Catherine Maria Bury of Charleville Castle, Co. Offaly and the design of the country house, 1800–12' in Terence Dooly, Maeve O'Riordan and Christopher Ridgway (eds), *Women and the country house in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin, 2018), pp 116–38.



jury to build a new county jail in Tullamore in 1826, the transfer of the assizes in 1832 and the new county courthouse in 1835, it represented the pinnacle of his career. Between Lord Tullamore's politics and the Reform Act of 1832 he had little chance of a parliamentary career without considerable expense and locally the Conservative vote was losing out to Repeal. His detachment from his own town was evident in the earl's response to the murder of Lord Norbury at Durrow, Tullamore, in 1839 and his attack on Tullamore's parish priest Fr O'Rafferty.<sup>15</sup>

### Decline

The great period of growth for Tullamore was now over and all that was left was the building of the workhouse in 1840. The tensions between the earl and his stepbrother James Tisdall only further exacerbated the feeling of insecurity and the policy of drift.<sup>16</sup> In 1844 Charleville Castle was shut up, the farm implements sold, and the second earl was obliged to live on a slender allowance from receivers until his death in a private asylum in London in 1851.

The third earl received a great welcome in Tullamore from the townspeople and his tenants when he succeeded in 1851 but appears to have made little impact and died in 1859. The year of his death was also that in which the rail connection from Tullamore to Athlone was completed. That from Portarlington to Tullamore was finished in 1854.

### Optimism

The year 1859 was one of optimism with not one but two new Tullamore newspapers talking up the prospects for the town with the railway and the need for public lighting and local government.<sup>17</sup> Success followed with the installation of gas lighting and local government in the form of town commissioners coming in 1860. Yet there was much

opposition from the leading house-property owning family of Acres, whose grandfather had received favourable building leases from Charles William Bury seventy years earlier. Only parts of the Towns Improvement Act of 1854 Act were adopted and it was not until 1900 that a full-blown urban district council came into being.<sup>18</sup>

### The twentieth century

Big supporters of public lighting were two of five Goodbody brothers who were leading Quaker entrepreneurs with a tobacco factory in Tullamore from the 1850s until its destruction by fire in 1886. The ability to move an entire business was displayed at the time with the tobacco factory business moved to Greenmount, Dublin, following on the disastrous fire, and staff transferred in special trains.<sup>19</sup> It was over fifty years later before replacement employment was found in the form of a textiles factory operated by Salts of Saltaire, Bradford, located on the site of the ruins of the county jail destroyed in 1922 by the departing Republicans together with the county courthouse and the barracks.

After the destruction of the tobacco factory Tullamore increasingly depended on malting, brewing and distilling, largely spearheaded by the Catholic merchants of Daly, Williams and Egan in association with Guinness and the distillers. These businesses, combined with a bacon factory and the Salts Woollen Mills, brought prosperity to Tullamore up to the 1960s. The urban district council replaced the speculative builder in the provision of housing from 1903 and it was the late 1960s before the speculative builder began to again make an impact on the urban landscape. The legacy of the Tullamore distilling business was revived with the opening in Tullamore in 2014 of the first green field distillery to be built in Ireland in 100 years.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Michael Byrne, 'The assassination of Lord Norbury at Durrow' in Michael Byrne (ed.), *Durrow in history: a celebration of what has gone before* (Tullamore, 1994), pp 73–94, 184–6. <sup>16</sup> Charleville to James Tisdall, 1 July 1840 in MS Marlay letters, iii, pp 881–2. <sup>17</sup> Michael Byrne, *Printing and bookselling in Offaly in the nineteenth century with particular reference to Birr* (Tullamore, 2020), pp 56–9. <sup>18</sup> Michael Byrne 'Tullamore town commissioners: the early years', *Tullamore Tribune*, 9 September 2010; *King's County Chronicle*, 25 July 1860; Tim O'Neill, 'A note on the Tullamore town improvements, 1860', *Offaly Heritage*, 4 (2006), 209–19.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Goodbody, *The Goodbodies: millers, merchants and manufacturers, the story of an Irish Quaker family, 1630–1950* (Dublin, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> Michael Byrne, 'Tullamore D.E.W. distillery', *History Ireland*, 22:6 (Nov.–Dec. 2015), 8–9.

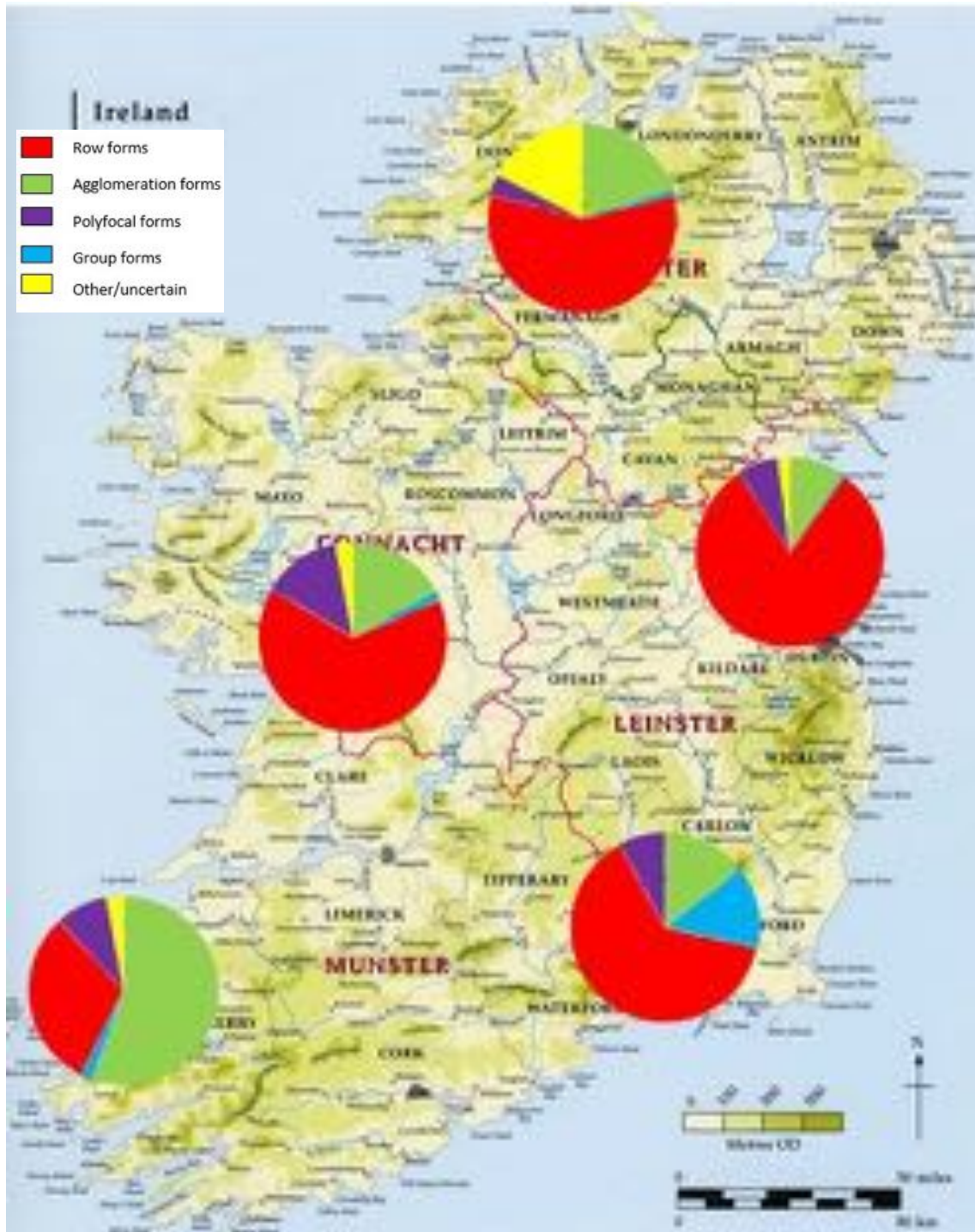


Figure 1 Hamlet form across the five study areas

**Dr Barry O'Reilly**  
(National Inventory of  
Architectural Heritage,  
Department of Housing, Local  
Government and Heritage.)  
***Ireland's Vernacular Hamlets***

### Introduction

Settlement studies in Ireland have tended to concentrate on cities and towns, or on quite limited aspects of rural settlement. Of the latter, the rundale farming system, especially in western counties, has received the most attention, with a nod to the settlements associated with it. These settlements have been variously termed 'clachan' or 'rundale cluster/village'. Similar settlements in parts of the east have been given the designation 'farm village'. This writer suggests that the term 'hamlet' best and most neutrally describes all of these places. Hamlets are rural settlements smaller than a village, lacking a church (or other public amenities) and that often originated as single farms. The vast majority of these settlements are vernacular, their layout and buildings being constructed within a system rooted in folk tradition. There are other forms of vernacular settlement — large places like Skerries, Co. Dublin and the more plentiful cabin suburbs, most of the latter long replaced by local authority or speculative housing. Many, perhaps most, 'archaeological' settlements should also be regarded as vernacular. This paper presents some results from the writer's recent research on hamlets in Ireland.

### 'Disorder'

The study of Irish hamlets has been rather stifled by a historiography that appears rooted in an Anglo-centric worldview. Caesar Otway and Thomas Foster, writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, presented such settlements as problematic and disordered. Reverend Otway saw Doogort on Achill as 'a congeries of dens of barbarism, and must give place shortly to habitations more fitted for educated men'.<sup>1</sup> He would have been disappointed, as Doogort today essentially retains the layout that he saw in 1839. Of Menlo, just north of Galway City, Foster wrote:

The way through the village is the most crooked . . . that can be conceived . . . no row

of houses, or anything approaching to a row, but each cottage is stuck independently by itself, and always at an acute, obtuse, or right angle to the next cottage . . . there are no two cottages placed in a line, or of the same size, dimensions, and build. The Irish mind has here, without obstruction or instruction, fully developed itself. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Leaving aside their rather offensive pronouncements, it is the perception of a lack of morphological order that grieved Otway, an Irish-born Church of Ireland minister and Foster, an English-born barrister and legal writer. However, even the most cursory examination of the historic Ordnance Survey maps shows that these places are not disordered, that they have recognizable forms and types and, furthermore, many have international parallels. Today, such places should simply be recognized as vernacular settlements and their apparent irregularity celebrated for their attractive visual, experiential character and humane scale. Using the methodology established by Brian Roberts,<sup>3</sup> the vast majority of Irish settlements fit readily into his scheme of 'row', 'agglomeration' and 'polyfocal'. Indeed, Doogort is an example of the second category, and Menlo of the third.

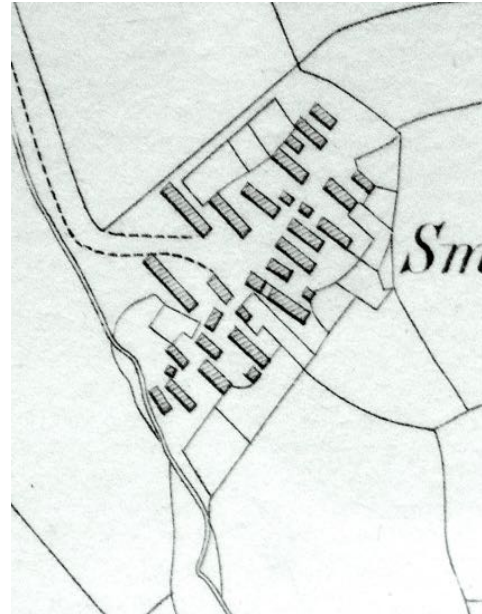
### Rediscovering hamlets

While there have been studies of hamlets down through the years, few have tackled the morphology of these places.<sup>4</sup> More recent studies of the Glens of Antrim, Donegal and Kilkenny have concentrated on historical or conservation aspects. The present author's doctoral research was a systematic, multi-pronged examination of more than 2,000 hamlets over five regions: north Leinster (north Dublin and parts of Louth and Meath), south Leinster (south Kilkenny and parts of Waterford and Wexford), Dingle Peninsula, mid-Galway and northwest Ulster (east Donegal and West Tyrone) in blocks averaging 700km<sup>2</sup> each, representing in total about 5% of the island of Ireland.<sup>5</sup> The selection of study areas benefited from Desmond McCourt's paper of 1971 on 'clachan' distribution.<sup>6</sup> McCourt produced two instructive maps, one based on the first edition (1829–42) and the second based on the third edition (1892–1913) of the Ordnance Survey 1:10560 maps, the present writer sampling areas of high, medium or low hamlet density on these distribution maps. McCourt's map for the first edition

<sup>1</sup> Caesar Otway, *A Tour in Connaught* (William Curry Junior & Co.: Dublin, 1839), p. 410. <sup>2</sup> Thomas Foster, *Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland* (Chapman and Hall: London, 1846), p. 293. <sup>3</sup> For example, Brian Roberts, *Landscapes of Settlement* (Routledge: London & New York, 1996). <sup>4</sup> F.H.A. Aalen presented six hamlet layouts in his book, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* (Academic Press: London, 1978), pp 220–5. <sup>5</sup> The author has since added County Tipperary (over 400 hamlets). <sup>6</sup> D. McCourt, 'The dynamic quality of Irish rural settlement' in R.H. Buchanan, E. Jones and D. McCourt (eds.), *Man and his Habitat: essays presented to Emyr Estyn Evans* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp 126–64.



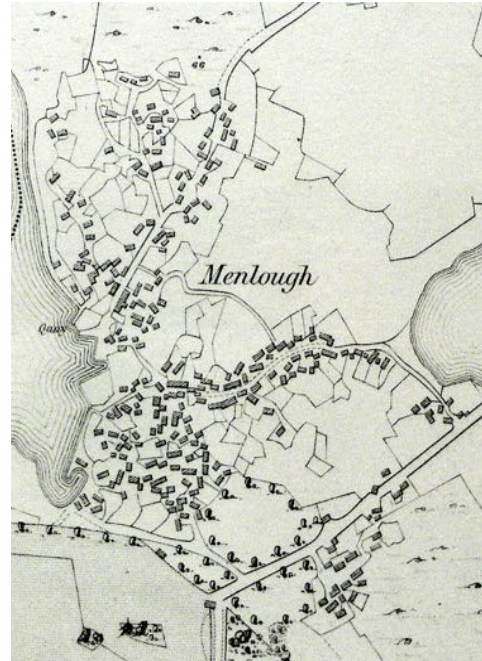
a. Turkstown, Co. Kilkenny. A row of contiguous farm courtyards.



b. Ard na Caithe/Smerwick, Co. Kerry. A perpendicular agglomeration.



d. Doornane, Co. Kilkenny. A settlement with a partly infilled former green, having a densely packed possible pre-1700 arrangement at its east side.



c. Mionlach/Menlo, Co. Galway. Polyfocal settlement comprising agglomerations and rows.

Figure 1 Hamlet forms

settlements has proved to be highly accurate, but that for the later period greatly understates hamlet survival.

Identification of hamlets was based on Robert's requirement for the presence of at least three houses/farmyards, at distances of no more than hailing distance (100–150m). Many hamlets stand out clearly on the first edition maps, especially in south Kilkenny and on the Dingle Peninsula. In the latter region, half of all hamlets contained all or almost all the buildings of their townlands. Northwest Ulster presented a challenge, due to the density of settlement and the difficulty in distinguishing large farmyards from small hamlets, although Griffith's Valuation was helpful. An interesting aspect of the maps is their value in representing the evolution of hamlets by giving a contemporary snapshot of the morphology of settlements, while also depicting elements that were disappearing, and other elements that were forming; this is particularly discernible in the case of routeways. By the time of the third edition maps, very many settlements had lost their legibility, a smaller number had been strengthened by the addition of repeated elements (such as courtyards), and others had vanished to essentially become archaeological sites (though rarely acknowledged as such). It is interesting to note that in recent years, archaeological excavation of road schemes, for example, has uncovered some hamlets that had disappeared before the Ordnance Survey, or that had come and gone between map editions.

### Settlement forms and types

The prevalence of rows or agglomerations in a given region is of particular interest and would appear to reflect broad cultural and ethnic distinctions, providing a rich area for future research. Analysis of form also leads to the identification of specific types (see figure 1 on page 6). At the time of the first edition maps, 80% of north Leinster hamlets were rows, 10% were agglomerations, 7.5% were polyfocal and the remaining few percent were more scattered arrangements (usually in upland areas or on former commons on lowlands) or widely spaced groups of farmyards. In contrast, the Dingle Peninsula had 30% rows, 55% agglomerations, 10% polyfocal and 5% other. South Leinster had a high proportion (15%) of farmyard groups. The Dingle Peninsula had two distinctive agglomeration types — parallel (25%) with ranges of buildings set parallel to each other and to the public road, or perpendicular (20%) with the ranges parallel to each other but at a right angle to the road. These agglomeration types are a feature of the Atlantic coast and of parts of Brittany and northern Scotland.

Mid-Galway had smaller proportions of these sub-forms — parallel (7%) and perpendicular (1%) and north Leinster had 1–2% parallel agglomerations. A quarter of the south Leinster hamlets had (and usually still have) distinctive rows of farmyards, often in the form of contiguous square or rectangular courtyards, comprising a type that has visually similar parallels in some of the north European countries. What I term 'agglomerative forms' are to be found mainly in south Leinster as thirteen settlements comprising clumps of two or three farm courtyards set with short distances between them, but giving the impression that further evolution would result in a large agglomeration of contiguous farmyards. Half the total of polyfocal settlements were based on rows and half on agglomerations, of houses or farmyards. However, north Leinster had three-quarters agglomerations and south Leinster had one-fifth.

Greens, a familiar element in some settlements created by landlords, and also much associated with rural England, are also a feature of Irish vernacular settlements. South Leinster had the highest proportion of definite examples on the first edition maps at 25%, and possible examples at 10%; in contrast, north Leinster had 7.5% definite examples and 2% possible. Triangular shapes accounted for 35–50% overall and rectangular for 15–25%. In north Leinster the figure for rectangular was 35%, but in the Dingle Peninsula this shape was absent. Square greens were present in one-fifth of northwest Ulster hamlets, but were absent in mid-Galway and the Dingle Peninsula.

### Change

On the first edition maps, the hamlets of northwest Ulster were the smallest, with two-thirds of them containing less than ten buildings, while one-sixth in mid-Galway had more than thirty buildings (see figure 1 on page 8: figures a–d). The average for the five regions was 1–10 buildings (50%), 11–20 (35%), 21–30 (10%) and more than 30 (5%). By about 1900, the comparison was 1–10 buildings (70%), 11–20 (20%), 21–30 (5%), more than 30 (3.5%). Put another way, some 60% of hamlets had shrunk, 25–30% remained similar and 2–3% had expanded (including, perhaps unexpectedly, the hamlet of An Blascaod Mór/Great Blasket Island). A high proportion (25%) of hamlets in mid-Galway disappeared, while less than 5% in the other study areas suffered this fate. Between 1900 and 2010, the figure for shrunken was 55%, similar was 25% and 20% had disappeared. In terms of legibility of first edition form, the current edition of the Ordnance Survey maps indicates that 50–55% of south Leinster settlements remain substantially legible and the figures for other study areas were: Dingle Penin-

sula (40–45%), northwest Ulster (35–40%), north Leinster (35%) and mid-Galway (30%).<sup>7</sup>

### Antiquity of settlements

Establishing origins and dating for hamlets is fraught with difficulty, not least the scarcity of maps predating the Ordnance Survey that are of sufficient scale and detail to include hamlets. Sources such as the mid-17th-century Down Survey and Civil Survey can help fill the gaps in documentation. William J. Smyth suggests<sup>8</sup> the presence of nucleated settlements in at least some of the more populous townlands listed in the 'Census of 1659' and the present research supports this idea.

Some 115 hamlets have settlement features of pre-1700 date, such as tower houses, churches or field systems and the documentary sources suggest a further 84 may predate 1700, constituting about 10% of all hamlets in the author's research. Considering the partial nature of all sources, these figures probably represent a significant under-representation. Taking the most conservative estimate, this writer estimates that at least 2,000 hamlets indicated on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps for the island of Ireland may have originated before 1700. Analysis of the morphology of the 10% gives some indication of pre-1700

layout types.

The northwest Ulster region provided the possibility of identifying links between settlement form and ethnicity. During the Plantation of Ulster east Donegal was settled by mainly English colonists (later more mixed English and Scottish) and west Tyrone by Scottish. Analysis shows that settlements in townlands identified as English-held at the time of the Civil Survey and/or 'Census of 1659', whether in Donegal or Tyrone, were overwhelmingly of row form (60–65% and 90%, respectively); the corresponding figures for settlements in Scottish hands in these counties were 50% and 55–60%, respectively. English areas in Donegal had 30% rows and in Tyrone less than 10%; Scottish areas had agglomerations at 40% for each county. On the first edition maps the counties had about 20% agglomerations each, while Donegal had 50–55% rows and Tyrone had 65% rows, so it would appear that rows had become more dominant in the intervening centuries. To come full circle, the comments of Otway and Foster reinforce the idea of agglomerations as 'Irish' and rows as not. However, much more research is needed to understand the mechanisms at play in the origins and development of Irish hamlets.

<sup>7</sup>The quality of Ordnance Survey maps produced after the third edition has been disappointing, making this source less useful for settlement research. <sup>8</sup>W.J. Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland c.1530–1750* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp 205–6.

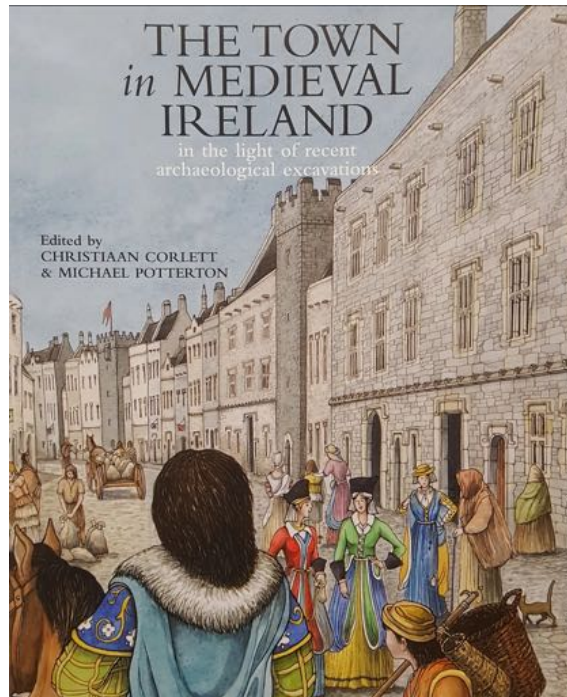
## *Book Notice: The Town in Medieval Ireland*

Christiaan Corlett

*The Town in Medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations.*

Edited by Christiaan Corlett & Michael Potterton

(Wordwell Books, 2021. 320p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781916291249. €35.)



**T**he Town in Medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations is the sixth volume in the series 'Research Papers in Irish Archaeology'. Essays by professional archaeologists, historians, geographers and illustrators shine a light on the medieval archaeological heritage of more than twenty of Ireland's historic urban spaces. Some of the papers provide a fascinating synopsis of the results of excavations and surveys at towns such as Castledermot, Enniscorthy, Inistioge, Navan, New Ross and Wexford. Others focus on research carried out at a particular site or building within a key medieval town (Carlow, Drogheda, Ferns, Kildare, Kilkenny, Kilmallock and Mullingar). Less-well-known deserted medieval settlements on the shores of Lough Key and Lough Ree (Co. Roscommon) are showcased in two further contributions, while there are also papers on Ardree, Athboy, Athy, Dungarvan and Fethard, and an essay looking at the broader picture of the European Historic Towns Atlas project and archaeology.

It is envisaged that this book will improve awareness, understanding and appreciation of Ireland's urban heritage at both professional and popular levels. It will be of interest to academics, communities, schools, local societies, policy-makers, planners and members of the public. By shining a light on the importance of our medieval towns this volume will contribute to their protection, preservation and promotion. It will also facilitate better decision-making regarding the management of these towns, and enhance the tourist experience. The places covered by the volume are variously of local, regional or national importance; some are of international significance.

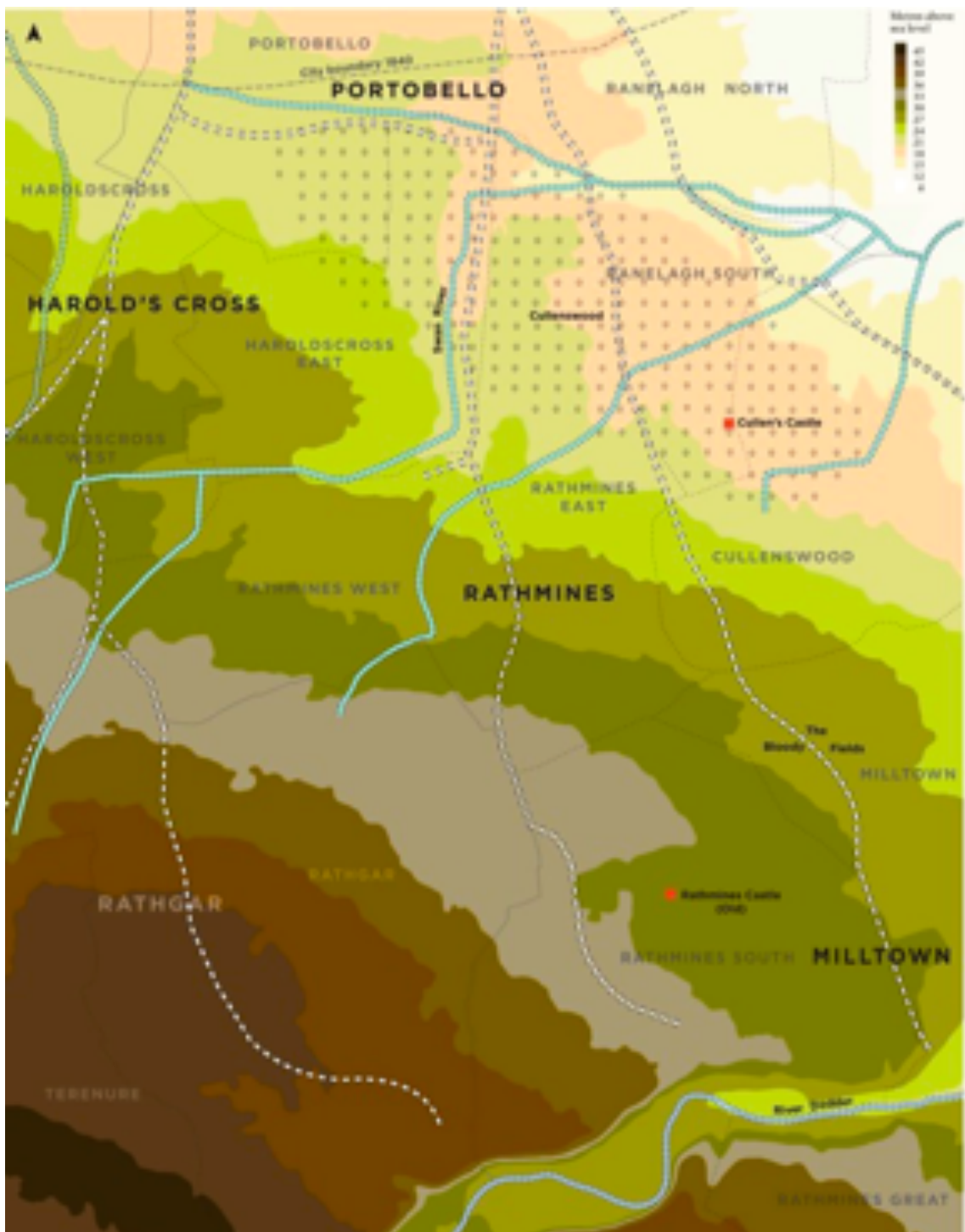


Figure 1 Medieval and early modern Rathmines showing the Swan River and tributaries (Royal Irish Academy).



**Séamas Ó Maitiú**  
(Editor *Dublin Historical Record*)  
***Rathmines – medieval  
settlement, village, suburb***

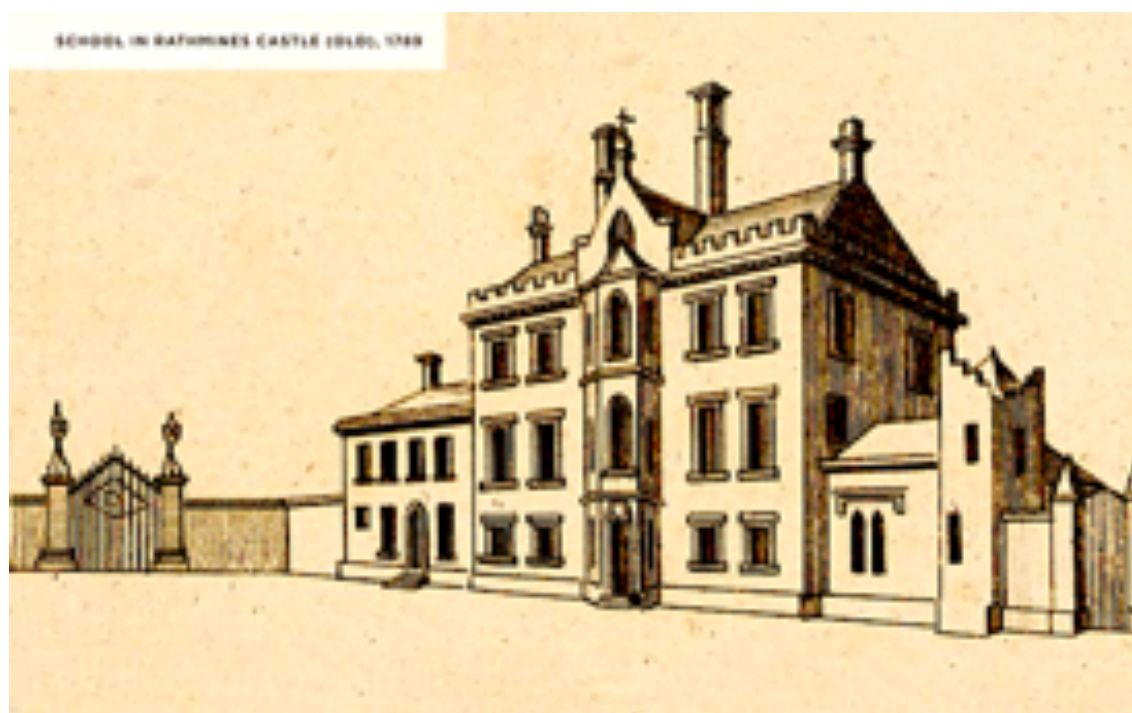
### Introduction

The well-known Dublin suburb of Rathmines today is bounded on the south by the River Dodder and on the north by the Grand Canal. Its predominant feature is the Rathmines Road / Dartry Road axis, creating a long north–south central spine. Its eastern and western boundaries are now delineated by arterial roads running from the city of Dublin, Mountpleasant Avenue / Belgrave Square East / Palmerston Road to the east and Harold’s Cross Road to the west. Rathmines has

over the centuries shifted north. What is still referred to as Old Rathmines, its ancient core, was centred on the original Rathmines Castle, situated beside what is now Palmerston Park, and the *ráth*, known only from placename evidence and probably located in the same area.<sup>1</sup>

### Early history of Rathmines

The apparent waterless topography of Rathmines today was shaped by the presence of a number of watercourses. The now subterranean Swan River and its tributaries greatly influenced the layout of Rathmines today. A second river, the Dodder, was the determining factor in the siting of the ringfort, the medieval Meinsrath, one of a series of ringforts strung out on high ground overlooking the river valley in this part of south Dublin; it included Baggotsrath, Rathfarnham and Rathgar (see figure 1 on page 12).



**Figure 2** Rathmines Castle 1789 (Gentleman’s Magazine, lix, plate 3, National Library of Ireland) Probable medieval tower to the right.

Sometime between 1279 and 1284 the *ráth* came into the possession of the de Meones family who gave it its name. William de Meones had come to Ireland from East Meon in Hampshire in the entourage of John de Derlington, archbishop of Dublin.<sup>2</sup> William became chief baron of the Irish exchequer in 1311. He acquired the lands in the

manor of St Sepulchre that became known first as Meonesrath, and later as Rathmines, i.e., the *ráth* of De Meones. William died in 1325 and his property passed to Gilbert de Meones, a soldier, the son of his brother Geoffrey.<sup>3</sup> An early modern castle known as Rathmines castle, built near the ringfort in the 1630s by Sir George Radcliffe, a

<sup>1</sup> This short essay is based on research carried out on the Irish historic towns atlas of Rathmines for the Royal Irish Academy: Séamas Ó Maitiú, *Rathmines: Irish historic towns atlas, Dublin suburbs, No. 2* (Dublin, 2021). <sup>2</sup> F. Elrington Ball, *The Judges in Ireland, 1221–1921*, 2 vols (John Murray: London, 1926 [Reprinted 2005 by The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd.]), i, p. 58. <sup>3</sup> James Mills, ‘Notices of the Manor of St Sepulchre, Dublin in the fourteenth century’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 9 (1889), pp 31–41; F. Elrington Ball, *A history of the county Dublin*, 6 vols (Dublin, [1902–20] 1903), ii, p. 100; Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, i, p. 88.; J. Huband Smith, ‘On the castle and manor of Baggotsrath’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 6 (1853–7), p. 311; *Calendar of Archbishop Alen’s register, c.1172–1534*. Prepared and edited from the original in the Registry of the United Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough and Kildare by Charles McNeill; with an index compiled by Liam Price (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland: Dublin, 1950), pp 172, 234.

state official, probably contained elements of a medieval castle erected by the de Meones family (see figure 2 on page 13).<sup>4</sup>

### Topography of Rathmines

From the Dodder the centre of gravity of Rathmines takes two leaps, as it were, to the north since the original settlement around the rath and castle failed to thrive. By the late eighteenth / early nineteenth century a small village had developed at a sharp bend where the Swan River turns north from its eastward course. At this spot an ancient pathway from the city (now Rathmines Road Lower), which ran alongside the river, divided. One branch (now

Rathmines Road Upper) continued southwards to Rathmines Castle, while the other followed the river and the lower end of which would become Rathgar Road.

This small riverside village and junction, which became known as ‘The Chains’, saw built opposite to it the first of the area’s distinctive suburban terraces. Another change in the course of the river further north was followed by a path which became Richmond Hill and a tributary was followed by another path which became the ancient but now largely defunct Blackberry Lane off Rathmines Road Lower (see figure 3 below).<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 3** Detail from Alexander Taylor’s map of County Dublin c.1802 with outline of Swan River and tributaries in Lower Rathmines (Royal Irish Academy)

### Nineteenth-century development

The second Rathmines saltation had less to do with water as the Swan and its tributaries were being culverted by then, and more to do with a burgeoning sense of civic pride. The purchase of a residential house on Rathmines Road Lower

for use as offices and modest town hall led to the remarkable development over a half century and more of a cluster of buildings devoted to local services and various civic functions. By the early twentieth century this consisted of a magnificent town hall (the structure that has been

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge University Press, 2009 and 2018), viii, pp 369–70; L.J. Arnold, *The restoration land settlement in County Dublin, 1660–1688* (Dublin, 1993), p. 25; ‘Radcliffe (Ratcliffe), George (1594–1657)’, *History of Parliament Online*, available at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/radcliffe-george-1594-1657>, last accessed 18 Aug. 2019. <sup>5</sup> *John Taylor’s map of the environs of Dublin* (1816); Joseph Archer, *Statistical survey of County Dublin* (Dublin, 1801), p. 117.

described as a clock with a building attached to it!) containing a warren of offices and two public concert halls, a fire station, technical college, public library, service yards, refuse destructor, electricity generating plant, morgue and artisans dwellings — all within a stone's throw of each other (see figure 4 below).<sup>6</sup>

The body that gave rise to this assemblage

and spearheaded suburban development was the board of the Rathmines Improvement Commissioners or Rathmines Township Board set up by private act of parliament in 1847. This board was dominated by speculative builders, epitomised by Frederick Stokes, whose energetic zeal in promoting the township largely led to its foundation. He would be the chairman of the board for many decades.



Figure 4 Rathmines civic nucleus (Royal Irish Academy)

Builders such as Stokes were responsible for the erection of (at first large) detached villas set in their own grounds and later, as the taste for suburban living moved down the social scale, semi-detached houses, terraces and whole squares throughout much of the nineteenth century. By the late 1830s Rathmines Road Lower was lined on its entire east side by terraces of large houses from Rathmines village to Portobello Bridge. This was greatly facilitated by the straightening of the old winding riverside Rathmines Road Lower which was carried out in the summer of 1800. Due to the presence of the Swan River, the west side was largely unbuilt-on for many years giving Rathmines a somewhat lop-sided appearance seen to the present day.

Such ribbon development was also seen on the other arterial routes to the city which run parallel to Rathmines Road such as Mountpleasant Avenue, which was never straightened or widened and retains the sinuous character of an ancient path. Indeed it was known as the 'path to Milltown' well into the nineteenth century. The continuation of Mountpleasant

Avenue, Palmerston Road, was the last area of the township to see major development.

The presence of a large number of builders on the Township Board allowed for the seamless creation of new roads necessary to open green field sites on former agricultural ground for housing. The ribbon development along the main north / south routes to the city was followed by the cutting of cross roads linking these arteries, such as Leinster Road, Richmond Hill (alongside the Swan River as we have seen) and Castlewood Avenue. The main developer of Leinster road was none other than Frederick Stokes. A process of infilling followed with minor roads off these being created.

### Suburbanisation

The chronology of the suburbanisation of Rathmines can be tracked by the frequency with which the recording of land transactions relating to Rathmines appear in the records of the Registry of Deeds. Before 1800, Rathmines crops up infrequently, but there is a huge surge in land transactions from the first decade of the nineteenth century continuing into the 1820s and

<sup>6</sup> Séamas Ó Maitiú, *Dublin's suburban towns 1834-1930* (Dublin, 2003), p. 187.

1830s. Many villa-owners began selling off whole fields. William Bernard of William's Park, a large house on Lower Rathmines Road, put two acres of meadow on the market between Rathmines Road and Mountpleasant Avenue in 1817. Grimwood's, a large nursery at the junction of Rathmines Road and Rathgar Road, sold off for house-building the greater part of their nursery land fronting the road – as a result selling off thousands of oak, elm, ash, beech and fruit trees.<sup>7</sup>

A number of notable speculative builders and developers were associated with particular areas: these were William Bernard (Williams Park), John Butler (Leinster Square), Frederick Jackson and

Frederick Stokes (the Leinster Road area); John Holmes (Holmeville and Castlewood Avenue), Michael Murphy (Kenilworth Square) and Patrick Plunkett (Belgrave and Palmerston Roads).<sup>8</sup>

A major step in the completion of a middle-class enclave was taken in 1867 when the Township Commissioners ordered that all the remaining thatched cabins and wooden sheds in the township were to be removed and due notice given to their owners.<sup>9</sup> With its proliferation of squares and fine roads, in 1869 the *Irish Builder* referred to Rathmines as the 'Dublin Belgravia'.<sup>10</sup> By 1900 much of the green fields of Rathmines had been gobbled up.



Figure 5 Rathmines Road Lower, looking north c.1910 (National library of Ireland)

Originally there appears to have been little or no opposition to this process of suburbanisation and the private act setting up the township sailed through parliament. Vested interests in the shape of large landed estates did exist – however their owners were absentees and seemed to acquiesce in the suburban process. These were the Meath estate in Lower Rathmines and the Palmerston estate in Upper. By the time of the formation of the township much of the Meath land had been leased out on long leases to various interests – the Palmerston estate, more remote from the city, less so. However the lure of easy money available from satisfying the craze for middle class suburban living was difficult to resist, espe-

cially in a family such as the Palmerstons striving to fund an expensive lifestyle and high political ambition in England.

Opposition to massive development in the form of an indigenous population seeing little in it for themselves – the humble inhabitants of the aforementioned thatched cabins doomed by decree of the Township Board for instance – never really materialised in Rathmines. Such opposition had emerged at the formation of the Blackrock Township among the inhabitants of the Williamstown village area. Rathmines pre-suburbanisation was sparsely populated. The village of Rathmines on the banks of the Swan at the junction of

<sup>7</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Nov. 1829. <sup>8</sup> For examples see: Anne Lavin, 'Leinster Square (with Prince Arthur Terrace), Rathmines: an early suburban speculative terraced housing development, 1830–52' (MUBC thesis, UCD, 1995), p. 26 and Elizabeth Smith, 'Belgrave Square, Rathmines, 1840–1990: a green space for young and old' (Certificate in Local History, NUIM, 2010), p. 2, available at <http://www.belgrave-residents.org/history/belgrave-square/>, last accessed 19 Aug. 2019. <sup>9</sup> Rathmines and Rathgar township minutes, Dublin City Archives, Pearse Street, Dublin, UDC/1/Min 1/3, 23 Jan. 1867. <sup>10</sup> *Irish Builder*, 1.11.1869.

Rathmines Road and Rathgar Road was tiny and may not have been of long-standing. Some voices of protest were raised later on the Palmerston estate by tenants holding conacre but the agent recommended an intensified selling of the land for villa-building if opposition persisted.<sup>11</sup>

By the latter half of the nineteenth-century the ominous signs of a different kind of development were seen. The creation of what Samuel Lewis in 1837 called a 'business' or retail village had already taken place in 'The Chain's' area. The erection of shops in the front gardens of the big terraced houses of Lower Rathmines went hand in hand with change from single family residence to multiple occupancy.

### **Conclusion**

And today? Upper Rathmines, further from the city, more leafy, and containing houses less amenable to adaption as flats has largely retained its character as a residential area for fairly affluent families. Lower Rathmines, however, saw the creation of the famous (or infamous) 'flatland' of the twentieth and twenty-first century – inhabited by civil servants, office workers and students from the country and latterly by immigrants from all over the world. Often decried, this area of high terraced, somewhat dilapidated, houses of flats with late-night shops, coffee-outlets and take-aways protruding in former front gardens does, however, have a vibrancy and cosmopolitan feel unimagined by its Victorian creators.

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<sup>11</sup> Palmerston papers, University of Southampton, BR 144/6/1/8.

## Notices of recently published books

Bernadette Cunningham

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

***Stone, bone and belonging: the early Neolithic portal tombs at Killaclohane, Co. Kerry / Cloch, cnámh agus ceangal: tuamaí luatha ursanacha neoiliotacha ag Coill an Chlocháin, Co. Ciarraí***

Michael Connolly

(Tralee: Kerry County Council, 2021. 334p. illus. ISBN 9780957209145. €20)

Excavations of two portal tombs at Killaclohane, Co. Kerry, were undertaken between 2015 and 2018, overseen by Michael Connolly, Kerry County Archaeologist. The excavation uncovered evidence about how the tombs were constructed. Among the significant items discovered were finely crafted flint tools and weapons as well as Neolithic pottery. The excavations showed that the tombs had a long history of reuse both for burial and as focal points in the landscape being used to create lineages and connections to the peoples of the past and to the land itself.

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***Bronze age worlds: a social prehistory of Britain and Ireland***

Robert Johnston

(Oxford: Routledge, 2021. 390p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781138037878 £120; Pbk. ISBN 9781138037885 £34.99)

Britain and Ireland's diverse landscapes and societies experienced varied and profound transformations between the twenty-fifth and eighth centuries BC. People's lives were shaped by migrations, changing beliefs about death, making and thinking with metals, designing and living in houses and field systems. This book offers accounts of how these processes emerged from social life, from events, places and landscapes. Johnston sees kinship as shaping personhood and collective belonging, but also associating people with non-human beings, things and places. This approach offers new perspectives to archaeologists and anthropologists interested in Bronze Age societies.

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***The prehistoric artefacts of Northern Ireland***

Harry and June Welsh

(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021. x, 363p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781789699531. £65)

This book provides background information on the history of prehistoric archaeology in Northern Ireland, an explanation of the classifications and methodology employed, and a detailed inventory of sites where prehistoric artefacts have been found. Also included is a discussion about these artefacts in a wider context, illustrated with tables and distribution maps, a glossary, tables of radiocarbon dates and an extensive bibliography.

***Materialising power: the archaeology of the Black Pig's Dyke, Co. Monaghan***

Cóilín Ó Drisceoil and Aidan Walsh

(Dublin: Wordwell, 2021. xvi, 220p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781916291270. €30)

Focusing on the renowned Black Pig's Dyke in County Monaghan, one of the best-preserved and largest examples of the monument type in Europe, the authors integrate the results of excavations undertaken by Aidan Walsh in 1982 with new surveys and scientific dating. They present a radical reassessment of the chronological and physical development of the monument and its environmental and archaeological setting. The book includes an overview of prehistoric linear earthworks in Ireland and the authors give thought-provoking insights into the purpose of these monuments and how they relate to late prehistoric settlement patterns.

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***The coastal atlas of Ireland***

Edited by Robert Devoy, Val Cummins, Barry Brunt, Darius Bartlett and Sarah Kandrot

(Cork: Cork University Press, 2021. xix, 893p. illus., maps. Hbk. ISBN 9781782054511. €59)

This large book is a comprehensive exploration of Irish coastal land and seascapes, and the relationship of people with the sea and marine ecosystems. The 33 essays are arranged in thematic categories. Essays in part 1 discuss the 'Physical, biological and human settings'; part 2 'Natural coastal environments'; part 3 'People and the coast'; part 4 'Resources, communications and industry'; part 5 'Management of the coasts and the marine environment'. Part 6 concludes the volume with an essay on 'future coasts'.

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***Climate and society in Ireland: from prehistory to the present***

(Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. C 120)

Edited by James Kelly and Tomás Ó Carragáin

(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2021. x, 410p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911479734. €35)

Contributors explore the varied environmental, climatic and social changes that occurred in Ireland from prehistory to the early twenty-first century. The essays engage with a diversity of themes, including the impact of climate change on the earliest human settlement of Ireland; weather-related food scarcities during medieval times that led to violence and outbreaks of plague; changing representations of weather in poetry written in Ireland between 1600 and 1820; and how Ireland is now on the threshold of radical climate-induced change.

***Rathra: a royal stronghold in early medieval Connacht***  
Joseph Fenwick  
(Roscommon: Roscommon County Council, 2021. Illus., maps. Pbk. ISBN 9780957580091. €15)

The large quadrivallate enclosure at Rathra is one of Conaught's most impressive archaeological earthworks. The landscape setting of the site forms the backdrop to Fenwick's elucidation of its nature, function and cultural context.

***Churches in the Irish landscape, AD 400–1100***  
Tomás Ó Carragáin, with a contribution by Paul MacCotter  
(Cork: Cork University Press, 2021. x, 424p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781782054306. €49)

Several thousand Christian churches were founded in Ireland between the fifth and ninth centuries, more than in most comparable European regions. Churches are part of the story of the fundamental changes in settlement patterns, agriculture, social organisation, rituals and beliefs that took place in these centuries. The premise of this book is that landscape archaeology is one of the most fruitful ways to study them. By looking at where they were placed in relation to pagan ritual and royal sites, burial grounds and settlements, and how they fared over the centuries, the shifting strategies of kings, clerics and ordinary people are interpreted. The book adopts a chronological approach to the evidence, beginning with the earliest churches, founded at a time of religious diversity (400–550), often within royal landscapes, followed by new monasteries encompassing large estates on which their economy was based (550–800). The final part of the book looks at changes in the Viking era (800–1100), setting the scene for the twelfth-century reforms and the emergence of the later medieval parish system.

***Garranes: an early medieval royal site in south-west Ireland***  
Edited by William O'Brien and Nick Hogan  
(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021. 402p. Illus., maps. Hbk. ISBN 9781789699197. £45)

Ringforts were an important part of the rural settlement landscape of early medieval Ireland (AD 400–1100). While most of those circular enclosures were farmsteads, a small number had special significance as centres of political power and elite residence, also associated with specialized crafts. One such 'royal site' was Garranes in the mid-Cork region of south-west Ireland. In 1937, archaeological excavation of a large trivallate ringfort provided evidence of high-status residence during the fifth and sixth centuries AD. In 2011–18 an interdisciplinary project was conducted on Garranes. The royal site had workshops for making bronze ornaments, with glass and enamel working as well as indications of farming. Pottery and glass vessels imported from the Mediterranean world and Atlantic France were also found. Findings offer new evidence to connect the location of Rath Raithleann to high-status occupation at Garranes during the fifth and sixth centuries.

***Between the Meadows: the archaeology of Edercloon on the N4 Dromod–Roosky Bypass***  
(TII Heritage, 11)  
Caitríona Moore  
(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2021. Distributed by Wordwell. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911633303. €25. Digital version available on the TII website)

A bog in the townland of Edercloon, Co. Longford, first came to archaeological attention in 1964, when a local farmer discovered a prehistoric stone axe that retained a portion of its original wooden handle. In 2006, during test excavations in advance of the construction of the N4 Dromod–Roosky Bypass, the preservative peat of Edercloon yielded further secrets including a large network of wooden trackways. Evidence for human activity there extends back almost 6,000 years, when the first narrow track of branches and twigs was laid down on the wet bog surface. This practice would continue for four millennia as further structures were built. Over time, wheel fragments, spears, and vessels were deposited among them. Volcanic ash, ancient pollen, microscopic organisms, deep accumulations of peat, beetles' wings, and the wood of the trackways themselves have been the subject of specialist palaeoenvironmental studies, to help understand how this landscape evolved.

***The Road to Kells: prehistoric archaeology of the M3 Navan to Kells and N52 Kells Bypass road project***  
(TII Heritage, 12)  
Fintan Walsh  
(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2021. Distributed by Wordwell. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911633266. €25. Digital version available on the TII website)

The story uncovered in these excavations begins with Mesolithic hunter-gatherers, who foraged in a forested, primeval landscape, and left traces of a campsite on a gravel ridge in Cakestown Glebe, by the River Blackwater in the Boyne valley. The evidence spans c.5,000 years and touches on the homes, burial grounds, work and worship of Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age communities. In the Iron Age/early medieval transition period, there is evidence of agricultural workers on tillage land in Kilmainham townland using cereal-drying kilns to secure their surplus grain harvest for the winter. Kells was not yet the seat of a famous monastery at that time but had already become a central place in the region, with a tribal capital at Commons of Lloyd, on the hill that overlooks the later town.

***Female monasticism in medieval Ireland: an archaeology***  
Tracy Collins  
(Cork: Cork University Press, 2021. xxvii, 644p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781782054566. €39)

This book analyses medieval Irish communities of nuns through their archaeology and surviving architecture, using perspectives such as gender and landscape. Collins discusses the archaeological remains and offers insights into how these religious communities of women might have lived and interacted with the local communities on which they depended for ongoing support. While some nunneries adopted what is con-

sidered a typical monastic layout of a church and other buildings arranged around a central area, in other cases, particularly in towns, the nuns used a small church with adjacent living accommodation either attached or in a separate dwelling.

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**Medieval Dublin XVIII**

Edited by **Seán Duffy**

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 389p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846828157. €50; Pbk. ISBN 9781846828164. €29.95)

This volume includes a selection of papers on ecclesiastical themes. Lorcan Harney examines early medieval ecclesiastical enclosures in Dublin and its hinterland. Edel Bhreathnach studies the saints and Biblical figures to whom Dublin's churches were dedicated, and what this reveals about the pre-Viking church there and how Christianization developed among the Hiberno-Norse of the city and suburbs. Thomas W. Smith analyses Rome's intrusion into the affairs of the archdiocese of Dublin in the thirteenth century, while John William Sullivan looks at the phenomenon of medieval Dublin's two cathedrals and their distinct functions in terms of the lived religious experience of Dubliners. Kevin Street Garda Station was previously the archbishop's palace of St Sepulchre, and Alan Hayden's recent archaeological investigations prior to rebuilding at the site produced results that may prompt a radical rethink of what the original palace looked like. Paul Duffy excavated part of another of Dublin's great ecclesiastical complexes, St Thomas's Abbey, where he discovered, along Thomas Street, much evidence for medieval tanneries, activity reflected too in the report by Antoine Giacometti on one of the largest tanning complexes ever discovered in Ireland or Britain, at Blackpitts. Other essays are contributed by John Nicholl on medieval footwear, Denis Casey on the economy, Randolph Jones on the Mareward family, Brian Coleman on the parliamentary subsidy in the fifteenth century and Caoimhe Whelan on medieval European visual and literary depictions of Ireland.

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**Mapping new territories in art and architectural histories: essays in honour of Roger Stalley**

(Studies in Gothic Art, 3)

Edited by **Niamh NicGabhann and Danielle O'Donovan**

(Turnhout: Brepols, 2021. xiii, 577p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9782503564623. €165)

The habitats of medieval hermits, early cross slabs, Romanesque churches, early modern town halls and the architecture of nineteenth-century railways are among the topics of the 36 diverse essays in this collection, published in honour of architectural historian Roger Stalley. Two-thirds of the essays are on Irish topics. Broader context is provided through specialist studies of more distant places ranging from northern Spain to eastern Switzerland, and from Inverness-shire to Florence. An interdisciplinary approach is evident in many of the essays, and the book is well-illustrated, mostly using black and white photographs, sketches and plans. Some of the images are repeated in a small selection of colour plates at the back of the book.

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**Ireland encastellated, AD 950–1550. Insular castle-building in its European context**

Tadhg O'Keefe

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 240p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846828638. €45)

This book explores the relationships between the castle-building tradition in Ireland and those of western Europe. Questions are raised in that context about the dating of the first castles in Ireland, their functions, and their typicality or otherwise by contemporary standards in England and France in particular. Analysis of the form of Irish castles provides clear interpretations of what those structures represented in terms of manifestations of lordly power in the landscape. The study ranges from the tenth to the sixteenth century, and O'Keefe skilfully guides readers through dozens of Irish castles while also enhancing our understanding of what they signify in terms of Ireland's place in medieval Europe.

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**Beyond exclusion in Medieval Ireland: intersections of ethnicity, sex, and society under English law**

Stephen Hewer

(Turnhout: Brepols, 2021. 338p. Hbk. ISBN 9782503594576. €100)

A detailed examination of Irish plea rolls from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries allows the author to consider the variations that existed in how members of different ethnic groups and women who came before the English royal courts in Ireland were treated. The evidence suggests that there were no simple dichotomies between the English and Gaelic Irish or other ethnicities and that individuals and communities lived very complex and nuanced lives.

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**Gaelic Ireland (c.600–c.1700): lordship, saints and learning. Essays for the Irish Chiefs' and Clans' Prize in History**

Edited by **Luke McInerney and Katharine Simms**

(Dublin: Wordwell, 2021. 209p. Pbk. ISBN 9781913934668. €30)

Divided into three categories: 'Politics, culture and lordship', 'Saints, texts and contexts', and 'Scholarship, scholars and places', the 17 essays in this collection include one by Breege Hyland on early Christian settlements in Burrishoole, Co. Mayo; Vincius Marino Carvalho on the medieval routeways of Thomond; Martin Breen on the dating, distribution and development of some County Clare towerhouses; Declan Keenan on towerhouses and lordship in Mayo; and Damhnait Uí Mhaodúin on the last residence of Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh.

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**Ireland's English Pale, 1470–1550: the making of a Tudor region**

(Irish Historical Monographs Series, 24)

Steven G. Ellis

(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021. xiv, 200p. Hbk. ISBN 9781783276608. £75)

Building on recent work by Tadhg O'Keefe, Sparky Booker, Margaret Murphy and Michael Potterton, Ellis challenges an older idea that the English Pale around Dublin was contracting during the late fifteenth



and early sixteenth centuries. Rather, he shows that the ‘four obedient shires’ of Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare were very effectively protected in the early Tudor era by a new system of fortifications supported by an English-style militia. That arrangement was replaced after 1534 by a more expansive and costly system of direct rule by an English governor and army. The new strategy made the English Pale’s frontiers redundant by the later sixteenth century although ideas of ‘English civility’ survived.

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***A history of Geevagh parish, 1500–1800***

Aidan Conlon

(Enniskillen: Print Factory, 2021. iii, 136p. Illus., maps. ISBN 9781527284302. €25)

Farming, housing, turf-production and the production of food and drink in a rural part of south-east County Sligo are the focus of this local study which spans a 300-year period of significant economic and social change.

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***Seasonal settlement in the medieval and early modern countryside***

(*Ruralia* XIII)

Edited by Piers Dixon and Claudia Theune

(Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2021. 370p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9789464270107 €180; Pbk. ISBN 9789464270099, €65)

The 31 essays in this issue of *Ruralia* consider not just seasonal settlement in Europe as a result of transhumance, but also temporary settlements prompted by other economic activity such as fishing, charcoal-burning or iron-smelting. The season a settlement was occupied varied from one activity to another and from one place to another – summer for grazing in many mountainous areas, but winter for some industrial processes. Eugene Costello contributes an essay on transhumance in Ireland.

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***Transhumance and the making of Ireland’s uplands, 1550–1900***

Eugene Costello

(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020. xiii, 226p. Hbk. ISBN 9781783275311. £75)

Focusing on Ireland from 1550 to 1900 this book shows that uplands were valuable resources that allowed tenant households to maintain larger herds of livestock and adapt to wider economic trends. It was common for many farm households to take their livestock to hill and mountain pastures for the summer. A significant number of people stayed in seasonal upland settlements to milk the cows and produce butter and cheese. This task seems to have been a rite of passage for unmarried young women in many rural communities but largely died out during the nineteenth century.

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***When the nightjar returns: the natural history and human story of Killaun Bog, County Offaly***

John Feehan

(Birr: St Brendan’s Community School in association with Offaly County Council, 2021. 174p. Illus.,

maps. ISBN 9781916328747. €20)

Killaun Bog lies to the east of the town of Birr and has been the focus of study by a local school and community. In an associated project, John Feehan has compiled a book on the evolution of the bog, how it has been used over the centuries and what it might become in the future. Illustrated with original photography and maps courtesy of the Birr Castle archives, it will be of interest to all those interested in the history and future of peatlands.

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***Cineál Fhéichin agus Síol Anmhca: Oirdheisceart na Gaillimhe: gnéithe dá stair / South-east Galway: aspects of its history***

Micheál Ó Conaill. Revised edition and translation by Nollaig Ó Muraíle

([Abbey, Co. Galway]: Abbey Heritage, 2021. xxxv, 173p. Pbk. ISBN 9781913449100. €10)

This dual language book outlines a history of south-east County Galway from early Christian times to the early nineteenth century. It focuses on place-names, castles and monastic remains in the region that includes Clonfert, Aughrim and Portumna. The Irish text was originally published as an 80-page booklet in 1932. This new edition includes an English translation by Nollaig Ó Muraíle.

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***Bailte agus pearsain Chúige Mumhan (le míniú ar na logainmneacha)***

Breandán ‘Ac Gearailt

(Baile Átha Cliath: Coiscéim, 2021. xxii, 243p. Pbk. 66600122210152. €12.50)

The author itemises the placenames of Munster towns, both Irish and English, placing particular emphasis on the correct meaning of the Irish names. He also tells of some of the people associated with particular places in recent times.

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***Family names of the Glens of Antrim***

Brian S. Turner

(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2021. xiii, 194p. Illus., maps. Hbk. ISBN 9781913993030. £20)

This is a scholarly study, based on decades of research, that describes and explains the evolution of the historical landscape of the Glens of Antrim through an examination of family names from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. It includes an exploration of the close settlement links between the Glens of Antrim and south-west Argyll in Scotland. The book is well produced and illustrated with more than 35 maps.

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***Colonial Ulster: the settlement of East Ulster 1600–1641***

Raymond Gillespie

(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2020. 288p. maps. Hbk. ISBN 9781909556935. £24.99)

Counties Antrim and Down formed a distinct region within Ulster that was not included in the official scheme for the Ulster plantation in the early seventeenth century. This study explores demographic and economic trends in that east Ulster region, tracing the development of rural and urban communities,

and the tension between central government and local interests in an era of rapid change. First published in 1985, this new edition is brought up to date with a new historiographical introduction.

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***The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600–1670***

Philip Robinson

(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2020. 254p. Pbk. 9781903688007. €14.99)

A radical transformation of the landscape began with the scheme for the plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century. The spread of a market-based rural economy resulted in increased urbanization. Permanent dwellings of a more sophisticated construction became the norm in many areas, and around the towns new field patterns emerged. The spread of hedged enclosures heralded innovations in agricultural methods, tools, livestock, and systems of land tenure. In this book, first published in 1984 and now reissued by a new publisher, Robinson argues that environmental factors proved more important than governmental controls in shaping the emerging settlement patterns.

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***Lurgan's first century (1610–1710): collected essays***

Edited by Ronnie Hanna and David Weir

(Lurgan: Lurgan Townscape Heritage Initiative, 2021. Illus, maps. Pbk. No ISBN. £5)

This short book contains essays, originally presented as lectures, by Raymond Gillespie, on Lurgan's first century, 1610–1710, Naomi McAreavey on Lurgan and the 1641 rebellion, and by David Weir, on Lurgan in action 1654–1711. A series of maps, reproduced in colour, shows the growth of the town through the century, and the book also contains lists of named residents of Lurgan in the years 1622 (tenants of William Brownlow), 1664 (Hearth Money roll) and 1693 (Parish cess returns).

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***Fermanagh: from plantation to peace process***

Margaret Urwin

(Dublin: Eastwood Books, 2021. xi, 266p. Pbk. ISBN 9781838041632. €20)

This overview charts the major events that have shaped County Fermanagh from the days of the Ulster Plantation to the present. Margaret Urwin looks particularly at the recent conflict in Fermanagh, detailing every death. Using official, declassified British and Irish government documents, the book examines how the Irish state co-operated with its British counterpart on border security. It also explores the validity, or otherwise, of claims of 'ethnic cleansing'.

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***The first Irish cities: an eighteenth-century transformation***

David Dickson

(New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2021. xv, 336p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780300229462. £25)

Belfast, Derry, Sligo, Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Dublin and Drogheda are the ten cities analysed by David Dickson in this major synthesis of Irish urban history. The era covered is from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, dur-

ing which time Ireland's port cities expanded significantly. Outside Ulster, a long period of urban demographic growth came to an end about 1820. The physical, social and cultural evolution of each of Ireland's principal urban centres is examined. Due consideration is given to the ongoing influence of the proximity of English and Scottish urban centres to Ireland's main ports. Aspects of the cultural and religious distinctiveness of Irish cities as well as the similarities between their stories and those of other pre-industrial western European cities are assessed.

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***The early residential buildings of Trinity College Dublin: architecture, financing, people***

R.A. Somerville

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 404p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846829680. €55)

Early buildings in Trinity College, Dublin, from the Elizabethan quadrangle up to the residential ranges of the early eighteenth century are discussed in this book. Among all those red-brick buildings that once stood on the campus only the 'Rubrics' on Front Square remain. Although much altered, this residential range suggests what Trinity College looked like before the 1750s when replacement of the early buildings began. Why and when new buildings were added to the College, how they were funded, who designed them, who built them and where the materials were sourced are among the questions posed. The book also explores an almost forgotten event, the disastrous fire of February 1726/7, in which at least one house in Library Square was destroyed and several more were damaged. The second part of the book considers the community of residents of the early buildings up to the end of the nineteenth century when the range that had come to be known as 'Rotten Row' was pulled down.

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***Country House collections: their lives and afterlives***

Edited by Terence Dooley and Christopher Ridgway

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 334p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846829758. €50)

Country houses have been defined by their contents as much as by their architecture, landscapes and the families who occupied them. They have boasted collections ranging from antiquities, paintings, decorative arts, books and manuscripts, to scientific, ethnographic and antiquarian artefacts. Outdoors their gardens were often adorned with monuments, sculpture and horticultural specimens. These essays look at selected country house collections in Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States and continental Europe. The contributors examine how and why those particular collections were amassed and dispersed. They also consider how the identity of a house changes if its contents have been removed.

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***Against the map: the politics of geography in eighteenth-century Britain***

Adam Sills

(Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021. xiv, 302p. Hbk. ISBN 9780813945989. \$115; Pbk. ISBN 9780813945996. \$45)

This study of the conflicting ways space was represented in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries includes a long chapter on Ireland entitled “Surveying Ireland and Swift’s “Country of the Mind””. Sills analyses the work of various cartographers in Ireland from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century and considers how maps can function as tools of nation-building or empire-building. He then discusses how *Gulliver’s travels* demonstrated Jonathan Swift’s awareness of surveys and maps as a ‘technology of appropriation’ and Swift’s concern for the profound impact of those technologies on the rural landscape. Sills is also interested in understanding neighbourhood as ‘an alternative or dissenting space’ that ‘resists cartographic description’.

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**Approximate formality: morphology of Irish towns**

Valerie Mulvin

(Dublin: Anne Street Press, 2021. [vii], 188p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780951536490. €35)

Organised into an introductory chapter followed by four chronological sections on ‘Celtic & Viking’, ‘Medieval’, ‘Renaissance’ and ‘Landlord’, this illustrated book analyses Irish town plans and the layered phases of settlement history that shaped them through many centuries. Photographs of streetscapes are mainly sourced from the Lawrence Collection, while there are also numerous aerial photographs of towns, many of them from the Morgan Collection commissioned by the *Irish Independent* in the 1950s. Ordnance Survey and estate maps are used, along with antiquarian sketches and details of town plans drawn by the author. As Mulvin notes in the introduction, ‘Settlement history records that most pragmatic of aspirations – to organize the immediate world according to a framework which shelters life and commerce, makes space for events and markets. But it also sets out a stall – defines a position, an allegiance, an attitude to the world.’

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**Rathmines (Irish Historic Towns Atlas: Dublin suburbs, no. 2)**

Séamas Ó Maitiú

(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2021. 152p. Illus. Large format pbk. ISBN 9781911479789. €35)

A new historical atlas explores the vibrant Dublin suburb of Rathmines, tracing its development from village through township to suburb of Dublin. The narrative is illustrated with thematic maps, early views and photographs. A series of historic maps shows how the topography changed from medieval ráth to early modern castle, and from nineteenth-century village to wealthy residential suburb, local government administrative centre and twentieth-century flatland. A gazetteer of over 1,000 sites and accompanying essay presents a detailed topographical history of Rathmines from earliest times up to c.1970. This study shows that over the centuries Rathmines has shifted north, its ancient core was centred on the original Rathmines Castle (present-day Palmerston Park). Farms gave way to country villas before the Grand Canal, Portobello Barracks, fine terraces and grand squares from the nineteenth century left a lasting imprint.

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**14 Henrietta Street: Georgian buildings, 1750–1800**

Melanie Hayes

(Dublin City Council Culture Company, 2021. 96p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780995744660. €18)

Henrietta Street on Dublin’s north side was laid out in the 1720s and took 30 years to develop. The scale and sophistication of the houses, their elegant proportions and richly decorated interiors, set new standards for Dublin and Henrietta Street became the city’s most exclusive address when it was occupied from the 1750s. Hayes examines the building phase and considers what these houses symbolised in the eighteenth-century city before looking in some detail at the lives of some of its early residents, most notably the Molesworths.

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**14 Henrietta Street: grandeur and decline, 1800–1922**

Timothy Murtagh

(Dublin City Council Culture Company, 2020. 88p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780995744677. €18)

Parliament no longer met in Dublin after 1801 and there was less demand for large centrally-located houses for Ireland’s most prosperous citizens. Henrietta Street continued to benefit from the relative wealth of the legal profession in the nineteenth century, but two decades of economic decline after 1815 had an impact on the wider district with increasing under-employment. As the wealthier families moved to suburban townships and along the coastal railway line from mid-century, houses in Dublin’s Georgian core became home to the working poor. Henrietta Street was among the last to be affected but from the 1880s most houses in the street were rented as tenements and occupied by multiple families.

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**14 Henrietta Street: from tenement to suburbia, 1922–1979**

Donal Fallon

(Dublin City Council Culture Company, 2021. 96p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780995744684. €18)

Number 14 Henrietta Street was home to 13 people in the 1940s, but by then the building of social housing was making good progress in Dublin’s inner suburbs (north and south), and the era of inner-city tenement housing for the poor was gradually giving way to a new dawn of suburban public housing developments. After decades of neglect, one Henrietta Street house opened as a museum in 2013 telling the history of housing in Dublin. The three handsome hardback booklets published in this series situate the house and street in the wider context of Dublin’s social, economic and political history.

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**A species of delusion? The Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, 1819–2019**

Noel P. Wilkins

(Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2020. 272p. ISBN 9781910393307. €25)

This book traces successive Inspectorates of Fisheries since 1819. It explains their contribution to the present-day management and regulation of Irish fisheries, involving Inland Fisheries Ireland, the Sea-Fisheries Protection authority, and the Marine

Institute.

***An Cheathrú Rua agus na hOileáin sa naoú haois déag*  
Áine Ní Chonghaile**

(An Spidéal: Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2021. 326p. Illus. ISBN 9781784442200, €20)

This study of Carraroe and the Islands in the nineteenth century shines a light on a tight-knit community in southern Connemara in the nineteenth century – who they thought they were, where they came from and who they paid rent to. It also looks at how they worked at sea and on land and considers the external events that prompted change.

***Tourmakeady: history and society***

**Brigid Clesham**

(Cong: Mayo Historic Estates, 2021. xxiv, 495p. Illus., maps. Hbk. ISBN 9781916366716. €25)

This is a social and economic history of Tourmakeady and its hinterland, on the west shore of Lough Mask in Co. Mayo, since circa 1800. It begins by tracing the evolution of land-holding in the district, in particular the establishment of the Tourmakeady and Drimbawn estates, their ownership by different families, including the Plunkets and the actor Robert Shaw and the development of the village. The second part of the book has thematic chapters on the parish, education, law and order, the Irish Church Missions Society, evictions, the Congested Districts Board, emigration and the effect of events such as The Great Famine, The Land War and The Tourmakeady Ambush. The final part traces the twentieth-century history of the district.

***Kenmare: history and survival: Fr John O'Sullivan and the Famine poor***

**Colum Kenny**

(Dublin: Eastwood Books, 2021. [viii], 299p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781913934156. €20)

A chapter on the early history of Kenmare town through the years 1775 to 1839 is followed by a detailed study of life in the town in the Famine era. Workhouse records and John O'Sullivan's unpublished journals are key sources among the huge range of materials consulted for this study of life in south-west Ireland before, during, and after the Great Famine. The Landsdowne estate and family papers at Bowood in Wiltshire, which might also have contained some relevant details, were deemed beyond reach because of the huge daily charges for consulting that partially catalogued archive.

***The impact of the Great Famine on Sir William Palmer's estates in Mayo, 1840–69***

(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 149)

**David Byrne**

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 56p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846829734. €9.95)

This book examines the impact of the Famine on Sir William Palmer's Mayo estates, one of the largest in the county. It describes the estates' social and economic structures, and the living conditions and experiences of the tenants before, during and after the Famine. It explores the relationship Palmer, an absentee land-

lord, had with his tenants and the influence and control he had on the locality, its politics and the lives of the people on his estates.

***Civilised by beasts: animals and urban change in nineteenth-century Dublin***

**Juliana Adelman**

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020. xiii, 234p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 978 1526146052. £85; 2021. Pbk. ISBN 9781526160706. £14.95)

Among the topics explored in this innovative study are the effects of the expanding cattle trade on the geography, infrastructure and living conditions of Dublin. A greater reliance on animals for food in the aftermath of the Great Famine impacted life in the city. Efforts continued through the late nineteenth century to control the sanitary challenges arising from pig husbandry in densely populated urban areas, for example. As the use of horses for transport declined at the end of the nineteenth century, some centre-city stables came to be used for human habitation while plans for suburban housing developments no longer needed to include stables. Adelman's study of the place of animals in Victorian Dublin offers new perspectives on the political and social divisions on the city. She argues that the exploitation of animals had a key role in shaping urban development, from municipal reform to the expansion of public health and policing.

***Architects of Ulster: W.J. Barre, 1830–1867. A vigorous mind***

**Paul Harron**

(Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2021. xxii, 230p. Hbk. ISBN 9780900457845. £28)

This large-format book is a thorough study of the work of William J. Barre, a Newry native who in his short life became one of Ulster's most important Victorian designers. His work included commercial, ecclesiastical, civic and domestic structures. Among them were the Ulster Hall in Belfast as well as the leaning Albert Memorial Clock, Presbyterian churches in Newry and Belfast, and other churches in Counties Monaghan, Tyrone and Wicklow. Barre designed some large mansions for prosperous industrialists, including Danesfort House (now the US Consulate) and The Moat, both in Belfast, the remodelled Roxborough Castle in County Tyrone and Belvoir Park in Belfast. This elegant book contains a series of well-researched thematic essays followed by a comprehensive gazetteer and is lavishly illustrated with new colour photographs by David Bunting.

***The plight of the big house in Northern Ireland***

**J.A.K. Dean**

(Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 2020. 154p. Pbk. ISBN 9780900457838. £24)

Country houses that have been lost, and those still surviving but in a perilous condition, are catalogued here alongside some of the more impressive suburban villas of the merchant class, mainly around Belfast, and even some large Church of Ireland rectories. In all, 179 houses are included in this illustrated book. It is organised by county to facilitate use as a field guide. Archival collections of late Victorian and Edwardian

photographs in the National Library of Ireland and in National Museums of Northern Ireland are used extensively. The author is already well known for his multi-volume work on the gate lodges of Ireland.

***Shifting foundations: the big houses of Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown***

Edited by David Gunning

(Dublin: DLR, 2021. 131p. Illus. ISBN 9780995609143. €15)

Historian in Residence, David Gunning, explores the history of some of the big houses of the Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown (DLR) administrative area, including the three houses that are managed by DLR County Council at Cabinteely, Fernhill and Marlay. Contributors to the book include Peter Pearson, Rob Goodbody, Georgina Sweetman, Nicola Kelly and Deirdre Raftery.

***American planters and Irish landlords in comparative and transnational perspective: lords of land and labor***

Cathal Smith

(New York: Routledge, 2021. xi, 247p. Hbk. ISBN 9780367698515. £120)

With ‘rural subjection’ as an overarching theme, this book compares a Mississippi planter named John A. Quitman (1799–1858) and an Irish landlord named Robert Dillon, Lord Clonbrock (1807–93), examining their economic behaviours, ideologies, labour relations, and political histories. The two men are taken as representative of specific but comparable manifestations of agrarian modernity, paternalism, and conservatism. Both regions were peripheral economies within the capitalist world, and topics such as estate management, improvement, and resistance are investigated. The study shows that American planters and Irish landlords were connected by myriad direct and indirect transnational links between their societies, including transatlantic intellectual cultures, mutual participation in global capitalism, and through the mass migration of people from Ireland to the United States during the nineteenth century.

***Rural tensions in nineteenth-century Knock, County Mayo***

(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 152)

Frank Mayes

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 57p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846829710. €9.95)

In 1879 the parish of Knock witnessed both the outbreak of the ‘land war’ and also a reported apparition of the Virgin Mary. The press coverage that resulted from both of these events has enabled this study of tensions within rural communities. It examines the attitudes of individual landlords towards their tenants and the demise of the open field (rundale) system of farming. Parallels with English enclosures and agrarian protests are noted.

***Changing land: diaspora activism and the Irish Land War***  
(Glucksman Irish diaspora series, 3)

Niall Whelehan

(New York: New York University Press, 2021. [v], 205p. Hbk. ISBN 9781479809554. circa €29)

As part of a wide-ranging study, international in scope, this book examines the role played by individuals such as Peter O’Leary, Marguerite Moore, John Creaghe, and Thomas Ainge Devyr in influencing land agitation in late nineteenth-century Ireland.

***Painting Dublin: visualising a changing city, 1886–1949***

Kathryn Milligan

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020. xvii, 220p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781526144102 £85; 2021 Pbk. ISBN 9781526144185 £25)

Dublin in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was seen as a colonial and commercial environment, contrasting with the rural landscapes of the ‘real’ Ireland. The ways in which Dublin was depicted in the art of the period reflected the cultural and social perspectives of the world experienced by the artists. Among those whose depictions of the city are contextualised in this study are Rose Barton, Walter Osborne, Jack B. Yeats, Harry Kernoff, Estella Solomons, and Flora Mitchell. All of these artists, but particularly Barton, Mitchell and Solomons, were interested in representing the physical city, including landmark buildings, bridges, parks and streets as part of their interpretation of the city and its people. There are numerous black and white illustrations, and a substantial selection of colour plates, though in a cautious move none of the work of Flora Mitchell is reproduced because the copyright owner could not be identified.

***Merchants, medics, and the military: commerce and architecture: a social history of Ireland from 1875 to 1925 as seen through the lives of some Tullamore families***

Maurice G. Egan

(Tullamore: Esker Press, 2021. [iv], 248p. ISBN 9781909822290. €24.99)

The mercantile families who lived in and invested in the urban residences and infrastructure of Irish towns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the focus of this study. Tullamore was particularly fortunate in its local entrepreneurs and the town’s principal streets still have many impressive examples of domestic architecture. The arrival of electricity, the provision of drinking water and piped gas, and the pioneering efforts at building social housing were overseen by the leading local families who were at the centre of commercial and social life in the town. This book tells the story of the impact they had on Tullamore’s development.

***Building healthy homes: Dublin Corporations first housing schemes, 1880–1925***

Joseph Brady and Ruth McManus

(Dublin City Council, distributed by Four Courts Press, 2021. 311p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780950051260. €25)

During the twentieth century, Dublin Corporation transformed the urban landscape of Dublin. Its many housing developments sought to end a housing and public health crisis of immense proportions, the legacy of the nineteenth century. Its early engagement with the housing crisis was tentative and involved mostly small inner-city schemes. These schemes were built well and most continue to be lived in and appre-

ciated. Early housing schemes from the 1880s to 1925 are examined in some detail and the book is comprehensively illustrated with maps, photographs and block plans. Housing policy evolved during this time and the solutions found to the issues faced are still relevant today. The book concludes with a detailed account of public housing schemes in Marino and Drumcondra. These schemes, especially the former, represent the culmination of policy development and were seen as models for the future.

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***Developing rural Ireland: a history of the Irish Agricultural Advisory Services***

Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh

(Dublin: Wordwell, 2021. xii, 572p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781913934606. €30)

Agricultural improvement as the basis of rural development through the twentieth century is the topic of this book. There is a preliminary chapter considering the impact of the Royal Dublin Society, agricultural schools and the Congested Districts Board. This is followed by 11 chronological chapters dealing with the twentieth century. The pre-1922 chapters cover all of Ireland; those after 1922 exclude Northern Ireland, and the author notes the changing mindset of the twenty-first century that no longer equates rural dwellers exclusively with the farming community. An epilogue on the period 2000–2021, assessing the role of the institution now known as ‘Teagasc’ Ireland’s Agriculture and Food Development Authority, concludes the volume.

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***Walls of containment: the architecture and landscapes of lunacy***

Patrick Quinlan

(Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2021. xvi, 288p. Illus., maps, plans. Hbk. ISBN 9781910820742. €40)

Ireland was not unique in creating and perpetuating an institutional response to insanity, but by the 1950s it had the world’s highest number of psychiatric beds per capita. This book examines the spaces and landscapes created to facilitate this spectacular expansion in institutional provision. The earliest structures embodied Enlightenment theories and pioneering approaches to treatment within their very fabric. There were some impressive architectural set-pieces designed by the leading architects of the era, and some large institutional buildings that sought to address the challenges of accommodating historically unprecedented numbers of people in a single building. Most were set within designed landscapes which attest to the original curative aspirations of these institutions.

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***Dublin 1910–1940: shaping the city and suburbs (The making of Dublin City)***

Ruth McManus

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 512p. Illus., maps.

**New edition. Pbk. 9781846829833. €19.95)**

Between 1910 and 1940 Dublin’s suburbs grew considerably. For the first time, planned suburbanization of the working classes became a stated policy, with new and idealistic schemes such as Marino, Drumcondra and Crumlin being built. At the same time, private speculative development was continuing at the edges of the city, where individual builders, such as Alexander Strain, had a major impact on the layout and style of the suburbs. The extent of the interaction between State, local authority, public utility societies and private speculators suggests that a development continuum existed rather than a strict division between public and private development. This was also a period when the modern town planning movement and evolving ideas about citizenship in the new State impacted on the shaping of the city. Many of the formative decisions that came to shape the modern low-rise, low-density city were taken at this time.

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***The Dublin Cattle Market’s decline, 1955–73 (Maynooth Studies in Local History, 153)***

Declan O’Brien

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. 58p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846829727. €9.95)

The Dublin Cattle Market was an institution in the Irish livestock sector of the 1950s. Located where Prussia Street meets the North Circular Road, the market sold up to 6,000 cattle a week and attracted buyers from England, Scotland and continental Europe. It set the tone for sales nationally, with the prices paid for livestock at fairs and marts around the country influenced by the weekly reports from Prussia Street. The Dublin Cattle Market was closed by 1973. This study examines the market’s final years, between 1955 and 1973, and how its decline mirrored that of the traditional livestock fairs, which were eclipsed by farmer-owned marts throughout the country. The author shows how the growth of the marts exposed and highlighted tensions within the farming community, and also explores the city-country relationships and interactions that stemmed from operating a very rural enterprise in an urban setting.

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***A little history of the future of Dublin***

Frank McDonald

(Dublin: Martello Publishing, 2021. 208p. Hbk. ISBN 9781999896850. €14.95)

One of the first books from a new publisher, this ‘little history’ explores visions of Ireland’s capital city ranging from the influence of the duke of Ormonde and eighteenth-century developers down to the Celtic Tiger era and the subsequent property crash in the early twenty-first century. The book also presents a plan for how the city could once again become one of the great small capitals of Europe.

## Notices of sources and guides to sources Bernadette Cunningham

### ***Henry Jones' account of the 1641 Rising: plantation and war in County Cavan***

Edited by Brendan Scott

(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2021. 96p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781913993092. £9.99)

When the Ulster rising began in October 1641, Dr Henry Jones, dean of the Church of Ireland diocese of Kilmore, escaped from Cavan. He later established and chaired the 1641 Commission, responsible for taking around 8,000 depositions or witness statements relating to the rising. He also wrote pamphlets about the rising, including a description of the events in Cavan between October 1641 and June 1642. Jones's *A Relation of the beginning and proceedings of the Rebellion in the County of Cavan* (London, 1642), is now reprinted in an annotated edition, illustrated with colour plates, together with a new account of County Cavan in the early seventeenth century by Brendan Scott.

### ***Malton's views of Dublin: the story of a Georgian city***

Edited by Trevor White

(Dublin: Martello Publishing, 2021. 111p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 978199989843. €29.95)

Edited by Trevor White of the Little Museum of Dublin, with commentary on the individual illustrations, these reproductions of Malton's images are accompanied by essays commissioned from David Dickson, Graham Hickey, Merlo Kelly and Kathryn Milligan, as well as an introduction by Diarmuid Ó

Gráda.

### ***Tracing your Irish ancestors through land records: a guide for family historians***

Chris Paton

([Yorkshire]: Pen and Sword Family History, 2021. xiv, 160p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781526780218. £14.99)

Paton guides the reader through various ways of approaching sources relating to land ownership and occupation in Ireland, including the principal archives and the increasing number of relevant online sources. Land divisions and boundaries, tenancy and ownership, valuation surveys, census material, maps and gazetteers are all discussed.

### ***The Dublin architecture guide, 1937–2021***

Paul Kelly, Cormac Murray and Brendan Spierin

(Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2021. 432p. illus. Pbk. ISBN: 9781843518259. €25)

The authors catalogue a selection of buildings constructed in Dublin since 1937 with a view to raising awareness of the city's architecture. The descriptions of individual buildings are accompanied by original photographs and there are some architectural sketches. Spanning County Dublin from Swords to Dun Laoghaire, the guide celebrates the architecture of Dublin in the modern era.

*A selection of key electronic resources for Irish archaeology,  
historical geography and architectural history*

Bernadette Cunningham

This is a selection of some key online resources for Irish archaeology, local history, historical geography and architectural history that may be of particular interest to readers of *Áitreabh*.

**Archaeology** The National Monuments Service provides a wealth of authoritative archaeological information on this website, much of it derived from decades of research on sites and monuments the length and breadth of Ireland. Data previously published in print format in county-by-county *Archaeological Inventories* can now be accessed on the 'historic environment viewer' on this site.

<https://www.archaeology.ie>

**Buildings of Ireland** Database of over 65,000 buildings and gardens documented by the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (NIAH). The website also includes digitised versions of county booklets previously published in print format.

<https://www.buildingsofireland.ie>

**Down Survey** A digital version of a key late seventeenth-century historical and cartographic source for many Irish counties excluding Connacht.

<http://downsurvey.tcd.ie>

**Excavations** Authoritative short reports on Irish archaeological excavations. The reports are uploaded by licensed archaeologists onto this fully searchable free website. The database includes the content of reports published annually in print from 1969 to 2010 as well as those reports published online since 2011.

<https://excavations.ie>

**Griffith's Valuation** Griffith's Valuation is among the useful mid-nineteenth-century historical sources that can be accessed freely on this site.

<http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/>

**HeritageMaps** A special data-viewer of built, cultural and natural heritage, compiled by the Heritage Council using datasets drawn from state agencies and local authorities.

<http://heritagemaps.ie>

**Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA)** Digital editions of some of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series are available online, as well as prototype GIS-based digital atlases for Derry/Londonderry, Dungarvan and Galway.

<https://www.ria.ie/research-projects/irish-historic-towns-atlas/ihta-digital>

**Irish History Online** The national bibliography for Irish history.

<https://www.ria.ie/irish-history-online>

**LandedEstates** A comprehensive resource guide to the landed estates of Connacht and Munster, c. 1700–1914.

<http://www.landedestates.ie>

**Logainm** The national place-names database. The data has recently been expanded to include street-names (currently in English only). There is also a crowd-sourcing (*meitheal*) element of this project, where information on local place-names can be uploaded. This is on a separate part of the website: <https://meitheal.logainm.ie/ga/>

<https://www.logainm.ie/en/>

**Ordnance Survey Ireland (OSI)** The Irish national mapping agency website includes a section on historic maps.

<https://www.osi.ie/products/professional-mapping/historical-mapping/>



- Paddi** The bibliography for Irish architecture, listing publications on all aspects of the built environment and environmental planning in Ireland, north and south.  
<https://www.paddi.net>
- Place Names Northern Ireland** An authoritative guide to the origin and meaning of over 30,000 place-names in Northern Ireland. Includes a searchable database of current and historic place-names and a map depicting townland and parish boundaries.  
<http://www.placenamesni.org>
- PRONI Historical maps viewer** Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and Land and Property Services Northern Ireland have combined their resources to provide access to historical maps. The viewer displays county, parish and townland boundaries and includes information on sites, buildings and landmarks of historical interest. It provides access to historical Ordnance Survey maps for Northern Ireland counties as well as modern base maps.  
<https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/articles/about-proni-historical-maps-viewer>
- UCD open source maps** Downloadable versions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historic maps in UCD Library.  
<https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:426>

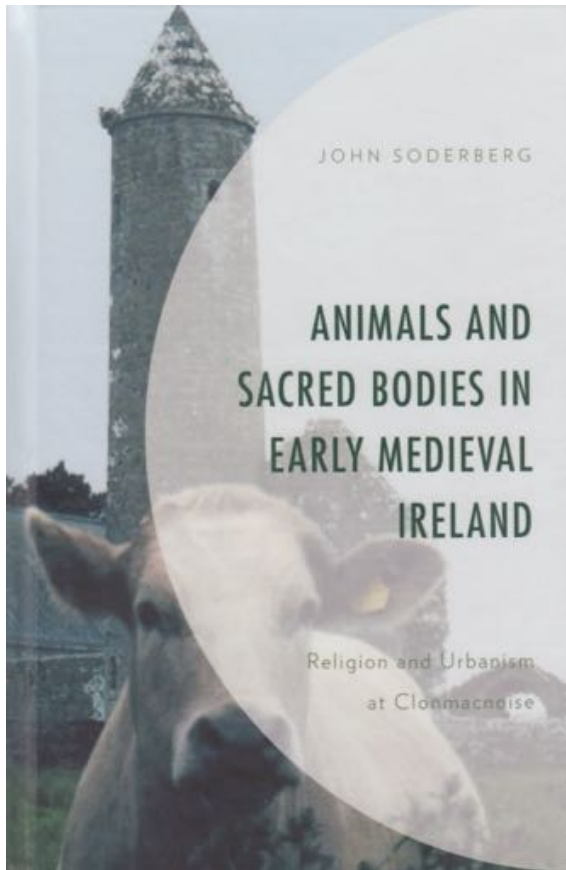
## Review

### *Animals and sacred bodies in early medieval Ireland: religion and urbanism at Clonmacnoise*

John Soderberg

(Lexington Books: London, 2021) [xii, 249p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 978179360391, £81. ePub. ISBN 9781793630407 (Kindle Edition) £35]

I had been looking forward to this book so much that I ordered a copy in advance of publication. I have read quite a few articles by John Soderberg over the years because of the implications that his studies on animal bones have had in the debate regarding the possible urban status of major Irish monasteries. In the past I have often felt frustration that an author didn't write the book that I was expecting – a childish attitude of course – and this book belongs to that category. In such a situation it is all the more important to read and understand what the author had set out to achieve in writing the book. Before reaching a conclusion Irish archaeologists and historians must read the author's introduction carefully to give a fair hearing to what is, I think, a difficult and controversial argument. The first paragraph sets out the authors intention:



Strangers haunt human imaginations. Countless tales turn on a stranger appearing at the door. Their mystery is what will happen next. On the main, this book is an investigation of archaeological data gathered from excavations at Clonmacnoise, a medieval monastery in the midlands of Ireland. The goal is to shed light on the intersection between religion and the development of cities in post-Roman Northern Europe. But, equally, this book offers a tale about strangers gathering at Clonmacnoise: what drew them there, what they encountered as they crossed in, what transformations they hoped to find, what transformations they encountered. (p. 1.)

It is important to realise that this study is not just about Clonmacnoise itself and its position within Ireland. Rather the site has been taken as a case study that has implications for the development of cities in

post-Roman Europe. As a point of departure the author focuses upon two tales / stories (*narrationes*) in the 'Life of St Columba' by Adomnán of Iona. In each story the saint is welcomed for the night and treated as well as the circumstances of each farmer allowed. As a result of their kindness the five cows of each man are increased one hundredfold to 105 and a blessing was placed upon their sons and grandsons. The number of cattle remained fixed and any increase beyond that number were carried off or were solely for the needs of the household or for charity. The author recalls these stories in theoretical discussions throughout the book concerning the relative roles of stranger, guest, religion, the sacred,

sanctuary and the role of animals, particularly cattle, in determining the possible urban nature of sites such as Clonmacnoise. He states that:

New developments in a variety of fields have created an approach to the intersection of religion and economics better able to account for the proviso in Adomnán's tale and the different social outcomes from encounters with strangers at the door. This book takes Clonmacnoise as a case study demonstrating the implications of these alternatives for understanding early medieval social dynamics and, more specifically, what role religion had in fueling the resurgence of urbanism.

The concise version of my answer is that animals made Clonmacnoise sacred and the process of transforming those animal bodies made Clonmacnoise a city. (pp 3-4.)

These statements make clear that this book is based very solidly upon theoretical reflections by anthropologists, sociologists and students of religion.

The introduction sets out the difficulties that the author finds with the current approaches to early urbanism and ends with a summary of the contents of the following chapters. Chapter One is entitled 'Enclosure, Cattle, and Sanctuary Cities in Early Medieval Ireland'. The Late Iron Age background is surveyed. The ceremonial centres such as Tara, Emain Macha, Rathcroghan and Dún Ailinne are noted and, given the author's interest in animals, he points out that they are 'increasingly recognized as phenomena involving flows of animals.' Recent discoveries mean that the Iron Age is no longer less visible nor seen as isolated from Europe. A survey of early medieval Ireland follows and ends with a detailed discussion of urbanism and the ideas of those who have participated in the debate.

Chapter Two 'Excavating Clonmacnoise' is concerned with the landscape in which the monastery is situated. The evidence for Clonmacnoise from documentary evidence and from architecture is rehearsed. Then there is an account of each of the excavations that have taken place on the site since the 1970s. A synthesis of this evidence is then given followed by a concluding section which ends with the statement:

...it is no longer possible to say that clearly Clonmacnoise was not urban. But, before settling whether zooarchaeology supports claims that Clonmacnoise was a sanctuary city, it is necessary to identify how new archaeologies of religion define an alternative view of the sacred space at Clonmacnoise. (p. 82.)

Chapter Three is entitled 'Grounding the Archaeology of Religion'. I have to admit that I do not have the knowledge to deal with the multitude of theories that are discussed in this chapter - nor can I relate to the language in which these matters are discussed.

Chapter Four 'Animals and the Rise of Clonmacnoise' returns to an examination of the archaeological evidence for the role of animals in the monastery. 'The challenge this chapter faces is approaching them [animals buried in the New Graveyard] in a manner that recognizes their role in making Clonmacnoise sacred.' (p. 115) 'Grounded approaches to religion give urgency to learning how animals made Clonmacnoise sacred, not how they fed whatever made Clonmacnoise sacred.' (p. 116) That such statements are possible arises from the theoretical discussions of the previous chapter. I doubt if any historian could make sense of this. These statements aside, the chapter has important information about the types of animals found on the site, their age at time of death, how the bodies were treated and used, and the implications this has for the evolution of the settlement. Important comparisons are made between this and similar evidence from Dublin and elsewhere in Europe.

Chapter Five ‘Animals, Tabernacles and Towns. The Iconography of Sanctuary’ is an attempt to understand the way in which people with their animals approached Clonmacnoise and how they might have experienced the settlement. This involves a detailed examination of the High Crosses and possible ways of reading them in light of recent theories. The capstones of these crosses are considered as tabernacles and there is a discussion of the symbolism that they represent.

Chapter Six is entitled ‘The Animals of Clonmacnoise in a New Millennium’. This provides an overview of the period 1100 to 1600. This chapter deals with the final period in the history of the site. It was during this time that a new diocesan structure was placed upon the church in Ireland. Clonmacnoise did not benefit from this change. The Anglo-Normans built a castle on the periphery of the site early in the thirteenth century but this didn’t last since the centre of power moved to Athlone. By the fourteenth century Clonmacnoise was in serious decline – a decline that ensured it survived as an archaeological and artistic treasure house.

The book ends with a reflection upon the nature of the ‘sanctuary city’.

This book has been very poorly proofed. Errors of syntax abound – although various turns of phrase may be common in American speech. Some statements are so convoluted that it is difficult to make out the sense. The spelling of the few words in Irish is careless. I read some of the frequently cited articles in order to get a purchase on the theoretical debate. Those by Frans Theuws (2004 and 2012),<sup>12</sup> an archaeological professor emeritus from the University of Leiden, while referred to throughout, are missing from the bibliography. The most extraordinary gap in the bibliography is the book by David Jenkins in which he explored the morphology of early medieval Irish religious settlement.<sup>13</sup> In particular he looked to the theological aspect and suggested that inspiration for the layout comes from depictions of the Jerusalem Temple. He has a number of chapters dealing with the Temple and Tabernacle. Consideration of this work would have been of fundamental importance in relation to Soderberg’s thesis.

There is a danger that this book will be rejected by those who find it difficult to deal with Soderberg’s theorising – based upon what seems like a flood of recent literature by anthropologists, sociologists and students of religion. Perhaps that is the audience best positioned to judge the book. Those of us who wish to understand more clearly the role of major churches and monasteries in early Ireland, particularly in relation to their ‘urban’ status, may be disappointed. But however we judge this contribution to the debate it would be wrong to dismiss it on account of the theorising that supports the argument. There are thought-provoking ideas throughout and solid information about the role of animals in provisioning such places. This is particularly so when ‘urban’ centres of various kinds elsewhere in Europe are discussed. Soderberg has shown that the pattern of provision at Clonmacnoise is similar to that found in Dublin and in excavated towns in Europe. The debate about the ‘monastic town’ is far from over.

Charles Doherty (Retired)  
School of History and Archives  
University College Dublin

<sup>12</sup> F. Theuws, ‘Exchange, religion, identity and central places in the early Middle Ages’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 10:2 (2004), 121–138. doi:10.1017/S1380203804211217; F.C.W.J. Theuws, ‘River-based trade centres in early medieval northwestern Europe. Some ‘reactionary’ thoughts’ in S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (eds), *From one Sea to another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the International Conference Comacchio, 27th–29th March 2009* (Brepols Publishers: Turnhout, 2012), pp 25–45. <sup>13</sup> David H. Jenkins, ‘Holy, Holier, Holiest’. *The Sacred Topography of the Early Medieval Irish Church* [Studia Traditionis Theologiae. Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology 4] (Brepols Publishers: Turnhout, 2010).



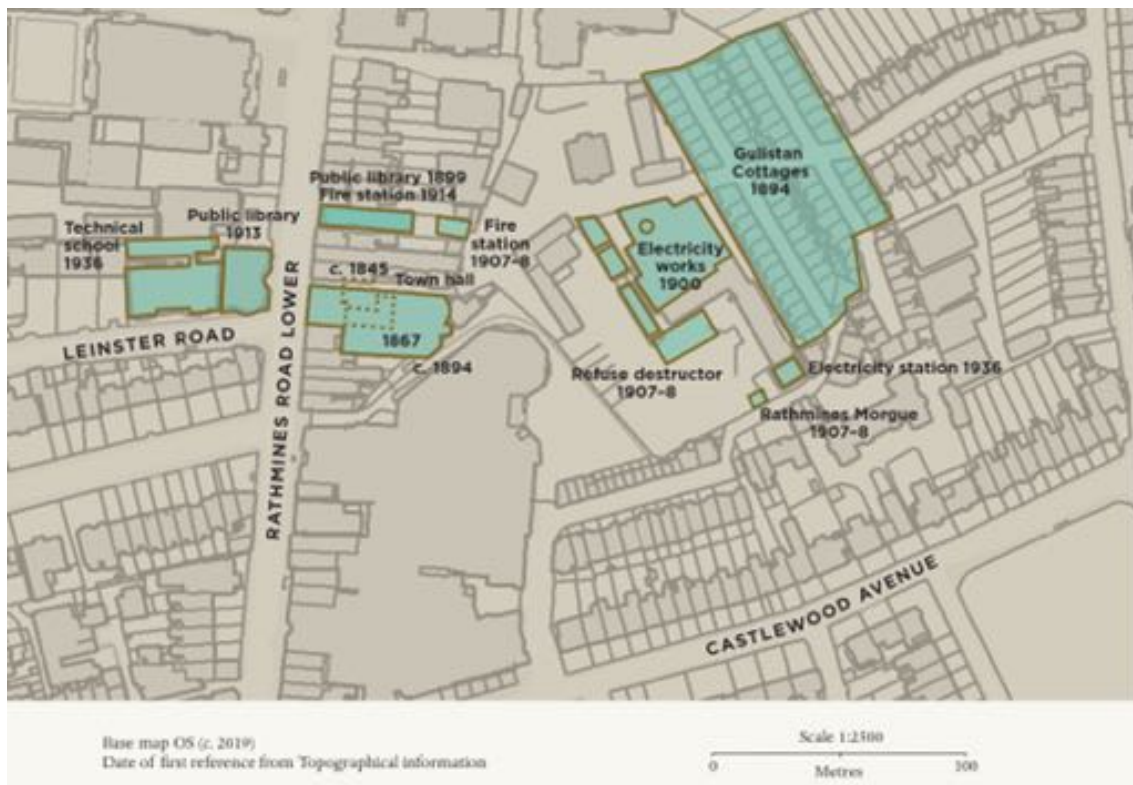
**Figure 6** Top: Raymond Gillespie speaking to the screen at the IHTA Town and Country Seminar. Bottom: Howard Clarke leading the way southwards down Widderling's Lane on a recent field-trip to Cork.



View of Ballyshannon, 1806, by Richard Hoare. By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA.

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

Sarah Gearty, Cartographic editor

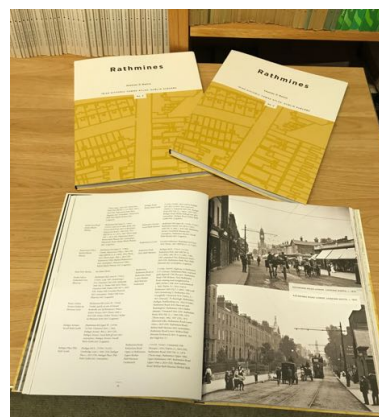


Map of the Civic Nucleus, Rathmines, from the recently published atlas by Séamas Ó Maitiú. *Rathmines* is no. 2 in the IHTA Dublin suburbs series.

**R**athmines appeared in October as the most recent addition to the IHTA catalogue as no. 2 in the Dublin suburbs series, which is produced in association with Dublin City Council. The format follows that of no. 1 *Clontarf*, by Colm Lennon (published 2018), with a topographical gazetteer of over 1,000 sites, early views and photographs in addition to a sequence of thematic and historic maps.

The publication is the culmination of many years of research by author and Rathmines native Séamas Ó Maitiú, in collaboration with the IHTA team. You can read an article by Séamas in this newsletter. *Drumcondra* (Ruth McManus) and *Kilmainham/Inchicore* (Frank Cullen) will join *Clontarf* and *Rathmines* in the series in the coming years.

As the four ‘suburbs authors’, Colm, Séamas, Ruth and Frank took the comparative approach and presented ‘From outlying villages to townships: Dublin suburbs in the nineteenth century’ in one of the five sessions that were run in May as part of the IHTA/British Historic Towns Atlas 2021 ‘Town and Country’ seminar. An exhibition of the same name was subsequently launched during Heritage Week. For the seminar, though we missed the opportunity of meeting as usual in Academy House, the online aspect allowed for record attendance at each of the sessions. The other benefit is that the lectures were recorded and you can catch up on those here: <https://www.ria.ie/news/irish-historic-towns-atlas-educational-resources/ihta-town-and-country-seminar-series-draws>.



*Rathmines* by Séamas Ó Maitiú

We had a productive summer research season with Maynooth University student, Ben Callan joining us as part of the SPUR scheme in June/July and again in August to assist author Angela Byrne for her work on Ballyshannon (see picture on opposite page). The later was enabled by a grant from Co. Donegal Creative Ireland. Meanwhile, other IHTA towns made progress with contributors continuing their research on future atlas publications: *Arklow*, *Carlow*, *Cavan*, *Clonmel*, *Naas*, *New Ross*, *Tralee*, *Tullamore*, *Waterford* and *Westport*. The Digital Working Group reconvened in June with IHTA ingestion into the Digital Repository of Ireland high on the agenda and Rachel Murphy (UL) as chair. Michael Potterton (MU) took over as chair of the editorial board in October.

It is planned to return to Dawson Street, Dublin for the forthcoming seminar, which has been organised as a series of panel discussions under the theme 'Using the Atlas'. A plenary paper by David Dickson will round off the day. All going well, it will take place in Academy House on 19 May 2022. Keep an eye on [www.ihta.ie](http://www.ihta.ie) for more details.

Also forthcoming is *Cork!* The end is in sight for Howard Clarke and Máire Ní Laoi who have been researching Cork for many years. With support from the City Council, *Cork* will be no. 31 in the main IHTA series.

Keep up to date with all IHTA news via Twitter @IHTA\_RIA and our webpage [www.ihta.ie](http://www.ihta.ie).



Speakers take to the screen at the IHTA Town and Country Seminar, May 2021. Sarah Gearty, Mary Canning (President, RIA), Michael Potterton, Keith Lilley and Chris Dyer (centre).



## FORTY-NINTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

## Central Hotel, Donegal Town

6-8 MAY 2022

## Historic Settlement: Atlantic South Donegal

*The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement**In association with**The Donegal GAP Heritage and History Group***Friday 7:00–8:00 pm: Registration in Central Hotel, Donegal Town****Speakers:****Keynote lecture:** Brian Lacey (former CEO of the Discovery Programme)*Settlement in South Donegal from prehistoric to medieval times*

Charlie Doherty (retired School of History and Archives, UCD)

*South Tír Conaill and external relations in the Early Middle Ages*

Dr Paul MacCotter (School of History, UCC)

*The túatha of Tír Conaill*

Dr Anne-Julie LaFaye (National Monuments Service, Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage.)

*Donegal Franciscan Friary: mendicant architecture and patronage in late medieval Ireland*

Paula Harvey (Director of Donegal GAP Heritage and History CLG and Project Manager)

*The Doon Fort Project*

Dr Angela Byrne (Independent)

*The impact of migration on nineteenth-century Ballyshannon*

Dr Arlene Crampsie (School of Geography, UCD)

*Lasting legacies – South Donegal’s settlement history and the geographies of revolutionary politics*

Dr Brendan Mac Suibhne (NUI, Galway)

*Brian Friel and his mother’s people*

Dr Barry O’Reilly (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage)

*Hamlets in Southwest Donegal***Saturday 2:00 pm:** Field Trip by bus to include some or all of the following:

Kilclooney Dolmen, viewing Inishkeel Monastic Site, and Doon Fort. Other sites to be confirmed.

**Saturday 7:00 pm:** Wine reception and launch of book by David Dickson:*The First Irish Cities. An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (Yale University Press, 2021)**Saturday 8:30 pm:** Conference dinner (Central Hotel)**Sunday 9:30 am:** AGM Group for the study of Irish historic settlement (Central Hotel)**Sunday 2:00–4:00 pm:** Guided walking tour of Donegal Town**Conference Fee** \* : €60 / £50, Students \* €30 / £25**Individual sessions:** €30 / £25**Annual membership fee:** €20 / £17**Annual student membership fee:** €12 / £10**Conference dinner:** €30

\*Conference fee includes tea/coffee and bus for fieldtrip

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