Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

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Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

President's Welcome

The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS) was founded by Dr Robin Glasscock, then of Queen's University Belfast in 1969. We talked at our South Kildare meeting last year of a celebratory conference in Dublin in 2019 to mark that occasion. With that in mind we have set ourselves a busy agenda with no less than three conferences to be organised and enjoyed between May 2018 and May 2019. These are:

- 11–13 May 2018 based in Dungarvan
- 28–30 March 2019 in Dublin, to mark our 50th anniversary
- 10–12 May 2019 in Santiago, Galicia, as our first away annual conference.

That based on County Waterford was settled by your committee in late 2017. Subjects, speakers, hotels and our commitment to visit each province once in the four-year cycle have all to be considered. The uplift in the economy means that finding a suitable hotel can be difficult. The committee tackled this issue early with very satisfactory results and we head to Lawlor's in Dungarvan for the 11–13 May 2018 conference with the theme of **Historic Settlement: Dungarvan and West Waterford**. We have an exciting programme which would not be possible without the contribution of our speakers: John Martin, Dr Nora White, Dave Pollock, Dr Paul MacCotter, Eamonn Cotter, Dr James Lyttleton, Dr David Fleming, William Fraher and Christina O'Connor.

As I said last year our Group annual meeting has been successful for a variety of reasons. First, it has always believed in an inter-disciplinary approach and in its publications and meetings has avoided a too narrow and off-putting specialism. Yet the annual meeting has always combined a high level of expertise with a warm friendliness towards all who attend, be he or she a professor in a history department or a rank and file member of a local historical society. Everyone who attends is valued for what they can contribute to settlement studies. This year it is evident that all our speakers have a strong work record and we thank them, especially those from Dungarvan and the county of Waterford on whom we rely so much, for the unique blend of what makes a successful conference.

Aside from our speakers this year I also wish to thank Waterford City and County Council and in particular its heritage officer, Bernadette Guest. I believe that GSIHS should continue to work closely with the county heritage officers and the Heritage Council to build a county network for GSIHS throughout the country and to use the best of the social media tools to get our message across. We are improving on this front with Facebook and Twitter. A blog would be good too so that we can keep in touch every week with our members and friends. Here the county historical societies can be of help to us in spreading our message about Irish landscape studies to a wide audience. Those of you who visit the Dungarvan / Waterford history website (Dungarvanmuseum.org) cannot but be impressed with how professional it is.

The GSIHS committee comprised of Margaret Murphy (secretary) David Fleming (Hon. Treasurer / Hon. Editor) James Lyttleton, Rachel Tracey, Matthew Stout, Geraldine Stout, David Kelly, Charlie Doherty, Linda Shine and Paul MacCotter is all that we could want.

Last year I paid tribute to Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber who spoke at our South Kildare conference on the 'Annals of Ballitore'. Sad to relate that Rolf Loeber died on 6 November 2017, a few weeks after his trip to Ireland in late September. During his fifty years visiting Ireland he was a keen student of Irish history. Rolf contributed over fifty papers and books to Irish history, many in collaboration with his wife Magda and other scholars. His output in both his professional career in the United States and in Irish history (where he was truly professional also) was remarkable. He first started to visit my own county of Offaly in the 1970s, often in the company of friends Billy English and Harman Murtagh, both great supporters of GSIHS. When Billy died suddenly in February 1978 it was natural that a memorial volume would be published. Rolf, no doubt, was one of the first to lodge his

submission with the editor Harman Murtagh. It was about Mathew De Renzy of Clonony Castle, Offaly and his policy of civilisation through plantation, often a screen for land grabbing. At least fifty more papers followed over the next forty years. Of late he had been working on demesnes in Ireland and we eagerly awaited his book on the subject. He had published an essay in the Lough Ree book arising from his paper to GSIHS at that conference. He was an indefatigable researcher and where he had the record cards in the 1970s this would soon be followed by sophisticated laptops and cameras set to raw images to capture all he could in high resolution. That was his approach. Everything was intensely professional. We will endeavour to carry on his work. Our sympathy to Magda on her great loss.

I look forward to meeting you at the Dungarvan and West Waterford conference and hearing your suggestions for the continued good fortune of our GSIHS. I urge you to come to our Dublin-based 50th anniversary conference in March 2019 and to book your airline ticket to Galicia for our first away annual conference on 10–12 May 2019. You will not be disappointed.

Finally, we still want to build our archive of photographs and documents of the past fifty years. We can digitise negatives, prints and documents so dig out what you can and bring them to Dungarvan.

Michael Byrne (President) May 2018
info@offalyhistory.com

An Chomhairle Oidhreachta
The Heritage Council

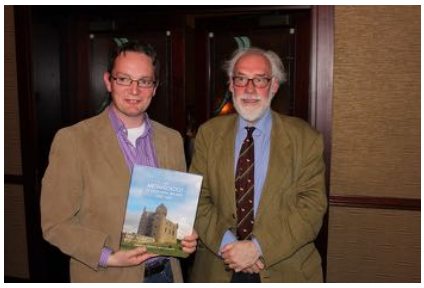
Comhairle Cathrach & Contae Phort Láirge
Waterford City & County Council

The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance provided by Waterford City and County Council and the Heritage Council towards the running costs of this year's conference in Dungarvan.

Raymond Gillespie

Matthew Stout and Charlie Doherty

Margaret Murphy



James Lyttleton and Raymond Gillespie

James Lyttleton and David Fleming

Harman and Anne Murtagh

Sharon Greene speaking
at Killeen Cormac

Magda Stouthamer-Loeber
beside Mary Leadbeater

Rolf and Magda at Bloomville 1212

Sharon Greene at Friary: Castledermot

Group at Killeen Cormac

Group at Moone

2017 Conference, South Kildare: Photographs courtesy of Michael Byrne (President GSIHS) and editor

Annual Conference, Killeen Cormac, 2017: Led by Sharon Greene

Rolf Loeber (1942–2017)

Professor Rolf Loeber, one of the most distinguished and senior members of the Group, died after a short illness in November 2017. He was a Dutchman, who first came to Ireland as a student in 1966 and continued to come, with his wife Magda, for the rest of his life 'to explore and write about Ireland and its many historical puzzles and cultural riches', as he explained. It was evident too that he loved Ireland and the Irish, and he came to understand us very well. By profession Rolf and Magda were psychologists. Rolf enjoyed an international reputation for his work on juvenile delinquency and social development, holding chairs of psychiatry in the University of Pittsburgh, where they lived, and in the Free University of Amsterdam. However, it was as an expert on settlement in early-modern Ireland that he is best known in this country and to the Group. He was made an honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy in 2008.

Rolf and Magda were introduced to Irish historic settlement through the Irish Georgian Society in whose *Bulletin* in 1973 he made his first contribution to historic-settlement studies with 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period', which remains authoritative. His *Biographical dictionary of Irish architects* followed in 1981 in tandem with his 'Biographical dictionary of Irish engineers' published in volume 12 of *The Irish Sword*. In 1991 he responded to my invitation to participate in the Group's early publication programme by contributing an eighty-page study entitled *The geography and practice of English colonisation in Ireland from 1534 to 1609*, and he was subsequently involved in several Group conferences and publications with contributions to *Gaelic Ireland* (2001), *The parish in early modern Ireland* (2006) and *Lough Ree: historic lakeland settlement* (2015). The most ambitious of the Loeber projects was undoubtedly Rolf and Magda's 1500-page *A guide to Irish fiction 1650–1900* (2006), a truly extraordinary demonstration of their scholarship and industry, deserving of much wider acclaim than it was ever accorded. There were many other publications, often jointly with other scholars such as Geoffrey Parker ('The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland'), Arnold Horner ('Landscape in transition: descriptions of forfeited properties in counties Meath, Louth and Cavan in 1700'), Livia Hurley ('The architecture of Irish country houses, 1691–1739'), and with John Cronin and this writer ('Prelude to confiscation: a survey of catholic estates in Leinster in 1690'). Rolf was a natural choice to be a joint editor in 2014 of the architecture volume of the Royal Irish Academy's *Art and architecture of Ireland*, to which he also contributed several essays on topics as diverse as demesne walls, plantation castles (with Paul Larmour), vernacular farmhouses, travel guides, early classicism (with Linda Mulvin) and artillery fortifications (with this writer). There was much else besides, an *œuvre* indeed that would do any full-time scholar proud, but which was all the more remarkable as being merely a superimposition on his 'day job' as a leading research psychologist. Magda was his partner in most of these ventures, and only last year they delivered a joint paper to our 'south Kildare' conference on Mary Leadbeater's 'Annals of Ballitore', and led us in the afternoon on a tour of the historic Quaker settlement in that village, with its meeting house and small museum.

Rolf was an indefatigable field worker. I recollect him in the early days standing in a hayfield as we looked at a castle in the middle of Offaly, thumbing through his card index. Later technological advances saw the cards superseded by his trusty computer, which contained amongst much else thousands, if not tens of thousands, of images of Irish buildings and their appurtenances, past and present. There was nothing he loved better than an 'expedition' into the countryside in pursuit of a plantation house, a walled garden, or to follow a trail suggested by a seventeenth-century map. It was impossible to accompany him without returning not only very much the wiser, but with self-confidence restored and

batteries recharged to renew the struggle of penetrating the past as people lived it. An abiding interest were questions of estate and big-house operation and management. In recent years he had become interested in the related questions of garden layout and organisation. He planned a future book on these topics. On a second visit to Ireland last October, we explored the remnants of the great Cassell house of Waterston in south Westmeath, the dovecote, yard and outbuildings of the estate, and the impressive, extant walled gardens, which particularly excited him. It was a typical Loeber expedition. Rolf left vowing to return, but alas it was not to be.

Rolf stood well above such base qualities as envy, jealousy or malicious gossip. All who knew him will testify to his extraordinary erudition, his systematic scholarship, his extensive fieldwork and his dedicated archival research. But there was much more to him than that: earnestness certainly, but also an abundance of good humour, gentleness, gregariousness towards all, sincerity, loyalty, generosity, firm and enduring friendships, and a deep sense of 'civilisation', together with a huge capacity to encourage others and to unstintingly share his great knowledge with them.

It was a pleasure and an honour to have known Rolf. His many friends in the Group mourn his passing, and we express our heartfelt sympathy to Magda, his loyal wife and partner of fifty years in so many projects. We all hope that it will not be too long before she rejoins her Irish friends again.

Harman Murtagh

Francis John Byrne (1934–2017)

Professor Francis John Byrne, former pupil of Blackrock College, passed away peacefully on 30 December 1917. Professor Byrne was born in Shanghai on 14 October 1934. Beloved husband of Siobhán (Joan) Purcell, he is sadly missed by his family, friends and colleagues. His father was Captain Matthew Byrne who worked for the China Navigation Co. and then was Harbour Master at Howth, Co. Dublin until his retirement. His mother was Mrs Nellie Amelia Byrne (née Rathkey). His early education was in the Collège Ste Jeanne D'Arc, Shanghai 1947–48. On the occupation of Shanghai by the Japanese he and his mother were evacuated to Australia where he continued his education. He entered Blackrock College in 1949 and won a First Class Scholarship Intermediate Certificate 1957. He gained his degrees (first class honours in Classics and Early Irish History) in UCD and was awarded a Travelling Studentship by the National University of Ireland in 1959. This allowed him to study Late Latin with Professor Bernhard Bischoff in Munich followed by a period teaching in Uppsala. While in Sweden he acquired knowledge of the Scandinavian languages and Old Icelandic. In 1964 Professor Byrne was one of the youngest scholars appointed to a professorship in UCD. He followed in the footsteps of his old teacher, Rev. Professor John Ryan in the Department of Early (including Medieval) Irish History – a chair he held until his retirement in 2000. His book, *Irish Kings and High-kings*, published in 1973, was and is a classic. For many years he was an editor of the Royal Irish Academy's *New History of Ireland*. In recognition of his scholarship he was elected a member of the Academy in 1974.

Francis spent a year in Oxford. While there he put on an exhibition of the Irish manuscripts in the Bodleian library, and produced an invaluable catalogue with incisive observations on the material. Indeed he was a fine calligrapher and had a deep interest in the history of the book.

When Francis became professor, George Eogan was undertaking his early excavations at Knowth. George produced his report covering the period 1962–65 and Francis contributed an appendix called 'A historical note on Cnogba (Knowth)' – an understatement for it covers mythology and extremely detailed history in its seventeen pages, together with extensive genealogies. And in his retirement he brought this work even further with twenty-five pages of meticulous genealogical tables that must record anyone of any note in the Meath area between the seventh and the eleventh centuries. This was published in the excavation volume dealing with *Historical Knowth and its Hinterland* in 2008.

One of Francis's proudest moments occurred in 1987 when he lectured in front of his relatives to our Group when we visited Drogheda.

The contribution of Francis to the world of scholarship may be best seen in the number of his former students who contributed to his festschrift. The breadth of the subject areas discussed in that volume is testimony to the learning of Francis. It was entitled *Seanchas. Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Four Courts Press, 2000). Francis Byrne was a very gentle person whose profound scholarship had a lasting impact on all the students that he taught during the course of his career.

Charles Doherty

(bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-4370)

Example of a cartouche from Rocque's 'Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1757'

Articles

Arnold Horner
(Department of Geography, UCD – retired)

Providing context to the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque – John Andrews's 1967 article on the French school of Dublin land surveyors

2017 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of a defining article on the character and significance of estate mapping in the history of cartography in Ireland. Written by John Andrews, from 1954 a lecturer at Trinity College Dublin, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors' appeared as pp 275–92 in Volume 5, part 4, of *Irish Geography*. During his thirty-seven years at Trinity and in his subsequent retirement, Andrews has made an immense and very diverse contribution to the history of Irish cartography, identifying and reviewing many of its key features. His books include definitive studies of the Irish land surveyor (*Plantation acres*, 1985) and of the Ordnance Survey in nineteenth-century Ireland (*A paper landscape*, 1975) as well as the indispensable *History in the Ordnance map: an introduction for Irish readers* (1974). Like these works, his 1967 *Irish Geography* article was very much an original synthesis, in this instance focusing particularly on the impact during his time in Ireland (1754–60) of the great Anglo-French surveyor, cartographer and publisher, John Rocque, but also embracing a much wider spectrum of Irish estate mapping. Two years earlier, in his 1965 presidential address to the Geographical Society of Ireland, Andrews had spoken of 'The farmer's maps: three centuries of Irish estate surveying', focusing on the tens of thousands of manuscript estate and farm maps that were compiled for small areas across Ireland from the mid-seventeenth century.

As well as being fascinated by, and systematically exploring, the great collection of such maps in the National Library of Ireland, he was also aware that other maps of the same genre were sometimes being rendered inaccessible to Irish scholars as a result of auction and other private treaty sales. The eight volumes containing *c*.170 manuscript maps made by John Rocque for the earl of Kildare were a case in point. In the early 1960s these were acquired by a London collector and were subsequently placed on sale at Sotheby's auction house in November 1963. The volumes each made prices of between £100 and £170 (low enough given that one was much later put on offer at £150,000) but very little priority was attached to them by Irish repositories. As a result they were dispersed. Just two made their way to Ireland, to Trinity College and (after some years) to the National Library of Ireland, while others went to the British Library, Cambridge University and Yale. Three volumes stayed with dealers and in private collections. Motivated by a desire to keep it accessible, Andrews himself bought one of the volumes from the London dealer who had acquired it (for just £120) at the 1963 auction. Many years later he donated this volume, depicting the 'manor' of Kildare, to Trinity, but it was in his ownership, and presumably a very immediate inspiration, when he compiled his 1967 article.

In his article, Andrews showed that Rocque's Irish work had two very different components. First, there were his commercially-driven, engraved and printed maps, most notably his surveys of the city, environs and county of Dublin. His surveys of County Armagh, the cities of Cork and Kilkenny, a map of Thurles (drawn by John Powell), and his large, four-sheet map of the kingdom of Ireland also come into this category. But throughout his six years in Ireland Rocque was also involved with a second, very different work project, namely the surveying and mapping of the *c*.68,000 acres of land in County Kildare which were in the ownership of the earl of Kildare (later the duke of Leinster). This undertaking ultimately led to the production of the eight volumes of estate maps already noted, with a coverage that took in extensive areas around Maynooth in the north of the county, Kildare and Rathangan in the west, and around Athy, Kilkea and Castledermot in the south. In contrast to Rocque's commercial work, these maps were hand-drawn and mostly depicted individual townlands. As such they were like many other Irish estate maps, but what rendered Rocque's Kildare survey especially significant was the treatment of the landscape. Whereas most contemporary and earlier estate surveys were characterized by maps of a rather empty appearance with the main attention usually being given to the measurement of areas and the mapping of the boundaries of townlands and tenements, Rocque offered a much more comprehensive and attractive treatment in which, using appropriate colours, he appears to have tried to represent the surveyed landscape as it might have been seen from the air with fields, hedges, ditches, walls, water surfaces and land uses, together with residential buildings and a sense of the main slopes all being indicated in a visually striking

manner (see figure 1 on page 2). A further distinction was the decorative rococo-style marginal information, most notably the cartouches, some of which featured scenes, including buildings, from the areas being surveyed (Horner, 1971). In these 'total maps', accuracy combined with artistry to produce what Andrews has dubbed 'some of the most remarkable manuscript estate surveys ever made in Ireland'.

From a settlement perspective, Rocque's maps have the particular significance that they portray such a comprehensive record of parts of the Kildare landscape some eighty years before the first printed Ordnance Survey maps and some ninety years before the Great Famine. The maps show that in many townlands the landscape of hedged fields with a dispersion of farm-houses and labourer's cabins was already widely embedded by the mid-eighteenth century. Other, earlier, surveys help demonstrate that in some parts of the Kildare estates, notably on the 'manor' of Maynooth, the quickset hedges were part of a late seventeenth-century improvement initiative (Horner, 1997). In parts of south Kildare, however, particularly in the foothills of the south-east, areas of large fields with rough furzy pasture remained quite widespread in the 1750s. On some of the higher land around Corbally Hill (253m), a couple of small groups of cabins appear to be within areas of arable and pasture perhaps suggestive of an infield-outfield arrangement (Horner, 2017). Most of these south-eastern localities were divided into much smaller field units by the time of the first Ordnance maps. Elsewhere, land usage sometimes contrasted with later centuries. Most notably, around Maynooth up to 40% appears to have been in crops, a very high level compared to the period since the early nineteenth-century, during which pasture-oriented cattle fattening has dominated. Considered overall, much of the landscape has a striking modernity, but Rocque's detail also makes it possible to trace how specific features of enclosure and settlement changed in the pre-famine period.

(Courtesy: Yale Centre for British Art)

Figure 1 An estate map by John Rocque, Plunkettstown, Manor of Graney, 1758.

Rocque also offers detailed, and apparently very accurate information on some towns, most notably in his large-scale (four perches to an inch) surveys of Castledermot and Kildare (Horner, 1974; Andrews, 1986) and in smaller-scale surveys of Athy and Maynooth, and also of the village of Rathangan. The Maynooth survey has the particular interest that it shows the village in the very early stages of its redevelopment by its landlord. In the case of Castledermot, an invaluable, and quite exceptional, record is provided of 171 buildings and associated plots (76 dwelling-houses and 95 cabins) in the area of the former walled town (see figure 2 on page 3).

The radical nature of Rocque's estate mapping was appreciated both by his contemporaries and those following him: even some seventy years later, on the eve of the establishment of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, references were being made to the 'French school of Rocque', implic-

itly in contrast to those who had practiced, and sometimes continued to practice, according to the more traditional ways of the 'Irish school'. While highlighting the role of Rocque as an innovator, Andrews also touched on some of the more general features of Irish estate maps and mapping over two centuries from the 1650s, with particular attention being given to the later development of the 'French school' and to the emergence of hybrid blendings drawing on both the Irish and French traditions. Immediately following in the role of what Andrews termed 'universal cartographic provider' came Rocque's brother-in-law and fellow Huguenot, Bernard Scalé (1739–*c*.1808). Over a twenty-year period working in Ireland, he can be recognised as the leading exponent of land surveying, undertaking a wide range of estate and farm mapping projects in many parts of the country. Like Rocque, it is the artistry and beauty – as well as the content – of Scalé's maps that commands attention. When Scalé moved to England in the later 1770s, new leaders and partnerships emerged – in which such Dublin-based surveyors as Thomas Sherrard, John Brownrigg, John Longfield and Richard Brassington were prominent. However, particularly outside Dublin, other land surveyors practising the 'Irish' style also flourished, and Andrews observes that 'it is possible that more pre-Rocque maps, in the stylistic sense, were made after Rocque's visit than before it'. Moreover, from the 1830s onward, the styles used by the private land surveyor were increasingly influenced and rivalled by the expanding mapping activities of the Ordnance Survey.

(Courtesy: National Library of Ireland)

Figure 2 Rocque's large-scale survey of Castledermot.

The 1967 article by John Andrews provided a framework that remains central for understanding Irish estate mapping. It was also an early precursor to a much more extended and wide-ranging appraisal of the work of the land surveyor in Ireland in the period before *c*.1850. *Plantation acres* (1985) was a remarkable synthesis of very diverse source material, taking in, as well as the cartographic evidence, a vast number of short references to the work of land surveyors culled from the pages of contemporary newspapers. Here Andrews again highlights the significance of the versatile Rocque for Irish estate mapping (esp. pp 160–73). He remarks also on the paradox that 'the most influential of Irish estate surveyors was a man to whom estate surveying was only a sideline'. Perhaps even more than his 1967 article, *Plantation acres* is a critical authority for understanding the Irish land surveyor in an historical context. Yet, over thirty years after its publication, this book arguably remains little integrated into broader narratives of Irish historical geography and Irish economic and social history. The opening sentence continues to have relevance, in which Andrews commented that

> Considering the excitement aroused by the land question among many generations of Irishmen, it is surprising how few members of this historically-minded nation have written about the early development of Irish land surveying.

Rocque estate maps feature in the Kildare (Andrews, 1986) and Maynooth (Horner, 1995) fascicles of the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*. In addition to the article and book by John Andrews cited in the text above, the following offer further perspectives.

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Magda and Rolf Loeber[1]
(Magda: University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, (retired))
(Rolf: University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (deceased))

The Annals of Ballitore by Mary Leadbeater (1766–1824): Expanded and revisited

Introduction

Ballitore is a small village in South County Kildare, not far from Athy. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the main Dublin to Cork road ran along a ridge above the village. The village was founded by Quakers in 1685 and was situated in a valley near the river Griese. A Quaker meeting house, which is in use, is situated in the village. The 1842 Ordnance Survey map shows the layout of the village which has not changed very much since that time (see figure 1 on page 8).

Mary Leadbeater, née Shackleton, the authoress of 'The Annals of Ballitore', was a granddaughter of Abraham Shackleton who opened a school in the village in 1726, which was in operation until 1836. Mary's father Richard took over from his father in 1756. The school was strictly for boys; however, Mary and her sister Sally were educated there. The boys in the school were Mary's playmates, which may explain why, throughout her life, she was so attached to several of them. Mary was born in 1758 in Ballitore and died there in 1826. She kept a personal diary from the age of eleven until a week before she died.[2] She mainly lived in the village but made trips to Dublin and Carlow for Quaker meetings; she also visited other Quaker communities and the areas close to Ballitore, such as Moone and Rathsallagh. In 1784 she went on an extended visit to England with her father.

She married, at the age of 32, William Leadbeater, who had been a student in Ballitore. Subsequently, she had six children, was involved in running an inn, was postmistress and published poetry, stories for juveniles and cottagers, and wrote her diaries and memoirs.

In 1799 she started writing 'The Annals of Ballitore since the year 1766 being Mary Leadbeater's history of her own times, and of her native Village'. The first part is retrospective and consists of a description of her earliest recollections of the village. Although she may have consulted her diaries, it is important to note that the 'Annals' are not an extract of the diaries. The purpose of the 'Annals' was to describe life in the village, not her personal life. An example is that in the 'Annals' Mary's wedding is mentioned but without any preamble; William Leadbeater almost appears out of the blue.

The manuscript of the 'Annals' consists of three volumes which run to 1819.[3] Another copy has been located[4] in which Mary continued to write until 1822 after which her niece Elizabeth Shackleton added to the manuscript until Mary's death in 1826. There is evidence that more contemporary copies were made of the manuscript but they have not been located.[5]

In 1862 the 'Annals' were published in an abbreviated version as part of *The Leadbeater papers*.[6] There are different accounts about who the editor was. The 'Annals' have been reprinted several times since 1862.[7] On the basis of the original, much longer manuscripts, we are preparing the full transcript of the 'Annals' to be published by The Irish Manuscripts Commission. The reasons for yet another publication are: a) The original manuscript of the 'Annals' (three volumes) has been located; b) The original manuscript volumes are 21/2 to 3 times longer than the longest published versions. The three manuscript volumes cover 1077 handwritten pages and run until 1819. Additional material, covering 1820 until 1826 completing the 'Annals' until the end of Mary Leadbeater's life, is provided in the manuscript copies in the Friends Library; c) Earlier publications have no footnotes, identifying personages, events, and locations. These will be included in the new publication.

[1] We acknowledge the help and inspiration of Alan Butler, former librarian of the county library in Ballitore and keeper of the museum; Mario Corrigan, of the Kildare County Library in Newbridge, responsible for the Kildare Collections and Research Services. Christopher Moriarty, Librarian in the Library of Friends, Dublin; and Kevin O'Neill, frequent author on Mary Leadbeater.

[2] These diaries are held in the National Library Ireland (Mss 9292–9346).

[3] Volumes 1 and 2 are in the Beineke Library, Yale University; volume 3 is in a private collection. The NLI has a microfilm of volumes 1 and 2.

[4] This consists of five manuscript volumes which are at the Friends Library in Dublin.

[5] At least one other manuscript copy was made of the 'Annals', (see [G.D.], 'Sketch – No. IV Our village and its inhabitants' in *The Dublin Literary Gazette*, February 20, 1830, p. 115). Also, the manuscript which was used for the editing for the 1862 publications has never been found.

[6] London: Bell and Daly, 1862, 2 volumes.

[7] John MacKenna (ed.) *The Annals of Ballitore 1766–1824 and Cottage Biography* (Athy, 1986). This is a much shortened version; Maria Luddy (ed.), *Irish women's writings* (London, 1998), vol. 2 of the series is a copy of vol. 1 of the 1862 volume; Mario Corrigan, Michael Kavanagh and Karel Kiely (compiled and edited), *The Annals of Ballitore being a compilation of* Mary Leadbeater's, *'Annals of Ballitore,' and* Betsy Shackleton's, *'Ballitore & Its Inhabitants Seventy Years Ago'* (Naas, 2009). This volume replaced the 1862 Introduction (a poem) with the original manuscript introduction. It also compares the two 1862 editions.

Topics covered in the Annals

The 'Annals' are best known for their description of the precursors of the 1798 rebellion, the rebellion itself and the unsettled years afterwards. However, the 'Annals' are unique in describing ordinary life in a village. There are no other village diaries extant in Ireland or in Europe, as far as we know. This makes Mary Leadbeater's manuscript of great historical value. The topics covered in the 'Annals' are wide-ranging from news of the world, what books were read, biblical knowledge, Roman and Greek history, and happenings in the village. Information about daily life is given in the form of who moved in or out of the village, marriages and childbirth, illnesses, epidemics and deaths, prizes for cottagers, improvement in housing, religion, the school and its pupils, stories about important people, and natural phenomena such as a visiting camel, droughts, floods, crops, comets, and a balloon flight.

Connections with the outside world

The remainder of this paper will focus on the interactions of the Ballitore inhabitants with the world outside. Even though Ballitore was just a small village, the connections with the world were extensive. This was partly due to visiting Quakers from America and England, but more important were the frequent contacts with former pupils of the school. Some of the pupils were brought to the school when still very young and stayed there until they went into trade, university, or the military. Ballitore had been their home and many of them returned to visit their friends in the village.

Quaker visitors

Probably because of its proximity to Dublin and adjoining a highway Ballitore had its share of visiting ministers. Hannah Field and Elizabeth Barker, Quakers from America, spent some time in the village. John Pim from London (originally from Ireland), Sarah Trickell, John Kirkham and Solomon Chapman from England included Ballitore in their itineraries. Apart from discussing religious matters, these visitors also brought news from other Quaker communities and general news. Mary's sister Sally went on a religious tour through England.

Other visitors

The inn, which was close to the Dublin to Cork road, brought the Leadbeaters in contact with people who became life-long friends, such as the families of the Church of Ireland Bishop Thomas O'Beirne[8] and Melesina Trench.[9] Edmund Burke, the famous politician had been a pupil at the school in Ballitore and was a particular friend of Mary's father. Mary valued the contact with this famous man very much. Other well-known visitors were Frances (Fanny) Edgeworth, fourth wife of Richard Lovell Edgeworth of Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford, and Walter, the son of the author Sir Walter Scott. William Griffith, employed to inspect schools and prisons was a most intriguing guest since Mary was very interested in the condition under which prisoners had to live. Moses Darley, whose sister was prisoner in the Marshalsea in Dublin for twenty years, also shed light on prison conditions. Another visitor was the Dominican friar, Francis L'Estrange, who had been educated in Spain and was considered a civilized man by Mary Leadbeater.

Fairs

From 1770 fairs were held three times a year: on March 19, August 13 and November 30. Mary's husband was in charge of the fairs. Fairs were excellent places to get the latest gossip and to connect with people who lived outside the village. The Ballitore fair was held on the market square next to the Leadbeaters' house. In addition there was a weekly market.

Lodgers in – and outside of the village

During and after the 1798 rebellion soldiers and officers were lodged in the village. One of them was Capt. Smith, and his wife and daughters, who lived at the Retreat House around 1800 (Elizabeth was a poet, who left a poem about Ballitore). Mary Leadbeater befriended them and kept a lifelong correspondence with them after they moved to England. Another retired officer was Capt. William Reid who with his family lived in a part of the Retreat House in 1817. He had served in America 'in the late war' and was then on half-pay. Other soldiers of lower ranks also settled in Ballitore.

Dr. William LeFanu, a medical doctor from Dublin, was a summer resident at nearby Ballylea in Wicklow on the border of Co. Kildare and later resided at Rathsallagh House, Co. Wicklow. He became a good friend of Mary and helped to look after the sick in the village. All of the lodgers in the village and in its immediate neighbourhood brought their own experiences of the wider world as well

[8] Thomas Lewis O'Beirne (*c.*1747–1823), author, playwright and Bishop of Meath (DIB, vii, pp 2–3), who was a friend of Maria Edgeworth introduced Mary Leadbeater's works to her. He was subscriber to Mary Leadbeater's *Poems* (Dublin, 1808).

[9] Melesina Chevenix Trench (1768–1826), heiress and poet, was widow of Col. Richard St. George of Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim and Hartley St. George, Cambridgeshire, who died in 1790. She married Richard Trench, a barrister from Co. Galway. She lived mainly in England. She owned a property near Ballitore (DIB, ix, pp 465–66).

as those of family members and friends who visited them.

News

Mary Leadbeater was well aware of what was happening in the world because of the news that came via visitors, letters, magazines and newspapers or books. Since she was the village postmistress, she knew if news was coming in by mail. In the 'Annals' she commented on the French rebellion, Napoleon's military campaigns, the Peninsular War, the fighting for Greece's independence, news from America and the Caribbean, news from India, the American war and marriages and deaths in the British Royal house. The inhabitants of the village were also involved in several charitable activities, which reached into different parts of the world. For example, subscriptions were collected in the village toward relief of those Greeks who had escaped the massacre of Scio (1822). In addition, in 1823 a petition to the Parliament in London was dispatched from 'this village' on behalf of the oppressed Negroes.

Correspondence

Mary, by means of letter writing, was in contact with many people such as Maria Edgeworth, Melesina Trench, Edmund Burke, the poet Thomas Crabbe, the authoress Abigail Roberts, Dr William LeFanu when he was not in the area, the Smith family after they had moved to England, the Keating family (who had lived at Narraghmore, Co. Kildare) after they left Ireland and Mrs. Bonham of Ballintaggart House, Co. Kildare. The latter was interested in education and prizes for the poor which were administered, like the prizes offered by Melesina Trench, by Mary Leadbeater.

Contacts with former schoolboys

The contact with former students was frequent, particularly with those who were more or less the same age as Mary Leadbeater. Charles Coote (later 2nd Earl of Bellamont), illegitimate son of the 1st Earl of Bellamont, stayed in touch with Mary Leadbeater. Four Eyre brothers (Tom, Sam, Robert and Edward), illegitimate sons of Stratford Eyre, governor of Galway, had been sent to the Ballitore school and Tom and Sam corresponded with Mary and visited her afterwards. Tom Eyre, after having served for ten years in the American war, visited his friends in Ballitore. Later he served at the battle of Long Island, was stationed at St Lucia for five years, and returned to Ireland, where he took part in defeating the French after their landing in Killala. Another pupil, Aldborough Wrightson, whose father was alderman in Dublin, did not get along with his father and his stepmother after he left school. Ballitore was his place of refuge, especially after he became ill. Edmund Burke was a frequent correspondent of Richard Shackleton, Mary's father, but also, sporadically with Mary. Another student was James Casey, returning from Quebec, who brought the Leadbeater family a box made by Indians.

Mary Leadbeater's publications for cottagers

Mary Leadbeater was one of the few Irish authors whose first-hand knowledge addressed the needs of cottagers and poor people living on the land. Her publications brought her in contact with a wider audience of publishers, subscribers and people who admired her work. The following works fall into this category: *Cottage dialogues among the Irish peasantry* (vol. I, 1811; vol. II, 1813) encouraged by Melesina Trench with an introduction to vol. I by Maria Edgeworth; *Tales for cottagers* (Dublin, 1814); and *Cottage biography* (Dublin, 1822) dedicated to Melesina Trench. Mary Leadbeater also wrote poetry, with some commemorating the death of family members and friends.

In summary, it is clear that the village of Ballitore was far from isolated, but served as a mini-metropolis. It may be that this was the case in other villages in Ireland. However we have no record of those. The unique 'Annals of Ballitore' serve as a witness to the interconnectedness of the village with the outside world in and beyond Ireland.

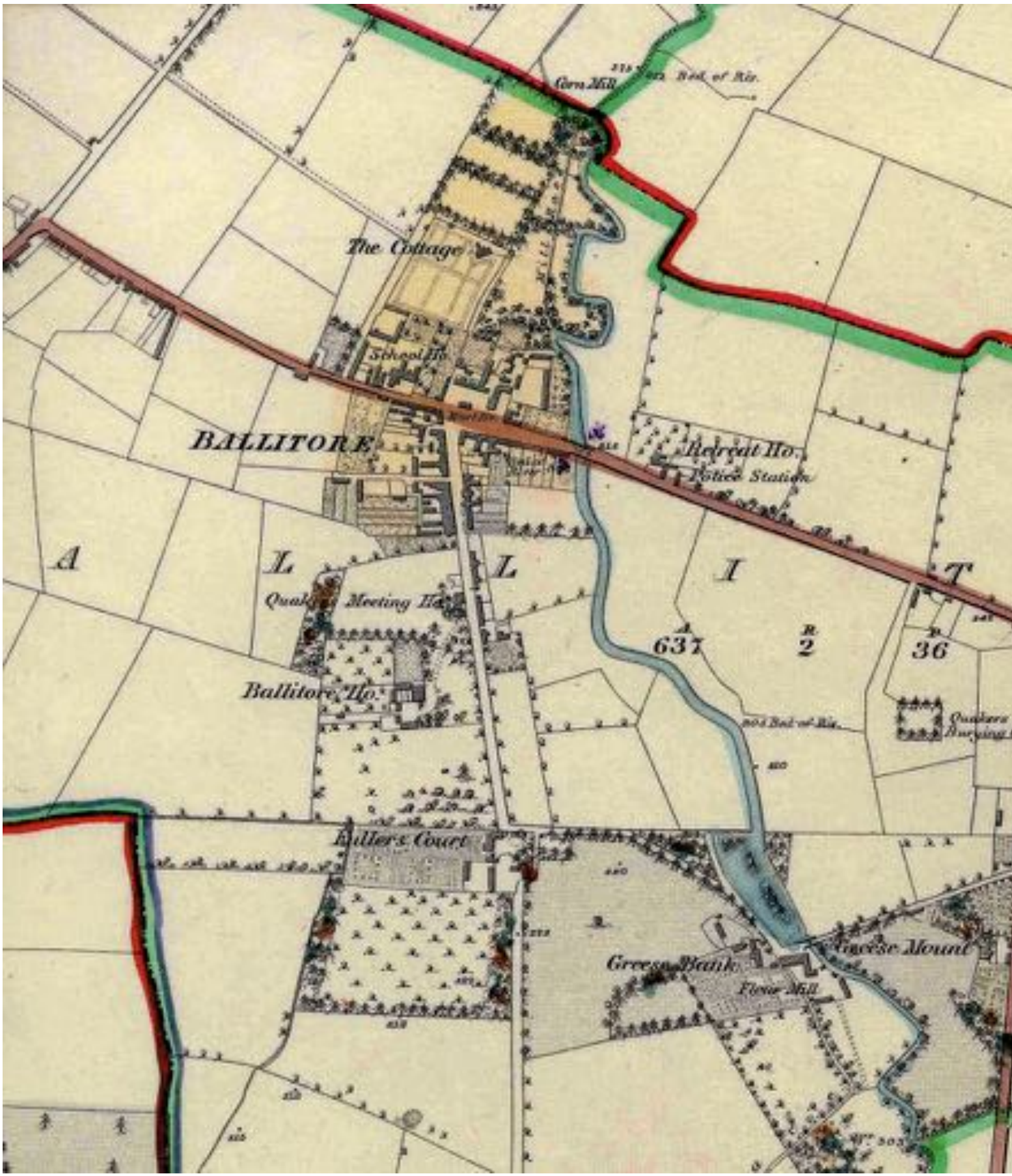

Figure 1 1842 Ordnance Survey Map of Ballitore

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The CHERISH Project: Erosion and contact around the medieval Irish Sea

Introduction

As I write this article, ex-Hurricane Ophelia (16 October 2017) and Storm Brian (21 October 2017) have been recent disturbances on the Irish coastline resulting in reports of the exposure of a skeleton, possibly Iron Age, on an islet at Forlorn Point at Kilmore Quay, Co. Wexford (McGarrigle, 2017), along with changes to the position and substrate around the schooner *Sunbeam* wrecked in 1904 on Rossbeigh Beach, Co. Kerry (Ní Aodha, 2017). Even more recently and with much publicity the promontory fort of Dunbeg in Co. Kerry suffered cliff erosion causing collapse of drystone structures during Storm Eleanor on 3rd January 2018. Only the year before flash flooding down the mountainside had caused stream erosion of midden material within the site closing it to the public.

During Hurricane Ophelia record wave heights detected by the M5 weather buoy (*c*.56km south of Hook Head in Co. Wexford) caused it to break its moorings. The highest individual wave recorded measured 17.81m, and a significant wave height (the average of the highest one-third of waves measured from trough to crest that occur in a given period) of 12.97m (Marine Institute, 2017). Storm Brian caused coastal flooding in Limerick and spot flooding in Co. Cork. Gales and strong gales were reported at many weather stations including Roches Point, Co. Cork on the 16th October with a record gust of 155.6 km/h and a highest 10-minute mean wind speed of 114.8 km/h (Met Éireann, October 2017).

The Discovery Programme 25/10/2017

Figure 1 Promontory Forts (protruding towards green island on left is WA032-043, thin promontory and stacks on right is WA032-044) on the Wexford coastline at Ballydowane East (The Discovery Programme 25/10/2017)

Erosion is certainly not a new phenomenon in Ireland as the Annals of Ulster record that on the night before Saint Patrick's Day in AD804 many people [1010] were killed in the kingdom of Corcu Baiscinn (in modern Co. Clare) from 'violent thunder, accompanied by wind and fire', 'and the sea divided the island of Fita into three parts, and covered the land of Fita with sand' (Bhreathnach, 2014: 13). At Carnsore Point in SE Co. Wexford the Giant's Grave or Dolmen marked on the 1839 OS 6-inch map has now been eroded away (Moore, 1996: 2). The Civil Survey has references to erosion in 1654 in Wexford Harbour; the parish church of Saint Margaret's or Raven was destroyed by the sea in the eighteenth century; and Rosslare Fort village at the harbour mouth had to be evacuated in the winter of 1924/25 (Lewis, 1837: 343; Turner, 1972: 55–6).

There has been a mean temperature increase of

0.4°C during the years 1980 to 2008 in Ireland with six of the ten warmest years occurring since 1990. The predictions are that there will be wetter winters and drier summers with an increase in rainfall in the north and west, with decreases or small increases in the south and east. The climate projections (Wang *et al.*, 2008: 92–3) indicate an increased frequency of storm surge events and in surge heights. Furthermore, global mean sea level has been rising at 3mm/year since 1993, when satellite measurements became available, and models project a rise in sea level over the twenty-first century of 0.28 to 0.98m depending on the low to high emission scenarios with a possible further rise in the range of 1.5 to 2.5m from ice loss from Antarctica (EEA, 27 November 2017).

Given the importance of coastal tourism, together with the presence of archaeological and historical sites, (such as promontory forts, ports and shipyards, coastguard stations and shipwrecks), there is a particular need to increase capacity and knowledge of the impact of climate change on the Irish Sea and coastal communities (ASC, 2016). With this in mind the CHERISH (Climate, Heritage and Environments of Reefs, Islands and Headlands) initiative provides a five year EU-funded project that began in 2017. The project is multidisciplinary involving the Geological Survey of Ireland, The Discovery Programme, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, and Aberystwyth University. It involves examining the changes that are occurring to archaeological sites along the coast, on the intertidal zone and under the water from processes such as erosion, slumping, vegetation growth, flooding and salinisation. These changes could be long-term such as from climate and sea level, or short term in the form of storm surges or sea wall building.

New scientific techniques and improved analysis of archaeological data are to be tested on land and intertidal areas: laser scanning, UAV Borne Topographic photogrammetry (drones), XRF core scanning and luminescence dating, LiDar, and airborne time series photography are all to be used. At sea survey vessels with multibeam echo-sounders will map the seabed, and an acoustic Doppler current profiler will obtain tidal maps. The study will examine the conditions of shipwrecks to investigate how long vessels constructed of different materials survive on the seabed under different conditions. More traditional archaeological fieldwork including survey and excavation and diving will also be used to record heritage sites. The methods undertaken will be repeated at later stages in the project, including after extreme weather events, to ascertain rates of erosion and impacts on archaeological sites.

Initial areas to be studied in Ireland have been chosen around the Irish and Celtic Seas taking into account the known presence of historical monuments, vulnerability to flood risk, and variability of the physical landscape in terms of rocky cliffs, sand dunes and glacial deposits, and estuarine and marine environments. These studies generally cover large parts of coastline from Drogheda to Dublin, the Wexford and Waterford coasts, and the northern peninsulas of Kerry. Comparison with areas on the Welsh coast is also intended.

The information gathered and recording methods trialled will underpin protocols in the recording, monitoring, and intervention on sites at risk, as well as risk management analysis of sections of the coast. Mapping of landform types, vegetation coverage, urban coastal development, and other coastal works (including mining, tourism, agricultural, and industrial) are all anticipated, together with the recording of weather events, especially storm surges and inundation in the context of predicted global sea-level rise.

The development and application of non-destructive methods of recording the coast will provide far more accuracy in our approach to the study of coastal change at archaeological sites. However, careful reflection is still needed regarding the integration of this new data in our interpretations and narratives. As well as the monitoring of climate change and its impacts on the cultural heritage, the research on the erosion of the Irish and Welsh coasts is an opportunity to investigate the historic links around the Irish Sea including who were the populations involved, how were ports organised and sea routes navigated, and how far did the control of trading ports lead to influence and conflict in other parts of the Irish Sea?

Maritime contact

Irish settlement links with Wales extend back at least to the Roman period with Irish settlers from Leinster recorded on Anglesey and the Llŷn Peninsula *c.*401AD (Venning, 2005: 29–30). The promontory fort of Drumanagh and Lambay Island, Co. Dublin, have produced Late Iron Age artefacts including Gallo-Roman Samian ware, Roman coins, Romano-British fibulae, copper ingots, a decorated gold band, an iron mirror and a beaded torc (Dowling 2014: 62; Cahill Wilson *et al.*, 2014a: 92–7). Imported E-ware pottery from Gaul dating from AD550 to 700 has been recorded in SW Britain, southern Wales, Isle of Man, western Scotland, and at the Ballygarran ecclesiastical site 3km from Tramore Bay in Waterford (Doyle, 2016:

39–40).

The eighth-century AD silver-gilt Tara brooch now at the National Museum was actually found near the seashore at Bettystown, Co. Meath, in 1850, but its name was changed by a dealer in order to increase its value (NMI R4015). The evidence of wider Irish Sea connections at Bettystown comes from a burial dating from the fifth or sixth century AD that had been placed within a stone-lined grave orientated east-west in a crouched position (Cahill Wilson *et al.*, 2014b: 139–40). During this period most Irish people were buried flat on their backs and isotope analysis of the teeth revealed that he was from continental Europe, possibly Scandinavia.

Pilgrims and clerics also crossed the Irish Sea. The earliest references are often legendary. For example in the townland of Bremore in Co. Meath a disused graveyard and church is reputed to be the early monastic site of Lann-Bheachaire founded by Saint Molaga (Ó Riain, 2012: 477–8). The tradition here links across the Irish Sea in that Molaga placed a swarm of bees in Fine Gall descended from bees that Saint Modhomhnóg had brought from Wales in the sixth century ('Llan' defines a church site in Welsh, while *beach* is the Irish for 'bee') (Lanigan, 1822: 83–5; Ó Riain, 2012: 477–8, 480–1). Furthermore, a legend at Carnsore Point in the townland of Saint Vogue's suggests further afield links. Stokes (1893: 380) says Saint Beoc or Veoc prayed to reach the continent after arriving at the most south-eastern point of Ireland and the stone on which he stood floated and took him to Brittany. However, Ó Riain (2012: 433, 435) identifies the saint as Maodhóg (anglicised to Mogue) of Ferns in Co. Wexford who had had a stay with Saint David in Wales. This story may have been promoted to show that Maodhóg's churches and especially Ferns were on excellent terms with the Welsh Church whose clerics would have been respected by the Cambro-Normans. Saint Vogue's inscribed stone is situated on the shore above the high tide mark: however, it has now fallen onto the foreshore.

Begerin Island and Ardcavan church lie on the north side of Wexford Harbour. Ardcavan church is where Saint Finnian of Clonard in Meath stayed on his way to continue his studies at the monastery of Cadoc the Wise, at Llancarfan in Glamorgan (Ó Riain 2011: 157). The Annals of the Four Masters record that Ardcavan church and nearby Begerin monastery on Begerin Island were plundered by Vikings in 819. Further influences can be seen arriving at Wexford Harbour in the form of a schist stone, now in the NMI, with a ringed cross thought to have tenth-century Viking influence. A second schist stone of a cross and two panels of figures and a horseman has a ninth-century Cornish influence (Harbison, 1988: 60-5).

The Discovery Programme 25/10/2017

Figure 2 Baginbun Head separated on the landward side by an entrenchment and a smaller promontory fort is on the far (eastern side) end (The Discovery Programme 25/10/2017)

Overlooking the sea between Dungarvan and Tramore are twenty-six promontory forts within a distance of only 24km. They often display ditches and banks on their landward side, together with hut sites, and possible associated standing stones, ogham stones and souterrains. One of the larger forts (*c*.0.3km²) is located at Dunbrattin Head, but others are on promontories *c*.100m long and less than 10m wide (see figure 1 on page 9 and figure 2 on page 11). Past erosion must have been extensive, so that parts are located on a sea-stack connected to the mainland only by an eroded and impassable rock isthmus or island such as Sheep Island at Islandkane. Although there could be a Bronze Age association, some deserted medieval settlements, such as Templeyvrick, may be connected with these forts at a later date. Templeyvrick has burgage plots and a church overlooking Bunmahon Bay, and formerly had rights to fish as well as being exploited in the later nineteenth century for copper mining. The mining and fishing opportunities could help explain the concentration of forts during the medieval period. Their investigation and the study of their relationship to landing places for access to maritime trade or defensive qualities will form part of future surveys. This section of the Waterford coast is also known as the Copper Coast and is similar with the area around Drumanagh, in that both places have copper mines. This offers a potential explanation for siting the promontory forts based upon the presence of metal and the need for protection of trade.

Irish trade would have been stimulated by the ports such as Dublin and Waterford linking to other Ostmen colonies such as the Isle of Man and the Hebrides through to Scandinavia. Archaeological testing at Paul Quay in Wexford town uncovered walls and timbers as well as medieval pottery indicating infrastructural investment for support of substantial trade (McLoughlin, 2006). Wales can be seen involved in 980, as Iago ab Idwal Foel, king of Gwynedd, was captured by the Viking Guðrøðr Haraldsson, who was allied with Ælfhere, earl of Mercia (Downham, 2003: 59–60; Duffy, 1995: 379). Brian Bóruma, king of Munster, at the end of the tenth century brought the major Ostmen ports in Ireland under his control which in turn allowed Brian to influence the Irish Sea communities e.g. Røgnvaldr, king of the Isles, died in Munster in 1005 (Downham, 2003: 61).

The Discovery Programme 29/09/2017)

Figure 3 : Glascarrig motte and slumping caused by erosion (The Discovery Programme 29/09/2017)

In 1061, the Annals of Tigernach record that Murchad mac Diarmata invaded the Isle of Man (Duffy, 1992: 99–100). He had already been given the kingship of Dublin by his father, the king of Leinster, Diarmait mac Maíl na mBó. In 1075, Muirchertach Ua Briain, King of Munster and Dublin, helped Gruffudd ap Cynan gain the throne of Gwynedd (Downham, 2003: 70). The twelfth-century biography of the prince of north Wales *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* also shows the connection of Gruffudd with Ireland through his mother and his marriage, and one of his daughters was given the Scandinavian name Ragnhildr (Duffy, 1995: 389–90). Gruffudd was born in Dublin and reared at the

Columban monastic foundation at Swords, part of Fine Gall territory (ibid.: 394). In 1081 after losing power in Wales, Gruffudd disembarked at Wexford and assembled a fleet from Waterford consisting of Ostmen, Irish and Welsh and sailed to Wales where he won the battle of Mynydd Carn (ibid.: 395–6).

It was through these Irish Sea alliances and trading ports that the most dramatic reorganisation of power occurred in the late twelfth century with the arrival in Ireland of the Cambro-Normans. In 1166, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair of Connacht led his armies to Dublin and was made king forcing Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, to get help from the king of England Henry II. In 1169, Diarmait granted Maurice FitzGerald permission to build a castle at Ferrycarrig guarding the entrance to Wexford harbour from the River Slaney (Mullally, 2002: 13, 89).

Also in 1169, Robert FitzStephen landed and made camp at Bannow Island at the mouth of Bannow Bay near Waterford with 300 to 400 knights and archers (Murphy, 2016: 298; Magahy, 2016: 313). The motte on Bannow Island may be associated with this landing but Murphy (2016: 301, 304) suggests that the sandy nature of the mound is ideal for burrowing rabbits and is known as Haarian's Moat. This could be from Hare-een (little hare or rabbit) identifying the site as a pillow mound or rabbit warren, a practice introduced to Ireland by the Normans.

In 1170, Raymond FitzGerald (nicknamed le Gros [the fat]) encamped from May to August at a place called Dundunnolf, which was perhaps the promontory fort at Baginbun Point, at the east end of Baginbun Head, located to the SW of Bannow Bay (Orpen, 1898: 156) (see figure 2 on page 11). FitzGerald may have erected a later linear earthwork that cuts off the larger area of Baginbun Head from the land to the north. While waiting for the arrival of Richard de Clare, 2nd Earl of Pembroke (known as Strongbow), he defeated a large force sent against him from Waterford at Dundunnolf (Mullally, 2002: 13–4). A raised rectangular feature in the interior of the original promontory fort at Baginbun Point may be a hut site and this fort may have included the detached rock called 'Stongbow's Leap' (Westropp, 1906: 257–8). O'Conor (2003: 23–5) identified two phases of ditches and banks cutting off the original promontory fort from Baginbun Head. He believes that the smaller older promontory fort was more easily defended and the later phase of ditch and banks were the fortifications set up by FitzGerald. Within the larger promontory fort a raised rectangular feature is described as 'Strongbow's Tent' on the 1839 edition of the OS 6-inch map, and may be a hut site.

The Cambro-Normans under Strongbow took Waterford in 1170, and then marched on Dublin concentrating their efforts to take the Ostmen towns for their trade links and to gain control around the Irish sea (Duffy, 1992: 129–33). Waterford would have been familiar to Welshmen from their Ostman links, and Henry II landed there first in 1171 (Duffy, 1995: 388). Glascarrig, on the east County Wexford coast, was granted to FitzGerald. Today the motte here is located on a slight promontory overlooking the seashore with the east side being eroded by the sea causing slumping down the cliff face (see figure 3 on page 12).

A consequence of this trade and conquest was that foreign merchants would have settled in the major ports fostering multilingualism among Irish Sea merchants who conversed in English, Norse, or Irish to effect transactions (Downham, 2003: 57). Languages developed reflecting the mixing of different groups, such as Yola in County Wexford and Fingallian in North Dublin (Ó Muirithe, 2016: 521).

Tintern Abbey has strong Welsh links dating from the later medieval period. Its foundation is linked to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster who, when caught in a storm in 1200 in the Irish Sea, vowed to establish a new abbey if saved from shipwreck. He managed to reach the safety of Bannow Bay and in 1207–13 he granted *c.*9000 statute acres for the foundation of a Cistercian abbey overlooking the Tintern River where it enters Bannow Bay. The abbey was colonised by monks from Tintern Major in Marshal's manor of Chepstow in Monmouthshire (Lynch, 2010: 3–4). Hervey de Montmorency (the uncle of Strongbow), *c.*1177, granted the Saltee Islands to Christchurch, Canterbury who in turn granted the islands to Tintern Abbey along with Bannow Island in 1245 (Lynch, 2010: 5). At the northern point of Great Saltee Island is an area known as Abbey Field, which may relate to when Tintern Abbey owned the islands (Roche and Merne 1977: 31). This area is under erosion and ruined buildings nearby are thought to relate to the monks' occupation.

Overview

The CHERISH Project's coastal investigations are an opportunity to integrate data gathered from eroding and submerging sites into new narratives of how we view the history of the Irish Sea. The examples discussed here concentrate on the medieval period but similar investigations can take place on earlier and later periods as the erosion and flooding is not exclusive to ecclesiastical and defensive structures. Field study of the promon-

tory forts will examine how they once related to both land resources and maritime trade. Ports and their supporting social and economic infrastructure have been subject to different ethnic influences whether Irish, Welsh, Scandinavian, English, Cornish or Breton. Therefore, determining the individual contributions to the economic and cultural mix, whether through trade, pilgrimage, fishing, agriculture, industry, or through peaceful influences and raiding, present a significant challenge for research. At sites such as Glascarrig, Baginbun and Bannow there are specific questions about what features are Norman, and what are earlier or later defences or settlements, while on the Saltee Islands the relationship between Cistercian elements and possible earlier ecclesiastical settlements needs to be examined. These are the sorts of questions that can be addressed by such a joint Irish Sea project as CHERISH, but for which the search for answers is rendered increasingly difficult through the continued degradations of coastal erosion exacerbated by seemingly more frequent extreme weather events.

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The Patrician place-names of Mayo

Introduction

The various accounts of the 5th-century missionary bishop we know as St Patrick, apostle of Ireland, have sparked lively, often bitter, scholarly debate. The present consensus is that our only certain information on Patrick occurs in his own writings, the *Confessio*, or 'Declaration', and the *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus* – both in Latin. These, the earliest extant written works penned in Ireland, are unique, and accordingly of great value, being the only writings by a Roman citizen who had escaped from foreign slavery.

The only Irish place-name mentioned by Patrick is the Wood of Voclut (*Silva Vocluti*), situated 'beside the Western Sea'. But which sea was that? While it may seem obvious that he meant the Atlantic, there have been strong arguments that to a Briton the sea in question could have been the sea to the west of Britain – that is, the Irish Sea or the North Channel. (One theory even suggested Lough Neagh!)

Patrick's biographer Tírechán

Much popular belief about the saint, 'the legend of St Patrick', has its principal roots in seventh-century documents penned by two churchmen: Muirchú and Tírechán. The latter, a bishop from Tirawley in north Mayo, drew on a work by his mentor, Ultán, bishop of Ardbraccan in Meath. Writing sometime before AD700, he provides much detail on what is now County Mayo – nearly a third of the text treats of the saint's activities there. But while the document may preserve genuine early material, it is impossible to separate that material from later fiction.

Tírechán's work – preserved in a ninth-century manuscript, the Book of Armagh – is not a *life* of the saint, but for the most part, a collection of local traditions about him. It details places supposedly linked to Patrick or which claimed a link in the later seventh century.

Book I of Tírechán's work tells of Patrick's time as a swineherd on Slemish, his escape from Ireland, and his eventual return as a missionary – landing in Meath where he tried, unsuccessfully, to convert King Laegaire at Tara. The second book recounts the saint's 'deeds performed in the regions of Connacht', in Roscommon, east Galway and south Sligo before moving into Mayo, where he spends an extended period before crossing the Moy estuary into Sligo. From there he travels, via Ulster, back to Meath. We may outline his travels in Mayo as follows, using the names of modern towns (none of them in existence in the time of either Patrick or Tírechán): from around Ballyhaunis, he moved south-westwards towards Ballinrobe. He was active in mid-Mayo, around Castlebar, before moving west to the Westport area. He then returned to mid-Mayo before crossing the Moy to the area between Ballina and Killala, where his final burst of activity in Mayo is concentrated.

Tírechán's main work is followed by a collection of additional material (*Additamenta*), and some tantalisingly cryptic notes (*Notulae*). While Tírechán's text is in Latin, there is a firm bedrock of Irish language material – especially names of people or places, in thinly-disguised latinised forms. The spelling of many words in the text is of great linguistic value, as it reflects the state of development of Irish in the later seventh century.

A work that complements and supplements Tírechán's work is the *Vita Tripartita* (Tripartite Life), an account of Patrick's life in the form of three sermons said to have been delivered in Armagh in AD900. The Tripartite – in a mixture of late Old and Middle Irish, with a fair sprinkling of Latin – often 'tidies up' and adds interesting details to Tírechán's text, sometimes giving the original Irish form of place-names that were latinised (or semi-latinised) by Tírechán.

Tírechán mentions forty place-names in Co. Mayo said to be associated with St Patrick, while other early works mention thirty more. Of course, such names are not to be interpreted as evidence that the saint was ever in any of the places mentioned, or that he founded a particular church listed by Tírechán or the Tripartite. The mention of certain places by Tírechán merely reflects the cultivation of Patrick's cult in those places: it means, not that the saint ever set foot there, but that he was honoured there some two centuries after his death.

Here I must acknowledge the invaluable work of my good friend, the late and deeply lamented Dr Fiachra Mac Gabhann. In his magisterial 10-volume, 7,200-page study of Mayo's place-names, *Logainmneacha Mhaigh Eo*, and in another study published in 2011, Fiachra analysed Mayo place-names associated with St Patrick. Much of what is given here in summary form will be found in greater detail in those works.

Tírechán's Mayo place-names

When considering names cited by Tírechán, we should remember that almost one and a half millennia separate us from his time. When reading

the Tudor Fiants or seventeenth-century records of inquisitions and land surveys (e.g. the Strafford Inquisition of 1635), it can be dismaying to find that many of the names cited have apparently vanished without trace. How much more likely, then, that in works from nearly a millennium earlier, such as Tírechán and the Tripartite, many names have become obsolete. Nevertheless, quite a few can still be identified, or at least guessed at.

Of Mayo names in Tírechán, two-thirds (twenty-six) also occur, albeit in Irish form, in the Tripartite, while nineteen are unique to the Tripartite. A further eleven names occur in the *Additamenta* – all in the early, Latin part of that work.

Tírechán's account of Patrick's missionary journeys through what is now Co. Mayo occupies about four pages of Bieler's edition. It begins by stating 'Patrick proceeded through the waste lands of *Cíarrige Airni* to the southern plain, that is Nairni' – in the vicinity of Aghamore and Ballyhaunis in SE Mayo. We know from various sources that a branch of the far-flung population-group, the Ciarraige (who gave their name to Co. Kerry), was settled in that area from early times – around Mannin Lake, anciently called *Loch Nairne*. The next name mentioned, *Imgoe Már Cérrigi*, has not been satisfactorily identified.

Next mentioned are 'the well that is called *Mucno*' and 'the cell [or church] that is called *Senes*', with Irish equivalents in the Tripartite given as *Topar Mucno* and *Senchell* respectively. Immediately after that are *diserta filiorum Endi* (translated as 'the waste lands of the Sons of Énde') and a semi-legible name, 'in which was *Lommanus Turrescus*'. (It is not entirely certain if this last name is of a person or a place.) There is no indication of where any of these places was located, but the context would suggest that they, too, were probably somewhere in SE Mayo. This uncertainty was no deterrent to the Mayo antiquarian Hubert Thomas Knox – author of *A History of the County of Mayo* (1908) – who confidently asserted that *Topar Mucno* represented Tobar Phádraig (St Patrick's Well), in tld Holywell, while *Senchell* was the neighbouring tld, Churchpark, both just south of Ballyhaunis. He could perhaps be correct, but there is simply no evidence to support his identification!

The next series of names begins with *Conmaicne hi Cuil Tolit(h)*, which clearly refers to bar. Kilmaine in south Mayo, followed by an unattested name *Ard Uiscon* said to be located in *cellola media*, a name whose Irish equivalent is *Cell Medóin* – in present-day Irish *Cill Mheáin* (Kilmaine). The next name, *Cellam Sescin*, is unidentified, but was no doubt near Kilmaine. Then comes a reference to *campum Caeri*, for which the Tripartite has *Mag Cerai*, the plain of Carra in south-central Mayo, and in that context is mentioned *Cuil Core*, a name recently identified as tld Kilquire, par. Kilmainemore.

Of the next two names – *campus Foimsen*, or *Mag Foimsen*, and *fons Stringille*, or Topar Stringle – there is no clear indication of their location, but Knox's suggestion that the latter represents the monastic site of Ballintober (Baile Tobair Phádraig) – although based solely on circumstantial evidence – seems persuasive. Patrick then proceeds to *campus Raithin* (or *Mag Raithin*) which Mac Gabhann suggests may be identified with *Rathain Ruaidh* (said in the Book of Lecan to be a northern extremity of the territory of Carra) – perhaps tld Raheen, par. Islandeady, near Castlebar. From here the saint moves on to west Mayo: to the plain of *Umhall*, bars Burrishoole and Murrisk around Clew Bay, and then to *Achad Fobair*, Aghagower; from there to the holy mountain, *Mons Egli*, or *Cruachán Aigle*, Croaghpatrick, and finally to *Muiriscc Aigli*, the village and general area of Murrisk, at the foot of the Reek.

The saint next returns to mid-Mayo to the territory of *Corcu Themne*, in the middle of bar. Carra, where a number of wells and churches are mentioned. These are: *fons Sini* or Topar Sine, *fons Findmaige* (the well of Finnmag) which is called *Slán*, and the church named *Cellola* (or *Cell*) *Tóg*. Kenneth Nicholls of UCC has suggested that Slán may be identified with an old church-site in tld Ballynew, NE of Castlebar, and Cell Tóg was arguably located in the vicinity of tld Kilkenny in par. Breaghwy, since Tírechán states it was founded by a bishop named Cainneach (*Cainnechus*), who probably gave name to Kilkenny (*Ceall Chainnigh*).

The next section of Tírechán's narrative involves a detour since the names mentioned – *regiones Maicc Hercae*, alias *maige Maicc Ercae*; *Dichuil et Aurchuil* (or *Erchuil*), *Album Campum* (i.e. *Findmag*) and *regiones Maini* – all appear to be identifiable as places situated on the borders of south Roscommon and east Galway, although an alternative (and plausible) scenario, locating them in mid-Mayo, has been suggested by Cathy Swift.

Following this, Patrick is said to have crossed north over the Moy into Tirawley, to *Mag nDomnann*, the plain of the Domhnainn – a population-group cognate with the Dumnonii of ancient Britain (who gave name to Devon). Almost all remaining place-names relating to Mayo in Tírechán's account are concentrated on the west bank of the Moy estuary. The account begins with a reference to *aeclessia magna Patricii in Silva Fochlithi*, a 'great church' whose Irish name, *Domnach Mór*, is reflected (with slight distortion) in the name of the double tld Tawnaghmore, Lr & Up, par. Killala.

Here we see a celebrated place-name, *Silua Fochluth* or *Silua Fochlithi*, in Irish *Caill* (or *Caille*) *Fochlad*, which appears to have named an extensive stretch of land west of tld Crosspatrick, par. Killala, and has long been equated with that most tantalising of all Patrician place-names, *Silva Vocluti*. Clearly, then, by the later seventh century there was a belief that Silva Vocluti was located in north Mayo and was represented by *Silva Fochluth* or *Fochlithi*, lying west of Killala. (The strong local belief in and around tld Foghill, par. Kilcummin – several miles north of Killala – that its name represents Silva Vocluti appears to be untenable, for linguistic and other reasons.)

Tírechán mentions other names relating to Mayo, most of them now obsolete, although the location of some can be established with some probability. For example, a place 'above the wood of Fochlith', blessed by Patrick for two holy virgins, is unnamed, but may be the identified as *Ceall Fhorglann* in the Tripartite, located a mile west of Crosspatrick, par. Killala.

At a place called 'Foirrgea of the sons of Amolngid', Patrick, due to a lack of timber, built a rectangular church of clay – probably reflected in tlds Farragh and Mullafarry, par. Ballysakeery. He built another church at 'a bay in the sea' called 'Ros of the sons of Caitni'. In 1838 John O'Donovan suggested that this was a headland called Rinnaun in tld Ross, par. Killala. Patrick then bade farewell to what is now Co. Mayo. Tírechán says he crossed the Moy *de Vertrige in Bertrigam*, or in the Irish of the Tripartite, *di Bertlachaib i mBertlacha*. The repetition of names here is easily explained: the 'v' in Vertrige represents the lenition of the initial 'b' of Bertrach (or Bertlach, in the Tripartite). This indicates that Patrick went from Bartragh Island, the sandbank at the mouth of the Moy (called *Inber Múadi* in the Tripartite) across to what is now tld Bartragh, par. Castleconor, bar. Tireragh, Co. Sligo.

Plane-names in the Tripartite Life

Apart from the forty Mayo place-names mentioned by Tírechán, some nineteen names occur in the Tripartite. The first of them, *Bernán Brigte*, was on or near Croaghpatrick, but the remainder were back in the vicinity of Killala. One of these – mentioned six times by the Tripartite – is *Crois Pátraic*, tld Crosspatrick just south of Killala. The Tripartite recounts a confrontation there between Patrick and some druids. A particularly recalcitrant druid was, by Patrick's power, thrown against a rock, since called *Ail in Drúad*, 'the druid's rock'. A nearby hill, *Telach inna nDrúad*, 'the hillock of the druids', has been identified as a ridge in tld Tawnaghmore, near a small stream which the Tripartite calls *Glais Chonaig*. Other names in the same area include *Dísert Pádraic* (Patrick's desert or hermitage), *Ré Ruáin* and *Óchtur Caerthin*. Then there is record of Patrick's foundation of the church of *Cell nAlaid*, tld, par. and dioc. Killala, after which, on leaving a well near Killala called *Fons Óenadarcae* ('One-horn well'), the saint goes south to *Fertai Locho Dáela*, a name apparently represented by tld Balloughadalla, par. Ballysakeery, midway between Ballina and Killala (although there is now no lake in the townland).

Going eastwards to *Lecc Fhind* ('the white flagstone'), alias *Lia na Manach* ('the stone of the monks'), Patrick inscribed a cross on a stone to the west of *Cill Móir Óchtair Múaide* ('the great church of the upper Moy'). This is the earliest mention of the church of Kilmoremoy, just north of Ballina. The saint restored to life Echtra, wife of Eochaidh son of Nath Í, who gave name to two local places: *Áth Echtrai* ('the ford of Echtra') and *Fert Echtra* ('Échtra's grave'), situated just north of tld Ballina. The initial element of another name, *Lecc Balbeni* ('the flagstone of Bailbheán'), survives in the local tld *Béal Leice*, Belleek, par. Ballysakeery.

Place-names in the *Additamenta*

Of eleven Mayo names cited in the *Additamenta*, the final one, *Ciarrichi superni*, refers to the population-group, the Ciarraighe – in this case, the Upper Ciarraighe who apparently occupied the south of bar. Costello. The remaining names have largely resisted all attempts at identification – such as Knox's valiant, but ultimately futile, efforts in relation to *Cluain Caoin in Achadh*, or to the land lying *Inter Gleoir et Ferni* ('between Gleoir and Ferni'), or a string of names rendered variously as *Clúain Findglais* and *Imsruth* (?), *Cúl Cais* and *Deruth* (?) of *Cúl Cais* and *Cenn Locho*, or *Cluain Findglais*, including the stream of *Cúl Cais* and south of the great stream of *Cúl Cais*, and (also) *Cenn Locho*.

Of the two names in the phrase *o Dib Carnib usque ad montem Cairnn* ('from Dá Charn as far as Mons Cairnn'), the second almost certainly denotes a high hill (262 metres) immediately west of Kiltamagh. This first appeared in print, as *Slieve Carna*, on Bald's *Map of the Maritime County of Mayo*, completed in 1816 and printed in Paris in 1830. The name is still used locally, and it is indeed astonishing that a name that never appeared in any written record since the *Additamenta* to Tírechán should still be remembered a millennium later when collected by the young Scottish engineer William Bald. The name was even missed by the Ordnance Survey when preparing the first edition of its 6-inch maps of Mayo in 1838; it was inserted on later editions.

The first of the two names, *Dá Charn*, Mac Gabhann tentatively identifies as a hill of *c*.200 metres called Spillaggadaun (Cnoc an Speilgeadáin) in NW of par. Manulla, some four kilometres west of Slievecarna; it occurs as *Spalgiddon* on Browne's '*Map 2*' of Mayo, 1584.

The foregoing collection of some seventy Mayo place-names, of which some examples have been cited above, is as fascinating as it is frustrating. While we would like to identify more of the names, and with greater certainty, it is quite remarkable that we can glean so much information from such apparently unpromising material.

Note: For Tírechán's text, see Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies: Dublin, 1979). See also Catherine Swift, 'Tírechán's motives in compiling the Collectanea: an alternative explanation', *Ériu*, 45 (1994), 53–82; and Fiachra Mac Gabhann, *Logainmneacha Mhaigh Eo* (2014), vol. 1, appendix (pp 553–618), and an abridged version of that appendix, entitled 'The Mayo placenames of early Patrician literature', in Kevin Murray and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds), *Edmund Hogan's Onomasticon Goedelicum: Reconsiderations*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 23 (London, 2011), pp 117–50. For the Tripartite Life, see Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint*, 2 vols (London, 1887) and Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic. The Tripartite Life of St Patrick* (Royal Irish Academy: Dublin, 1939).

Abbreviations: bar., barony; par., parish; tld, townland.

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Dísert Diarmata / Castledermot and Uí Bairrche connections

Name

Castledermot is in county Kildare in the barony of Kildea and Moone and parish of Castledermot. The name Castledermot has come a long way from its origins. Originally it was Dísert Diarmata. The word *dísert* is derived from Latin *desertum*, 'place in wilderness', 'hermitage', 'monastery'. The 'castle' element in the modern place-name most likely derives from the castle built by the Earl of Kildare in 1505 (although there was an earlier castle, is not certain that the first one was built in the late twelfth century). With the coming of the Normans the name *Tristeldermot* was given to the site – the first occurrence was in 1207.[1] Maolchallann Ó Cléirchén, bishop of Glendalough, *c*.1176–86 had his see taken into the protection of the papacy and Pope Alexander III confirmed its rights and possessions in 1179. Since the request originated in Glendalough the names of the possessions must have come from this native source and Dísert Diarmata is recorded as *Disserdiarmada*, which, presumably, is how the natives pronounced it.[2] Twenty-eight years later the Anglo-Norman Augustinian nunnery of Graney (2.4 km SE of Castledermot), founded by Walter de Riddlesford *c*.1200, was given the same protection by Pope Innocent III in 1207 and here the name is *Tristeldermot*.[3] The *tristel* element has provoked some discussion.

The suggestions by de hÓir and his colleagues were taken up by John McNeal Dodgson and provide an attractive explanation of the name. It would seem that *tristel-* 'probably represents a Norman French pronunciation of OF *tristre*, *trister* "a hunting-station", not an independent word ...'.[4] Old French borrowed Latin *desertum*, as *desert*, "desert, wild place, lonely place, wilderness". This could have been used for Irish *dísert* but why did this not happen? It may be that the meaning of OF *desert* never developed beyond the meaning of a 'wilderness' whereas the Irish *dísert*, came to mean a 'hermitage' (such a site would normally be in a wilderness) and later evolved to have the meaning of 'monastery'. Many early hermitages in Ireland grew beyond their isolated origins and became populous centres to which pilgrims flocked. The OF *tristre* (from Med. Latin *trista / tristra*) indicated where a 'meet' or 'tyrst' took place at an isolated spot in the forest where those involved in a hunt could assemble – the lord and his vassals and tenants with their huntsmen and dogs. It was also an occasion on which the feudal pecking order could be reaffirmed. McNeal Dodgson's conclusions are:

> It would be interesting to find out whether the *díseart* places which came to be called *tristre-* were monastic establishments at the scenes of particular veneration, such as might lead to seasonal or annual pilgrimage to the place. Such occasional resort and assembly would be exactly after the pattern of use seen at a hunting-tristre.[5]

That seems a reasonable explanation, but even insignificant churches and wells were visited on the feasts of various saints each year. Other places having the *tristre-* element in their names are cited by de hÓir: *Díseart Labhráin* (Tristel laueran), Inch St. Lawrence, Co. Limerick; *Díseart Iolladhain* (Tristeldolan), Castledillon, Co. Kildare; *Díseart Muadhain* (?) (Tristelmochan), Dysartmoon, Co. Kilkenny; *Díseart Chiaráin* (Trystelkeran), Castlekeeran, Co. Meath;[6] *Disertale* (Tristelbale / Tristeldale), Dysart p. Killulagh, b. Delvin, Co. Meath.[7] Something is known of Castlekeeran in the early period but the others are almost anonymous. As far as we know, therefore, these were not great centres of pilgrimage. Dísert Diarmata did have a very special person buried there in addition to its founding saint, Diarmait. Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king and bishop of Cashel was educated at Dísert Diarmata:

> Sneidhghius, egnaidh ó Disert Diarmada, aide Chorbmaic, mic Cuilennain, ... dég, 'Sneidhius, learned man of Disert-Diarmada, tutor of Cormac, son of Cuileannán died.' (AFM 885=889)

In 908 (AU, AFM 903=908) Cormac was killed at the battle of Belach Mugna (Ballaghmoon, 6.5 km SW of Castledermot). Before the battle Cormac had expressed the wish to be buried in Cloyne but Móenach son of Siadal (†921), the successor of Comgall of Bangor and thus head of all the

[1] As cartlann na logainmneacha, 'Castledermot', *Dinnseanchas*, 4:4 (1971), 126–31; As cartlann na logainmneacha, 'Nóta breise faoi Dhíseart Diarmada', *Dinnseanchas*, 5:2 (1972), 61–2. These articles are probably by Éamonn de hÓir (although it is implied that his colleagues contributed to the discussion) since he provided a translation of the first for John McNeal Dodgson author of the article on *tristel-* discussed below.
[2] Maurice P. Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, i (Dublin: 1962), pp 29–31 at p. 30.
[3] Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, pp 137–9 at p. 138.
[4] John McNeal Dodgson, '*Tristel-* in the place-name Castledermot', *Dinnseanchas*, 5:2 (1972), 47–52 at 47.
[5] McNeal Dodgson, '*Tristel-*', 51.
[6] de hÓir, 'Castledermot Díseart Diarmada', 126.
[7] de hÓir, 'Nota breise', 61–2.
[8] Joan Newlon Radner (ed.) *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), pp 158–9.
[9] Joan N. Radner, 'Writing history: Early Irish historiography and the significance of form', *Celtica* 23 (1999), 312–25 at 322–5.

daughter houses (including Dísert Diarmata) preferred that he be buried at Dísert Diarmata. Cormac's head was cut off and presented to the victor, Flann Sinna, but he honoured the head and it was then placed with his body in Dísert Diarmata: 'and it was greatly honoured there, where it produces omens and miracles.'[8] This must have been the case in the early eleventh century when the *Fragmentary Annals* that give us this information were compiled.[9] If a pilgrimage to his tomb continued into the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans arrived then perhaps *tristel-* may have been used in relation to that pilgrimage. But it is difficult to see it applied elsewhere.

de hÓir considered that *Tristel-* could hardly have been a corruption of *dísert*: 'Tá na leaganacha gallda le *Tristel-* nó a leithéid spéisiúil agus is deacair a mheas gur ó thruailliú égin ar *díseart* a tháinig siad (cé go bhfuil *isert* agus fiú *easter* le fáil ag freagairt do *díseart* in ainmneacha eile).'[10] Dodgson also found it difficult to see in *tristel-* a corruption of *dísert*:

> If the interchange of *tristre* and *díseart* were the result of *phonetic* confusion, then it must be the result of Normans hearing in a French or Irish pronunciation of *díseart* a sound similar to a French pronunciation of *tristre*, *trister*. This would require a pronounciation of *díseart* with unvoiced initial *d-* (>[t]) and with loss of final *-t* in inter-consonantal compounded position (the latter a typical Norman French possibility, the former not so obvious), approximating to [*ti:sər] [*ti:ssər] which might also represent *tristre* with loss of its first *r* by Norman French dissimilation, and loss of its second *t* by, again, Norman French loss of interconsonantal *t*.

Do we not find the loss of final *t* in *Disserdiarmada* in the grant of protection and confirmation of the possessions, rights and privileges of the diocese of Glendalough by Pope Alexander III mentioned above? Could the initial *d* have sounded like a *t* to Anglo-Norman ears and would they have heard *Tisserdiarmada*?

Dísert Diarmata in the annals

The first reference to the site is in the Annals of Inisfallen in the year 812: *Coṅgbáil Dísirt Diarmata m. Aeda Roin, rí Corcu Bascind*, 'the foundation of Dísert Diarmata; [Diarmait], son of Aed Rón, king of Corcu Bascinn'. It might seem strange that a detail concerning the foundation of a Leinster church would be noted in Munster annals except that the king of Munster, Cormac mac Cuilennáin, was educated there and it was there he was buried following his death in the battle of Belach Mughna in 908 (mentioned above). It was also natural that two entries were conflated and the Munster annalist assumed that Diarmait was the son of a similarly named king from south Clare. The king in question, however, was Áed Rón, king of Ulaid (Ulster) who was killed in battle against the Uí Néill in 735 in the territory of Muirtheimne in North Louth. Diarmait was grandson of this king. According to the genealogies of the saints Áed's son was Fergal the father of Diarmait.[11] Diarmait died in 825 and the Annals of Ulster record his passing as: *Diarmait huę Aedha Roin, anchorita 7 religionis doctor totius Hibernię, obiit*, 'Diarmait grandson of Áed Róin anchorite and religious teacher of all Ireland, died'. Diarmait was a member of the Céili Dé, the ninth-century reforming party in the church and the iconography of the crosses of Dísert Diarmata reflect their ideals.

Dísert Diarmata was plundered by the Vikings of Narrow Water (at the opening of Carlingford Lough) in 842 (AU). It was plundered by them again (AFM 867=869) and Éodus son of Donngal suffered martyrdom at their hands. Abbots, bishops and anchorites are recorded until 1074. The learned bishop hUa Gabhaidh died in 1038 (AFM) and Cuileannan Claen (a name that may echo the patronymic of King Cormac) who was Fer Leighinn, 'head of school' of both Lethglenn and Dísert Diarmata died in 1054 (AFM). Since the founder, Diarmait, was learned in ecclesiastical law and literature it is likely that Dísert Diarmata had a school from its foundation. The monastery had links with other churches throughout the centuries. As well as Lethglenn (Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow), mentioned above, abbot Máel Rúain (a name that looks to the ascetic founder of Tallaght – indeed *Diarmait in Dísirt* is listed among the *Lucht oentad Mael Ruain in so .i. Mael Ruain Tamlachta*, 'People of the unity of Máel Ruain here, that is Máel Ruain of Tallaght'.)[12] who died in 887 (AFM 884) was also head of Cell Achaid (Killeigh near Tullamore), and Tech Theille (Tihelly near Durrow). Cairbre son of Feradach who died in 921 (AFM 919=921) was also erenagh of Tech Mochua (Timahoe, County Laois). The founder, Diarmait, was an anchorite and this tradition would seem to have been maintained (by at least some members of the community) throughout the centuries. Cumdudh son of Derero and Moenach son of Sothchadach who died in the same night in 843 (AU) were both bishops and anchorites. Cairbre mentioned above was *cenn crabhaidh Laighen*, 'head of the piety of

[10] de hÓir, 'Castledermot Díseart Diarmada', 130.
[11] Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1985), p. 24, §142.
[12] Ó Riain, *Corpus*, p. 162, §713.

Leinster'.

Muirgheas (died AFM 895=902) was both bishop and abbot. Fedach son of Ségíne (AFM 874=876), Máel Callann (AFM 921=923), Guaire son of Sealbhach (AFM 943=945), Colmán (AFM 963=965), Muirigen (AFM 967=969) and Cobhthach (AFM 1074) were described as abbots by AFM. The contemporary Annals of Ulster uses only *princeps* (a word that is eventually replaced by *airchinnech* meaning the head or ruler of not only the church and its inhabitants but also its territories) for the two that it records. The *princeps* was the effective administrator of the temporalities.[13] The first head so described is Fedhach who died in 876 (AU). The other is Máel Callann who died in 923 (AU). Cairbre who died in 921 (AFM 919=921) is given the title of *comarb*, and is the only head of Dísert Diarmata so described: *Coirpre mac Feradhaigh, cenn crabhaidh Laighen, comharba Diarmata, mic Aodha róin, airchinnech Tighe mochua, anchoire, dég iar ndeighbhethaidh cian aosda*, 'Cairbre, son of Fearadhach, head of the piety of Leinster, successor of Diarmaid, son of Aedh Roin, airchinneach of Tigh-Mochua, and an anchorite, died, after a good life, at a very advanced age'. The *comarb* was the spiritual head and stood in the place of the saint. It may be of interest that this office and that of *princeps / airchinnech* appears following Dísert Diarmata's involvement in other monasteries – those mentioned at 887 and now in 923.

Ulster connections

Why should land in Leinster be given to a member of the Dál Fiatach dynasty of Ulaid? In the genealogies it is claimed (using the formula for making a grant of land) that the Uí Bairrche king, Cormac son of Diarmait granted land to Bangor: *Cormac [mac] Diarmata ro idpair Imblech nEch do Chomgall Bendchuir, is leo ō Beluch Forcitail co Bannai*,[14] 'Cormac son of Diarmaid granted Imblech nEch to Comgall of Bangor. They own from Belach Forcitail to the river Bann'. We do not have a death date for Cormac but if this grant was made to the saint himself (Comgall died 10 May 601 / 602/05) then Cormac ruled during the second half of the sixth century. The Uí Bairrche were settled in Leinster, around Lough Erne (*Fir Monach la hĒrne*) and in Ulster (*Monach Ulad*) where they gave their name to the Mourne mountains, *Benna Bairrche* and the later barony of Mourne (the district known as *Boirche* is first mentioned in 601 (AU) when a *Terremotus i mBairchiu*, 'Earthquake in Bairche' is recorded).[15]

Although the centre of power of the Uí Bairrche lay in Leinster, in the earliest period there is evidence that they could exercise that power over a much wider area including the Irish Sea. Cormac may have been powerful enough, therefore, to grant land to Bangor somewhere on the river Bann in Ulster. James O'Laverty suggested that *Belach Forcitail* might be Bellaghy, Co. Derry[16] but it is more likely to be situated on the Upper Bann on its route from the Mourne mountains towards Lough Neagh. According to the 'life' of Comgall, Cormac entered Bangor as a monk and died there.[17] Cormac also granted lands to Bangor in Leinster according to the 'life' of Comgall, *Ard Crema* (Ardcavan, Co. Wexford), *Ceatharlach* (probably on site of St Mary's Abbey, Carlow town) and an unknown *Foibran* – could this be the name of the land on which Dísert Diarmata was built?[18]

Diarmait's great grandfather was Bécc Bairrche, king of Ulaid (Dál Fiatach), who abdicated in 707 (AU), *Bachall Beicce Bairche*, 'The pilgrim's staff [assumed] by Béc of Bairche'. He died in 718 (AU). His epithet *Bairche* probably indicates his overlordship of Uí Bairrche territory in the County Down area. Diarmait †825 son of Fergal, son of Áed Róin †735, son of Bécc Bairrche †718 came from a line of powerful kings in Ulster – at least one of whom was pious (see genealogical table on page 23). Two of his uncles were kings of Ulster as were two cousins during his lifetime. At this period the dynasty had their headquarters in Dún-dá-Lethglass at Downpatrick. Francis John Byrne suggested that Fiachnae or his father Áed Róin created a monastery there to avoid it becoming a rival capital as they moved northwards.[19] Diarmait's cousin, Loingsech, died as abbot of this church in 800 (AU). His descendants were rulers of this monastic town in which secular and ecclesiastical power existed side by side. It was in opposition to such worldly involvement that men such as Diarmait joined the Céli Dé reformers in the late eighth and during the ninth century.

Moenach son of Siadhal at his death notice in 921 (AU), *Moenach m. Siadhail, comurba Comgaill, cenn ecna innse Erenn, dormiuit*, 'Maenach son of Siadal, successor of Comgall, chief master of erudition in the island of Ireland, fell asleep', is described as

[13] See the important discussion by Jean-Michel Picard, '*Princeps* and *principatus* in the early Irish Church: a reassessment' in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: studies in early and medieval Irish archaeology, history and literature in honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Four Courts Press: Dublin, 2000), pp 146–60 at p. 147.

[14] M.A. O'Brien, *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Institiúid Árd-Léinn: Baile Átha Cliath, 1962), p. 54: 122 bb 8.

[15] Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, 'The barony of Mourne' in idem, *Place-names of Northern Ireland*, vol. 3, County Down III: *The Mournes* (Belfast, 1993), pp 1–3.

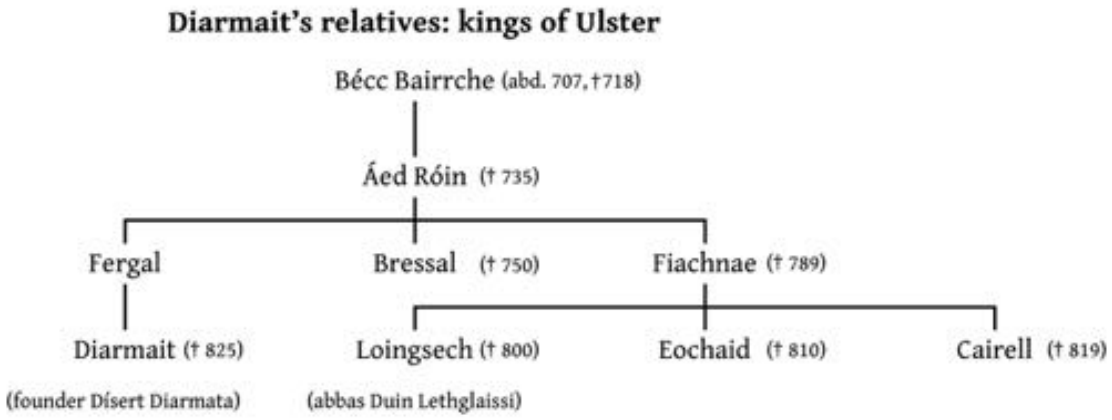
[16] James O'Laverty, *An historical account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, ancient and modern* (Dublin, 1878), p. xxvi.

[17] Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii (Oxford, 1910), pp 16–17, §42.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Francis John Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings* (London, 1973), 119–24.

abb Bennchair, sccribhnidh na nGaoidhel uile, 'abbot of Bangor and the [best] scribe of all the Irish race' in AFM. In a poem added in AFM (919=921) he is said to be of Munster origin: *... Go Ruaim ráin as airrdhe mbróin, / Nat mair Maenach Mumhan muadh / As lor truagh a Dhe mhóir*, 'As far as noble Rome it is sign of sorrow. / That Maenach of noble Munster does not live, / 'Tis sufficient cause of grief, O great God.'. This might explain why Cormac mac Cuilennáin was sent for his education to Bangor's reforming daughter house in Leinster. He was a bishop as well as king of Munster and renowned as a scholar. His death was considered a martyrdom and no doubt Moenach wished to have a famous saint[20] interred in Dísert Diarmata.



[20] Ó Riain, *Corpus*, p. 57 §373; pp 162–3, §713.13–15.

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.

Hillforts, warfare and society in Bronze Age Ireland
William O'Brien and James O'Driscoll
(Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017. x, 522p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781784916558. £60)

Hillforts are a manifestation of a warrior culture that existed in Ireland and mainland Europe in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (1500–500 BC). They were centres of high-status residence and assembly, and provided important visual displays of power in the landscape. This study uses GIS-based landscape analysis together with archaeological investigation to examine ten hillforts – nine of them in a cluster at Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow, the other at Clashanimud, Co. Cork. Details of their origins, occupation and abandonment are explored and the chronology of Irish hillforts is reassessed. One of the appendices contains a catalogue of hillforts in Ireland.

Stories of Ireland's past: knowledge gained from NRA roads archaeology
Edited by Michael Stanley, Rónán Swan & Aidan O'Sullivan
(TII Heritage, 5)
(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2017. viii, 215p. Pbk. ISBN 9780993231551. €25)

Road excavations undertaken as part of the development of Ireland's motorway network have given rise to archaeological research in landscapes that would not otherwise have been targeted for such analysis. Unexpected finds have followed, providing new Irish archaeological perspectives. Some highlights are discussed here in eight papers originally heard at a conference in 2014.

Islands in the West: classical myth and the medieval Norse and Irish geographical imagination
Matthias Egeler
(Medieval Voyaging, 4)
(Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. xii, 355p. Hbk. ISBN 9782503569383. €100)

Norse otherworld myths often adapted concepts from the early Irish literary tradition as well as from medieval Latin geographical literature, and ultimately the geographical mythology of classical antiquity. Matthias Egeler explores these literary influences. He also considers the idea that the Norse mythologizing of the north Atlantic influenced the westward expansion that led to the discovery of North America.

Ulidia 4: proceedings of the fourth international conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales: Queen's University, Belfast, 27–9 June 2013
Edited by Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín & Gregory Toner
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 262p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846826313. €50)

The Ulster Cycle of tales contains approximately eighty distinct tales within the Irish medieval literary tradition. The setting is the court of Conchobar, king of Ulster, and the heroic exploits of Cú Chulainn are a central theme. These essays by international scholars present the latest thinking on the Ulster Cycle tales, including their relationship to the law tracts, their political context, and their geographical setting.

Antiquities of rural Ireland
Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, Liam Downey, Dara Downey
(Dublin: Wordwell, 2017. x, 419p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780993351891. €29)

Based on articles published in *Archaeology Ireland* since 2003, the short, informative essays in this illustrated volume are arranged in seven thematic groups: agriculture, food processing, settlement, transport, local enterprises, coastal features and ceremony. The essays describe a wide range of settlement features, many of considerable antiquity, and are designed to explain the context in which specific features occur.

Gatherings: past and present: proceedings of the 2013 Archaeology of Gatherings international conference at IT Sligo, Ireland
Edited by Fiona Beglane
(BAR International Series, 2832)
(Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2017. x, 126p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781407314587. €33)

Ephemeral settlements are the unusual theme of this collection of conference papers from twenty contributors. Extensively illustrated, it studies a variety of temporary gatherings of people, historical and contemporary, whether for religious purposes, social interaction, exchange of goods, political assemblies, or other communal events that have left minimal traces in the landscape. Is this the first conference consciously devoted to 'non-settlement' in Ireland? Distributed in Ireland by Wordwell.

Early medieval Ireland, 431–1169
Matthew Stout
(Dublin: Wordwell, 2017. xiii, 329p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781999790905. €35)

The author's trademark elegant maps together with other illustrations and selected extracts from primary sources all contribute to bringing early medieval Ireland alive for the reader of this well-planned book. The author draws together evidence from diverse sources and methodologies, to present an historical synthesis aimed at students and general readers. Ar-

chaeological and environmental studies as well as explorations of art and industry, take their place alongside the more usual political and ecclesiastical themes, in this interdisciplinary, chronological overview of early medieval Ireland. (See review on page 34 below.)

Glendalough
Christiaan Corlett
([No place given]: Coles Lane, 2017. 95p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781527214378. €20)

Try parking within a mile of Glendalough on a summer Sunday afternoon, and you will soon realise that it is one of Ireland's most visited heritage sites. The landscape setting of the sixth-century monastic foundation associated with St Kevin is presented in striking photographs in a large-format book that offers a good introduction to the ecclesiastical landscape of Glendalough. https://www.coleslane.com/

Medieval Dublin XVI: proceedings of Clontarf 1014–2014: national conference marking the millenium of the battle of Clontarf
Edited by Seán Duffy
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 326p. Illus. Hbk. 9781846826030. €50; Pbk. 9781846826047. €24.95)

These essays, developed from a 2014 conference commemorating the battle of Clontarf, shed new light on the battle itself and also on the role of the Vikings in medieval Ireland. There are essays on the political and literary legacy of Brian Boru and a discussion on the nature of the high-kingship of Ireland. Contributors include Bart Jaski, Cathy Swift, Edel Bhreathnach, Eoin O'Flynn, Denis Casey, Colmán Etchingham, Patrick Wadden, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Andrew Halpin, Paul MacCotter, Marie-Therese Flanagan, Leonore Fischer and Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail. The final essay discusses a digital humanities project to create a Battle of Clontarf website: https://dh.tcd.ie/clontarf/

The Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin
Áine Foley
(Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2017. ii, 88p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781902703473. €11.95)

No physical remnants of the Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, founded in 1177, are visible in the Thomas Street area of Dublin, but it was an exceptionally important place. The only royal monastic foundation in medieval Ireland, it occupied a substantial site outside the walls to the west of the medieval city. Its relationship with the city was an important one down to the sixteenth century. It was one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical institutions in Ireland, and held extensive lands in various parts of the medieval lordship, particularly in County Meath. This short book is aimed at the general reader and is very well illustrated, using reconstruction drawings by Stephen Conlin. Commissioned and published by Dublin City Council, it can be purchased from public libraries in the city, and at *Dublinia*.

Barryscourt Castle, Co. Cork: archaeology, history and architecture
Dave Pollock; executive editor, Conleth Manning
(Archaeological Monograph Series, 11)
(Dublin: Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2017. xi, 299p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781406429350. €30)

Excavations at Barryscourt castle took place at various dates between 1992 and 2015 and restoration work was done at the large tower house. Conservation work was also undertaken on the rare remnants of wall painting in the chapel. This book draws together the findings of comprehensive investigations of the archaeology, history and architecture of this important castle in County Cork.

Exploring Ireland's castles
Tarquin Blake
(Cork: Collins Press, 2017. xii, 219p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781848893269. €29.99)

Excellent photographs accompany the descriptions of selected castles in Ireland, ranging in date from the Anglo-Norman period through to the nineteenth century.

Monaghan history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county
Edited by Patrick J. Duffy; Éamonn Ó Ciardha, assistant editor
(Dublin: Geography Publications, 2017. xxiv, 925p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780906602836. €60)

There are thirty-six essays in this collection on Monaghan. Among those of special interest to *Áitreabh* readers are Cóilín Ó Drisceoil on the Black Pig's Dyke; Siobhán McDermott on archaeological monuments; Susan Hegarty on Monaghan's physical landscape; Paddy Duffy on landholding and landscape in Monaghan's townlands since the sixteenth century; Paddy Fitzgerald on migration in Monaghan history; Myles Campbell on the architecture of the big houses; and Proinnsias Breathnach on agricultural change after the Famine.

The diocese of Kilmore, c.1100–1800
Liam Kelly
(Dublin: Columba Press, 2017. 551p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781782183310. €39.99)

The Catholic diocese of Kilmore is predominantly rural, taking in almost all of County Cavan, half of Leitrim, three parishes in Fermanagh, and small parts of Sligo and Meath. This book traces the evolution of the diocese from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, adopting a chronological structure. While the main focus, post Reformation, is on the Catholic diocese, the Ulster Plantation, the work of Church of Ireland bishop William Bedell, the growth of Presbyterianism, and later the arrival of Methodist and Moravian communities are all considered as part of this wide-ranging and thoroughly researched history of a rural Irish diocese over a period of 700 years. The book is well produced and the photographs and maps are excellent.

An archaeology of Northern Ireland, 1600–1650
Rowan McLaughlin & James Lyttleton
([Belfast]: Department of Communities, 2017. xiv, 434p. Illus. Hbk. 9781526206121. £20. Postage extra)

Commissioned by the Department of Communities in Northern Ireland, this large format book researches the local archaeology of the plantation period, itemising some 600 sites and presenting six detailed case studies. In tandem with the book, open days and outreach events were held to increase public awareness of and access to the latest research on a variety of archaeological sites across Northern Ireland. The area examined does not correspond to the six counties of the Ulster Plantation, an example of how politics and access to funding can impact the conduct of and the presentation of research findings. (See review on page 33 below.)

Kerry, 1600–1730: the emergence of a British Atlantic county
Marc Caball
(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 129)
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 62p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826429. €9.95)

This book explores the development of county Kerry from a British Atlantic perspective. Kerry's location touching the north Atlantic positioned it strategically within a sphere of trade, commerce, migration and cultural interchange in the early modern period.

The Quakers of Baltyboys, County Wicklow, Ireland, 1678–1800
John Hussey
(Dublin: Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 2017. vi, 56p. ISBN 9781911345565. €10)

John Hussey tells the story of a small community of Quakers who settled in rural west Wicklow from the late seventeenth century. They first became involved in the wool trade and later in the weaving industry. The book is available from Friends Historical Library, Stocking Lane, Dublin 16.

Making magnificence: architects, stuccatori and the eighteenth-century interior
Christine Casey
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017. xii, 316p. Hbk. ISBN 9780300225778. US$75)

Carton House in County Kildare is among the European interiors highlighted in this comprehensive, lavishly illustrated study of the work of the craftsmen of Ticino in Italian-speaking Switzerland who were renowned as specialist decorative plasterworkers across northern Europe in the eighteenth century.

The building site in eighteenth-century Ireland
Arthur Gibney; Livia Hurley & Edward McParland, editors
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 295p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846826382. €35)

Builders, carpenters, contractors, designers, labourers, plumbers, plasterers and roofers populate this story, as the late Arthur Gibney examines the workers, raw materials, networks and processes that lay behind the construction of Ireland's Georgian buildings. The perspective is that of a conservation architect with a lifetime of experience of building and conservation work.

Abbey Leix: an Irish home and its demesne
William Laffan
(Tralee: Churchill House Press, 2017. 280p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780955024689. €45)

The former Cistercian monastic property of Abbeyleix was acquired by the De Vesci family, who commissioned James Wyatt to design the house on the site that is now over 250 years old. This illustrated book, which includes some drawings by James and Thomas Wyatt, as well as much modern photography, showcases the house and estate landscape following its recent restoration by the current owner.

Castle Hyde: the changing fortunes of an Irish country house
Terence Dooley
(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 130)
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 62p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826436. €9.95)

A specialist in the history of the big house in Ireland, Terry Dooley tells the story of Castle Hyde from its creation as a country residence for the Hyde family, through a period of decline after the Great Famine, to its revival under American ownership in the twentieth century. More recently, an Irish-American owner, Michael Flatley, who purchased the house in 1999, has overseen its restoration, ensuring its survival against the odds.

Tyrone House and the St George family: the story of an Anglo-Irish family
Robert O'Byrne
(Bloomington, IN, Xlibris, 2017. 158p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781543422184. $66.99)

On a prominent site overlooking Galway Bay, Tyrone House dates from the 1770s, and was home to the French and St George families, symbolising their wealth and influence. In a fate shared with so many other Georgian properties in Ireland, the fortunes of the owners of Tyrone House went into decline during the nineteenth century, and then in the political upheavals of the War of Independence the house was destroyed by fire in 1920. It is now a ruin but this book brings it back to life.

An introduction to the architectural heritage of Dublin South City
Niamh Marnham
(Dublin: Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2017. 144p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781406429589. €12)

The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage was established to identify, record and evaluate the architectural heritage of the country in a systematic and uniform manner. Recent county inventories have been published in full-colour booklets, documenting the architectural highlights of each region, not just major buildings but also smaller features of architectural merit. Good photographs with detailed captions accompany a narrative overview of the area. This most recent volume relates to Dublin South City, covering an area extending from Ringsend to Kilmainham, between the

Liffey and the Grand Canal.

The origins of the dairy industry in Ulster
George Chambers with Ian McDougall
(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2017. [xiv], 258p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781909556577. £19.99)

Much of Dublin's daily milk supply is sourced in Northern Ireland these days, but the role of the dairy industry in rural Ulster has a very long history in pre-modern times. This well-researched and elegantly produced book examines the development of dairying in Ulster from earliest times down to the twentieth century, with particular emphasis on the influence of the Cooperative movement of the late nineteenth century in transforming the industry.

Humble works for humble people: a history of the fishery piers of Co. Galway and North Clare, 1800–1922
Noël P. Wilkins
(Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2017. xiii, 377p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781911024910. €29.99)

The context in which the many local harbours and fishery piers of County Galway and north Clare were developed in the nineteenth century is explained in this study of small maritime settlements on the west coast. The work of the Office of Public Works, the Piers and Roads Commission, and the Congested Districts Board are all considered, along with the role of foreign investment, but the book is grounded in the stories of the lives of local people whose work in kelp-making, fishing and sea-borne trade were intrinsically bound up with these small but significant infrastructural initiatives.

The Herdman family and Sion Mills: an Irish linen dynasty and its utopian legacy
Jonathan Hamill
(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2017. [xvi], 400p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781909556560. £29.99)

With origins in the lowlands of Scotland, the Herdmans rose to prominence in Belfast in the early nineteenth century, before looking to rural County Tyrone in 1835 for an opportunity to expand their flax-spinning business. The result was the development of the mill village of Sion Mills and the creation of a settlement nurtured by this entrepreneurial and philanthropic family over several generations.

Logainmneacha Dhún Chaoin, Co. Chiarraí
Éamonn Ó hÓgáin & John Kennedy
(Dún Chaoin: Comharchumann Dhún Chaoin, 2017. 119p. Illus. No ISBN. €20. Postage extra)

Over 800 place-names are explained in this large-format, illustrated book which offers insights into a west Kerry parish and its people. It combines detailed documentary research with extensive oral research within the local community. There are additional essays on the individual townlands by Dáithí de Mórdha and on folklore by Breandán and Máire Feiritéar. The book is attractively presented with 14 townland maps by Dómhnal Ó Bric and photographs of relevant landscape features. An appendix contains information from a 1982 school folklore project overseen by Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine.

The end of outrage: post-Famine adjustment in rural Ireland
Breandán Mac Suibhne
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. [xvii], 318p. Hbk. ISBN 9780198738619. £25)

West Donegal in the aftermath of the Great Famine is the focus of this original study of events that shaped a local community in a period of transition. This micro-history provides fascinating insights into social relations and political attitudes in a rural area. A good story well told.

Dublin's bourgeois homes: building the Victorian suburbs
Susan Galavan
London: Routledge, 2017. xvii, 164p. Hbk. ISBN 9781472471727. £95

Susan Galavan presents three case studies of speculative developers and their involvement with property ownership, infrastructure, planning, design and building of selected Dublin suburbs in the nineteenth century. The architectural characteristics of houses in three different districts are analysed: Ballsbridge, Rathgar and Kingstown (now Dún Laoghaire), places where developers speculated in house building: signing leases, acquiring plots and sourcing bricks and mortar. Using measured surveys, photographs, and contemporary drawings and maps, the author shows how house design evolved over time, and explains how domestic space reflected the lifestyle and aspirations of Victorian middle-class Dubliners. Like many houses nowadays in the areas described, the book is seriously overpriced.

Clontarf
Colm Lennon
(Irish Historic Towns Atlas: Dublin Suburbs, no. 1)
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2018. [x], 139p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781908997722. €30)

This atlas is the first in a new series recording and mapping the topographical development of individual Dublin suburbs that are now within the Dublin City Council area but that functioned as independent townships in the nineteenth century. Topics and themes mirror those of the well-established Irish Historic Towns Atlas series, but the innovative design for the suburban series presents the material in a new format within a flexible bound volume. Maps and illustrations are presented in superb detail, making this a treasure for local residents and for urban historians and historical geographers.

The Irish sketches of Florence Vere O'Brien
Edited by David Rowe
(Whitegate: Ballinakella Press, 2017. 122p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780946538447. €25)

Florence Vere O'Brien, born in 1854, was a well-travelled woman, who visited many European countries, including Ireland. An exceptionally talented artist, and meticulous note-taker, her Irish sketches and watercolours date from 1880 to 1915, and record what she saw on her travels.

The tenement dwellers of Church Street, Dublin, 1911
Janet Moody
(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 132)
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 65p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826450. €9.95)

Not far from the imposing structure of the Four Courts lay the tenement dwellings of Church Street in Dublin. They attained notoriety in 1913 when two houses collapsed. This exercise in micro-history reconstructs the community of the Church Street tenements, using the data collected in the 1911 population census, highlighting the poor housing quality and the impoverishment of the residents.

Atlas of the Irish revolution
John Crowley, Donal Ó Drisceoil and Mike Murphy, editors
(Cork: Cork University Press, 2017. xx, 963p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781782051176. €59)

The geography of revolution is just one of the many topics discussed in this large, well-illustrated collection of essays on the Irish Revolutionary era. The emphasis on cartography offers new insights into the historical geography of the early twentieth century in all parts of the island. Archival documents, photographs and other illustrations are used to good effect in what is undoubtedly the landmark publication of the decade of commemorations.

The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland
Edited by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly
(Cambridge University Press, 2017. xiii, 635p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781107095588. £24.95)

Conceived as a textbook, this book contains 33 essays surveying a wide range of themes on Irish social and cultural history. Chapters of interest to *Áitreabh* readers may include 'Town and city' by David Dickson, and 'Housing in Ireland, 1740–2016' by Ellen Rowley, the latter ranging in its coverage from the roadside thatched cottage of 200 years ago to the ghost estates of the early twenty-first century.

Dublin in the 1950s and 1960s: cars, shops and suburbs
Joseph Brady
(The making of Dublin city)
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017. 448p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846826207. €29.95)

Increasing car ownership shaped the development of suburbs and shopping facilities in Dublin, while growing prosperity created a boom in service employment that gave rise to office developments in sections of the old Georgian city. All of this was well underway before Dublin city authorities got to grips with the kind of town planning that was much needed in an era of rapid and irreversible change to the urban landscape.

Dublin Bay: nature and history
Richard Nairn, David Jeffrey, Rob Goodbody
(Cork: Collins Press, 2017. x, 309p. Illus. Hbk. ISBN 978184893290. €24.99)

Over one million people have direct access to Dublin Bay, and its ecosystem is intimately linked with the way people inhabit the landscape. This book explains the ongoing importance of the coastal environment for the future of the capital city that is wrapped around the bay.

The rivers of Dublin
Clair L. Sweeney
(Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2017. 279p. Illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911024859. €24.99)

Rivers and streams, many of them now hidden underground, are an essential part of the Dublin landscape. This book, written by a Dublin Corporation employee who had unparalleled access to the watercourses of the city, reveals an alternative history of Dublin, known in detail to few. This is an updated edition, redesigned with additional illustrations.

Notices of sources and guides to sources

Bernadette Cunningham

Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1509–1547
Edited by Steven G. Ellis and James Murray
(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2017. xxiv, 519p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865702. €65)

The documents calendared in this volume are preserved in The National Archives at Kew (London). The record class SP 60 (State Papers Ireland Henry VIII) is one of the richest historical sources for Irish affairs during the reign of Henry VIII. This calendar provides summaries of every document in the collection, archival and bibliographical references, and a detailed index. Its main purpose is to serve as a guide to researchers intending to work with the original material but reading through the summary documents in sequence can be an extraordinarily effective way of bringing to life historical events of the early sixteenth century as they unfolded.

The Jesuit Irish mission: a calendar of correspondence, 1566–1752
Edited by Vera Moynes
(Subsidia Ad Historiam Societatis Iesu, Volume 16)
(Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2017. xxxviii, 654p. Hbk. ISBN 9788870414165. €60)

This calendar lists over 2,600 documents exchanged between the Jesuit Curia and superiors of the Jesuit Irish mission between 1566 and 1752, now preserved in Rome and Dublin. Documents with content of Irish interest are summarised in some detail. There is much of interest here on the activities of individual Jesuits on the Irish mission, with rich incidental insights into life in Ireland and into Irish relations with the continent in the early modern period.

Acts of the corporation of Coleraine, 1623–1669
Edited by Bríd McGrath
(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2017. xiv, 348p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865528. €40)

Coleraine Corporation Book 1623–1669 is privately owned but its contents are now accessible in this scholarly edition. From 1623 Coleraine's Common Council had scope to direct the expansion of the town as a new urban centre was formed in the north of Ireland. The book records the Council's attempts to control trade, its relationship with the merchant community and the military, its methods of raising taxes, its response to the upheavals of the 1640s, adjustment to the Commonwealth and the Restoration. It is an important primary source for the urban history of a Plantation town.

Episcopal visitations of the diocese of Meath, 1622–1799
Edited by Michael O'Neill
(Dublin: Four Courts Press in association with the Representative Church Body Library, 2017. 383p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846826061. €55)

This volume provides editions of Church of Ireland visitations of the diocese of Meath, drawn from the fragmentary survival of visitation records from seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ireland. The visitations for the years 1622, 1693, 1733 and 1799 edited here provide vivid insights into the workings of the diocese and offer a framework for more detailed study of localities based on the returns of individual parishes.

1641 Depositions. Volume iv: Dublin
Principal editor, Aidan Clarke
(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2017. lviii, 528p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865382. €50)

The 1641 Depositions are witness testimonies mainly by Protestants, but also by some Catholics, from all social backgrounds, concerning their losses in the 1641 Irish rebellion. The documents were transcribed in full and made accessible in an online edition some years ago. Given the ephemeral nature of many online initiatives, the Irish Manuscripts Commission has wisely taken the 'if it's important, print it' approach, and this is the fourth in a series that will see all of the transcribed '1641 Depositions' printed in full. The Depositions volume for Dublin, derived from Trinity College, Dublin, MSS 809, 810 and 840, is particularly important because the Dublin depositions are not just local. City residents had invested widely in property outside the county and refugees sometimes gave Dublin addresses, and therefore the losses they report are countrywide.

Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

Historic Settlement in South Kildare

Report on the Forty-Sixth Annual Regional Conference of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, South Kildare, 5–7th May 2017

The Annual conference of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement 2017 was held in association with The Castledermot Local History Group and focused on settlement in South Kildare from the Early Christian period to the twentieth century. For convenience proceedings were held in the excellent Sevenoaks Hotel in nearby Carlow.

Friday 5th May 2017

The opening and keynote speaker of the conference was Dr Gillian Barrett, formerly Senior Lecturer in Geography at the School of Applied Sciences, University of Wolverhampton. Dr Barrett gave a fascinating paper on 'Discovering the 'hidden' archaeological landscapes of Co. Kildare: an aerial journey'. Although I unfortunately missed this talk I am familiar with Dr Barrett's work, and I consulted with fellow attendees. Describing Kildare as a palimpsest, a landscape continually evolving while revealing an earlier 'hidden' landscape, Dr Barrett shows that aerial photographic surveys often reveal more of a monument than is frequently recorded cartographically. Monuments which, due to modern agricultural practices are often ploughed out, are paradoxically revealed by those very agricultural practices which drain land and cultivate crops, in turn revealing the hidden evidence of monument, borough or other settlement type. Aerial photographic survey, used in conjunction with an interdisciplinary approach combining geophysical, archaeological and documentary evidence, provides the opportunity for a fuller and more balanced interpretation of the historic settlement, in this case of Kildare, potentially challenging existing interpretations of the landscape, and providing greater insight into the socio-economic life of historic settlements. Following this thread, Dr Barrett's paper dovetailed neatly into the weekend's subsequent papers.

Saturday 6th May 2017

The first paper of the day was given by Dr Sharon Greene, Vice Chair of the Castledermot Local History Group. She introduced us to 'The early-medieval ecclesiastical site of Killeen Cormac'. Built on a natural gravel mound in the midst of a flood plain, the site is terraced and the terraces are edged with large flat stones. There are varying interpretations of the name of the site. One suggests that it was the place where Palladius left the relics of St Peter and St Paul, and another that it was associated with the daughters of Cormac. The latter would tie in with the folkloric story of two daughters of Cormac who are listed as saints of the Uí Dúnlainge, the regional dynasty. The female connection is reinforced by the diminutive, 'een', in the name, a suffix which is often associated with daughters. The site contains seven ogham stones which have been dated to the fifth–sixth centuries. Similarities between these ogham stones and others in England suggest a possible English influence. The archaeological discovery of a butterfly finial suggests the presence of an early church. It is thought that the site originated as a hermitage. Besides some interesting grave markers there is also a particularly enigmatic flat stone carved with an image which starkly resembles the image of St Matthew from the Book of Kells. It is thought that the site was destroyed during the Dissolution as it does not appear in the cartographic records of the seventeenth century.

This paper was followed by Charlie Doherty's compact and concentrated talk on 'Disert Diarmata / Castledermot and Uí Bairrche connections'. He began by enlightening us as to the derivation of the name Castledermot with an exposition of the successive names of the place. Starting with the early Christian name of Disert Diarmata, the settlement was then known as Tristledermot and finally Castledermot. A tradition of learning associated with Castledermot suggests that it was an early Christian settlement. 'Disert' references the 'Desert' Fathers and the notion that the settlement originated as a hermitage. The word 'Tristre' denotes a meeting place, a place to come together, possibly for pilgrims travelling to the hermitage of Dermot, or the grave of King Cormac who became a saint. This paper linked deftly with the previous paper by Sharon Greene, giving us an exposition of the connections between Castledermot and the Uí Bairrche, a tribe native to the Laigin. Originally they may have been the Menapii (as mentioned in Ptolemy's Map) and possibly connected to the Brigantes of north Yorkshire, some of whom, having been displaced by the Romans, fled west to Ireland. One is put in mind of the possible English influence at the early Christian site at Killeen Cormac, especially as the Uí Bairrche were native to the Laigin, and influential in religious affairs reaching as far as Armagh.

The next session of the day began with Dr Annejulie Lafaye's paper on the Franciscan friary at Castledermot, 'Castledermot Franciscan friary: a mendicant community and its environment in medieval Ireland'. Dr Lafaye gave an exposition of the liminal space, spiritual, economic and political, that was occupied in society by the mendicant Franciscan friars. They attracted lay benefaction and formed a bridge between men and God, crucially defining the economics of salvation as a financial transaction. They also bridged the gap between the Irish and the Anglo-Normans, and between the military and ecclesiastical sectors. The homage of Irish kings to the Anglo

Normans was often paid at a mendicant friary. The presence of a mendicant friary, usually on the periphery of a town or borough, had a stabilising effect, encouraging visiting merchants, often providing secure housing for valuables. The friary at Castledermot is non-cruciform in shape, a feature of mendicant houses in general, which exhibit a good deal of architectural crossover due to the influence of their benefactors. Often that which seems to be a transept is actually a chapel endowed by a lay benefactor. The nave and chancel at the Castledermot friary are twelfth century but the tower is a fourteenth-century addition, the friary having been destroyed during the Bruce Invasion. The friary was again destroyed in the early fifteenth century by Art McMorrough.

The second paper of this session was given jointly by Dr Magda Stouthamer-Loeber and the late Dr Rolf Loeber, 'The Annals of Ballitore'. They gave a fascinating exposition on the Quaker settlement at Ballitore as portrayed by Mary Leadbeater in her diary, *The Annals of Ballitore*. Mary Leadbeater, né Shackleton, was born into the Religious Society of Friends, otherwise known as Quakers, in 1758 began the 55 volumes of her diary at the age of 11. The original manuscript is housed in the National library of Ireland and details everyday life in Ballitore. It reveals a remarkable insight into the lives of ordinary people of this Quaker settlement during the eighteenth century. Mary's father started the Quaker school at Ballitore where a number of significant Irish historic figures were educated – among them Edmund Burke, William Griffith and Cardinal Cullen. Mary Leadbeater also wrote *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry* which has an introduction by Maria Edgeworth. Mary Leadbeater married at the age of 35, had several children, and ran an inn and the Post Office at Ballitore. The inn was on the mail coach route and thus many interesting visitors were recorded using the inn at Ballitore including the visit of a camel!

The field trip took us to the Early Christian site at Killeen Cormac, the Moone High Cross at Moone Abbey, and Ballitore village. Although cold, the rain held off and we were able to traverse the field access to the site at Killeen Cormac without the need for heavy weather gear. Although Dr Sharon Greene's earlier PowerPoint on the subject of Killeen Cormac was excellent, and very useful in terms of being able to recognise aspects of the landscape, there is nothing quite like viewing the site, as it were, in the flesh. Dr Greene accompanied the trip and was on hand to answer numerous questions and point out areas and items of interest and significance. We proceeded then to Ballitore village for a visit to the library which, now restored by Fás, was the Post Office where Mary Leadbeater lived. The restored gardens attached to the house were also on view. We then took the short walk through the village to the Quaker Meeting House, originally the old Quaker school, which is still used every Sunday by the Religious Society of Friends for Meeting for Worship. The field trip proceeded then to Moone Abbey to see the high-cross. The cross stands in the open air but is protected to some degree from the elements by a perspex canopy. At this point Dr Geraldine Stout gave a spirited and highly entertaining exposition of the panels on the cross, the naive and simple deep relief carving of which makes it easily readable today.

On our return to the Sevenoaks hotel we attended a wine reception for the launch of Rowan McLaughlin and James Lyttleton's book, *An Archaeology of Northern Ireland, 1600–1650*. This beautifully produced monograph has 350 full colour illustrations and is an immensely important addition to the subject as it collates the resultant data from approximately 600 sites relating to the plantation period. The ethos of the book is particularly pertinent to the conference in that the excavations it details were publicly available through open days and outreach programmes thus providing the public with access to heritage.

Sunday 7th May

Following the AGM on Sunday morning the next session was begun by Dr Margaret Murphy's paper on 'Towns and Boroughs in South Kildare 1200–1500'. Defining the aspects of nucleated settlement that constitute either town or borough is problematic, as towns and boroughs have many features in common including charters, and opinions differ between two main experts in the field – John Bradley and B.J. Graham. Dr Murphy pointed out that rich and fertile land such as that found in South Kildare attracts the greatest density of nucleated settlement, and topographic features such as rivers, mountains, bogs and ports instigate settlement. Generally boroughs can be described as 'less than' towns. Much of the physical evidence of these settlements has disappeared over time but excavations have revealed that classification has more to do with the type of activity conducted at a site and its relationship to its hinterland than the size of the settlement. Dr Murphy's talk began with an exposition of the twenty-five nucleated centres in Kildare, four of which, Naas, Kildare, Athy and Castledermot are classified as towns and the others as boroughs. Distinguishing between the two can be clarified by quantifying the functional topographic features of settlements such as castles, mills, religious houses, markets, walls and streets; and by calculating the value of burgess rents, thereby estimating the population density of a borough or town. Dr Murphy clearly demonstrated the classification of towns and boroughs in South Kildare by tabulating the above information with some interesting results. For example the borough of Ardscull, was founded by William Marshall on the pre-existing site of an early medieval church. It had 160 burgesses with an estimated population of 800–1000 people and a mill, probably a windmill. The settlement disappeared after the mid-fourteenth century following the Bruce Invasion. Dr Murphy concluded by quoting Bradley, 'The neat categories and models that we construct for medieval boroughs and rural settlements will remain a purely intellectual exercise unless we can also establish patterns of settlement fluctuation and diversity over time.'

The following session began with Arnold Horner of UCD who gave a fascinating paper about the landscapes of South Kildare eighty years before the Ordnance Survey, 'The landscapes of South Kildare eighty years before the Ordnance Survey: images from the 1750s maps of John Rocque'. Apart from being cartographically significant they constitute very beautiful works of art, with many of the cartouches on the maps being the work of the Dublin-born artist

Hugh Douglas Hamilton. The reference panels of the maps are crucial as they elucidate the astonishing detail of the maps which are invaluable in the study of settlement. When used in conjunction with later maps, historical documentation, archaeological excavation and aerial survey it is possible to track the evolution of settlement areas as functioning topographical features, showing that churches, ancient monuments and field systems change, sometimes disappearing altogether over time. One calls to mind the papers given by Gillian Barrett and Margaret Murphy. It is interesting that Rocque shows a Quaker Meeting House in Castledermot. This is significant in terms of the strength of the Quaker community at the time, since we know from the historical record that there was also a meeting house in Ballitore, one in Athy, and another in Carlow, all operating concurrently.

The next paper was given by Peter Connell of TCD on 'The remaking of an Irish Provincial town – public housing in Athy, 1900–45'. Peter Connell gave a fascinating talk about public housing and how towns developed during this period. He began with an exposition of housing conditions which, it seems, had not changed since the eighteenth century with vernacular housing of the poor constituting nothing more than a one or two roomed cabin with no water or sanitation. He went on to describe early public initiatives and housing in the New State. Many of the 'traditional' cabins were demolished and new labourers cottages, for instance in Meeting House Lane, Athy, were built with dry toilets due to the lack of sewage facilities. The Housing Programme of the 1930s produced the 'two up two down' houses so familiar on the peripheries of towns. This was due to the high cost of land in town centres and explains the ribbons of housing on the outskirts of towns still evident today.

Following lunch the conference ended with a guided tour of Castledermot given by Dr Sharon Greene including St James' Church, the Franciscan Friary, the Old Carlow Gate, and the Market Place. The tour deftly tied in threads from the papers given by Gillian Barrett, Sharon Greene, Charlie Doherty and Margaret Murphy. The tour began with St James' Church, the site of St Diarmait's hermitage founded *c*.800AD. The site developed into an important monastery where the king and bishop Cormac mac Cuilennáin was educated and later reputedly buried. The rectangular stone adjacent to the church door is said to mark his grave. An impressive round tower and two high-crosses plus the base of a third, all attributed to the ninth-century abbot, Cairbre, also grace the site. Both high-crosses are extensively decorated and the north cross, like the high-cross at Moone, depicts the desert Fathers Paul and Anthony. Near the south cross lies Ireland's only Viking hogback gravestone. Great fun was had and many pictures taken as people clasped hands through the 'swearing stone', a cross slab with a hole at the top through which, according to legend, deals were ratified. The tour continued to the thirteenth-century Franciscan Friary. Originally built outside the town walls, the friary suffered greatly from the Bruce Invasion, the Geraldine Rebellion and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The friary boasts County Kildare's only cadaver effigy which commemorates Joan and James Skelton and dates to *c*.1520. The tour continued to Carlow Gate, the largest remnant of the medieval town walls which includes a section of the original gatehouse, and concluded at the Market Square, the meeting point of the principal routes into the town from Dublin, Tullow, and Carlow, where regular markets were held.

In keeping with the tradition and ethos of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, the forty-sixth annual conference brought together, at an intimate venue with excellent facilities, experts and amateurs in a superb meeting of minds and interests which ultimately constituted a marvellous festival of settlement history thoroughly enjoyed by everyone.

Amanda Pitcairn BA (Hons) Carlow College,
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GSIHS Student Bursarian, 2017

An Chomhairle Oidhreachta
The Heritage Council

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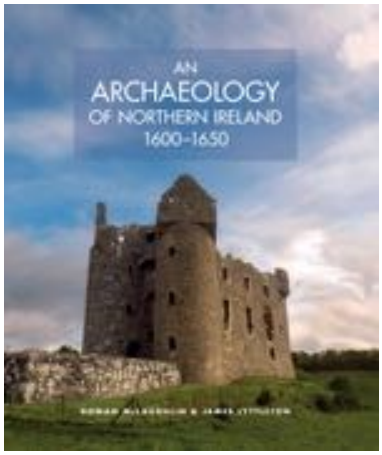
Reviews

An archaeology of Northern Ireland, 1600–1650

Rowan McLaughlin & James Lyttleton

(Belfast: Department for Communities, 2017. 432pp, ills. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-5262-0612-1)

The modern art of archaeological survey in Ireland can be traced to 1966 when *An archaeological survey of County Down*, edited by then professor of archaeology at Queen's University, Belfast, Martyn Jope, was published by HMSO. Conceived as a grand design, with high editorial standards and production values, it was generously illustrated and had beautiful surveys of the main monuments, a fact acknowledged by the editors of this volume which borrows extensively from that material. High standards and political disruption and violence meant slow progress and it took more than forty years to make the next two volumes in the series, Armagh and Fermanagh, a reality. These were, if anything, more ambitious with interpretative essays as well as survey data. Given the resources that the making of these ambitious works required, it was perhaps inevitable that they should have few imitators although one volume on County Louth from the Archaeological Survey of Ireland made a brave attempt.



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The new book reviewed here draws on the 1966 Down volume for its inspiration. Like the earlier project its origins lie in the deep recesses of a government department, although in the way of the modern world it has been 'outsourced' rather than prepared by the relevant government agency but that has not affected its quality. That has, however, had one unfortunate side effect. The aim of the volume is to provide an archaeological survey of the plantation period yet it is not an archaeology of the plantation. The 1609 scheme did not encompass Antrim and Down but did include Donegal and Cavan yet while the two former counties are included as part of this work the latter two are conspicuous by their absence in a volume that is confined within the political boundaries of Northern Ireland. Fortunately Brian Lacey's survey of Donegal goes some way to remedying the problem as does the Archaeological Survey of Ireland's inventory for Cavan. However it is an annoying distortion that should have been avoided by a more generous approach towards interpreting the past by the political masters of the volume.

Influential as the 1966 volume was this work departs from it. The survey of Down was designed for archaeologists. The monuments were arranged by typologies rather than periods with all post-1500 structures simply being described as 'later monuments'. This volume takes as its organising principle an historical event, the Ulster Plantation, rather than monument types and the aim is to produce a material record for an historical event. The inspiration is not hard to find. The settlement archaeology of colonial America, a subject that was in its infancy in the 1960s, provides a neat parallel for this sort of exercise. Yet it is a risky undertaking. Historical and archaeological evidence does not necessarily sit well together as anyone trying to tie a burnt layer in an excavation to a specific period of political unrest will testify. Thus the entries for Belfast in this volume include the results of excavations that are primarily late seventeenth century in date but it would surely have been pedantic not to say churlish (though correct) to have left them out. Again there are many features in the landscape for which a date cannot be hazarded without excavation and even then results may be tentative. Historians and archaeologists frame their research questions in divergent ways and the different types of evidence they deploy can lead to very different approaches and results. Historians are more familiar with documents and archaeologists with artefacts and each methodology has its own inherent bias. Archaeologists and historians also need to rely on the published writings of the others and such familiarity cannot always be guaranteed. A case in point in this volume is the comment of the authors that 'much of the supporting material for this survey [1622] has not survived except that for Cos Tyrone and Armagh', published by Victor Treadwell in the 1960s (p. 11). In fact the material survives for all the plantation counties, Treadwell's 'editions' being simply extracts from a longer document. The entire text of that full survey was later edited by Victor Treadwell as *The Irish commission of 1622* (Dublin, 2006). However, before too many stones are cast it is a sobering thought to imagine what a historian might have done let loose in the archaeologist's world of the 'grey literature' of unpublished excavation reports and it is fair to point out that this is one of the relatively few slips in this area by the compilers, albeit a serious one given the usefulness of the 1622 survey for structures and fabric.

The organising principle of this volume is a simple one. An introduction sets the historical background of settlement and sketches the primary and secondary sources for the plantation project, mainly the general surveys of 1611, 1613, 1619 and 1622. Later material such as the Civil Survey has been ignored, presumably because it is difficult to fix exact positions for the buildings recorded there. The broad overview presented does not stray into private papers that might shed some light on buildings. Thus, for instance, neither the building accounts for a mill in Tyrhugh edited by R.J. Hunter in *Donegal Annual* for 1970 nor the building accounts for the bawn at Beltrim in

Tyrone in the Laing MSS in the University of Edinburgh feature among the sources consulted. Again leases for individual estates might well tell us more about building fabric but remain unexplored. The limited survey of the specific secondary material on the plantation has led to some unfortunate lacunae in the inventory. R.J. Hunter's essay on seventeenth-century grave markers in Tyrone has escaped the eagle eye of the authors. That may not matter – after all what is a few missing gravestones in a volume of this size. However, one of those slabs is the Algeo crucifixion plaque of 1625 which provides almost the sole piece of evidence, apart from a few passing references in the state papers, for the practice of Catholicism among the Scottish settlers and it is regrettable that it was omitted when the authors' practice was to include such items for other areas.

The core of the volume is a county by county survey of the surviving plantation structures and the seventeenth-century excavation material from recent years. For the non-escheated counties of Antrim and Down the material is arranged by barony, a unit that seventeenth-century inhabitants knew well so it is entirely appropriate to use that division despite charges of anachronism. In the case of County Down the 1966 survey provides a fine basis on which to build and has provided a fruitful source with which to work. Much of what was omitted in 1966 as ephemeral, such as gravestones, are included here and that is a welcome addition. In the case of Antrim there is much that is new, and the recent work on Carrickfergus by Ruairí Ó Baoill and on Dunluce by Colin Breen allow the editors full reign in marshalling the excellent maps and illustrations that abound. Within the plantation area proper the organisation of the volume is slightly different, still focusing on baronies, which were the basic organising unit of the plantation, but arranging material by estate within those baronies. While this can be confusing for the uninitiated it is in fact a good way of familiarising the reader with the geography of the plantation and the workings of the landscape. The volume concludes with a short discussion of the buildings as living spaces but in such abbreviated form that it is limited to some general comments.

One testament to the value of the volume is that it raises more questions than it answers. As one archaeologist has recently observed 'The most striking feature about the landscape of Gaelic Ulster in the sixteenth century was the lack of substantial investment in the construction of physical structures ... the landscape of sixteenth-century Ulster is not elusive because archaeologists have failed to look for it ... [but] because human intervention was comparatively light'. Yet, as this volume demonstrates, within fifty years or so of the plantation the evidence of human activity in the landscape is abundant. Is this transformation simply a matter of colonisation or are there more complex forces at work? If it is simply colonisation then that mobilised a great deal more capital that contemporaries or later historians have thought. How was that building boom funded and how does it relate to the older ideas of W.G. Hoskins of a 'great rebuilding' in England at about the same time? How did the Gaelic Irish adapt to this new more material world? Did they ignore it? This volume provides a large body of data to answer these and other questions and presents that data in a user friendly manner. It will, hopefully, be expanded in the future as further survey work and literature searches add to the corpus and the result will become the core documentation for more than one PhD thesis.

This volume is a worthy addition to the literature of archaeological survey in Ireland. It is produced to a very high standard, with generous use of colour making this a very attractive volume. It is worth having for the illustrations alone, especially the reproductions of maps and new plans that it contains. The standard of proof reading and editing is also high with few typographical mistakes. It is certainly very competitively priced. Scholars will, no doubt, quibble about aspects of the interpretation and individual details may be refined with new archival searching but overall it makes a major contribution to the literature on settlement in seventeenth-century Ireland. It will provide a stimulus to archaeologists to engage more deeply with the historic period and force historians to realise that there is evidence other than documents to be encountered, albeit evidence that presents real challenges to the art and craft of historical interpretation. In that sense this is a book whose importance will only be realised by use and that is best reason of all why you should own a copy of this fine work.

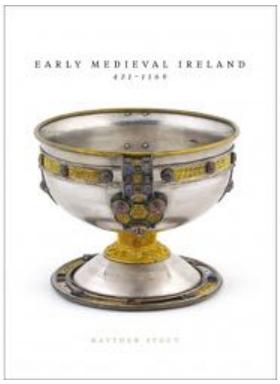
Raymond Gillespie
Maynooth University

Early Medieval Ireland, 431–1169

Matthew Stout

(Bray: Wordwell, 2017. 329pp. ills. Hbk. ISBN 978-1-99979-090-5. €35.00)

I inherited a book that had been used by two of my uncles. It was *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1902) by James Harvey Robinson. Robinson was an American historian who rejected the standard political narrative by situating political history within the social, scientific and intellectual development of mankind. He wrote his book as a textbook and it was said that it revolutionised the teaching of European history. My fascination with the book was its layout. It was illustrated throughout with engravings of buildings and figures – some of them wrapped around by the text. It had black and white photographs (which must have been an exciting innovation at the time) and there were maps (the main ones in colour) and genealogies. But most interesting of all were the notes in the margin of each page giving a running commentary of what was in the text. It was an ideal tool for the student leafing quickly through a chapter to find that important discussion.



Matthew Stout's book is the first that I have encountered that adopts a similar layout with the needs of the student in mind. It is awash with colour. Each of the thirteen chapters is preceded by a full page map showing the position of places mentioned in the text. Each chapter is headed by a paragraph set in smaller type giving a synopsis of, or introduction to, the following text. There are maps, diagrams and tables illustrating the text and all of magnificent quality and in glorious colour. Throughout there are coloured boxes containing specific information about matters mentioned in the text such 'Dating the past: radiocarbon dating' or 'The Ireland of Gerald of Wales'. Other coloured boxes contain a table listing the names of people and places mentioned in the chapter. Individuals mentioned in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* are in red type. A second column gives a phonetic rendering of the names. A third column gives a date (where possible) for the individual and the last column provides a description of the person or tribe. Other boxes give text and translation of various documents bringing the reader face to face with the original sources. In the margin there is a continuous series of notes giving the source of the information discussed and the date at which it is to be found in the Irish annals. As well as this there is a phonetic rendering of the names and places mentioned in the text. The layout of this book is surely a model for any textbook of its kind. We should not be surprised at the design quality for Matthew Stout has demonstrated his skill in this area in the various projects that he has been associated with. Wordwell are to be congratulated too for taking such an enlightened approach to book production for this is a truly sumptuous volume.

In his preface Matthew Stout tells us that his book was designed to provide an 'entry-level' narrative to this period of Irish history. Since available books tended towards a thematic approach he felt that his students needed a book that was stronger on chronology. He also favoured a more holistic approach rather than the specific themes adopted in other publications – 'Politics is rarely incorporated with Church history; art and archaeology remain distinct; law and literature remain uncontextualised in either time or place.' He goes on to say:

> In this book I address every facet of early Irish history, deploying a historical synthesis in the spirit of the *Annales* school: from pollen analysis to law, from archaeology to hagiography, from politics to religion, from art to industry. Accordingly, I have endeavoured to provide a 'one-stop shop' for the history of early medieval Ireland for students and the general reader.

Chapter 1 traces the origin of early medieval Ireland to between *c.* 800 BC and *c.* AD 300. Contact with the Hallstatt culture of Europe is discussed. The question of the introduction of a Celtic language is examined against evidence for the later La Tène culture. It is pointed out that this question is central to a current debate about the nature and origin of the Celtic languages and whether or not there was a 'Celtic' invasion of Ireland. The chapter ends with a consideration of the impact of the Roman Empire upon Ireland. Roman finds in Ireland are discussed in light of the references to Ireland found in writers working within the Empire from the statement by Tacitus that the Romans considered invading Ireland to the list of names in the *Geography* of Ptolemy.

Chapter 2 traces the introduction of Christianity and its spread within Ireland from AD *c.* 300–560. Following what has been described as the Late Iron Age Lull there would seem to have been a marked transformation of the Irish landscape – the cutting down of trees and the expansion of pasture. Such change is attributed to the technological and economic advantages of contact with the Roman world. Raids were made on Roman Britain leading to Irish settlements extending from south-western Scotland to Cornwall. Against this background the activity of Palladius and Patrick are assessed. By analogy with the spread of Christianity within the Roman Empire it is suggested that the whole island of Ireland was Christian by mid sixth century – a conclusion that seems optimistic. The archaeological evidence for some of the earliest churches such as Caherlehillan in Co. Kerry is examined. The pivotal battle of Cúl Dreimne near Drumcliff in Co. Sligo in 560 brings the Uí Néill dynasty into the historical story. The chapter ends with the translation of Patrick's *Confessio* by Pádraig McCarthy and removes any excuse that a student might have for not reading the complete text of this most important document.

The theme of the church is continued in the next chapter in which the careers of Colum Cille and Columbanus are discussed. Colum Cille's knowledge of the Law, however, is most likely confined to the Bible. In this chapter too we are introduced to settlement in early Ireland and to the political structure of the *túath*. As more information becomes available in the seventh century it is possible to create a political narrative although the author's statements – 'it is difficult to fathom', 'it is more difficult to understand', 'it is impossible to imagine', 'it is difficult to see' (p. 59) on the same page indicates that this is no easy task. The construction of horizontal mills 'represented an industrial revolution in grain production from the early seventh century.' Since the earliest are associated with the church their importance for economic development is examined and the relationship between a tillage and a cattle economy is considered. There are interesting observations based upon the miracles associated with farming in the corpus of saints' 'lives'. But this prosperous church had to contend with serious disputes particularly concerning the date of Easter.

The author's analysis of the impact of the plagues of the second half of the seventh century suggests that they did not have a profound impact upon the country. They happen during the period when the number of occupied ringforts reached a maximum and there is not a fall in farming activity. Despite Armagh's emergence as the chief

church in Ireland it is suggested that her authority was nominal mirroring the illusory nature of the high-kingship and that 'It was certainly a title that they did not want a rival to possess – not Kildare, and certainly not York – but in practical terms it meant little.' These are challenging statements.

Chapter 5 concerns 'Ecclesiastical law and secular law 695–756'. The 'Lex Innocentium' is constantly referred to as the 'Legem Innocentium' and does not inspire confidence. *brithem* should more accurately be *brithemain*. Hand bells may have been struck but the claim that they did not have clappers does not ring true since in Bourke's article, which is cited, fourteen of his Class 2 Bells had a suspension loop (or traces of one) and evidence of wear at the striking point. The interpretation of *infirmi orbis* in AU 738 is not a reference to a 'criminal under-class' since Cernach son of Fogartach is a member of the Uí Chernaig branch of the Síl nÁedo Sláine (the southern Uí Néill in South Brega) and is simply a description of a ruthless group within the dynasty.

The art and literature of the 'Golden Age' is examined in the lead up to the Viking attacks at the end of the eighth century. As the wealth of the church is given expression through art it is increasingly embroiled in secular politics. The impact of the Norse upon church and society is considered in chapter 7. A shift towards arable farming and a more diverse livestock economy is noted during the ninth century. It is suggested that royal behaviour was profoundly altered by the sheer shock of the Viking onslaught. There would appear to have been less internecine warfare implying that the natives joined forces in face of the Viking attack – an interesting observation. In an extract from the Latin 'life' of Mo-Chua of Timahoe the saint is called Mochuda and there is the embarrassing confusion between Duns Scotus (died 1308) and '(John of Ireland, also known as Eriugena, 'Irish-born', *c*.810–880).'

The following chapters deal with the emergence of towns, the rise and importance of Brian Bórumha, vernacular literature, Church reform and the coming of the Normans and finally 'The end of early medieval Ireland'. Despite the enormous changes in Irish society that other scholars have noted between the tenth and the twelfth centuries Matthew Stout's reading of the sources leads him to see the persistence of archaic features. Most scholars would see these as merely symbolic – such as the cutting down of 'sacred trees'. Nor can the author detect "evolving monarchy', the birth pangs of a new feudalism, or any sense that the years preceding the Normans represented a transitional period for Irish kingship.' Indeed in footnote 103 to p. 240 (chapter 11) he says 'I disagree with Byrne's assertion that there were significant developments within Irish kingship.' It is not just Francis John Byrne who holds these ideas since Donnchadh Ó Corráin and myself (and other scholars) have written specifically on this topic. References to such work is not found in the bibliography.

The account of the inauguration in which a horse played a role as told by Giraldus Cambrensis is given towards the very end of the final chapter. 'If this story is an accurate depiction of a contemporary event – and not merely a tall take to startle a gullible stranger – then it attests to a remarkable continuity of tradition.' The implications drawn are not in relation to Indo-European archaic kingship but in relation to the author's theme suggesting that Irish society continued to remain intensely conservative when compared to England or Europe. Indeed he claims that 'In many ways, early medieval Ireland survived into the seventeenth century. The Gaelic society crushed by the Tudor conquest was one in which cattle-rearing remained the basis of the Irish economy, where kingship continued to be based on a centuries-old territorial framework of minute kingdoms, and where annalistic and legal customs thrived.' Many scholars would have great difficulty in accepting this thesis.

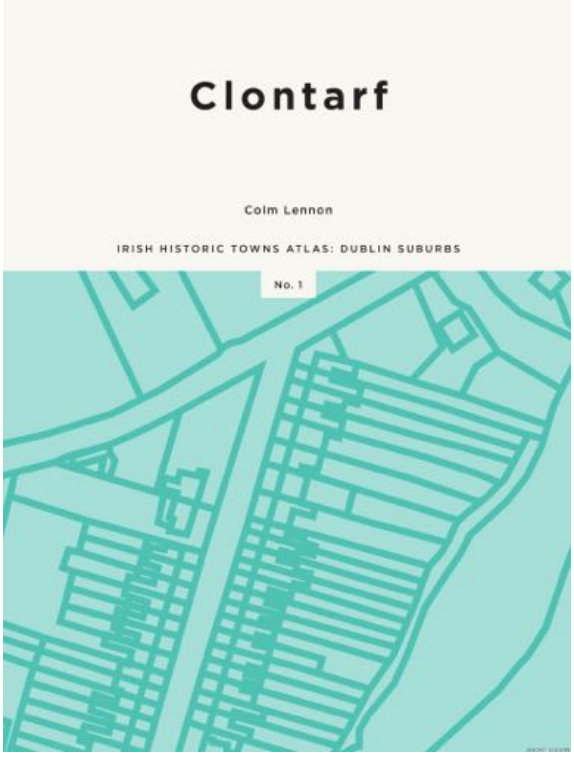
As the author points out in his preface he was originally involved with archaeology and settlement studies and came to the study of the history of early Ireland later in life when he began to teach in the Department of History at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra. As such he has come to the subject unburdened by ideas that would have been current had he taken a degree in history. This has many advantages allowing for a freshness of approach but there are tricks of every trade that are learned during an apprenticeship. There are very many assertions made during the course of this book that will cause historians to take a deep breath and are likely to draw severe criticism. The phonetic rendering of names is far from adequate.

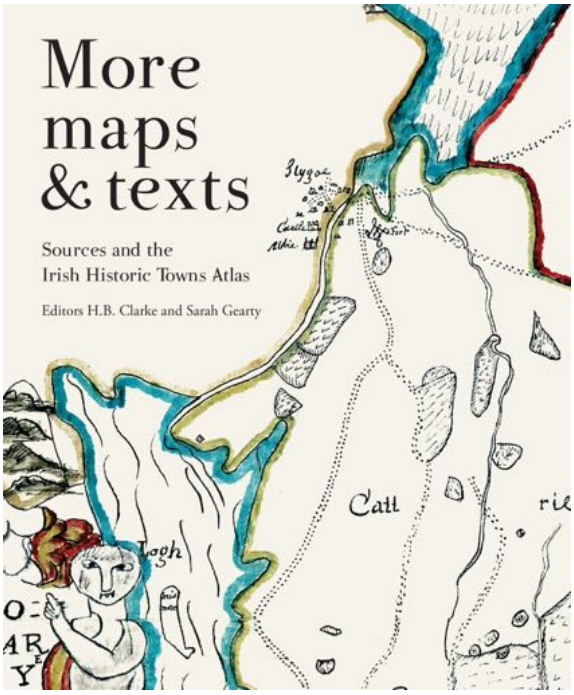
Matthew Stout set out to produce an 'entry-level' narrative to this period of Irish history. I think he has probably succeeded in this in that those with no prior knowledge of the subject will be attracted by the beauty of the book and its layout. It will provide them with a good overall view of Irish culture and society but as they move into postgraduate studies they may find that they have much to disagree with in this book.

Charles Doherty
Editor,
Áitreabh

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

Sarah Gearty, Cartographic editor





Covers of *Clontarf* and *More maps and texts*

'Dublin suburbs' series

The IHTA published the first in the new 'Dublin suburbs' series in December 2017. *Clontarf* by Colm Lennon is strikingly different to the regular town series in design and in its bound format. Those familiar with the IHTA will notice the presence of key components with some adaptations: an introductory essay with thematic maps now in full colour; the topographical information or gazetteer with site histories now going beyond 1900 and included up to *c*.1970; and maps at standard scales for comparative study laid out over page spreads rather than loose leaf. *Clontarf* was launched just in time for the Christmas market and sold out locally quickly upon publication. The suburbs series is part funded by Dublin City Council and the series editors are Colm Lennon and Jacinta Prunty. Other suburbs in progress are: *Drumcondra* by Ruth McManus, *Kilmainham/Inchicore* by Frank Cullen, *Rathmines* by Séamas Ó Maitiú and *Ringsend/Irishtown* by Jacinta Prunty.

Comparison is the fundamental component in the most recent ancillary publication from the project — *More maps and texts: sources and the Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (2018). Edited by H.B. Clarke and Sarah Gearty this follows on from the earlier *Maps and texts* volume that was published in 2013 but the emphasis in the nineteen essays this time is on cartographical and historical sources, their nature and utility for Irish urban history.

The *Maps and texts* publications are essentially proceedings from the annual IHTA seminar, which has been running since 2009 and takes place this year on 17–18 May 2018 in the Royal Irish Academy. It is a joint effort with the British Historic Towns Atlas and the theme is 'Modernising townscapes: urban evolution in Ireland and Great Britain from the reformation to industrialization, 1540–1840'. Speakers include Deirdre O'Sullivan (University of Leicester), Colm Lennon, Victoria Anker (University of Birmingham), Pádraig Lenihan (NUI Galway), Jon Stobart (Manchester Metropolitan University), Raymond Gillespie (Maynooth University) and Stephen Royle, who will deliver the plenary paper. Roey Sweet (University of Leicester) will give the associated public lecture on 'Urban modernity and the historic city *c*.1700 to 1840'. More information on this seminar can be found on www.ihta.ie.

International connections

The Irish project continues to be well represented on the international scene with Anngret Simms remaining a cohesive link despite stepping down from the atlas working group (replaced by Keith Lilley). The annual conference

of the International Commission for the History of Towns was held in Cracow and included several papers using content from the IHTA. The Royal Irish Academy will host an international workshop on the digital aspect of town atlases on 16–17 May 2018.

Figure 1 (L to R): Frank Cullen, Jennifer Moore, Jacinta Prunty, Howard Clarke, Lord Mayor Mícheál Mac Donncha, Michael Kennedy (President, RIA), Colm Lennon, Michael Potterton, Sarah Gearty, Raymond Gillespie and Angela Byrne at the launch of *Clontarf* in the Royal Irish Academy, 6 December 2017.

Work in progress

Meanwhile, authors continue to research towns and cities all over Ireland — Arklow, Ballyshannon, Carlow, Cavan, Cork, Dungarvan, Tralee, Tullamore, Westport and more are under active preparation. Under the authorship of Ned McHugh, Drogheda is next up and is due to be published at the end of 2018. At time of writing the topographical information contained entries for over 4,500 urban sites. Combined with a rich collection of maps and topographical paintings, no. 29 *Drogheda* promises to be significant addition to the IHTA series and will open up further avenues for comparative study.

Figure 2 View of Drogheda, 1753–8, oil on canvas, by Gabriele Ricciardelli. Drogheda Municipal Art Collection, Highlanes Gallery, Drogheda.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Lawlors Hotel, Dungarvan

11–13 MAY 2018

Historic Settlement Dungarvan and West Waterford

In association with
Waterford County Museum Society

7:00 pm (Friday) Registration and Opening Reception

Speakers:
Keynote speaker: John Martin (Editor, IHTA Dungarvan)
The development of an urban centre at Dungarvan
Dr Nora White (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies)
The Ogham Stones of West Waterford
Dave Pollock (Archaeologist with Archaeografix)
The Archaeology of Medieval Dungarvan
Dr Paul MacCotter (UCC)
The Round Hill at Lismore
Eamonn Cotter (Independent Archaeologist)
A new interpretation of the 'Monastic Castle' at Rincrew
Dr James Lyttleton (Senior Heritage Consultant with AECOM UK and Ireland)
Richard Boyle's patronage of architecture and building in early seventeenth-century Lismore and West Waterford
Dr David Fleming (University of Limerick)
The Dungarvan Potwallopers
William Fraher (Waterford County Museum)
'Wretched and unsanitary' – 20th century public housing in Dungarvan
Christina O'Connor (Waterford County Museum)
The Dungarvan Community Archaeological Project

Field Trip: Saturday 2:00 pm by bus to sites including Molana, Lismore and Dromana/Villierstown
Field Trip: Sunday 2:00 pm: Walking Tour of Dungarvan led by Dave Pollock and William Fraher
Visit to Waterford County Museum

Conference Dinner: Saturday 8:00 pm: €26/£22
Conference Fee: €50/£45. Students €20/£17. *Fee includes coffee and bus for fieldtrip*
Individual Day [Saturday/Sunday]: €30/£27
Annual membership fee: €20/£17
Annual student membership fee: €10/£8
Sunday 9:30 am Annual General Meeting of Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

SUBSCRIPTION NOTICE

The annual subscription for 2018–2019 (€20 / £17, students €10 / £8) is due on 1st. May 2018. A subscription renewal form may be downloaded from http://www.irishsettlement.ie/

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The easiest way to pay is online via paypal. Details may be entered on the Membership page of the Group's internet site:

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Application for membership of the Group can be made via the form in the webpage:

http://irishsettlement.ie/membership/

Contributions are invited on topics related to historic settlement in Ireland and the Irish-sea region, the history, conservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape and on local and regional studies. These should be sent to the Editor, Mr Charles Doherty, 13 Bancroft Road, Tallaght, Dublin 24; or e-mail: charles.doherty@upcmail.ie
Contributors are requested, where possible, to send materials, text and graphics by e-mail.
For further information visit our web-site.

http://www.irishsettlement.ie/