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Displacement and Relocation in early modern Ireland:
Studies of Transplantation Settlement in
Connacht and Clare

Eve Jennifer Campbell

Vol. 1 of 1

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October, 2012

*for my mother, Margaret,
who knows that
'education is no weight to carry'*

*in memory of my father
Páid Campbell*

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of three diverse Catholic families that received land during the mid seventeenth-century Cromwellian transplantation to and within Connacht and Clare.

Transplantees, while being united in their status as landowning Catholics, were far from a homogenous group. The families who are the focus of this study reflect that diversity. They include the O'Davorens, a minor Gaelic service family from the Burren, Co. Clare, the O'Callaghans, a Gaelic lordly family from Duhallow, Co. Cork, and the Nugents, an Old English family from Delvin, Co. Westmeath, who as barons and later Earls, were members of the titular aristocracy.

The manner in which these families dealt with the social and economic consequences of their displacement from their anciently held family holdings, and their relocation to new lands is the primary concern. The material culture, especially the settlement archaeology generated by the families, reflects the way in which they negotiated the changes wrought by the shifting political, social and economic frameworks of early modern Ireland.

The approach is interdisciplinary. It weaves the strands of archaeological, historical and geographical sources together to create interpretative narratives that address these issues. Both the patrimonial and transplantation lands allocated to the families are treated, with a focus on domestic architecture, demesne landscapes, funerary monuments and territorial organisation.

It is concluded that the transplantation had a significant impact on the landscape of Connacht, resulting in the creation of estates, buildings and settlements.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is an interdisciplinary investigation of the settlements generated by three diverse families after their transplantation to and within Connacht and Clare during the Cromwellian land settlement of the 1650s.

The Cromwellian episode marks a watershed in Irish history. In the wake of a war that saw thousands dead from fighting, famine and disease, a land settlement was imposed that totally restructured the shape of Irish landholding. In marked contrast to the regional and piecemeal plantations that had been undertaken in Ireland since the 1550s, the Cromwellian Settlement sought to settle the entire island. It was a dramatic, totalising scheme. The transplantation occurred on two levels. Catholic landowners from Ulster, Munster and Leinster were transplanted to Connacht and Clare, and within Connacht and Clare native landowners were transplanted locally.¹ The plan to transplant the 'Irish nation' to Clare and Connacht did not quite translate into reality. The logistics of the project were compounded by confusion and the scheme was met with resistance from landed Catholics. By the time the Cromwellian regime collapsed, it remained incomplete.² The bones of the settlement, largely confirmed by subsequent Restoration and Williamite legislation, implemented a dramatic shift in patterns of land ownership. In 1600, over 80% of Irish land was held by Catholic landholder, by 1688 this had reduced to 22%, and by 1703 to 14%.³

The Cromwellian Settlement had a profound impact on the physical environment, creating 'a ragged and uneven landscape of pure desolation at one end of the spectrum, subtle and resilient adaptation in the middle, and vigorous reconstruction and wealth at the other end'.⁴ After the late seventeenth-century land settlements, the province of Connacht, having been reserved for transplantees, had a much higher proportion of Catholic landowners than the rest of the country. The acquisition of title to land, the anchor of political and economic power, tempered the upheaval of transplantation and had the effect of leaving the Catholic gentry in a much stronger position in Connacht than elsewhere on the island.⁵ Because Connacht remained largely Catholic with a population composed mainly of 'natives', the study of settlement in this region provides a real possibility to undermine accounts of the past that have tended to homogenize native society and reveal the different and sometimes antagonistic interests

[1] Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), vii.

[2] Simington, *Transplantation*, viii, xxv; Ciaran Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society in seventeenth-century Clare', Unpublihsed PhD thesis, UCG, 1982, 63.

[3] William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork 2006), 377.

[4] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 377.

[5] J. G. Simms, David Hayton, and Gerard O'Brien, *War and politics in Ireland, 1649-1730* (London & Ronceverte, 1986), 289.

that constituted the 'Irish nation' in this period. It disallows a simple equation of the homogenous subaltern 'native', and necessitates a consideration of vertical social relations.

1.1 Scope

Three case studies based on primary field and documentary research constitute the core of this thesis. Rather than attempting a broad study of 'the archaeology of the transplantation', it is focused on case studies of three families from diverse backgrounds. Transplantees, while being united in their status as landowning Catholics, were far from a homogenous group. The amount of land granted to them varied widely, as did the circumstances from which they came. The focus of the case studies are the O'Davorens, a minor Gaelic service family from the Burren, Co. Clare, the O'Callaghans, a Gaelic lordly family from Duhallow, Co. Cork, and the Nugents, an Old English family from Delvin, Co. Westmeath, who as barons and later Earls, were members of the titular aristocracy. The O'Davorens were locally transplanted within Burren, the O'Callaghans were transplanted to Tulla, Co. Clare, and the Nugents acquired land in Leitrim, Co. Galway. The case studies were chosen with a view to exploring the diversity of experience of transplantees from different levels of the social hierarchy and from different cultural backgrounds who were relocated both locally and on an inter-county basis.

The O'Davorens and the O'Callaghans were Gaelic septs. Their patrimonial holdings in Clare and Cork were part of the broader Gaeldom in the later medieval period, and as such organised and structured by the institution of Gaelic lordship.⁶ The O'Davorens were a hereditary brehon and erenagh family, providing legal services to the O'Loughlin lords of the lordship of Burren, Co. Clare. The O'Callaghans were the lords of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, a minor lordship in Duhallow, northwest Co. Cork. The Nugents were of Old English origin. Their patrimonial holding at Delvin, Co. Westmeath was on the marches of the English Pale.⁷ The term 'Old English' was coined in the early seventeenth century by the descendants of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman settlement of Ireland, who in the period had consciously formed themselves into an elite with 'a defined social, economic, religious and ideological outlook', rooted in their ancestry, loyalty and, increasingly, their Catholicism.⁸

[6] Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 22-49; Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structures of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Dover, 1987).

[7] , D. B. Quinn and K. W. Nicholls, 'Ireland in 1534', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *Early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 4-5.

[8] Nicholas P. Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite in Ireland: O'Donnell lecture delivered at University College Galway, 6 September 1974* (Dublin, 1975), 2, 31.

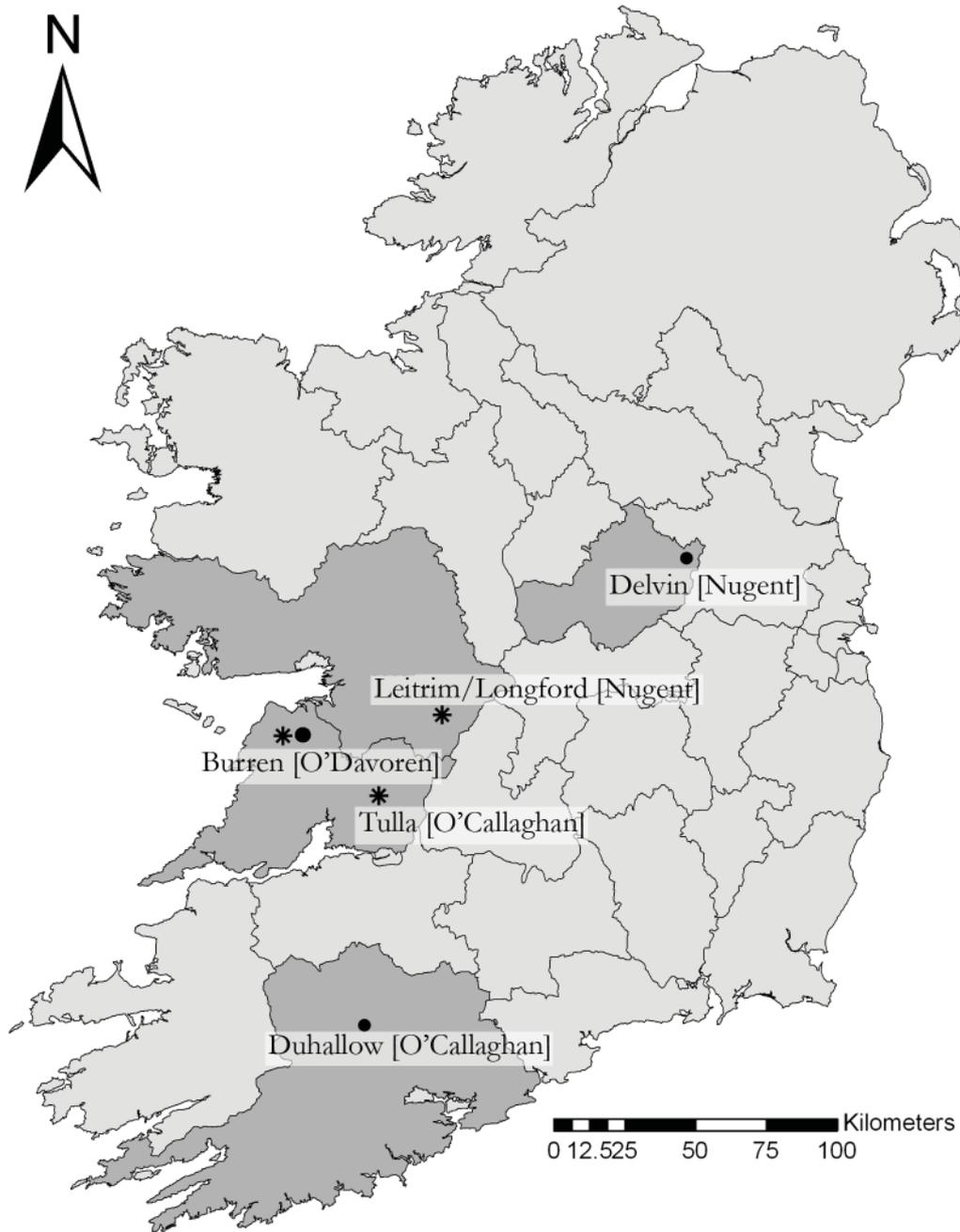


Fig. 1.1: Map showing the location of the case studies. Patrimonial sites are marked with a circle and transplantation site with a star.

1.2 Aims and research questions

The principal aim of the thesis is to investigate the manner in which particular families who were transplanted to Connacht and Clare dealt with the social and economic consequences of their displacement, from their anciently held family holdings, and their relocation to new lands. The leading objective is to investigate how the material culture, and especially the settlement archaeology, generated by these families reflects the way in which they negotiated the changes wrought by the shifting political, social and economic frameworks of early modern Ireland. A number of inter-related research questions are posed.

- **What was the position of the transplanted families prior to the settlement?**

What was the extent of their landholdings on the eve of transplantation, and how were they organised? What was the shape of settlement on their lands? What form did their principal residences take? How did they negotiate early modern social change prior to the transplantation?

- **How did both inter-county transplanted families and locally transplanted families establish themselves in their new surroundings**

How did they organise their new lands? Did they move into existing residences and modify them or did they create new foci of settlement on their new lands?

- **How does the built environment express their response to and experience of change**

Did they use traditional or innovative architectural styles in any buildings they modified or constructed, and to what extent did they develop estate lands granted to them? How do their new settlements compare with those they were forced to abandon? Did they seize an opportunity to break with traditional forms of settlement and did they invent new livelihoods?

- **How did different social, cultural and geographical circumstances effect outcomes for transplantees**

Did families from different socioeconomic and cultural ('Gaelic Irish' or 'Old English') backgrounds respond to the challenges and experiences of transplantation in different ways? Was there a difference between the response of inter-county transplantees and those who were transplanted more locally within their native counties?

1.3 Structure

The thesis begins with a discussion of the theory and methodology employed (2) followed by a chapter dealing with the historical background of the Cromwellian land settlement (3). The body of the thesis is organised around interpretative studies of the chosen families, comprising six chapters in all. Each case study family is treated twice; once in a chapter devoted to their patrimonial holdings on the eve of transplantation, and a second time in a chapter treating their transplantation holdings. Given the nature of the archaeological and historical evidence, a flexible chronology has been employed. The chapters dealing with the transplanners' patrimonial holdings (4,5,6) focus on the period c.1550-1650. The chapters dealing with the transplantation settlements (7, 8, 9) focus on the period c.1650-1750. These case study chapters are discursive. Findings from them are brought together in the final concluding chapter.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology: weaving the strands together

2.0 Displacement and relocation

In seeking to understand the experience of transplantation, this thesis takes displacement and relocation as its broad themes. These themes are intended to be multivalent, referring to the multiple displacements and relocations that shaped and reshaped Ireland's social, political and economic spheres in the early modern period. Displacement in the first instance refers to the physical displacement of people from land in the process of transplantation. It invokes the dispossession of the Catholic landed class(es) from their patrimonial estates, and ancestral dwelling places, sometimes the lands in which their grandfathers had enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty as lord or *tighearna*. It refers to the downward social displacement of landowners who did not claim lands in Connacht, but remained as tenants on their old lands. It speaks to the displacement of Gaelic and feudal modes of territorial organisation, the displacement of the Gaelic language, the displacement of customs and the displacement of the Catholic Church. Allied to displacement is the notion of relocation. For transplanters this begins with the relocation to and within Connacht and Clare. More broadly for Catholic elites, it means their relocation within new communities and new institutions, the physical relocation of Catholic practices of worship, the relocation and reframing of identities, notions of nobility and of social relationships.

The rubric of displacement and relocation addresses the allied processes of destruction and creation, dismembering and re-articulation. Following Gosden, it recognizes that 'paradoxically... colonialism [is] often a source of creativity and experiment...creating new ways of doing things in a material and social sense'.¹ Implicit in this formulation is the understanding that Ireland underwent a colonial process in the early modern period, of which the transplantation was a part. 'Ireland' and 'colonialism' remain contested territory. This is true both in terms of the fraught identities that have emanated from the histories of the island and its relationship with the island to its east, and in the realm of historiography where scholars, 'nationalist', 'revisionist' and otherwise have jostled over the appropriate paradigms for understanding the past in Ireland since the mid-sixteenth century.²

[1] Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and colonialism : cultural contact from 5000 B.C. to the present* (Cambridge & New York, 2004), 25.

[2] Stephen Howe, *Ireland and empire: colonial legacies in Irish history and culture* (Oxford & New York, 2000), 76-106; Audrey J. Horning, 'Cultures of contact, cultures in conflict?: Identity construction, colonialist discourse, and the ethics of archaeological practice in Northern Ireland', *Stanford Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (2007), 107-133; Audrey J. Horning, 'Archaeology, conflict, and contemporary identity in the north of

For the purposes of this work, colonialism is understood as the ‘expansion of one state or polity into the territory of another and the establishment of settlements subject to that parent state’. It may be ‘accomplished by conquest or by trade, and includes political, economic, social and psychological dimensions’. In the process of colonialism new societies are formed in both the colony *and* the metropole.³ Colonialism was a process, never final, constantly in negotiation.

In moving towards a meaningful understanding of the colonial process in Ireland it is imperative to take both a diachronic approach and one which takes account of regionality. The colonial process was not uniform spatially or temporally, and it affected different sectors of both ‘natives and newcomers’ in different ways. A Gaelic peasant woman from Iar Connacht had a different experience than an Old English member of the titular aristocracy from the Pale, and a Cromwellian settler in Munster had a different experience from a poverty stricken army deserter recruited from the jails of London.⁴

Early modern English, later British, colonialism in Ireland is understood as a process allied to and concurrent with the processes of state expansion and centralisation, both in Ireland and Britain. The recognition of both processes allows for the ambiguities and shades of grey apparent in the period, without attempting to shoehorn them into either framework. There was no homogenous core. In England the same period witnessed massive social change, charted by archaeologists and social historians. The divergent fates of different sectors of a ‘polarizing’ England has been well documented.⁵

Ireland: Implications for theory and practice in Irish historical archaeology’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 13/2 (2006), 183-199; Kevin Whelan, ‘The revisionist debate in Ireland’, *boundary* 2, 31/1 (2004), 179-205; Ian McBride, ‘Ireland’s history troubles’, *Field Day Review*, 3 (2007), 205-213; John Gibney, ‘Early modern Ireland: A British Atlantic colony?’, *History Compass*, 6/1 (2008), 172-82; Colin Rynne, ‘Haulbowline Island, Cork Harbour, Ireland c.1816-1832: A new archaeological perspective on Ireland’s “coloniality”’, in Audrey J. Horning and Marilyn Palmer (eds.), *Crossing paths or sharing tracks? Future directions in the archaeology of post-1550 Britain and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2009), 167-78; Tadhg O’Keeffe, ‘Irish “post-medieval” archaeology: time to lose our innocence?’, in A. Horning and M. Palmer (eds.), *Crossing paths or sharing tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland* (Woodbridge 2009), 70.

[3] Susan Lawrence and Nick Shepherd, ‘Historical archaeology and colonialism’, in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to historical archaeology* (Cambridge 2006), 69.

[4] For disbanded and deserter soldiers among the poor in early modern Ireland see Patrick Desmond Fitzgerald, ‘Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland 1540-1770’, unpublished PhD thesis, Queens University Belfast, 1994, 78.

[5] D. Gaimster, and P. Stamper (eds.), *The age of transition: the archaeology of English culture 1400-1600* (Oxford, 1997), *passim*; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly necessities : economic lives in early modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000), *passim*; David R. M. Gaimster, and Roberta Gilchrist, *The archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), *passim*; J. A. Sharpe, *Early modern England a social history* (London, 1997), *passim*.

2.1 'Blood and fire': Capitalism and dispossession

Primary among the shifts underway in the core was the transformation of the social relationships on the land culminating in the emergence of agrarian capitalism. This was a process firmly rooted in ascendancy of the relationship of private property and the attendant abolition of customary use rights, enclosures, and mass dispossession of small landholders in England.⁶ It was intimately connected to the ethic of improvement stemming from the need of landlords and capitalist tenants to enhance the land's productivity for profit.⁷ England's early modern colonial project in Ireland sought to replicate this agrarian order on Irish soil. This was manifest in the stipulations governing the state and private plantations projects throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸ Native landholders who successfully maintained title to land throughout the seventeenth century were also agents of improvement (8.5).

The dramatic transfer of land undertaken in the transplantation, allied with the institutionalisation of the relationship of private property can be understood as part of what Marx termed 'primitive accumulation', reframed by David Harvey as 'accumulation by dispossession'.⁹ Marx's concept of primitive accumulation sought to account for both the historical origins of the wage labour (how labour power became a commodity) and the accumulation of the necessary assets by the capitalist class to employ them.¹⁰ For Marx, the basis of primitive accumulation was 'expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil'. It could encompass a wide range of processes including:

the commodification and privatisation of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusive private property rights; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and the alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); the monetisation of exchange and taxation, particularly land...¹¹

Marx noted that the history of primitive accumulation was geographically variegated, and focused his discussion on early modern England, which he deemed to exhibit the process in its 'classic form'.¹² During that period, struggles against dispossession

[6] Meiksins Woods, *The origins of capitalism: a longer view* (London, 2002), 95.

[7] Meiksins Woods, *The origins of capitalism*, 106.

[8] Meiksins Woods, *The origins of capitalism*, 152.

[9] Harvey, *The new imperialism* (Oxford & New York, 2005), 145.

[10] Harvey, *A companion to Marx's capital*, (London, 2010), 291.

[11] Harvey, *The new imperialism*, 145.

[12] Karl Marx, *Capital, a critique of political economy* (London, 1990), 876.

and proletarianisation constituted the principal form of class struggle manifested most notably in the anti-enclosure movements.¹³ While Marx understood primitive accumulation as part of the ‘prehistory’ of capitalism, Harvey has extended the notion (renaming it accumulation by dispossession) as an ongoing process integral to the capitalist system itself.¹⁴

Accumulation by dispossession provides a useful lens through which to view the multiple dispossession of early modern Ireland. In the first instance the large scale confiscation of land from Irish Catholics envisaged in the Cromwellian land settlement to pay the debts of the British state constituted an instance of the process. Equally important was the standardisation of land tenure and the institution of private property that formed part of the process (3.4).

Native elites were agents, *as well as* subjects of dispossession. Their participation in the process largely centered on their frequently successful attempts to concentrate sept land in their own hands, effectively disenfranchising their kinsmen. This goal was achieved in a variety of ways, both by shifts occurring within the institutions of native lordships in the late medieval and early modern period and by the ability native elites to negotiate the colonising process.¹⁵ The scheme of surrender and re-grant was one of the key vehicles of the dispossession of individuals who had been eligible to claim certain rights in lands under the older institutions of lordship. The forge of the Cromwellian and subsequent Restoration land settlements swept away the complex bundles of rights and customs bound up in land, replacing them with a single form of tenure or freehold (3.4), and thus effecting another form of dispossession.

2.2 Social fractures/ social identities

The polarisation within society in early modern Ireland was in line with trends outside of the island. Simms, for example, has located the ‘transformation of the Gaelic ruling classes’ firmly within a European context.¹⁶ One useful paradigm for understanding the shifts is that of the ‘withdrawal of the upper classes’ proposed by Peter Burke.¹⁷ Burke posits that from c.1500 the nobility, clergy, merchants and professionals began to abandon popular culture to the ‘lower classes’. This departure was bound up in the flowering of Renaissance culture, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the centralisation of the state across Europe.

[13] Harvey, *A companion to Marx's capital*, 312.

[14] Harvey, *The new imperialism*, 145.

[15] Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords* (Woodbridge, 2000), 147-9.

[16] Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords* (Woodbridge, 2000), 147.

[17] Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994), 270.

The nobles [adopted] more ‘polished’ manners, and a new and more self-conscious style of behaviour modelled on courtesy books...[they] stopped eating in great halls with their retainers and withdrew into separate dining rooms...they stopped wrestling with their peasants...[and] learned to speak and write ‘correctly’ according to formal rules.¹⁸

Studies of these processes in the English metropole has frequently focused on the battles over custom and the multifaceted enclosure movement, initially referring to the physical enclosure of the landscape, but expanded by Matthew Johnson to encompass a series of interlocking processes of enclosure manifest in different aspects of material culture.¹⁹ These enclosures were premised on dispossession and, as outlined above, conceived by Marx as part of the process of ‘primitive accumulation’ that was central to the birth of capitalism.²⁰

As Canny has observed, the bulk of historical writing on early modern Ireland ‘is organised around the triangular competition between Gaelic, Old-English-Catholic and Protestant-settler groups for the ownership of land and for political control’.²¹ Similarly, much archaeological work on the period has focused on the native –newcomer dyad, exploring the complex negotiations and tensions that characterised their interactions.²² These, and other studies have sought to both interrogate the construction of binary labels in colonial discourses, and to problematise the labels themselves by highlighting the ambiguities, negotiations and misunderstanding that characterized such encounters. As such they draw on the large body of post-colonial scholarship, pioneered by

[18] Burke, *Popular culture*, 271.

[19] Matthew Johnson, *The archaeology of capitalism* (Oxford, 1996), *passim*.

[20] Marx, *Capital, a critique of political economy*, 873.

[21] Nicholas Canny ‘The 1641 Depositions: A Source for Social and Cultural History’, *History Ireland*, 1/4 (1993), 52-55

[22] For example Audrey J. Horning, “‘Dwelling houses in the old Irish barbarous manner’”: Archaeological evidence for Gaelic Architecture in an Ulster Plantation village’, in Patrick Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland 1300-1650: Land, Lordship, and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 375-417; James Lyttleton, ‘Seventeenth-century West Offaly - accommodating the new realities’, *History Ireland*, 12/1 (2004), 14-16; Audrey J. Horning, ‘Archaeological explorations of cultural identity and rural economy in the North of Ireland: Goodland, Co. Antrim’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8/3 (2004), 199-215; Audrey J. Horning, ‘Cultures of contact, cultures in conflict?: Identity construction, colonialist discourse, and the ethics of archaeological practice in Northern Ireland’, *Stanford Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (2007), 107-33; James Lyttleton, ‘Gaelic classicism in the Irish midland plantations: an archaeological reflection’, in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds.), *Ireland in the Renaissance c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), 231-54; Audrey J. Horning, “‘The root of all vice and bestiality’”: exploring the cultural role of the ale house in the Ulster plantation’, *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550- c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 113-31; Colin Rynne, ‘The social archaeology of plantation period iron works in Ireland: immigrant industrial communities and technology transfer’, in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1500-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 248-64; Siobhán McDermott, ‘Negotiating the colonial process: society and settlement in Truagh, north Co. Monaghan, c.1591 - c.1800’, unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Galway, 2009; James Lyttleton, ‘Acculturation in the Irish midland plantations of the seventeenth century: an archaeological perspective’, in Audrey J. Horning and Nick Brannon (eds.), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic world* (Dublin, 2009), 31-52.

literary scholars such as Homi Bhabha that has sought to account for and explore the relationships and identities that have emanated from colonial encounters (10.6).²³

In seeking to understand early modern identities it is important to recognise that contemporary discourses were framed in binary terms.²⁴ A rhetoric of difference was marshaled to legitimize colonization in which the Gaelic Irish were cast as pagan barbarians in contrast to the civilized English.²⁵ The ‘savagery’ of the Irish was strongly evoked in the aftermath of the 1641 rebellion and used to legitimize the subsequent military campaign and confiscation of land. And yet ‘the social and cultural dimensions of everyday ... relations in early colonial Ireland were far more complex than the simplified, official discourses’.²⁶ Irish elites were not just subjects of the ‘colonial gaze’ but they were active in formulating and articulating their own identities through multiple discourses extending from architecture and clothing to poetry and prose history.²⁷

Identity here is understood, not as a set of static characteristics mapped onto certain groups, but as something flexible and dynamic that was actively constructed and deployed in nuanced ways in different contexts.²⁸ As Jones has commented, ‘in many instances this active construction of identity is embedded in the negotiation of economic and political interests or what can broadly be termed power relations’.²⁹ In the period under study, for example, Gaelic and Old English alike sought to reframe their own nobility in new contexts.³⁰ The Franciscan compilers of *Annála ríoghachta Éireann*, like Geoffery Keating in *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, for example, sought to create a history that extended beyond the confines of the lordship to embrace the entire ‘kingdom of Ireland’.³¹ They sought to create a history to ‘promote the honour and dignity of the

[23] Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London & New York, 1994), *passim*.

[24] John Morrissey, ‘Geography militant: resistance and the essentialism of identity in colonial Ireland’, *Irish Geography*, 37/2 (2004), 166-76.

[25] Nicholas Canny, ‘The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30/4 (1973), 588; Steven, G. Ellis, ‘Civilizing the natives: state formation and the Tudor monarchy, c.1400-1603’, in Steven Ellis, G. and Lud’a Klusakova (eds.), *Perspectives on early modern history: a CLIOHWORLD reader* (Pisa, 2007), 85.

[26] John Morrissey, ‘Searching for common ground: colonialism and collaboration in early modern Tipperary’, *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 18 (2005), 25-30.

[27] Colm Lennon, ‘Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618) and Old English identity’, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 82 (1978), 130; Nicholas Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite in Ireland: O’Donnell lecture delivered at University College Galway, 6 September 1974* (Dublin, 1975), *passim*.

[28] Siân Jones, ‘Historical categories and the praxis of identity: the interpretation of ethnicity in historical archaeology’, in Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Martin Hall, and Siân Jones (eds.), *Historical archaeology: back from the edge* (London, 1999), 224.

[29] Jones, ‘Historical categories and the praxis of identity’, 224.

[30] Brendan Kane, ‘From Irish einaich to British honor? Noble honor and high politics in early modern Ireland, 1500-1650’, *History Compass*, Winter (2009), 414-30.

[31] Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating, history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin 2004), 3.



Fig. 2.1: Magdalen Ffrench and Nicholas Mahon's funeral monument in the early modern chapel at Strokestown, Co. Roscommon.

Irish' that would stand along those of other nations.³² These histories, like other modes of discourse created by the Irish nobility, were explicitly elitist. Gaelic and Old English elites contrasted their own nobility with an 'other' that was defined not only in national, but also in class terms. Proletarian Gaels and English usurpers were grouped into 'a single amalgamated mass of anti-civilised enemies.'³³

2.3 Interrogating vertical social relationships

The dominant place of land and the struggles over its possession has resulted in a focus on the landed minority and the marginalization of the past(s) of the landless bulk of the population.³⁴ This situation is in large part reflective of the weighting

of the historical archive and the nature of the upstanding archaeological remains. This thesis, for example, takes selected landed Catholics for its protagonists, for these reasons. It recognizes that these landed individuals (mostly men) comprised a privileged minority of the island's population. They were in turn *foci* of networks of dependant kin and tenants.

Something of the material differentiation among Ireland's population *c.*1672 can be gauged from the work of William Petty. Petty estimated that there were 1,100,000 people and 200,000 families in Ireland at the time.³⁵ His estimates were largely based on the hearth money returns, and consequently he includes a breakdown of the types

[32] Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2009), 26.

[33] Joep Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56/1 (1995), 36 and *passim*; Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating*, 152-8.

[34] Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland', 2.

[35] William Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland, with the establishment for that Kingdom and Verbum sapienti* (Shannon, 1970), 7.

of dwelling in which the island's 200,000 families lived.³⁶ The vast majority of the population, some eighty per cent, lived in cabins 'such as have no fixed hearth' whose worth was less than £5, and not reckoned for the purposes of the tax. Living in a house with one chimney put one in the top 20% of the population. Some 360 families, made up of 7,200 'masters and mistresses' and equating to 0.18% of the population lived in houses with six or more chimneys. At the very apex of the scale were the twenty 'transcendental houses' collectively valued at £78,000 and including Dublin Castle and the Earl of Meath's house in Dublin with 125 and 27 chimneys respectively.³⁷

Much work remains to be done on understanding the composition and material culture of the bulk of the population in Ireland below the level of landowner. Contemporaries sometimes tried to apply normative schema, borrowing from the burgeoning English literatures on social hierarchy, to Ireland, but for the most part native society below the level of landholders tended to be portrayed as an amorphous mass.³⁸ In Gaelic Ireland the social order was conceived of as a dyad of noble and ignoble, ultimately derived from early medieval legal schema, but reiterated in early modern literature. The language has distinct moralistic tones.³⁹ Indeed, one poet went so far as to portray the ignoble elements of Irish society as being descendant from Beelzebub.⁴⁰ A distinct thread of class anxiety is visible in early modern poetry as the displaced bardic elites registered their disquiet at the upwardly mobile elements of native society.⁴¹ Kane reminds us that there was a 'world-turned-upside-down' element to the changes that were facing Gaelic lords in the period.⁴²

The colonial process had a profound impact on vertical social relationships. In part it imposed a new 'British' 'Protestant' landowning class, but where native elites remained as landowners, particularly in Connacht, it reshaped the relationships between lord and follower/ landlord and tenant. These changes were bound up with Burke's 'withdrawal

[36] His figures have been since slightly adjusted see Raymond Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* (Dundalk, 1991), 12-2; L. M. Cullen, 'Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland', *Economic and Social Review*, 6 (1974-5), 249-65.

[37] William, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, 7-11.

[38] Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland', 65; Keith Wrightson, 'Estates, degrees and sorts: changing perceptions of society in Tudor and Stuart England', in Penelope J. Corfield (ed.), *Language, history and class* (Oxford, 1991), 30-52; John P. Harrington (ed.) *The English traveller in Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), 54.

[39] Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating, history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin 2004), 152.

[40] N.J.A. Williams (ed.), *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (Dublin 1981), 65.

[41] The Aodh Buí Mac Cruithín's 'Do Chlann Tomáis', Dáibhí Ó Bruadair's 'Marig nach fuil 'na dhubhthuata' and 'Faisean Chláir Éibhir' by Pádraigín Haicéad: Seán Ó Tuama and Thomas Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900 poems of the dispossessed* (Dublin, 2002), 168-9, 112-3, 90-1.

[42] Brendan Kane, 'Making the Irish European: Gaelic honor politics and its continental contexts', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61/4 (2008), 1153.

of the upper classes' but for transplantees were also very much shaped by the experience of physical displacement from their patrimonial territories to new lands.

2.4 Historical Archaeology

The broad lack of explicit theoretical engagement by some archaeologists who study the post-1500 period, has led O'Keefe to call for an engagement with Global Historical Archaeology.⁴³ The school's main advocate Charles Orser has sought to define Historical Archaeology as the study of the modern world, characterized by its four haunts of capitalism, modernity, colonization and Eurocentrism.⁴⁴ In its Irish application at least, Global Historical Archaeology has tended to be somewhat procrustean. Rather than illuminating past lives, the theoretical approaches of Global Historical Archaeology have been critiqued as serving to 'mask diversity of experience and flatten out interpretation'.⁴⁵

Orser's own work on early nineteenth-century peasant farmers in Gorttoose townland, on the Strokestown estate, Co. Roscommon, is a case and point.⁴⁶ In his discussion of Eurocentrism and colonialism, he offers a dichotomy between 'the English' and 'the Irish', drawing little distinction between nineteenth-century tenants on the Mahon estate and the sixteenth and the seventeenth-century Gaelic aristocracy.⁴⁷ The Strokestown estate is a particularly intriguing case because the landlord, Captain Nicholas Mahon, was of Gaelic descent, yet in Orser's narrative he is implicitly cast as an English colonist in opposition to the disposed 'ancient Gaelic families' of Roscommon.⁴⁸ The establishment of the Mahon estate was without doubt part of a colonial process, but Mahon was not English. His military career was apparently somewhat variegated; Burke's family records note that he was an 'officer distinguished for loyalty to King Charles I and II'.⁴⁹ The narrative of Mahon as the colonizing Cromwellian is further complicated by his (Irish) wife Magdalen French's Catholicism. Indeed, both Mahon and French were buried in a Catholic chapel built on the demesne at Strokestown, complete with a Classical-style altar tomb erected for them in 1686 by their eldest son John.

[43] O'Keefe, 'Irish "post-medieval" archaeology: time to lose our innocence?', 65-80.

[44] Charles E. Orser, *A historical archaeology of the modern world* (New York & London, 1996), 27.

[45] Roberta Gilchrist, 'Introduction to scales and voices in world historical archaeology', *World Archaeology* 37/3 (2005), 332; Horning, 'Archaeology, conflict, and contemporary identity', 183-99. For a critique of Orser's use of text see John Moreland, *Archaeology and text* (Bath, 2003), 98-119.

[46] But see also Colin Breen, 'English colonial landscapes in the South-West of Ireland', in Jonathan Finch and Kate Giles (eds.), *Estate Landscapes, design, improvement and power in the post-medieval landscape* (Woodbridge, 2007), 177-90.

[47] Charles E. Orser, *A historical archaeology of the modern world* (New York & London, 1996), 92.

[48] Orser, *A historical archaeology of the modern world*, 92-3.

[49] Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, *Burke's Irish family records* (London & New York, 1976), 773.

In Orser's desire to fit Gorttoose into his model of Global Historical Archaeology, he had elided much of the complexity of its past. This is an unfortunate tendency in studies that seek to understand broader processes like colonialism or capitalism. In otherwise thought-provoking books on the subjects of the genesis of capitalism and colonialism, Ellen Meiksins-Wood and Chris Gosden, for example, offer two-dimensional interpretations of Ireland's experience of these processes.⁵⁰

I am sympathetic to the desire to understand broader processes but this exercise cannot proceed from an attempt to tailor local pasts to fit overarching paradigms. I agree with Paul Courtney in relation to the study of colonialism, for example, that 'the most penetrating insights are likely to come from studying the dynamics of specific... societies in their nexus of political, economic and cultural power relations, or from synchronous comparisons that emphasizes difference as much as similarity'.⁵¹

This research is driven by focused case studies. The result will not be a comprehensive statement on 'the archaeology of the transplantation' but rather a series of interpretive vignettes of families who removed to Connacht in the 1650s. The unit of study is broadly defined as the sept or the family. This is not an unproblematic choice, but arguably justified. The principal political unit in late medieval Ireland was the lordship ruled an agnatic kin group.⁵² Kinship was a key in structuring social and political bonds and was one of the principal coordinates of identity. Septs, however, were not homogeneous groups. Early modern Gaelic family groupings comprised members differing in seniority and attitude to the social changes underway. In a world where the framework which had fostered a broader kin group based organisation was stretching to breaking point the bonds that tied families weakened. Divergent and sometime antagonistic survival strategies emerged. Sometimes members of a family sought to preserve or consolidate their position at the expense of others.

The choice of the three case studies is an attempt to explore the diversity of experience of landed Catholics in early modern Ireland, and in doing so to problematise monolithic narratives of the 'Irish Catholic' experience in the period. The case studies are intentionally diverse including a minor Gaelic professional family (the O'Davorens), a minor lordly Gaelic family (the O'Callaghans) and an Old English lordly family who were members of the titular aristocracy (the Nugents). None of the families under study

[50] Ellen Meiksins-Wood, *The origin of capitalism a longer view* (London, 2002), 152-6; Gosden, *Archaeology and colonialism*, 123-7.

[51] Paul Courtney, 'The current state and future prospects of theory in European post-medieval archaeology', in T. Majewski and D. Gaimster (eds.), *International handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York, 2009), 169-89.

[52] Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 8-13.

came from an area that had been subject to formal plantation, indeed the Nugent earls of Westmeath were participants in the Marian plantations of the mid-sixteenth century.

2.5 Drawing the strands together: an interdisciplinary approach

This thesis it is multidisciplinary in approach, aspiring to weave the strands of archaeological, historical, and geographical sources together to create interpretative narratives that explore the key research questions for the chosen case studies.⁵³

Underpinning the study is the notion that material culture (in this case, houses, gardens, funerary monuments etc.) can be understood alongside written documents (poems, letters, surveys, maps), as part of broader discourses articulating, negotiating and legitimising identity, social status and authority.⁵⁴ Both material culture and historical documents are seen as having efficacy in the past. They are viewed as ‘a set of complex texts, intertwined to form a discourse’.⁵⁵

The project is question driven, rather than discipline driven. At the outset a flexible methodological approach was envisaged, which crystallised as the research progressed and the character of the surviving archaeological and historical material was more clearly discerned. The work begins with desk based, historical, cartographic and geographical sources. Potential case studies were initially identified and short listed using a number of historical sources including the Books of Survey and Distribution (BSD), the ‘1659 census’ and Simington’s transplantation tables. Land deeds and other primary and secondary historical documents were consulted to determine the duration of settlement at transplantation sites.

The lands set out to transplantees were then examined on the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) maps, the first and third-edition Ordnance Survey (OS) maps, the 2000 OS aerial photographs and Google Earth satellite imagery. The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (NIAH) online survey of historic gardens & designed landscapes was also consulted.⁵⁶ Potential sites within the landscape were provisionally identified. Domestic architecture provided the initial focus. Where the identified sites were on the RMP, files from the archive of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (ASI) were consulted. The historiography of the survey, allied with the

[53] Laurie A. Wilkie, ‘Interpretive Historical Archaeologies’, in David Gaimster and Teresita Majewski (eds.), *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York, 2009), 333-45; Mary Beaudry, ‘Reinventing historical archaeology’, in DeCunzo and Herman (eds.), *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture* (Winterthur, 1996), 475-7.

[54] Jones, ‘Historical categories and the praxis of identity’, 223; Mary C. Beaudry, Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski, ‘Artifacts and active voices: material culture as social discourse’, in Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter (eds.), *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford, 1991), 150-91.

[55] Hall cited in Jones, ‘Historical categories and the praxis of identity’, 223.

[56] [<http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/Surveys/Gardens/>] Accessed 14 June 2012.

relatively late recognition of the value of post-1700 monuments in the Republic of Ireland means that not all sites were RMPs. Preliminary targeted fieldwork was carried out at transplantation sites to assess viability. The character, preservation of buildings was noted. Based on the preliminary fieldwork, a more thorough fieldwork program was designed, sympathetic to the character of the upstanding archaeological remains.

Reflective of the remaining archaeological and documentary evidence, the above case studies have four *foci* operating at different scales, (a) domestic architecture, (b) demesne landscapes, (c) broad landholding patterns, (d) funerary monuments and landscapes. These *foci* were treated with varying emphasis with regard to the patrimonial and transplantation holdings of the case study families.

(a) Domestic architecture is perhaps one of the best studied aspects of the archaeology of early modern Ireland. Developing from initially empirical accounts, the study of elite and, to a lesser extent, non-elite dwellings has provided important insight into identity construction and changing social relationships in the period.⁵⁷ Dwellings on the patrimonial landscapes were visually inspected and recorded, using photography and long-hand description. A more thorough approach was taken to the dwellings on the transplantation holdings. In addition to photography and long-hand description, ground plans of the buildings were made and selected elevations drawn. Where possible this was conducted by total station survey using a Nikon DTM 322. Where this was not possible (due to vegetation or the state of preservation of the building in question) hand drawn plans were made. Where prior surveys had been conducted by the Office

[57] Horning, “‘Dwelling houses in the old Irish Barbarous Manner’”, 375-96; Kieran Denis O’Conor, ‘Housing in later medieval Gaelic Ireland’, in Jan Klápšte (ed.), *Ruralia IV: The rural house from the migration period to the oldest still standing buildings* (Prague, 2002), 201-10; Ronnes, Hanneke, “‘A Solitary Place of Retreat’ Renaissance privacy and Irish architecture’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8/2 (2004), 101-17; Hanneke Ronnes, ‘Continental traces at Carrick-on-Suir and contemporary Irish castles’, in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds.), *Ireland in the Renaissance c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), 255-73; Hanneke Ronnes, *Architecture and elite culture in the United Provinces, England and Ireland, 1500-1700* (Amsterdam, 2006); Terence Reeves-Smyth, ‘Community to privacy: late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland, 1560-1640’, in Audrey J. Horning (ed.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), 289-326; Lyttleton, James, ‘Gaelic classicism in the Irish midland plantations’, 231-54; William Roulston, ‘Domestic architecture in Ireland, 1640-1740’, in Audrey J. Horning (ed.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), 237-44; Tadhg O’Keeffe and Sinead Quirke, ‘A house at the birth of modernity: Ightermurragh Castle in context’, in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550- c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 86-112; Sharon Weadick, ‘How popular were fortified houses in Irish castle building history? A look at their numbers in the archaeological record and their distribution patterns’, in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550- c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 61-85; Lyttleton, ‘Acculturation in the Irish midland plantations of the seventeenth century’, 31-52; Gertrude M. Keane, “‘Great stone houses’”: Kilkenny and its early modern townhouses’, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2010; Christine Casey, *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse* (Dublin, 2010); Rory Sherlock, ‘The evolution of the Irish tower-house as a domestic space’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C (2011), 115-40; Jane Fenlon, ‘Moving towards the formal house: room usage in early modern Ireland’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C (2011), 141-68.

of Public Works (OPW), these plans were acquired and amended as necessary by hand. Phased maps of the buildings were created and their architectural forms were analysed. The buildings were compared to contemporary examples, published in the ASI county inventories and other published studies, in a bid to contextualise their form. Geophysical survey (electrical resistance) was carried out at one site (Pallas, Co. Galway) with the aim of detecting the ground plan of a demolished building.

(b) The **landscapes settings** of the domestic dwellings were examined. In all cases this involved the broader examination of the townland in which the house was situated. The landscape setting of early modern houses has not received the same attention as the buildings themselves, in part perhaps because of their poor survival. Nevertheless, there are a growing number of studies examining this aspect of early modern landscape.⁵⁸ All studies began with cartographic analysis, focused on the OS historic maps (first edition 6-inch; 25-inch) followed by consultation of aerial photography and satellite imagery (the OSI aerial photography; Google Earth).⁵⁹ An array of designed features including enclosures, fields, gardens, avenues and woods were identified. Reflective of the varying site histories of the respective townlands, slightly varying methods were employed in each case. All landscapes were subject to walkover survey, and additional survey work was undertaken where deemed appropriate. Given the very high level of historic boundary preservation at the O'Davoren transplantation site of Lislarheenmore, Co. Clare, it was decided to conduct a boundary survey. The townland was divided into areas which were methodically walked. Boundaries were recorded using photography and pro-forma recording sheets. This data was used to create a phased map of the field boundaries within the townland. At the O'Callaghan transplantation site of Kilgory, Co. Clare, geophysical survey was carried out on an identified earthwork.

[58] Rolf Loeber, 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period: an unremembered past recaptured?', *Quarterly bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 16/1 & 2 (1973), 1-70; Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Farmyard types and their distribution in Ireland', *Ulster Folklife*, 27 (1981), 63-75; Patrick Bowe, 'The Renaissance garden in Ireland', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 11 (1995), 74-81; Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', in John Wilson Foster and Helena C. G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland: A scientific and cultural history* (Dublin, 1997), 549-72; Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', in F.H.A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout (eds.), *The making of the Irish landscape* (Cork, 1997), 201; Terence Reeves-Smith, 'Irish Gardens and Gardening Before Cromwell', in John Ludlow and Noel Jameson (eds.), *Medieval Ireland: The Barryscourt lectures I-X* (Kinsale, 1999); Elizabeth C. Reetz, 'The elite landscape of Leamaneh Castle, County Clare', Unpublished M.A. thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2003; Eamonn Slater, 'Reconstructing 'nature' as a picturesque theme park: the colonial case of Ireland', *NIRSA Working Paper Series*, 32 (2007); F. H. A. Aalen, and Kevin Whelan, 'Fields', in F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout (eds.), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape* (Cork, 1997); Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004), 188-225; Finola O'Kane, *Landscape design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: mixing foreign trees with the natives* (Cork, 2004), *passim*; Lyttleton, 'Gaelic classicism in the Irish midland plantations', 231-54; Keane, "'Great stone houses": Kilkenny and its early modern townhouses".

[59] [www.maps.osi.ie]

(c) The pre and post-transplantation landholdings of the case study families were mapped and assessed using Geographical Information Systems (GIS). This mapping was undertaken using the GIS programme Arc Map 10.0. GIS allows for the compilation, creation and manipulation of diverse geo-referenced data sets pertinent to the study of historic landscapes. Topographical, geological, hydrological, archaeological and historical data sets can be created, compiled and interrogated to map the historical geography of varied geographical units (country, county, lordship, townland, estate). It is a powerful tool in attempting to reconstruct historic territorial organisation. For the purposes of this study it was used to reconstruct both the pre and post-transplantation holding of the case study families with a view to understanding how they were organised.

The sources for the patrimonial holdings were an array of documents, the bulk of which were produced as part of the colonial process. These include the Strafford and Civil Surveys (both in the BSD) as well as a number of inquisitions and *inquisitions post mortem*. These documents were created as part of embodied colonial encounters and negotiations between Gaelic and Old English landowners and state officials. Dependant on the contexts of their creation they offer varying degrees of detail that can be used to construct a map of the landholdings and the social relationships that structured them, namely the institutions of lordships (in its Gaelic and Old English manifestations) and erenaghship.⁶⁰ An attempt was made to examine the broader patterns of settlement within the landholdings in their respective social matrixes. This endeavour involved correlating the early modern denominations returned in the various surveys and inquisitions with the nineteenth-century townlands. This process of correlation was largely achieved using placenames, but aided through the use of the Down Survey barony and parish maps (where they survived) and the Grand Jury maps.

(d) Funerary monuments have proved one of the richest sources for the study of identities and social relationships in early modern Ireland.⁶¹ The uneven survival means that funerary monuments do not survive for all the case studies. The earliest monument

[60] See for example Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin 2007), *passim*.

[61] Rolf Loeber, 'Sculptured memorials to the dead in early seventeenth-century Ireland: A survey from "Monumenta Eblanae" and other sources', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 81C (1981); Raymond Gillespie, 'Irish funeral monuments and social change 1500-1700, perceptions of death', in Raymond Gillespie and Brian P. Kennedy (eds.), *Ireland, art into history* (Dublin 1994); Clodagh Tait, *Death, burial, and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002); Harold Mytum, 'Popular attitudes to memory, the body, and social identity: the rise of external commemoration in Britain, Ireland, and New England', *Post-medieval Archaeology*, 40/1 (2006); Harold Mytum, 'Mortality symbols in action: Protestant and Catholic memorials in early 18th century West Ulster', *Historical Archaeology*, 43/1 (2009); Harold Mytum, 'Scotland, Ireland and America: the construction of identities through mortuary monuments by Ulster Scots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in A. Horning and R. O'Baoill (eds.), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Dublin, 2009); Siobhán McDermott, 'Negotiating the colonial process: society and

is the O'Davoren funerary chapel at Noughaval, Co. Clare (c.1725). The chapel was photographed and a ground plan was made. A landscape archaeology approach was taken in attempting to interpret the monument. No funerary monuments pre-dating the late eighteenth century survive for transplanted O'Callaghans or Nugents families. Despite the dearth of evidence, attempts were made to discuss their places of burial by referencing the later material.

2.6 Historical Sources

2.6.1 'The documents of conquest'

The allied processes of early modern colonialism and state expansion/centralisation relied as much on the written word as they did on military might, creating a rich historical archive that can be interrogated by the archaeologist. The *Calendar of State Papers Ireland* (CSPI) mainly comprises the out-correspondence of the Irish administration.⁶² The core of the collection consists of letters addressed to the chief officers of the crown in Ireland and the Irish council to the monarch and principal officers.⁶³ Included in this correspondence are a number of surveys, descriptions and inquisitions that are useful to understanding the shape of pre-Cromwellian lordships. Similarly, the records of the Council of Munster contain much material of relevance to the O'Callaghan lordship.⁶⁴ The late sixteenth-century composition of Connacht, made under the auspices of the provincial presidency, was an attempt to abolish the institutions of Gaelic lordship and replace them with a centralised tax. Inquisitions into landholding were held as part of the process, and these provide a rich source of native land denominations and placenames.⁶⁵

Two important sources, the *fiant*s and the patent rolls, emanated from the office of chancery. As well as serving as a court of equity, the chancery was responsible for issuing documents under the great seal. The *fiant*s, deriving their appellation from

settlement in Truagh, north Co. Monaghan, c.1591 - c.1800", Unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, Galway, 2009, Chapter 7.

[62] R. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for early modern Irish history, 1534-1641* (Cambridge and New York, 1985), 11-12.

[63] Nicholas Canny, 'Introduction', in Mary O'Dowd, *Calendar of state papers, Ireland, Tudor Period 1571-1575*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Kew, 2000), vii.

[64] Margaret Curtis-Clayton, *The council book for the province of Munster c.1599-1649* (Dublin, 2008). Dudley Edwards & O'Dowd, *Sources*, 44-5.

[65] A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought* (Dublin 1936). For a broader discussion see Bernadette Cunningham, 'The composition of Connacht in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577-1641', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24/93 (1984); Bernadette Cunningham, 'Political and social change in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1569-1641', unpublished PhD thesis, University College Galway, 1979.

the opening formula *fiant litterae patentes* were warrants directed to the Irish chancery directing the issue of letters patent under the great seal. The administrative process was protracted and was not always completed so that many *fiant*s were never enrolled. The patent rolls contain a wealth of information pertaining to grants of land and office, rents of crown lands, surrender and regrants, royal letters and pardons. The frequent listing of places of residence of named individuals makes the *fiant*s a useful guide to settlement patterns and mobility within regions.⁶⁶ The chancery records were destroyed in the 1922 fire, prior to which they had been partially calendared.⁶⁷ A series of *inquisitions post mortem* from Co. Clare, which were destroyed in the fire, were translated and published by the antiquarian Frost in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁸

The large-scale transfer of land envisaged and undertaken in the Cromwellian land settlement was premised on the mapping and quantification of that land. As Smyth has commented, ‘the conquest and rule of Ireland meant turning ancient and local assessments of areas into square inches on the map.’⁶⁹ The map and the survey were part of a wider framework of representation and discourse employed to legitimize and implement the reshaping of the Irish landscape along English lines.⁷⁰ In them local places were transformed into abstract space which could be remotely moved around on the chess board of landownership. The conceptualization of land as abstract space was part of broader intellectual trends bound to the processes of colonialism and the emergence of capitalism.⁷¹ This process did not totally obliterate the older territorial frameworks. The ossification of small landholding units as townlands, and the persistence of placenames, has preserved traces of the past ordering of the landscape.

The Books of Survey and Distribution (BSD) remain one of the central documents for examining land-holding patterns in Ireland on the eve of the Cromwellian settlement and again after the Restoration and Williamite land settlements. The books are organised

[66] Dudley Edwards and O’Dowd, *Sources for early modern Irish history*, 16-20; Kenneth W. Nicholls, *The Irish Fiant of the Tudor sovereigns: during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I* (4; Dublin, 1994), Vol. 4, viii-x.

[67] James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth* (2 vols, Dublin, 1862); James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland of the reign of Charles the first. First to eighth year inclusive* (Dublin, 1863); M.C. Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish Record Commission’s calendar* (Dublin 1966); Nicholls, *The Irish Fiant*.

[68] James Frost, *The history and topography of the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1893); For a useful study using these printed inquisitions see Patrick Nugent, ‘The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century’, *Irish Geography*, 40/1 (2007).

[69] William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork 2006), 55. See also chapters 2 and 3.

[70] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 62-4.

[71] Stephen A. Mrozowski, ‘Colonization and the commodification of Nature’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 3/3 (1999), 154; Barbara Bender, ‘Place and landscape’, in Christopher Tilley, et al. (eds.), *Handbook of material culture* (London, 2006), 307.

on a county basis, four of which, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway and Clare were published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission between 1949 and 1967.⁷² They are laid out in two columns, the left recording land denominations and its holder c.1641, and the right recording titles derived from instruments issued subsequent to the Acts of Settlement and Explanation (1665). The right-hand side column also includes the particulars of the sale of forfeited estates c.1688 and c.1702-3.⁷³ With the exception of parts of Connacht, the left-hand column is derived from the Civil Survey or the Down Survey.⁷⁴ For those parts of Connacht reserved for transplantees, the county of Clare, the information is derived from the Strafford Survey, undertaken in 1637 for the mooted plantation of Connacht.⁷⁵ The Strafford Survey is a particularly useful source in that it preserves Gaelic land assessment units, placenames and landscape descriptions that can be used to reconstruct pre-Cromwellian patterns of territorial organisation. The right-hand side of the BSD can be used to plot landowners after the Restoration.

One of the main sources for tracing transplanters is Simington's 'transplantation tables'. The tables published by the Irish Manuscript Commission, are a synthesis of two documents: a 'list of transplanted Irish' found in the Ormonde Manuscripts, and a third column found in the Headfort set of the BSD.⁷⁶ The former document lists individuals to whom final settlements in Connacht were made.⁷⁷ The Headfort BSD contains an extra column listing individuals to whom land was set out as final transplantation settlements.⁷⁸

In 1654, William Petty, physician in chief to the army, was commissioned to map all church, crown and forfeited lands in Ireland outside the area previously surveyed by Stafford in Connacht.⁷⁹ Petty's 'cartographic conquest' provided the first detailed map of the entire island.⁸⁰ In 1685, his *Hiberniae Delineatio* (Petty's Atlas), a series of county maps

[72] Simington, Robert C., *Books of Survey and Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of title 1636–1703 vol. i county of Roscommon with maps c.1636 of the baronies of Athlone and Moycarnan and of parishes in Ballintober*, (4 vols. Dublin, 1949), Vol. 1; Simington, Robert C., *Books of Survey And Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments to title 1636–1703 vol. ii. county of Mayo with maps of the county from Petty's Atlas 1683 and of Tirawley barony from the Down Survey 1657*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1956), Vol. 2; Mac Giolla Choille, Breandán *Books of Survey and Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments to title 1636–1703 vol. iii county of Galway with map of the county from Petty's Atlas 1683*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1962), Vol. 3; Simington, Robert C., *Books of Survey and Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments to title 1636-1703 vol. iv county of Clare reproduced from the manuscript in the Public Record Office of Ireland with maps*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1967), Vol. 4.

[73] Simington, *BSD Roscommon*, viii.

[74] Simington, *BSD Roscommon*, vii.

[75] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 101.

[76] Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), xv.

[77] John Thomas Gilbert and Rosa M. Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny*, (2 vols, London, 1895), Vol. 2, 114-76.

[78] Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, xvii.

[79] Reeves-Smyth, Terence, *The landscape archaeology of Ireland* (British Archaeological Report 1983), 122.

[80] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 174, 24.

based on material generated from the Down and the Strafford Surveys, was published. The *raison d'être* of the maps was the confiscation of land. They are a representation of the landscape viewed through the eyes of the conquering surveyor carving out the landscape into a chess board for distribution to adventurers and soldiers.

The '1659 Census', now identified as a 1660 poll tax, is a very valuable source for assessing settlement in the aftermath of transplantation. The document is partial, both in terms of the counties covered and the people listed. Children under the age of fifteen, single adult females and single adult males not employed, are excluded from the returns. Only part of the study areas in this thesis are covered by the poll tax: Galway and the Barony of Duhallow, Co. Cork, have no surviving returns.⁸¹

2.6.2 Gaelic language sources

The broadly fragmented and decentralised nature of later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland means that it did not produce administrative records to any large extent.⁸² This paucity is compounded by the destructions and losses wrought by the conflicts of the period. Some native legal documents do survive, notably the O'Davoren deed of partition (1606) found in the Corrofin MS.⁸³ In contrast to administrative and legal documents there is a rich corpus of bardic poetry dating to the early modern period. This corpus requires careful contextualisation and an understanding of the distinct place of the poet in later medieval Ireland, as a legitimiser and propagandist for lordship (both Gaelic and Old English).⁸⁴ Aspects of this role continued into the early modern period particularly in the genre of the elegy, where old elites sought to reiterate their nobility in Gaelic terms. The poetry reflects the elitist mentality of its composers,

[81] Seamus Pender, *A census of Ireland, circa 1659, with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances (1660-1661)* (Dublin, 1939); William J. Smyth, 'Society and settlement in the seventeenth-century Ireland: the evidence of the "1659 census"', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988); William J. Smyth, 'Excavating, mapping and interrogating ancestral terrains: towards a cultural geography of first names and second names in Ireland', in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy (eds.), *Surveying Ireland's past: multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms* (Dublin, 2004); Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 198.

[82] Katharine Simms, *Medieval Gaelic sources* (Dublin & Portland, 2009), 9-11.

[83] George U. Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens of Cahermacnaughten, Burren, Co. Clare', *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, 2/2 & 3 (1912), 76-7; FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school and its estate landscape', (2005), 2. See also Hardiman, James, 'Ancient Irish deeds and writings: chiefly relating to landed property, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 15 (1826).

[84] Simms, *Medieval Gaelic sources*, 57-72; Katharine Simms, 'The Poet as Chieftain's Widow: Bardic Elegies', in D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach, and K. McCone (eds.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989); Simms, Katharine, 'References to landscape and economy in Irish bardic poetry', in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy (eds.), *Surveying Ireland's past: Multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms* (Dublin, 2004).

whose privileged position was undercut by the collapse of the Gaelic political order. Poetry provides an insight into aspects of elite identity and conceptions of landscape in the period.⁸⁵ The native chronicles are one of the most important sources for the history of later medieval Gaelic Ireland in particular.⁸⁶ *The annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* also known as the *Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM) were compiled in the early seventeenth century by four Franciscans.⁸⁷ They comprise a compilation of earlier chronicles and formed part of a broader early modern historical project also visible in the work of Geoffrey Keating.⁸⁸

2.6.3 Eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources

The eighteenth century lacks the benchmark surveys that characterised both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸⁹ Much documentation on the period lies hidden in private or un-transcribed archival collections of estate papers. The development of penal legislation against those not in the established church was instrumental in the creation of institutions and surveys to regulate non-conformists. Included among these were the convert rolls, the lists of licences to Catholics to bear arms, the 1704 priest list and the 1731 report on the state of popery.⁹⁰

Central to the penal legislation was the regulation of landownership. A key institution in this was the registry of deeds, established in 1707 by the Registration of Deeds Act.⁹¹ A central office was established in Dublin in which all transactions concerning land were to be registered. The voluminous archives, stored at Henrietta Street, Dublin, contain over 4,000,000 memorials or summaries of deeds. The penal origins of the Registry allied with the sometimes reluctance of landlords to engage with the bureaucratic process means that the archive cannot be viewed as a complete record of land transactions from 1708.⁹² Caveats aside, the memorials in the Registry are a useful

[85] Cunningham, Bernadette, 'Native culture and political change in Ireland, 1580-1640', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641* (1986), 150.

[86] Simms, *Medieval Gaelic sources*, 19-38.

[87] Simms, Katharine, *Medieval Gaelic sources* (Dublin & Portland, 2009).

[88] Cunningham, , *The world of Geoffrey Keating*.

[89] Kevin Whelan, 'Settlement and society in eighteenth-century Ireland', in Terry Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London and New York, 2000), 45-62.

[90] Eileen O'Byrne, Anne Chamney, and Wallace Clare, *The convert rolls : the calendar of the convert rolls, 1703-1838* (Dublin, 2005); Anonymous, 'Irish Catholics Licensed to Keep Arms (1704)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 4 (1915), 59-65; Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The Registration of the Clergy in 1704', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 6/1 (1971), 46-69; Anonymous, 'Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731: Diocese of Tuam', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 3 (1914), 124-59.

[91] J. C. W. Wylie, *Irish land law* (Haywards Heath & Dublin, 2010), 1.34.

[92] Dooley, Terence A. M., *Sources for the history of landed estates in Ireland* (Dublin & Portland, 2000), 41-4; P. B. Phair, 'Guide to the Registry of Deeds', *Analecta Hibernica*, 23 (1966), 259-76.

source for the archaeologist, both in terms of charting landownership, but also as a source of placenames and boundary descriptions.

In 1759 and 1765, legislation was passed allowing the grand juries to levy taxes in order to improve transport facilities. As part of this process the grand juries commissioned professional land surveyors to map their jurisdictions. These maps were created from 1759 up until the advent of the Ordnance Survey in the 1820s.⁹³ Taylor and Skinner's strip road maps were published in 1778. The maps include details of the dwellings of the landed gentry, villages, bridges, rivers and other features.⁹⁴

The Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI) was founded in 1824 on the recommendations of a select committee inquiring into the local taxation system.⁹⁵ The first edition 6-inch maps were published between 1833 and 1846; the publication of the second edition began in 1845 but was not completed until 1891 when the programme was abandoned in favour of the new 25-inch survey. The 25-inch OS maps were surveyed between 1887 and 1913, the impetus for their creation being the transfer of land from landlord to tenant following the Land Law Act (1881) and the Purchase of Land Act (1885).⁹⁶ The OS mapping project generated a number of important ancillary collections. One of the most important of these is the OS letters, the correspondence and field notes of the surveyors sent to the Dublin headquarters. Co. Clare is particularly well served. The bulk of the letters were written by Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan, both keen scholars of history.⁹⁷

2.7 Challenges and opportunities

The archaeology of the period after c.1550 in Ireland is a new but burgeoning area of study. The relative lack of research makes it both an exhilarating and challenging field. The rich historical archive allied with a diverse archaeological record makes an interdisciplinary approach both necessary and fruitful. Our knowledge of the archaeology is particularly partial. This is largely due to the relatively recent recognition of the post-medieval period as a valid area of archaeological study in Ireland.⁹⁸ The ASI, for example has remit to inventory and survey archaeological monuments pre-

[93] Terence Reeves Smith, 'Landscapes in paper: cartographic sources for Irish archaeology', in Terence Reeves Smith and Fred Hammond (eds.), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983), 125.

[94] Reeves Smith, 'Landscapes in paper', 119.

[95] Reeves Smith, 'Landscapes in paper', 125.

[96] Wylie, *Irish land law*, 1.48-1.52; Reeves Smith, 'Landscapes in paper', 130.

[97] Maureen Comber (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis 1997), iii-vi

[98] Colm J. Donnelly, and A. Horning, 'Post-medieval and industrial archaeology in Ireland', *Antiquity* 76/292 (2002); Colin Breen, 'Twenty years a'growing: University-based teaching and research of historical archaeology on the island of Ireland', in A. Horning and M. Palmer (eds.), *Crossing paths or sharing tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*. (Woodbridge 2009), 55-65.

dating 1700. Some of the later volumes, notably Cork, do include post-1700 material but many of the earlier volumes do not. This creates challenges. How can a researcher contextualise a mill built by a Gaelic family in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century when there has been little or no research done on milling in later medieval Gaelic Ireland? Without detailed contextual material there is a real risk of replicating existing narratives. An interdisciplinary approach goes some way to mitigating this danger. The demands of an interdisciplinary study are high, requiring knowledge of a broad range of documentary sources and archaeological field techniques. One must be able to locate, read, transcribe and contextualise eighteenth-century land deeds one week and get to grips with a GeoScan RM-15 electrical resistance meter or a Nikon DTM 332 total station the next. In an institutional setting structured around the individual researcher, this is demanding. When the strands do come together they have the potential to create powerful insights into the varied experiences, and interactions of difference sectors of people in early modern Ireland.

Chapter 3: Historical Background: ‘A social revolution’

Ag so an coga do chríochnaigh Éire ‘s do chuir na mílte ag iarra déarca

This was the war that finished Ireland and scattered the thousands begging¹

3.1 Introduction

The Cromwellian episode marks a watershed in Irish history. In the wake of a war that saw thousands dead from fighting, famine and disease a land settlement was imposed that totally restructured the shape of Irish landholding. In marked contrast to the regional and piecemeal plantations that had been undertaken in Ireland since the 1550s the Cromwellian Settlement sought to settle the entire island. It was a dramatic, totalising scheme. State-sponsored land settlements were not the sole vehicle of change in the period.² The rapid spread of the market economy undermined the fundamental assumptions that had articulated Gaelic society, and the extension of the mechanisms of a centralising state across the island drew the hitherto autonomous Gaelic areas into their sphere. These changes physically remoulded the shape of the Irish landscape. The distinctive landscape of late medieval Gaelic Ireland created from corporate landholding systems largely rural subsistence agriculture practices and a redistributive economy, gave way to the privatisation of land, new forms of urbanisation and the distinctive estate landscapes of the ‘Big House’.³ This chapter begins by outlining the series of land settlement that occurred in Ireland between c.1652 and 1703, with particular emphasis on the Cromwellian land settlement. Consideration is then given to the other vectors of social change, namely the extension of the mechanisms of state and the market economy.

3.2 The Cromwellian Land Settlement

The transplantation to Connacht and Clare was a scheme formulated as part of the Cromwellian land settlement of the 1650s. The roots of the settlement lay in the Adventurers Act of 1642 drawn up in response to the 1641 rebellion and the stories of butchered Protestants that had filtered back to England. An army needed to be raised to crush the rebellion and that army had to be financed. The legislation created by Parliament for the raising of the army secured money from adventurers on the basis of Irish land that would be confiscated after the war. Two million, five hundred thousand

[1] Seán O’Conaill cited in William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork, 2006), 103.

[2] Raymond Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* (Dundalk, 1991), 13.

[3] Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641–1770* (New Haven, 2004); Raymond Gillespie, ‘Small towns in early modern Ireland’, in Peter Clarke (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 148, 165. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 382.

acres in all four provinces were allotted in return for £1,000,000. The collective guilt of the Irish was a foregone conclusion.⁴ In the aftermath of the Cromwellian wars the need to repay financial backers and the army provided the impetus for the land settlement which saw a massive shift in the pattern of landowning across Ireland from Catholic to Protestant hands. A key component of the scheme was the transplantation of Irish Catholic landowners from their lands to lands west of the Shannon. The transplantation occurred on two levels. Catholic landowners from Ulster, Munster and Leinster were transplanted to Connacht and Clare, and within Connacht and Clare native landowners were transplanted locally.

The legislative framework to realise the transplantation scheme was drawn up in a series of acts starting with *An Act for the Settling of Ireland* in 1652. The act set out categories of guilt for the 1641 rebellion and subsequent wars, with corresponding penalties. Social position more so than 'guilt' determined what repercussions were to be faced by individuals for involvement in the wars. The preamble to the Act immediately states that it is not Parliament's intention to "extirpate that whole Nation, but that Mercy and Pardon, both as to Life and Estate, may be extended to all Husbandmen, Plowmen, Laborers, Artificers and others of the Inferior sort" so long as they submitted and remained obedient to the government.⁵ This was confirmed within the act. Part IX of the Act states that 'all and every person having no real estate in Ireland, nor personal Estate to the value of Ten pounds that shall lay down Arms and submit to the Power and Authority of the Parliament...shall be pardoned for Life and Estate for any act or thing by them done in prosecution of the War'.⁶

Those of 'higher rank and quality' were to face harsher penalties. Five groups were specifically exempt from pardon of life and estate. Anyone who had been in any way involved in the 'rebellion, murders or massacres' of 1641, from advising, promoting or acting in them to contributing arms, horse, money or victual, was liable for death. So too were priests and Jesuits, a comprehensive list of named individuals (including the Earls of Ormond, Clanrickard and Westmeath), anyone found to have committed murder since 1641 and anyone who had been in arms or 'otherwise in hostility against the Parliament,' who refused to lay down arms in 28 days.⁷ This broad sweep legislated for the execution of at least half of the male population of Ireland, a drastic measure that was never carried out.⁸ Confiscation rather than death was the punishment to be meted

[4] Patrick Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650-60', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 360; Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), 185.

[5] C.H. Firth and R.S Rait (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1978), 598.

[6] Firth & Rait, *Acts & Ordinances*, 602.

[7] Firth & Rait, *Acts & Ordinances*, 599-601.

[8] Robert C. Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), xxiv.

out to three other categories of landed individuals. Those who had been in commanding positions in the Irish war were to be banished and two-thirds of their estates forfeited, with their wives and children receiving the remaining third where parliament saw fit. Those who laid down arms were to be pardoned with two-thirds of their estates being confiscated and the remaining third similarly being assigned to them elsewhere. All papists residing in Ireland from October 1641 not having maintained 'constant good affection to the interest of the commonwealth of England' were to forfeit one-third of their estates, receiving two-thirds 'in such places in Ireland, as the parliament ...shall think fit'.⁹

3.2.1 *The Act of Satisfaction*

In July 1653 the council of state in England directed 'such places' to be the province of Connacht and the county of Clare.¹⁰ In a letter to the Lt. Generals of the Army and Horse and two parliamentary commissioners¹¹ the council directed that '[f]or the better security of all those parts of Ireland which are now intended to be planted with English and Protestants', those Catholics not deserving death under the 1652 act were to 'remove and transplant themselves into the province of Connaught and the County of Clare'. Transplanters were to leave by 1 May 1654, failure to do so resulting in death.¹² In September 1653 this order was confirmed by 'An act for the speedy and effectual satisfaction of adventurers for lands in Ireland, and of the arrears due to Soldiery there, and of other public debts, and for the encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland'. The lengthy act was primarily concerned with paying back the debts accrued during the wars of the three kingdoms to soldiers, adventurers and other debtors but also confirmed the allocation of Clare and Connacht to the Irish nation, with certain lands reserved for the army.¹³ The act stipulated that the Irish were not to be settled within four miles of the Shannon or the sea, cutting them off from military aid and containing any potential violent opposition to the land settlement.¹⁴ The act also provided for the allotting of land to transplanters *de bene esse*, a practice that must have contributed to the confusion that beset the Irish settlement. 'It shall be lawful...

[9] Firth & Rait, *Acts & Ordinances*, 601.

[10] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 189.

[11] Charles Fleetwood and Edmond Ludlow were Lieutenants General of the Army and Horse respectively. Miles Corbett and John Jones were two parliamentary commissioners. Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (Manchester, 1913), 355-6.

[12] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 355-6.

[13] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 723. Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, vii.

[14] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 189.

to set unto such of the said Irish...lands in Connaught ...to occupy...and afterwards to determine their respective claims and to put them in possession of lands accordingly'.¹⁵

3.2.2. *The Loughrea Commission and the Athlone Court*

Two bodies were established for the administration of the transplantation. The first called in January 1654 was the Loughrea Commission 'for the settling out of lands in Connaught and Clare.' Five commissioners were appointed, headed by Charles Coote. On its establishment the Commission was given the first of many, sometimes contradictory, directions as to the method of 'setting out' lands, instructing them not to settle transplinters near their counties of origin.¹⁶ All persons transplanting were to appear before the Revenue and Delinquency Commissioners in their respective precincts, the former issued certificates of transplantation and the latter determined degrees of guilt.¹⁷ In December 1654, almost a year later and seven months after the original deadline to transplant, the second body, the Court of Qualifications was established at Athlone in an attempt to address some of the problems that had beset the scheme.¹⁸ Seven commissioners were appointed to the court and authorised to 'hear and determine according to law...all claims and demands in or to any lands, tenements or hereditaments made...by persons of the Irish nation...that are transplantable into the province of Connaught and Co. Clare'.¹⁹ The Athlone court worked in conjunction with the Loughrea commissioners to whom it was to send reports.²⁰

It was not until June of 1655, when additional instructions were given to the commissioners at Loughrea, that the inhabitants of Connacht and Clare were considered for transplantation, and ordered to present to the Commissioners at Loughrea.²¹ The instructions further laid out the method to be used 'for the more orderly proceeding in setting out of any lands'.²² The Commissioners were to allocate land, barony by barony, 'beginning with one point of the barony as e.g. northeast and so proceeding in the same barony to all persons coming before you next adjoining one another without intervals'.²³ Transplinters were barred from land within garrisoned or walled towns, or within one mile of the garrison, or three miles of the sea or the Shannon, or from any woods 'of considerable quantity of timber, such being to be

[15] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 737.

[16] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 388.

[17] Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, ix.

[18] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 470. Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 190.

[19] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 470.

[20] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 471.

[21] Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, xi; Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 522.

[22] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 522.

[23] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 522.



Fig. 3.1: 'Regional planning' and the Cromwellian land confiscations (1652-3) (Smyth 2007, 169).

preserved for the commonwealth'.²⁴ In February 1656 a proposal was outlined in an attempt to ensure that 'transplanted persons might receive lands suitable (as near as may be) in quantity and quality to the places from whence they are removed'. The scheme directed the allocating different baronies in Connacht and Clare to transplinters from specific counties. Thus the inhabitants of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King's County and Tipperary, for example, were to transplant into the County Clare baronies of Tulla, Bunratty, Island, Corcomroe, Clonderalaw, Moyarta and Ibricken and the Galway half-barony of Ballymoe.²⁵

The transplantation began to grind to an incomplete halt in 1657. On 5 May 1656, the Court of Claims in Athlone was given permission to dissolve.²⁶ In July 1657, the Loughrea Commissioners requested that an end date of 10 August be set for their Commission. A final end date of 30th September 1657 was eventually ordered when the Commission was 'to determine'.²⁷ In June 'An Act for the Attainder of Rebels in Ireland' was passed. The Act declared an array of people apprehended by the 1652 act of settlement to be 'Rebels, guilty of Rebellion' and convicted and attained them of 'high Treason'.²⁸ The Act confirmed land to those transplantees who had land set out to them and threatened the forfeiture of favour, mercy and benefit to those who would not transplant within three months.²⁹ It was further stated that 'the said children, Grandchildren, Brothers, Nephews, Uncles, next pretend Heirs, and other active kindred' of those Catholics attained in the Act were to remove and transplant themselves and their families into Connacht and Clare.³⁰ Sporadic orders regarding the transplantation were issued up until 1659.³¹ When the political crisis brought about by Oliver Cromwell's death forced the restoration of Charles II, the transplantation remained incomplete.

3.2.3 Failure of the Transplantation

The business of transplanting is not yet finished. The Irish, in many places choose death rather than remove from their wonted habitations.³²

The plan to transplant the 'Irish nation' to Clare and Connacht did not quite translate into reality. The scheme was beset by confusion, inefficiency and indifference on behalf

[24] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 522.

[25] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 567.

[26] Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, xiv.

[27] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 658. Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, xiv.

[28] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1252-3.

[29] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1257.

[30] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1258.

[31] Firth & Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 704, 716.

[32] John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (London, 1870), 103.

of the authorities whose priority was, as the 1653 act indicated, the satisfaction of those who had adventured money for the Irish wars and those who had fought in them.³³ In 1653, the arrears due to soldiers alone was estimated by the commissioners to be in the region of £1,750,000.³⁴ The pressing need to pay the state's debts resulted in large areas of lands initially allocated to the 'Irish nation' being removed from the scheme. As early as January 1654 Leitrim was provisionally removed from the transplantation project and by December of the same year the Barony of Tirawley in north Mayo and Sligo were assigned to the soldiers. By 1656, it was apparent that the land allotted to the transplantation had fallen far short of that required. Transplanters presenting at Loughrea discovered that there was not sufficient land to satisfy their claims or that the land which they were to be given was 'so remote and waste...as to render such lands inconsiderable'.³⁵

The sheer logistics of the project were compounded by confusion and conflicting orders. The Loughrea commissioners were given various differing, sometimes conflicting, instructions as to the method to be employed for setting out land, in part, perhaps reflecting the changing shape of the Interregnum government in Ireland.³⁶ At least two of the Loughrea commissioners were dismissed for corruption.³⁷

The transplantation scheme met with resistance from landowners unwilling to move west. Despite the threat of death that accompanied the announcement of the scheme in July 1653 for those who would not transplant by 1 May 1654, many who were ordered to transplant refused to do so. Vincent Gookin acknowledged the refusal of transplantees to remove to Connacht in his argument against the scheme reporting,

They say they can but find want and ruin (at the worst) if they stay, and why should they travel so far, for that which will come home to them? Can it be imagined that a whole nation will drive like geese at the wagging of a hat upon a stick? ³⁸

In March 1655, ten months after the original deadline the order was given to establish courts martial to deal with those who refused to transplant.³⁹ In April 1655, the Lord Deputy wrote to the Loughrea commissioners commenting on their report that 'Divers Irish who ...have transplanted themselves into Connaught, have nevertheless returned

[33] Ciarán Ó Murchadha, 'Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare', Unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Galway, 1982, 63; Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht*, viii.

[34] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 381.

[35] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 632, 648.

[36] Toby C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform in Ireland 1649-1660* (Oxford, 1975), 16.

[37] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 190.

[38] Vincent Gookin, *The great case of transplantation in Ireland discussed, or, Certain considerations microform : wherein the many great inconveniences in the transplanting the natives of Ireland generally out of the three provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster into the province of Connaught are shewn* (London, 1655), 25.

[39] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 488.

back without warrant'.⁴⁰ In July it was reported that transplantable persons dwelling in Dublin refused to leave or to allow state-appointed tenants to take their houses.⁴¹

3.3 The transplantation certificates and the tenants and followers

As Lenihan has remarked, the some 3,000 transplanted landowners 'stood at the apex of a network of dependency which included servants, cottiers and tenants'.⁴² The principal historical source for these dependants are the, now destroyed, transplantation certificates. The context for the creation of the transplantation certificates was a declaration by the commissioners of England for the affairs of Ireland in October 1653 that ordered all transplantable Catholics to:

Deliver in writing unto the commissioners of revenue within the precincts respectively in Ireland wherein the said persons dwell...ensuing a particular of their names and of the names of the persons in their respective families, their tenants and other persons that shall willingly remove with them, and of all other persons for whom by law they are bound to provide with the respective places of their abode from whence they do remove, the age, stature, colour of hair and other marks of distinction of every of the said respective persons with the number of cattle, quantity and quality of tillage, and other substance which every respective person or family have...to the end that certificates may be forthwith given them, and lands set out unto them.⁴³

The revenue commissioners were to keep original particulars of transplanters' details and a book of entry of the certificates which were to be returned to the commissioners of England.⁴⁴ A register of copies of the certificates of transplantation for Co. Limerick and two volumes relating to Leinster and Munster are known to have been preserved among the Commonwealth records and in the Customs House archives. These records were ultimately removed to the Public Records Office and perished in the fire of 1922.⁴⁵ Before their destruction, the transplanters' certificates attracted the attention of a number of scholars, notably W.H. Hardinge, John Prendergast and Mary Hickson. The historiographical context of this scholarship on Cromwellian Ireland has been

[40] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 495.

[41] Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 531.

[42] Pádraig Lenihan, 'War and population, 1649-52', *Irish Economic and Social History*, XXIV (1997), 6.

[43] Samuel Gardiner, 'The transplantation to Connaught', *English Historical Review*, /14 (1899), 712; John Cunningham, 'The transplanters' certificates and the historiography of Cromwellian Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii/147 (2011), 379.

[44] Gardiner, 'The transplantation to Connaught', 712.

[45] Cunningham, 'The transplanters' certificates', 379; W. H. Hardinge, 'On Circumstances Attending the Outbreak of the Civil War in Ireland on 23rd October, 1641, and Its Continuance to the 12th May, 1652; the Numerical Extent and Manner of the Transplantation of Irish into Connaught and Clare; the Extent, Value, and Distribution of the Forfeited Lands; their Insufficiency to Satisfy the Debts and Arrears Due to Adventurers and Soldiers; the Solution of That Difficulty under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; and the Results of These Operations', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 24 (1873), 391.

recently treated by John Cunningham.⁴⁶ Given the destruction of the certificates in 1922, this earlier work is of particular note in that Hardinge, Prendergast and Hickson, included transcriptions and summaries from the certificates in their published works.⁴⁷ Transcriptions from the certificates were also included by St. John Seymour in his *History of the diocese of Emly*, Edward MacLysaght's *Short study of a transplanted family in the seventeenth century*, Burke's *History of Clonmel*, and examples from Co. Waterford appeared in a series by Robert Simington in the *Dungarvan Observer*.⁴⁸

As John Cunningham has recently demonstrated, the use of the certificates as a source for creating a narrative of the transplantation has been problematic. The reliance of later (post-1922) historians on the earlier, sometimes unsound scholarship, has led to errors in estimating the scope and scale of population movements during the transplantation.⁴⁹ Based on a summary of the Limerick register of certificates by Sir William Bentham, Cunningham has shown that while 260 certificates were issued, only 168 were processed at Loughrea, demonstrating a breakdown in the process largely engendered by resistance on the part of Limerick landowners.⁵⁰ While the certificates require caution as a source for the study of the process of the transplantation as it unfolded, they provide an immensely rich source for the social history of mid-seventeenth-century Ireland. They have already been used in this regard by David Dickson, who based a study of marriage age among women on them.⁵¹

The transcribed certificates come mainly from Waterford, Limerick and Kerry, with a number from Tipperary. The level of detail varies across the transcriptions. Hickson, for example only provides details on the transplanter, accompanied by the number of persons who were to accompany them to Connacht, while Prendergast and Simington give fuller transcriptions that name the followers and give their place of residence and relationship to the transplanter.

The certificates reveal a great deal of variation in terms of the numbers of kin and tenants registered by the revenue commissioners. At the upper end of the spectrum,

[46] Cunningham, 'The transplanters' certificates'.

[47] Hardinge, 'On Circumstances Attending the Outbreak of the Civil War in Ireland'; Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland*; Mary Agnes Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records : historical and genealogical with introductory memoir, notes, and appendix* (London, 1872).

[48] St. John D. Seymour, *The diocese of Emly* (Dublin, 1913); Edward MacLysaght, *Short study of a transplanted family in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1935); William P. Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907); National Archives of Ireland (NAI), Co. 451, Cuttings from the *Dungarvan Observer*, 1915 of articles by R. C. Simington on the 17th century surveys and confiscations in Co. Waterford with copies of transplanters' certificates for the county, 1915.

[49] Cunningham, 'The transplanters' certificates', 390-5.

[50] Cunningham, 'The transplanters' certificates', 390.

[51] David Dickson, 'No Scythians here : women and marriage in seventeenth-century Ireland', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in early modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991).

John FitzMaurice of Ballymonkin, Co. Kerry registered 476 persons.⁵² A number of other Kerry landowners also registered more than two hundred dependants including Tiegue O'Falvey of Cahircrohin (327), Gerrot Pierse of Balyhaungane (259) and Col. Edmund FitzGerald of Tubrid (228).⁵³ The certificate with the largest group of dependants to be fully transcribed is that of Matthew Hore of Shandon, Co. Waterford, who listed 126 kin and tenants on his certificate of transplantation.⁵⁴ His household at Shandon, near Dungarvan, comprised, himself, his wife Mary, their six children and ten servants. The rest of the persons named on the certificate were tenants, their families and servants, with addresses in 22 townlands proximate to Shandon. At least 30 households,⁵⁵ made up of a principal tenant and/or their spouse, children and servants can be identified in the certificate. Twenty eight men in the certificate were named tenants, six were burgesses of Dungarvan, and 56, or just over 44%, of those listed on the certificate were described as servants.

Thomas Walsh of Pilltown, Co. Waterford had the next most populous certificate to be transcribed, enumerating 99 dependants. In addition to his wife, Ellis Power, four daughters and three other close kin, 35 women and men were noted as residing at Pilltown, 33 of these were servants, one was a herdsman, one a tailor, one a tradesman and one a labourer. In addition to the large household at Pilltown, there were several household groups on the certificate. At Glistinane, immediately north of Pilltown, for example, there were three male tenants listed, two of whom had wives, and one of whom had two sons and daughters. There were also seven servants in the townland, probably in the service of the tenant households.⁵⁶

Not all households were as big as those of Thomas Walsh. At the other end of the scale, the certificates include a number of transplanter who registered just their immediate kin and/or a handful of servants. James Gough of Dungarvan, a freeholder aged 26, listed only his wife Juan, their two daughters, a niece and two servants.⁵⁷ James Bonfield, a 38 year old burgess of Limerick, registered his wife, four children, an maid servant and another individual.⁵⁸ Widows made up a prominent minority of these smaller contingents. Mary Nugent, a 27 year old widow from Cloncoskrane, Co. Waterford listed only her three small children, all under the age of nine.⁵⁹ Similarly,

[52] Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records*, 35.

[53] Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records*, 34-5.

[54] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland*, 249-53; NAI, Co. 451, Cuttings from the Dungarvan Observer, 1915, fol. 71-2.

[55] For discussion of households in early modern England see Naomi Tadmor, 'The concept of the household-family in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 151 (1996).

[56] NAI, Co. 451, Cuttings from the Dungarvan Observer, 1915, fol. 74-6.

[57] NAI, Co. 451, Cuttings from the Dungarvan Observer, 1915, fol. 72.

[58] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement*, 253.

[59] NAI, Co. 451, *Cuttings from the Dungarvan Observer*, 1915, fol. 72.

Margaret Heally alias Creagh, a 30 year old widow from Limerick City, listed her six year old daughter and three servants.⁶⁰

3.4 The Restoration Land Settlement

The lands of Ireland have been a mere scramble and the least done by way of orderly distribution of them as perhaps hath ever been known.⁶¹

On 3 September 1658, Oliver Cromwell died and was succeeded by his eldest son Richard. Richard's term as Protector barely lasted a year before the regime finally disintegrated, ultimately culminating in the return to England and restoration of Charles II.⁶² The failure of the Protectorate parliament, the army and new protector to reach a workable agreement for government in the aftermath of Oliver Cromwell's death resulted in the Rump parliament being recalled in May 1659. The Rump called for Richard Cromwell to resign and was itself dissolved by the army in October for its 'want of religious radicalism and failure to make good arrears of army pay'.⁶³ Before its dissolution the Rump parliament had recalled Henry Cromwell from Ireland replacing him with a number of commissioners. It had also purged the army of an alleged 200 officers, many of whom were Old Protestant and supporters of Henry, eliciting fear of a return to the old army radicalism of the early 1650s and ultimately spurring on a coup by a number of Old Protestant officers.⁶⁴ The plotters took Dublin Castle in December 1659. The officers behind the coup were by no means Royalists nor were they united in their political outlooks. Indeed there were significant tensions within the group, they were, however agreed on the need to stabilise government, to confirm land grants and to secure their own wealth and position against those termed 'Anabaptists and persons of like fanatic spirits'.⁶⁵ A General Convention or quasi parliament was called to meet in Dublin in February 1660. It became apparent that the best way to secure their long-term interests was with the return of the monarchy, and when the Convention assembly in London voted to restore the king in May 1660 the decision was welcomed in Ireland.⁶⁶

With the restoration of Charles II the issue of a land settlement loomed large. The coalescing interest of Old Protestants and conservative new Cromwellian Protestants

[60] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement*, 254.

[61] Osmund Airy (ed.), *Essex Papers* (London, 1890), Vol. 1, 201.

[62] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, pg 216.

[63] Pdraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow & New York, 2008), 154; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 216.

[64] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, 154; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 216; Karl Bottigheimer, 'The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Structural View', *Irish Historical Studies* 18/69 (1972), 6.

[65] Bottigheimer, 'The Restoration Land and Settlement in Ireland', 6.

Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 217.

[66] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 218.

lined up against old royalist Catholic families, many of who anticipated restoration and religious toleration.⁶⁷ The Declaration of Breda prefiguring Charles' restoration implied his commitment to maintaining the status quo in terms of landownership. In November 1660 Charles issued the *Declaration Regarding the Settlement of Ireland*, which was to form the basis for the Restoration land settlement. In line with the demands of the Protestant interest, Old and New, the Declaration confirmed that Charles had no intention of reversing the work of the Commonwealth government's Settlement of Ireland.⁶⁸

Broadly speaking the Restoration land settlement left the work of the commonwealth intact, soldiers and adventurers were to keep their newly acquired lands and there was no sign of a full return of lands to Catholics, to whom Charles felt he owed no collective debt. He did, however, feel obliged to a select few for their loyalty in assisting himself and his father.⁶⁹ The November Declaration provided for the full restoration of lands to some twenty Catholic peers, singled out along with 36 other prominent individuals who, 'in an especial manner merited our Grace and Favour'. The list was dominated by high ranking, predominantly Old English nobles including those who had attended Charles' court in exile.⁷⁰

A commission composed of 36 Protestants was appointed to carry out Charles' 'Declaration Regarding the Settlement of Ireland'. Most of the commissioners had an interest in Irish land and were inclined to maintain the status quo.⁷¹ The Irish courts refused to enforce the commissioners' decision as lacking statutory authority. Charles' was obliged to call the Irish Parliament to turn his Declaration into legislation. The exclusively Protestant parliament was called in May 1661 and The Act of Settlement was announced in 1662. Seven commissioners were appointed to a Court of Claims to administer the Act.⁷² The Act of Settlement provided for the vesting of all land confiscated after 1641 in the crown, as a trustee with the exception of church and college lands as well as that of 'innocents' both Catholic and Protestant.⁷³ Seven commissioners were appointed to a Court of Claims to allocate this land on behalf of the Crown. Soldiers and Adventurers were to have their lands confirmed; land was to be set aside for the payment of certain debts and arrears and for the restoration of certain

[67] J. G. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-85', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 420-53.

[68] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, 156.

[69] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, 157.

[70] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, 157.

[71] Simms, 'The Restoration', 422.

[72] Simms, 'The Restoration', 423, J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland: 1603-1923* (London, 1978), 119.

[73] Simms, 'The Restoration', 424; Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 118.

disposed proprietors. Cromwellian landowners holding the land of innocents were to be compensated or reprised with land elsewhere.⁷⁴

The Court of Claims sat for eight months, confining its work to hearing claims of innocence. Theoretically, only a very small number of Catholic landowners were eligible to be called innocent, as the act excluded those who had participated in the Confederate government or who had 'enjoyed their estates' in its territories.⁷⁵ The Court of Claims and the prospect of Catholic landowners being restored elicited much panic among the landed Protestant community in Ireland.⁷⁶ Much to the chagrin of the Irish House of Commons, the commissioners issued 564 decrees of innocence out of a total of 820 adjudications. The bulk of those who were declared innocent were Old English Palesmen. In Co. Dublin, for example, landowners managed to win back two thirds of their pre 1641 holdings.⁷⁷ In all, the Protestant interest lost 850,000 acres to Catholics in the judgements of the court.⁷⁸ The Court of Claims shut its doors in August 1663 before it had finished its business. Many claims remained unheard particularly those from Connacht.⁷⁹

As the Court of Claims had proceeded with the business of administering the land settlement, problems became apparent. There was not enough land to satisfy entitlements and further legislation to modify the settlement was needed. The *Act of Explanation*, passed in 1665, attempted to iron out the problems of the *Act of Settlement*. Under the terms of the Act, those who had been decreed innocent were to keep their new land but no more claims were to be heard. A list of people named in the bill were to have their estates fully or partially restored. To provide land for this restoration the Act stipulated that most soldiers and adventurers should surrender one third of their holdings to free up land for Protestants who had made way for Catholics.⁸⁰ A second Court of Claims was appointed to administer the Act of Explanation, sitting from 1666 to 1669.⁸¹

The commissioners for the execution of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation did not adjudicate on the claims of transplanted before the commission ended. On the 26 June 1676, Council Chamber in Dublin wrote that 'the estates of the said transplanted persons remain subject to much doubt and uncertainty, whereby the improvements

[74] Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 119.

[75] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, pg 158.

[76] Bottigheimer, 'Restoration Land Settlement', 11-18.

[77] Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest*, 158.

[78] Bottigheimer, 'Restoration Land Settlement', 18.

[79] Bottigheimer, 'Restoration Land Settlement', 20.

[80] Simms 'The Restoration', 425; Beckett, *The making of modern Ireland*, pg 120.

[81] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 243.

of the said lands are very much hindered'.⁸² In 1675, commissioners were appointed to determine the cases of the Connacht transplinters. The final stage of the land settlement was the appointment of a Court of Grace to which a money payment confirmed defective titles.⁸³

The process of the Restoration land settlement was rife with nepotism and favouritism. Various factions lobbied vigorously at every stage of the process and powerful individuals were pardoned and paid off to suit of the crown. Certain individuals manipulated the system for their own ends.⁸⁴ The result was often estate consolidation by those who had the connections and know-how, at the expense of smaller freeholders who were squeezed out, often becoming tenants on what had been their own lands.⁸⁵

Another important piece of legislation relating to Irish land that passed in the course of the Restoration was the Tenures Abolition Act. The act was passed in 1662, a similar act having been passed in England in 1660. The act abolished the complex schemes of tenures that had existed in Ireland and England, with their attendant bundles of duties and rights, replacing them with a single form of free socage, known as freehold. Freehold was granted by the Crown subject to a quit or Crown rent.⁸⁶

3.5 James and William

For the Irish openly say "we are fighting not for King James, nor for the Popish religion but for our estates".⁸⁷

When Charles II died in 1685 he was succeeded by his Catholic brother James.⁸⁸ Anxiety over Irish land heightened with the accession of James. The landed Catholic community looked to him to reinstate them to their old estates. It was a misplaced expectation for according to his first viceroy, the Earl of Clarendon, although James was a Catholic he 'looked upon [the Irish] as a conquered people and ... would support the [land] settlement inviolably'.⁸⁹

In 1687 the old English Catholic, Richard Talbot, newly created Earl of Tyrconnell was appointed lord deputy of Ireland. His appointment was greeted with joy by the

[82] John Thomas Gilbert and Rosa M. Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny* (2 vols, London, 1895), Vol. 2, 348.

[83] Simms *The Restoration*, 426.

[84] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 235.

[85] Raymond Gillespie, 'Lords and Commons in Seventeenth Century Mayo', in Raymond Gillespie and G. Moran (eds.), *'A Various Country': Essays in Mayo History 1500-1900* (Westport, 1987), 57.

[86] J. C. W. Yliffe, *Irish land law* (4th edn; Haywards Heath & Dublin, 2010), 1.34.

[87] Duke of Württemberg cited in Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 294.

[88] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 272.

[89] Patrick Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution: From Kingdom to Colony', in Robert Beddard (ed.), *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford 1991), 166; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 273.

island's Catholics. Tyrconnell continued with his strategy of 'Catholicisation' a process he had begun as lieutenant general of the army. As lord deputy he set about installing Catholics in key positions of the Irish administration, judiciary and other civil offices. The chancellor and attorney general were replaced with Catholics as were the bulk of judges, privy councillors and sheriffs.⁹⁰ Key to Tyrconnell's politics was the reversal of the Cromwellian and Restoration land settlements as a starting point for re-establishing Catholic power in Ireland.⁹¹ He actively lobbied the king for a new land settlement and succeeded in gaining James to consider his plans. In August of 1687, some eight months after his appointment, Tyrconnell made for England where he met the king at Chester to discuss the land settlement. Tyrconnell forwarded proposals to the king concerning the land settlement whereby Cromwellians would forfeit half of their lands giving them to their former owners. James agreed and it was agreed that the Irish parliament would sit later in the year to legislate on the proposals.⁹²

In July of 1688 James' second wife, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son giving rise to the prospect of a Catholic dynasty on the English throne.⁹³ The birth of James Francis Edward, the 'old pretender' coupled with James' ambivalence towards the continental wars between Louis XIV and the League of Augsburg disquieted the English political classes. In 1689 James' son in law William of Orange was invited to take the throne and James fled to France to the court of his cousin, Louis XIV.

After some deliberation, and having secured French military aid, Tyrconnell committed to the fugitive king, drawing Ireland into the ambit of the European wars. The army swelled with new Catholic recruits and, by February, Tyrconnell had disarmed the Irish Protestants with the exception of those in the northwest of the island.⁹⁴ On 12 March 1689, James landed at Kinsale, County Cork, accompanied by a Lieutenant General of the French army, French officers and a number of Irish, English and Scottish supporters.⁹⁵ Tyrconnell met James and they made a triumphal procession to Dublin, where in response to demand, the Irish parliament was called. The almost exclusively Catholic parliament was focused tightly on the land question and the restoration of the Catholic Church. Despite James' reluctance the parliament succeeded in repealing the Act of Settlement and Explanation, paving the way for the restoration of Irish

[90] Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 168. Beckett, *The making of modern Ireland*, 141; J. G. Simms, 'The war of the two kings, 1685-91', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 480.

[91] Karl Bottigheimer, 'The Glorious Revolution in Ireland', in Lois Schwoerer, G. (ed.), *The Revolution of 1688-1689, Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1992), 239; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 281.

[92] Simms, 'The war of the two kings', 481.

[93] Simms, 'The war of the two kings', 483.

[94] Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 169.

[95] Simms, 'The war of the two kings', 485.

landowners to their pre-Cromwellian estates.⁹⁶ They also passed the stringent Act of Attainder against Protestants.

William reluctantly decided to intervene in Ireland in response to Louis XIV's military support of James.⁹⁷ The Williamite army under the command of the duke of Schomberg landed in Bangor Bay near Belfast on 12 August 1689. William arrived on the 14 of June 1690. By the opening days of July, the most decisive battle of the war had been won by William at the Boyne. The war dragged on until September 1691 when Limerick, the last Jacobite stronghold, finally surrendered.

3.6 The Spoils of Victory and the Williamite Land Settlement

The prize of victory was control of the land settlement. William's victory consolidated the two previous settlements, simultaneously sealing the dispossession of Irish landowners and fixing the position of what would become the Protestant ascendancy.⁹⁸ The work of James' Irish parliament was rendered void and the Act of Repeal, which had undone the Restoration Act of Settlement and Explanation, was thrown out.⁹⁹ The Williamite settlement took as its founding document the Treaty of Limerick. The articles allowed Irish soldiers to withdraw to France, conserved the rights of those in the Limerick garrison and promised that Catholics should 'enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles II'.¹⁰⁰ The articles were ratified in an amended form in 1697 in conjunction with the beginnings of the penal laws which largely offset the mildness of William's forfeiture policy.¹⁰¹

William conducted his own bout of confiscations and allocations in a bid to settle the land. The convoluted Williamite land settlement drew to a final close in 1703 with the final sale of the forfeited estates after thirteen years of 'complex of forfeitures, restorations, grants and resumptions'.¹⁰² The 'bewildering series of changes' in the proprietorship of Irish land reached stability with the finalizing of the settlement. Simms estimated that the Catholic share in profitable land had fallen from 22% in 1688

[96] Simms, 'The war of the two kings', 490; Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 168.

[97] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 291.

[98] Bottigheimer, 'The Glorious Revolution in Ireland', 242.

[99] Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 171.

[100] Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 181.

[101] Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution', 185; J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Condisation in Ireland 1690-1703*, (eds) T. W. Moody, R. Dudley Edwards, and J.C. Beckett (London, mcmlvi), 161.

[102] Simms, *Williamite Confiscations in Ireland*, 13.

to 14% in 1703, with over half of those remaining Catholic landowners having been adjudged under the articles of Limerick¹⁰³.

3.7 The vectors of social change

The plantations and land settlements that utterly transformed patterns of Irish landholding between 1556 and 1703 were but one facet of the colonising process.¹⁰⁴ The conquest of Ireland was ‘profoundly administrative, legal and economic in character’.¹⁰⁵ The coercive elements of the Crown’s plan for the reduction of Ireland were accompanied by the steady extension of administrative and legal structures and the supplanting of the redistributive Gaelic economy with that of the market. In Connacht and Munster the establishment of the provincial presidencies under the Lord Deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney in 1559-70 sought to apply new methods to the government of those provinces. The composition schemes that accompanied and funded the presidencies reconfigured the bonds that had held the Gaelic lordships together redirecting tributes from the lords and sub-lords to the state (4.2; 8.1).¹⁰⁶

The process of carving the Gaelic lordships into English-style administrative units was completed in 1605 with the creation of the county of Wicklow. The process was of great significance. Counties and their appointed county towns became the framework of the administration of the centralising state focused on Dublin and ultimately London.¹⁰⁷ County towns acquired the infrastructure of administration in the form of gaols, session houses, schools and churches (ibid). The establishment of a legal system analogous to that of England was undertaken with the institution of a network of assize courts in the early years of the seventeenth century. Assizes had operated in the east of the island since the 1570s but by 1610 twice yearly tours in almost all areas of the Ireland had been established, greatly increasing the Dublin administrations influence on peripheral localities and spreading ‘the English law’.¹⁰⁸ The extension of

[103] Simms, *Williamite Confiscations in Ireland*, 160.

[104] Gillespie, Raymond, ‘The problem of plantations: material culture and social change in early modern Ireland’, in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550-c.1700* (Dublin 2009).

[105] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 351.

[106] Bernadette Cunningham, ‘The Composition of Connacht in the Lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577-1641’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 24/93 (1984), 1.

[107] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 353. William J. Smyth, ‘Ireland a colony: settlement implication of the revolution in military-administrative, urban and ecclesiastical structures c.1550 to c.1730’, in Terence Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (London & New York, 2000), 165.

[108] John Mc Cavitt, ‘Great Planets in Their Spheres’: The Establishment of the Assize Court in Early Seventeenth Century Ireland’, *Irish Jurist*, 24 (1989), 251-57; The English law was ably used by different elements of Gaelic society in a bid to secure title to land but also to confront internal tensions as illustrated by contemporary report on reactions to the 1605 proclamation of the superiority of common law. *I published the last proclamation throughout the county of Antrim ...and had it interpreted into Irish. This has bred such an impression in them that they will not now endure any wrongs of their chieftains but they immediately seek for*

the common law and the standardisation of landholding practices made the concept of private property central. By the end of the Restoration land settlement the system of landholding in Ireland had been standardised.¹⁰⁹

The economic boom of the early seventeenth century witnessed the founding of an abundance of markets and fairs. Between 1600 and 1635 almost 500 sites were granted patents to hold weekly markets with a view to facilitating the sale of locally produced agricultural goods and promoting the commercialisation of the economy. By 1640 few parts of Ireland were more than 20km away from a market site.¹¹⁰ Surplus produce that would have been traditionally rendered to the overlord of a territory and consumed in feasting (for example) in Gaelic areas was beginning to make its way to the market where it was sold for cash.¹¹¹ The development of long-distance overseas trade was particularly marked in the period, contributing to the rapid expansion of Ireland's port towns, but also extending its roots into regional settlements (4.4.2.1).¹¹² The emergence of the market economy in Ireland was instrumental in undoing the bonds that held Gaelic society together in Ireland as it was in Scotland.¹¹³ In the late medieval Gaeldoms of Ireland and western Scotland society operated on a redistributive economy. Land was granted in freehold to clients who rendered food rents and service to their overlords, who in turn provided military protection.¹¹⁴ Conspicuous feasting, consumption and gifting of surplus produce by overlords underlined their social position.¹¹⁵ However, Gaelic society was not a stagnant entity. Throughout the later medieval period the Gaelic lords were occupied a position increasingly like that of colonial landlords so that by the late sixteenth century it had become difficult to make a distinction between

redress, which formerly they durst never do, but were as bondsmen... This abates the superiority of their lords, to their great grief, for now they fall from their lords and follow his majesty's officers to crave justice against their lords.' (Sir Thomas Philips cited in McCavitt 1989, 259). Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic economy and society', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Native and newcomers, essays on the making of Irish colonial society* (Dublin, 1986).

[109] Smyth, 'Ireland a colony'; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, 234.

[110] Patrick O' Flanagan, 'Markets and fairs in Ireland, 1600-1800: index of economic development and regional growth', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11/4 (1985), 369.

[111] Gillespie, *The transformation Irish Economy*, 24.

[112] Gillespie, *The transformation Irish Economy*, 28.

[113] Although, as Ommer has demonstrated in her study of Gaelic clans in Scotland the breakdowns of the clans as a political system did not necessarily mean the disintegration of social structures at a lower level and she argues for the continuation of clann social structures and their export to the 'new world' with Scottish exiles from the Islands Rosemary E. Ommer, 'Primitive accumulation and the Scottish clann in the Old World and the New', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 12/2 (1986), 121-41. See also Jean, M. Graham, 'Rural Society in Connacht 1600-1640', in N. Stephens and R.E Glasscock (eds.), *Irish Geographical Studies in Honour of E.E. Evans* (Belfast, 1970), 192-208

[114] Mary O' Dowd, 'Land and lordship in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Ireland', in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds.), *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh, 1988), 17-26; Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 34.

[115] R. A. Dodgshon, 'West Highland Chiefdoms, 1500-1745: A Study in Redistributive Exchange', in R. Michison and P. Roebuck (eds.), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-193* (Edinburgh, 1988), 27-37; Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 108 (1978), 67-100.

a small lordship and a private estate, between a lords 'tenants' and his 'subjects'.¹¹⁶ The trend is visible in the expropriation of what had hitherto been corporately owned land to the lord, either through government schemes or the ambiguity of changing internal dynamics (4.2; 5.9).¹¹⁷

3.8 The Shape of the Irish landscape

The eclipse of the Gaeldom, the privatisation of hitherto corporately held land and the reconfiguring of social relationships changed the shape of the landscape. The methodical division and hierarchical allocation of corporately held *clann* land, as discussed by Duffy, McErlean, Smyth, Nugent and McInerney, gave way to a situation where government policy and ultimately the land market were the arbitrators of landholding (4.2).¹¹⁸ This resulted in a broad pattern of estate consolidation, as smaller landholders were squeezed out due to lack of financial know-how or political clout (5.8).¹¹⁹ These changes amounted to what Smyth has termed the 'privatisation of the Irish landscape' and the shift from an older more social definition of territory to one that is primarily economic.¹²⁰

The fostering and development of the market economy and centralised state gave rise to new types of nucleated and urban settlement. Older medieval towns were expanded in the more Anglicised areas of Leinster and Munster, and in Connacht and particularly Ulster new urban centres were founded facilitating the newly commercialised economy. While the glut of market patents issued in the first half of the century did not all result in the formation of urban centres, enough did to establish a network of some 95 small towns by 1659.¹²¹ These small towns created new foci on the Irish landscape with their impact being most marked in Ulster and Connacht. Urbanisation was closely connected with the process of colonisation, and in both Ulster and Munster many of the new

[116] Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structures of gaelic ireland in the later middle ages* (Dover, 1987); Nicholas Canny *Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988); Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Land, law and society in sixteenth-century Ireland* (Cork, 1976).

[117] Simms, *Kings to warlords*; O'Dowd, 'Land and Lordship'; Graham, 'Rural Society in Connacht'.

[118] P. Duffy, 'The territorial organisation of gaelic landownership and its transformation in County Monaghan', *Irish Geography*, XIV (1981), 1-26; T. Mc Erlean, 'The Irish townland system of landscape organisation', in T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hammond (eds.), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983), 319-39; Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and Memory*, 66-102; Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin 2007); Luke McInerney, 'The west Clann Chuilein Lordship in 1586: evidence from a forgotten inquisition', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 48 (2008).

[119] Gillespie, 'Lords and Commons'; Patrick Melvin, 'The Galway tribes as landowners and gentry', in G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Galway History and Society* (Dublin, 1996).

[120] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 382.

[121] Gillespie, 'Small Towns in Early Modern Ireland', 154; As estimated by Gillespie (1995) using the 1659 poll tax return and defining a 'small town' as containing between 120 and 500 taxable person as per the poll tax return.

towns appeared during the plantations.¹²² Another development closely allied with the colonial process was the expansion of manufacturing and industry. Ironworks, mills and other manufacturing enterprises appeared, although throughout the island the economy remained predominantly agrarian in nature (8.7).¹²³ The charcoal-hungry iron furnaces allied with the export market for Irish timber meant by the 1680s little remained of Ireland's great forests (5.1).¹²⁴

New forms of architecture appeared on the landscape, with new assumptions underpinning their design.¹²⁵ English and Scottish settlers brought new architectural traditions to their new Irish holdings, from the plantation castle to the English-style cottage, and the same newcomers also borrowed from the native architectural repertoire.¹²⁶ Native elites, alongside newcomers strove to display material culture appropriate to their place in the new order, building commodious manor homes in place of or onto their ancestral castles. These new styles of manorial architecture, derived from the European Renaissance, reflected changing social relations in their layout and design marking a shift towards the manor as private residence and centre of the landed estate (5.9; 6.5; 8.5).¹²⁷ The cult of improvement took hold shaping the designed estates of the moneyed classes, providing loud statements of the 'civility' of their owners. Land was drained, enclosed, and cultivated (8.5.1).¹²⁸

The progress and impact of English colonisation in Ireland was highly regionalised. The piecemeal plantations of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries created

[122] Denis Power, 'The archaeology of the Munster Plantation', in A. Horning, et al. (eds.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), 26; Ciarán Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society in seventeenth century Clare', Unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Galway, July 1982, 22. In Clare for example, Ó Murchadha has outlined the development of urban settlement in the south of the country as connected with plantation settlements.

[123] In county Clare where English and Dutch settlement sponsored by the Earls of Thomond paralleled state plantation schemes elsewhere, Ó Murchadha has documented the erection of corn mills, tucking mills, and oil mills by Protestant planters, in addition to the development of an iron mine in east Clare. Ó Murchadha, 'Land and Society in Seventeenth Century Clare'; Power, 'The archaeology of the Munster Plantation', 31; J. H. Andrews, 'Land and people c.1685', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland* (Oxford, 2009), 468.

[124] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, 203-5.

[125] William Roulston, 'Domestic architecture in Ireland, 1640-1740', in Audrey J. Horning (ed.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), 327.

[126] A. Horning, "'Dwelling houses in the old Irish barbarous manner": archaeological evidence for Gaelic architecture in an Ulster plantation village', in Patrick Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland 1300-1650: land, lordship, and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 375.

[127] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy: Late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland, 1560-1640', in Audrey J. Horning (ed.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007); Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 380.

[128] Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, 189; Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 382; Andrews, 'Land and people c.1685', 467; Ó Murchadha, 'Land and Society in seventeenth-century Clare', 32. In county Clare, English and Dutch settlers set about enclosing lands, importing English breeds of livestock, improving farm buildings. Their improvements are documented in the depositions following the 1641 rebellion.

varying impacts on a topographically, ethnically and socially regionalised late medieval Irish landscape. The all-encompassing Cromwellian land settlement too, allocated land on a county basis to the different groups involved in the scheme, contributing to the regionalised pattern of settlement that emerged after the last bout of Williamite confiscations. Connacht and Clare, having been earmarked for transplanted papists by Cromwell, counted a much higher number of Catholics and ‘native survivals’ among their landed classes into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The transplantation to Connacht and its allocation to Catholics in the land settlement of the 1650s was key to determining the character of the region, yet we know very little about the impact that the movement of this heterogeneous group of people had on the landscapes to which they were moved. This study hopes in part to redress this gap in our knowledge.

Chapter 4: The O'Davorens of Burren, Co. Clare.

4.0 Introduction

The region of north Co. Clare called the Burren, which once constituted the northern part of the lordship of Thomond, is distinguished by having never been formally colonised. It escaped the Anglo-Norman settlement and was eschewed by Dutch and British planters imported to the southern parts of Thomond by the earls of Thomond during the seventeenth century. Therefore, its population, in the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, remained ostensibly Gaelic. This is not to say that the region remained insulated against the broader vectors of change reshaping society across the island in the early modern period, but until the mid-seventeenth century pressures perhaps took different forms than they did in regions that were prone to the more traumatic processes of plantation. This chapter takes as its protagonists the O'Davorens, a minor Gaelic gentry sept from Burren, Co. Clare, who in the 1650s were locally transplanted within the Barony of Burren. The main aim of this chapter is to elucidate the archaeology of the O'Davorens' lands in the first half of the seventeenth century, with the aim of contextualizing their later transplantation settlements. The chapter explores the extent and organisation of the sept's holdings on the eve of transplantation, situating it within the matrix of the O'Loughlin lordship of Burren, a polity that was undergoing rapid change in the period. The principal *foci* of settlement within the O'Davoren holding are identified and examined. Finally, the responses of members of the sept to the broader processes of social change are discussed.

The Barony of Burren, lying in the northernmost part of the new county, was fashioned from the lordship of the O'Loughlins, and along with the adjacent barony of Corcomroe had comprised the early medieval chiefdom of *Corcu Modruad*.¹ In the later medieval period, the territory was ruled by two dynastic septs, the Uí Lochlainn and the Uí Chonchobair, who traced their ancestry from the two sons of the tenth-century Máel Sechnaill mac Argda; Lochlainn and Conchobar respectively.² By the fourteenth century, the chiefdom has split into two separate territories, with the O'Connors holding Corcomroe West and the O'Loughlins holding Corcomroe East, coterminous with the sixteenth-century baronies of Corcomroe and Burren respectively. The O'Loughlin lordship comprised eleven civil parishes, and in the sixteenth century was divided into six *túatha* or petty kingdoms and 127 and 1/3 quarters (fig. 4.4).³ It covered an area of

[1] Síneád Ní Ghabhláin, 'Parish and Polity: The Medieval Diocese of Kilfenora, Ireland', unpublished PhD, University of California, 1995, 31.

[2] Síneád Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church, parish and polity', 31; Patrick Woulf, *Irish names and surnames* (Dublin, 1923), 585.

[3] A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought* (Dublin 1936), 10

some 74,950 statute acres and was equivalent in size to the lordships of the O'Garas, the Meaghers or the O'Dunnes.⁴

The O'Davorens were a sept of hereditary brehons in the service of the O'Loughlins. They served alongside the O'Daly (Ó Dálaigh) poets and the Mac Gowan (Mac A' Ghobhann)⁵ historians. The origins of the sept are unclear. Macnamara described them as being of *Eoghanacht* stock 'claiming name and descent from Dubhdabhoireann, son of Aengus, King of Cashel, slain 957' adding that they must have settled in the Burren at an unknown point in the medieval period.⁶ Based on the poem *Caithréim Thoirdbealbhaigh* or 'the Wars of Torlough', which mentions a place called *Coramhic Dhabhoirenn* (weir of *mac Dabhoireann*)⁷ he argues that they were in the area by the mid-fourteenth century. This is supported by the earliest reference to the family in 1364, when the chronicles record the death of Giolla na naomh Ua Duibhdabhoireann, *ollamb* in brehon law of Corcomroe.⁸ In addition to serving the O'Loughlins, the sept ran a school of *fénechas*, or native law, which was founded c.1500, and continued in use until at least the late sixteenth century.⁹

4.1 Setting the scene: The physical landscape of Burren

After two day's march we entered into the Barony of Burren, of which it is said, that it is a country where there is not enough water to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth to bury him. Edmund Ludlow, 1651.¹⁰

The Irish *Boirinn*, means a stony place.¹¹ It is a region of upland glaciated karst, bounded by Galway Bay to the north and west, extending east to Slieve Carron, and south as far as Leameneah Castle. A combination of erosion, glacial and anthropogenic action

[4] D. B. Quinn and K. W. Nicholls, 'Ireland in 1534', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *Early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 2-3.

[5] In 1425 Mac Gowan of the stories Ollamh in history to O Loughlin of Corcomroe died. At the time of the Strafford Survey two O Gowans, Connor and James, held 1/12 of a quarter of land each at the foot of Gortaclare Mountain in Coskeam, Carran parish. John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland: from the earliest times to the year 1616* (7 vols, Dublin, 1990), vol. 4, 867.

[6] The suggestion that the sept had an east Munster origin is supported by a small branch of O'Davorens in Tipperary in the sixteenth century. Kenneth W. Nicholls (ed.), *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994), Vol. 2, 615.

[7] Now Kells Bridge near Corofin

[8] '*Giolla na Naomh Ua Duibh Da Bhoireann ollamb Corco M' Druadh le bhrethembnas*' O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. 3, 627.

[9] George Unthank Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens of Cahermacnaughten, Burren, Co. Clare', *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society* 2/2 & 3 (1912), 65; Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law* (Dundalk, 2009), 257-9; William O Sullivan, 'The book of Domhnall Ó Duibhdábhhoireann, provenance and codicology', *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 287.

[10] Brian Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze: travels in County Clare 1534-1950* (Ennis, 1998), 38.

[11] John Feehan, 'The rocks and landforms of the Burren' in J.W. O Connell & A. Korff, *The book of the Burren* (Galway, 2001), 14.

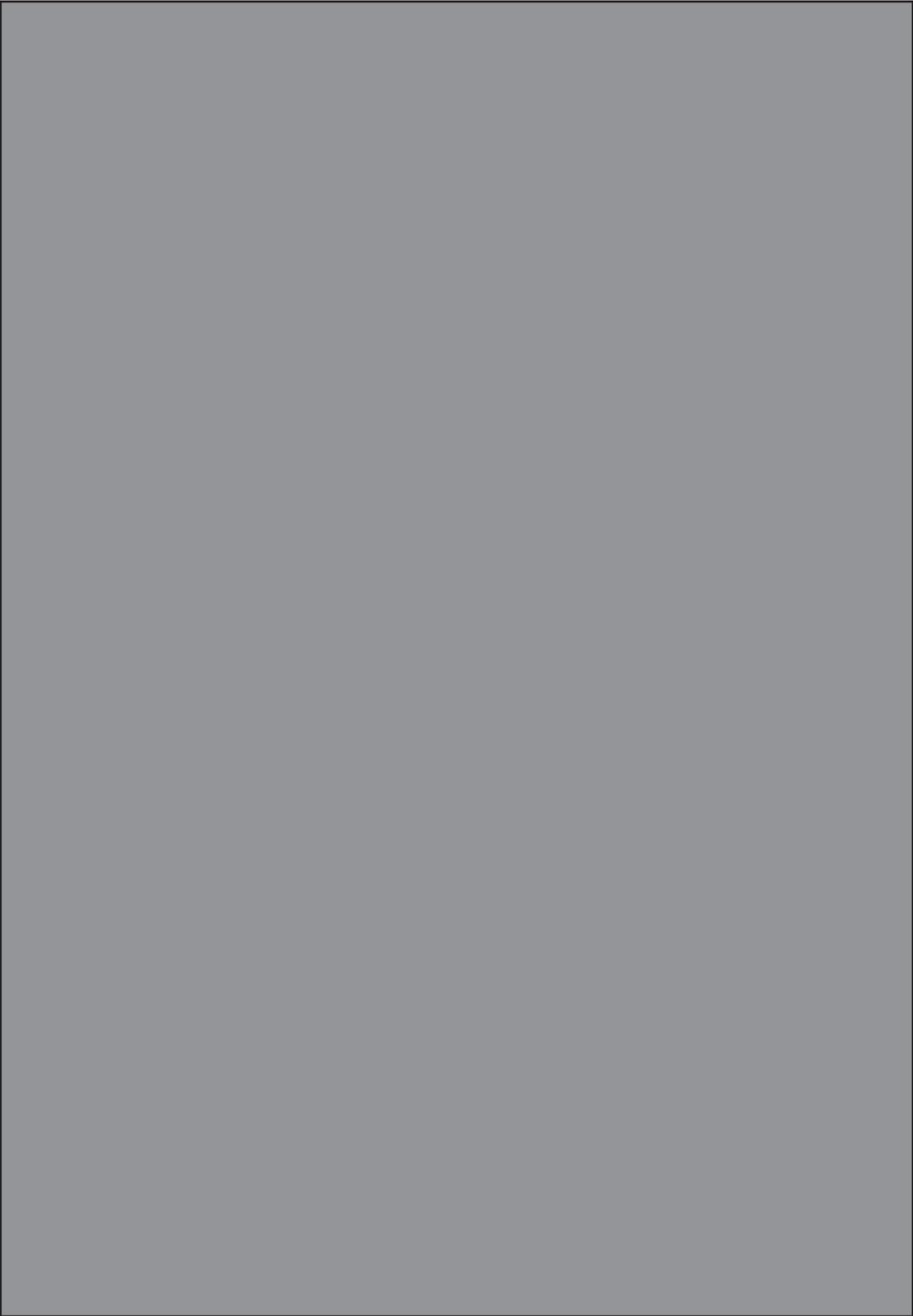


Fig. 4.1: Extract of soils map of Co. Clare (Finch, 1971).

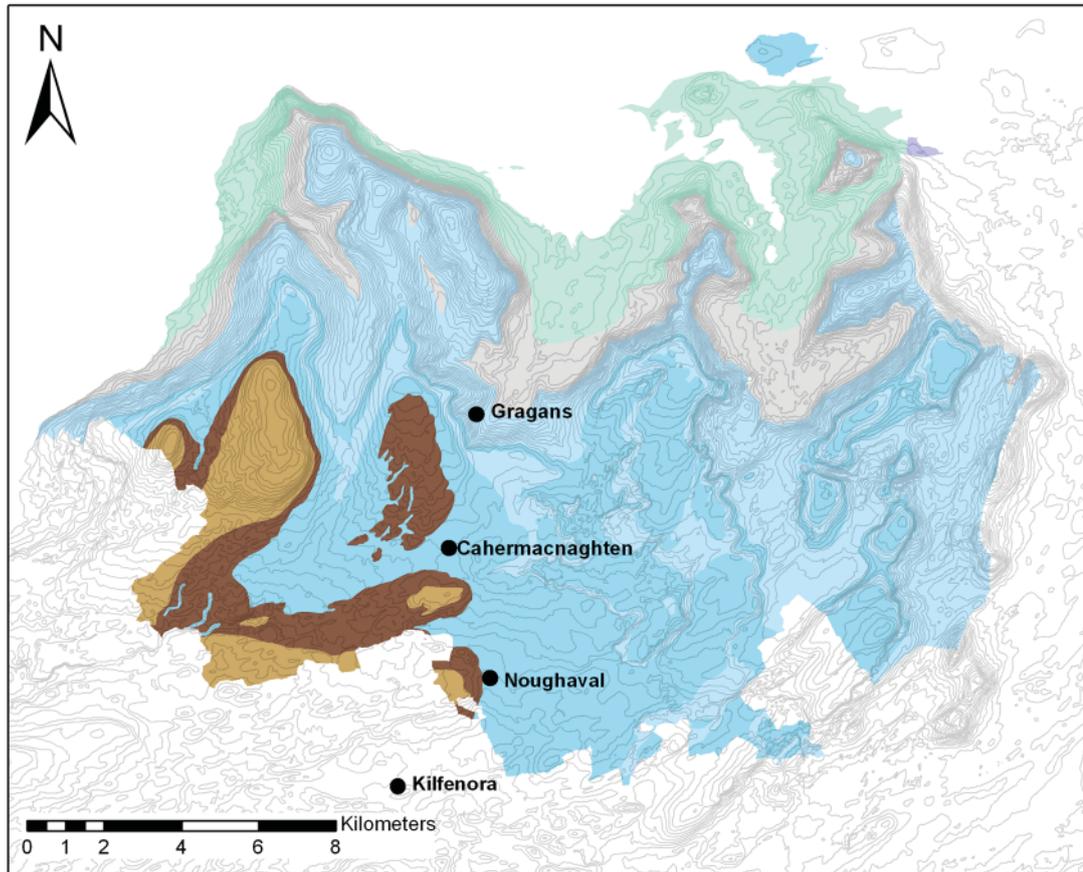


Fig. 4.2: Geology of the Burren (data set courtesy of the Geological Survey of Ireland).

molded the distinctive landscape, distinguished by swathes of limestone fissured pavement, stepped hills with flat summits, caves and turloughs (seasonal lakes).¹² Most of the plateau-like uplands are over 60m. The highest point is Slieve Elva in the north-west of the barony (344m in height). The uplands are dissected by three major valleys running north-south: the Caher Valley to the west, the central Rathbourney Valley and the Turlough/Carron Valley to the east.

Most of the barony is underlain by Lower Carboniferous limestone, laid down in warm, shallow seas some 340 million years ago (Fig. 4.1). To the south-west of the barony, younger Upper Carboniferous shale and mudstone predominate, capping the upper

[12] Brendan Dunford, *Farming and the Burren* (Dublin, 2002), 4-5.

slopes of Slieve Elva, and the eastern side of the Caher Valley.¹³ This solid geology was carved and sculpted by the Saale and later Weichsel glaciations, moving down from the north-east.¹⁴ The glaciers left patches of till in places, but much of the Burren's thin soils had their genesis in erosion of the underlying bedrock (Fig. 4.2). Most of the region's soils comprise a mantle of shallow, well drained, rendzina soils, derived from the parent limestone rock. While these rendzinas are limited agriculturally they are well suited to winter grazing.¹⁵ The areas of light soil are interspersed with bare limestone pavement, broken into clint and gryke formations by post-glacial erosion.¹⁶ The Rathborney Valley, Finavarra, and the coastline between Ballyvaughan and Bell Harbour have a cover of brown earths, derived from glacial till. These soils are deeper than the upland rendzinas, and suitable for both tillage and grazing.¹⁷ The impermeable shale and mudstone in the south-west of the barony developed poorly drained gley soils and tracts of blanket peat on the higher ground.¹⁸

Despite the thin soils, the Burren supports a rich array of flora. Of about 900 plant species native to Ireland, c.70% are found in the Burren. The well drained, calcium-rich grass provides excellent grazing for cattle and sheep, and a wide range of species flourish in the sheltered limestone grykes.¹⁹ As early as the seventeenth century, the region was famous for 'physical herbs, the best in Ireland' according to Thomas Dineley.²⁰ Thomas Molyneux, and later Charles Lucas, noted the abundance of juniper and yew 'besides a great variety of ...capillary herbs'.²¹ Pastoral farming has long assumed a significant role in the region. Edmond Ludlow approvingly noted the fat cattle owing to the 'very sweet and nourishing' grass 'lying between the rocks'. Some thirty years later, Dineley commented that the region raised 'earlier beef and mutton... than any land in the kingdom' by reason of the sweet herbs intermixed with the grass.²² Indeed, the Strafford Survey designated most of land as pasture, subdividing it into fourteen different types, and 69 profitability levels.²³ The heat retention properties of

[13] Feehan, 'The rocks and landforms of the Burren', 15; T. F. Finch, *Soils of County Clare* (Dublin, 1971), 74-5.

[14] Finch, *Soils of County Clare*, 76.

[15] Dunford, *Farming and the Burren*, 8.

[16] Ingo Feeser, *Palaeoecological investigations towards reconstruction of Holocene environmental change in the Burren, Co. Clare, with particular reference to Mullach Mór and selected Burren uplands* (Galway, 2009), 4.

[17] Finch, *Soils of County Clare*, 12-3.

[18] Finch, *Soils of County Clare*, 31, 46.

[19] Feeser, *Palaeoecological investigations*, 9.

[20] Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 58.

[21] Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 69, 101.

[22] Writing in 1681 and 1736 respectively: Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 38, 58.

[23] Robert C. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments to title 1636-1703 vol. iv county of Clare reproduced from the manuscript in the Public Record Office of Ireland with maps*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1967), vol. 4, 443-93; Dunford, *Farming and the Burren*, 28.

the limestone uplands, allows them to provide winter grazing for cattle and sheep, a practice which has assumed an important role in local farming traditions.²⁴

The Strafford Survey noted arable land in all the Burren parishes. The growing of cereal crops is well attested in the palaeoecological record, particularly from the fifth and sixth centuries.²⁵ Dineley recounted the method of ploughing employed in the late seventeenth century: horses four abreast, drawing the plough by the tail. While the deeper coastal and valley soils were suited to ploughing, more intensive spade cultivation must have predominated on the uplands.²⁶ Dineley related that earth was so scarce that neighbours sometimes removed 'earth in baskets from one another's land'.²⁷ Pockets of soil were traditionally walled off to form small *gairdíní* or gardens, creating the field patterns of minute irregular enclosures that knot around many upland settlement sites.²⁸

Despite Ludlow's aphorism, Burren was not without wood. The Strafford Survey returned parcels of 'dwarf wood', 'rocky wood', 'shrubby wood' and 'rocky woody pasture' on the deeper soils flanking the coast in Oughtmama, Abbey, Drumcreehy and Glaniny, as well as in the south-east of Carron parish.²⁹ The uplands, however, were largely bare of trees.

Following the lie of the land, the Burren's principal routeways run north-south (Fig. 4.1). One of the main arteries connects the harbour of Ballyvaughan, on the north coast, to the diocesan capital and market centre at Kilfenora (Fig. 4.6). Most of the sites under discussion in this chapter are on this route. The route follows the Rathbourney valley as far as Gragans. From Gragans to Kilfenora it travels along a glacial depression, lying between a swathe of bog-covered shale to the west and the exposed karstic uplands to the east. The importance of the route is underlined by the proliferation of late medieval sites along its path. From the harbour and castle at Ballyvaughan, it passes the towerhouses of Newtown, Gragans, Lissylishreen, Ballymahony and Ballymurphy, the cashels of Cahermacnaghten and Ballykingvarga, and the ecclesiastical sites of Noughaval, Kiltaan, and Kilmeen. It was along part of this route that O'Donnell travelled in 1599, passing Noughaval, before turning east towards Turlough and

[24] Dunford, *Farming and the Burren*, 39.

[25] Feeser, *Palaeoecological investigations*, 234-6.

[26] For the flexibility of spade cultivation and its suitability to rougher ground see Jonathan Bell and Mervyn Watson, *Irish farming 1750-1950* (Dublin, 2009), 83-90.

[27] Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 58.

[28] Dunford, *Farming and the Burren*, 45.

[29] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 443-93.



Fig. 4.3: View of the Rathbourney Valley looking north.

Corcomroe.³⁰ Parallel routes ran along the Caher Valley, from Fanore to Lisdoonvarna, and from Ballyvaughan to Leamaneh and from Bell Harbour to Killinaboy.

4.2 Towards a reconstruction of the territorial organisation of the Burren in the early modern period

In order to understand the O'Davoren landholding it is important to say something of the lordship of which it was a constituent part. In contrast to Duffy's classic work on the territory of *Airghialla*, or Mc Inerney's more recent study of the lordship of west *Clan Chuiléin*, detailed colonial documentation does not exist for Burren. Instead a collection of more patchy sources namely the Composition of Connacht, the *fiant*s, *inquisitions post mortem*, castle lists and the Strafford Survey must be used to discern the shape of the lordship in the early modern period.³¹ The Composition of Connacht (1585) is one of the earliest accounts of the lordship and enumerates its six *tuath*, which have been identified and mapped by Patrick Nugent.³² While the exact way in which these *tuath* were organised in the lordship as mensal lands, kin lands, etc. is yet to be resolved, the lordship's *caput* and the seat of the *táiniste* can be identified.

In the sixteenth century, the *caput* the O'Loughlin lords of the Burren was a towerhouse at Gragans in Rathbourney parish. The placename has been translated as *An Grágán*,

[30] O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. 6, 2103.

[31] Duffy, 'The territorial organisation of Gaelic landownership'; Luke McInerney, 'The west Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: evidence from a forgotten inquisition', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 48 (2008).

[32] Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin 2007), 140.

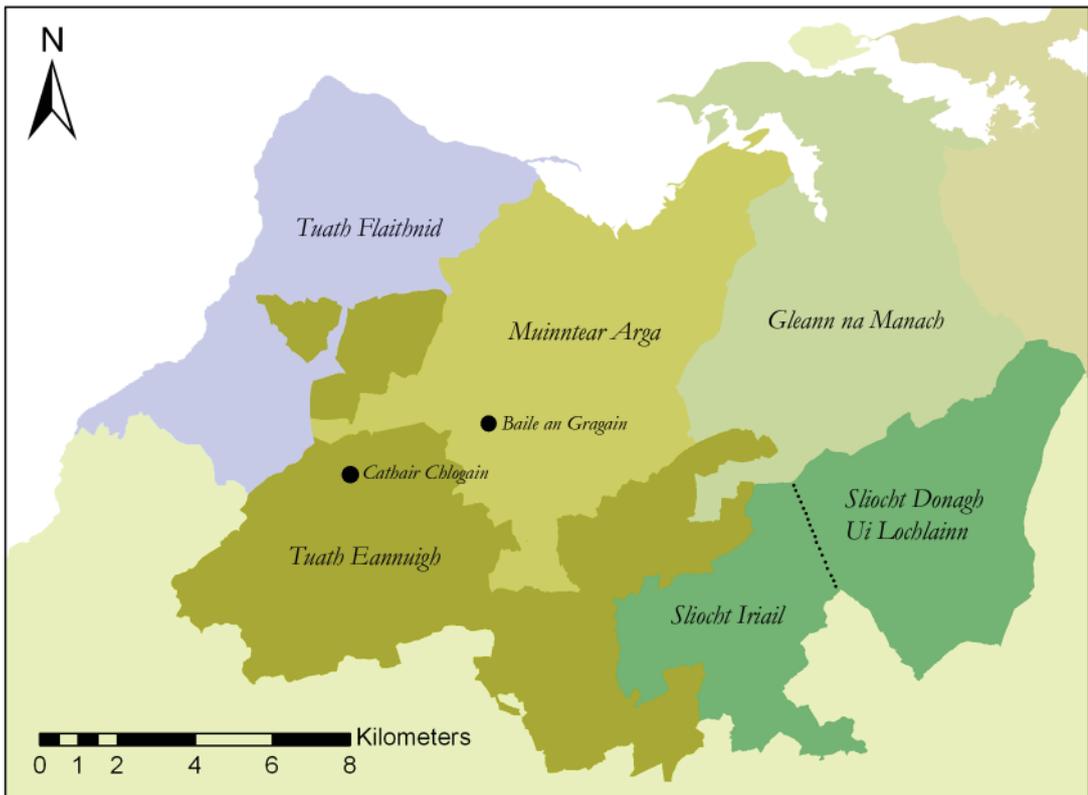
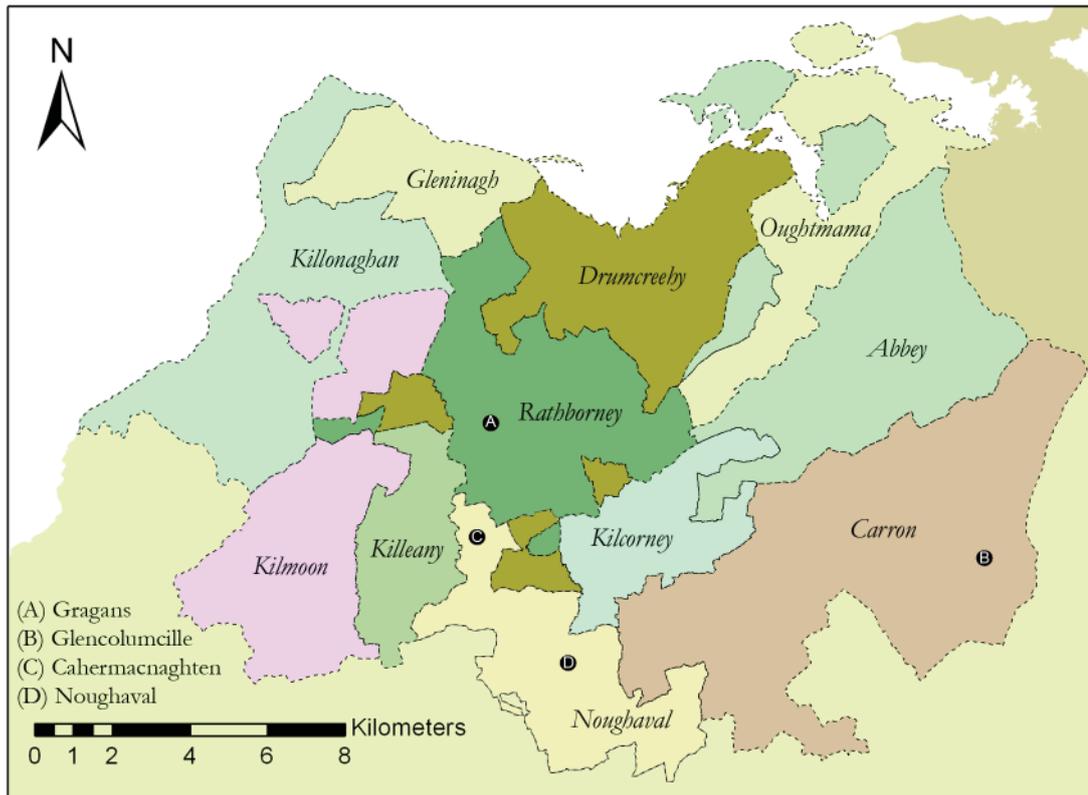


Fig. 4.4: The civil parishes of Burren as recorded in the BSD (above). The *tuath* of Burren c.1585 (below after Patrick Nugent (2007, 140).

meaning a hamlet or small settlement.³³ The eponymous castle gave its name to the barony in the sixteenth century. Gragans lay at the centre of the *túath* of *Muinntear Arga*, comprising the civil parishes of Rathbourney and Drumcreehy (Fig. 4.6). In the Composition of Connacht, it was returned as a separate unit called the 'town of the dragons' valued at two and two-thirds of a quarter;³⁴ the four 'sessies' or *seisre* of Gragans were enumerated in the Strafford Survey.³⁵ *Muinntear Arga* contained some of the richest land in the Burren, encompassing the Rathbourney and Ballyvaughan valleys, and extending from Corkscrew hill to Galway Bay. It was most likely coterminous with the personal demesne and mensal lands of the lordship. During the same period, the seat of the sept's *tánaiste* was at Glencolumbcille castle which, in the sixteenth century, was located in its own parish which was called Glencolumbcille, and was coterminous with the *tuath* of *Slóocht Donogh O Lochlainn*.³⁶

On the eve of the 1641 rebellion, Co. Clare had witnessed over 100 years of Anglicisation, dating from the submission of Murrough O'Brien, overlord of Thomond, to the English king Henry VIII in 1542. The surrender and regrant of his Thomond lands set in motion the process that fashioned the county of Clare from the O'Brien lordship and changed the region's leading sept from kings to earls of Thomond.³⁷ The process of Anglicisation was unsteady, gathering pace during the earldom of Donogh, fourth Earl of Thomond. The fourth earl was reared at the English court and identified with English aristocratic culture to a far greater extent than his predecessors.³⁸ He presided over some of the most fundamental changes to the territory. In 1569, a new institution, the presidency of Connacht was put in place by the then Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, in a bid to Anglicise the province and to secure it to the English crown. The county was shired in 1570, and in 1577 and 1585 composition schemes were drawn up in a bid to finance the presidency. The composition agreement abolished the institution of Gaelic lordship stipulating that 'the names stiles and titles of captenships tanistships and all other Irish Authorities and Jurisdiccions...together with all eleccions and customary divisions of land ...shall henceforth be utterly abolished Extinct renounced ...for ever'.³⁹ A new social agreement was made whereby freeholders

[33] Tom Burnell, *The Anglicized words of Irish placenames* (Dublin, 2006), 196; For comments on the place-name 'gragan' see also Kenneth W. Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland and afterwards', *Peritia*, 1 (1982).

[34] Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 10; Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 142.

[35] They were Sheshonenort, Sheshoncastlan, Sheshodunglas and the two *leith sheisre* of Oghtelane and Kragavockoge; Simington, *BSD Clare*, 471.

[36] Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 160.

[37] Ciarán Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society in seventeenth century Clare', unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Galway, 1982, 9.

[38] Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'From Gaelic warlords to English country gentlemen: The O'Briens of Thomond 1543-1741', *The Other Clare*, 25 (2001), 40-1.

[39] Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 17.

paid a tax to the crown on each acre of inhabited land, in return for which they would be provided with protection from 'common malefactors and spoylers' and 'the unmeasurable cesses and oppressions of all sorts of men of war'.⁴⁰

Writing in 1682, William Molyneux noted that Burren 'did till Queen Elizabeth's reign belong to one O'Loughlin...but since, it was for the most part in possession of the heirs of Donald O Bryen ...second brother of Donald, earl of Thomond'.⁴¹ By the time of the Strafford Survey the process recalled by Molyneux's informant was well underway; the dominance of the traditional lords of the Burren, underpinned by their hereditary claim to the land, was being eroded by the O'Briens and to a lesser extent, the Galway merchants whose competence in the workings of the land market saw them make inroads in the O'Loughlin lordship. The incorporation of the O'Loughlin lordship into the English, later British, state was allied with the expansion of the ascendant O'Brien sept into the polity. This was achieved through a combination of the new English-style administrative structures, and renewed ties of Gaelic-style overlordship. In 1577, for example, Sir Turlough O'Brien of Ennistymon was appointed seneschal of Corcomroe and Burren and, again in 1583, he was given permission to hold courts baron for Burren at his towerhouse in Cahercloggaun.⁴² In 1591, Donagh and Irial O'Loughlin entered into a new treaty with the Earl of Thomond. The agreement stipulated that the O'Loughlins would not mortgage or sell any of their land or castles without Thomond's consent and that 'Conor or his heirs after him shall be heirs to the Sliocht Mealachlin. And that it shall be obligatory on the Slicht Maoelaghlen and on their followers, to yield obedience to and submit to the will of Conor O'Brien and his heirs after him'.⁴³

The control of towerhouses was one strategy used by these ascendant parties in their extension into the Burren. By 1570 four of the territory's castles were in O'Brien hands. The strategically important Ballyvaghan castle on Blackhead Bay, which had been taken by Lord Deputy Henry Sidney in 1569, was held by Lord Inchiquin. Ballymurphy, Ballymahony and Cahercloggan were all held by one Tirelagh O'Bryan. The Lynches, a Galway merchant family acquired several parcels of land on the north Burren coast. In 1608, Donald O'Daly and Cormac O'Houroune received a mortgage of one pound sterling from the Galway merchant Anthony Lynch against the '1/2 quartermire' of Gortnagreisi.⁴⁴ In 1612 Donogh Mac Loughlin roe O'Daly sold the same land to

[40] Freeman (ed.), *The compassion booke of Conought*, 15.

[41] Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 67.

[42] Raymond Gillespie, 'Finavarra Manor Court in the 1670s', *The Other Clare*, 25 (2001), 45; Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 410, 589.

[43] James Frost, *The history and topography of the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1893), 20.

[44] James Hardiman, 'Ancient Irish deeds and writings: chiefly relating to landed property, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 15 (1826), 88-9.

Anthony and Ambrose Lynch.⁴⁵ 'James Lench of Galway' held Gleninagh on the north Burren coast.⁴⁶ New towerhouses were also built as part of this process. Newtown Castle, near Ballyvaughan was most likely built by the O'Briens in the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The O'Briens of Ennistymon, descendant from the first Earl of Thomond, and in particular Donogh O'Brien of Newtown and his brother Daniel,⁴⁸ were active in acquiring swathes of land in the territory. When the Strafford survey was taken c.1637 various members of the O'Briens held 31% of the land in the barony, with the largest share in the hands of Donogh O'Brien who was recorded as holding approximately 21% of the overall land. In contrast, the combined percentage of land held by the various branches of the O'Loughlin sept amounted to only 23%.⁴⁹

4.2.1 The Strafford Survey and the dynamics of landholding

Something of the dynamism of these processes is captured in the returns of the Strafford Survey, which is one of the principal sources used to reconstruct the O'Davoren holding prior to transplantation. Identifying the denominations listed in the Strafford Survey on the landscape can be problematic. This is largely because there is no simple correlation between the units recorded in the Strafford Survey and those mapped by the Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ The land units returned in the Strafford Survey represented not a set of uniform denominations, but rather an array of different land assessment units reflective of the dynamic processes of estate consolidation and division at play in early modern Burren. The named denominations returned in the Strafford survey are accorded values in the Gaelic land assessment system varying from two and two-thirds of a quarter down to one-twenty-seventh of a quarter (Fig. 4.5).⁵¹ The vast bulk of the returns are valued in terms of the ubiquitous quarter, but other units namely the 'sess' or *seisre*⁵² valued at two-thirds of a quarter, and the 'cart' or carrowmeer (*ceathrú mír*) valued at one-quarter of a *seisre* were used.⁵³ These

[45] Hardiman, 'Ancient Irish deeds', 91.

[46] Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 36 (1995), 134.

[47] Martin Breen and Risteárd Ua Cróinín, 'Some Restored Tower Houses in the Burren Area of Co.Clare', *The Other Clare*, 26 (2002), p.

[48] Newtown Castle is in the Parish of Drumcreehy, Burren; P.I.D. O'Brien, 'The O'Briens of Dough and Ennistymon', *The Irish Genealogist* 6/5 (1984), p.

[49] These figures were calculated from the BSD.

[50] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school and its estate landscape' (2005.), 6.

[51] Noughaval in Noughaval Parish, and Boolowna in Deelin, Oughtmama Parish.

[52] In the context of land divisions the term 'seisre' or 'seisrech' derives from the amount of land that a team of six oxen could plough in a year. (IDL S, Column 156).

[53] These land units are derived from the BSD, specifically the returns for the parishes of Kilmoon and Killonaghan, where the units quarter, sess (*seisre*) and cart or carrowmeer were used. In many of the entries, the units were valued in quarters and sesses. Lisnhow in Killonaghan, for example, was valued at 1/6 of a quarter, 1/4 of a 'sess' or one 'carrowmeer'. The equivalence between the terms 'sess' and *seisre*

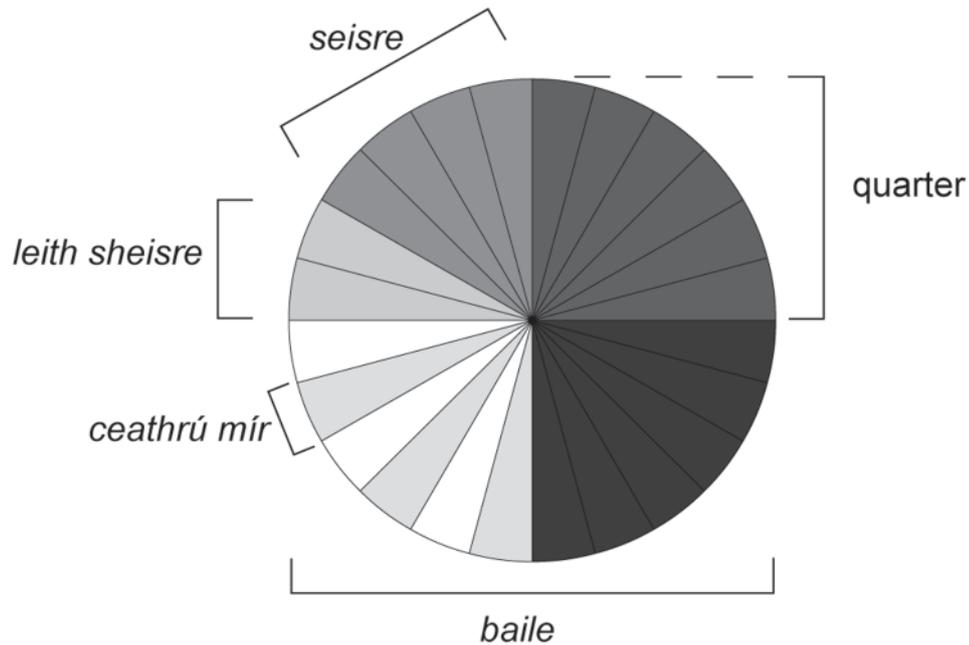


Fig. 4.5: Gaelic land units returned in the Stafford Survey for the barony of Burren.

units form part of an organised system of land valuation based on the basic unit of the *baile* and its subdivisions.⁵⁴ The *baile*, a western version of the ballybetagh, was the basic estate unit of the Gaelic landholding system.⁵⁵ The widespread use of the unit in the late medieval period is evidenced in the mid-fourteenth-century rental *Suim Chíosta Uí Bhriain*, where the prefix *baile* is frequently returned.⁵⁶ The *baile* was broken down into four quarters, six *seisre* and twenty four carrowmeers (*ceathrú mír*).⁵⁷ Place-names also reveal evidence of the early medieval *trian* division.⁵⁸

The returns of the Stafford Survey indicate local differences in the units used to value denominations. In the parishes of Killonaghan and Kilmoon, a combination of the quarter, the 'sess' or *seisre* and the 'carrowmeer' or *ceathrú mír* were used, while in the other civil parishes the returns were given almost exclusively in terms of fractions of

comes from a comparison of the O'Davoren deed and the BSD. The denominations valued as a *leith sheisre* in the deed are all valued at one-third of a quarter in the BSD. Simington, *BSD Clare*, 482-9, 465, 467, 472-3.

[54] Jean M. Graham, 'Rural Society in Connacht 1600-1640', in N. Stephens and R.E Glasscock (eds.), *Irish Geographical Studies in Honour of E.E. Evans* (Belfast, 1970), 193.

[55] K. W. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 2008), 408.

[56] Patrick Duffy, 'The territorial organisation of Gaelic landownership and its transformation in County Monaghan', *Irish Geography*, 14 (1981); Michael Mac Mahon, 'O'Brien & MacNamara rentals relating to certain lands in Thomond in the mid-fourteenth century', *The Other Clare*, 29 (2005).

[57] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Cahermacnaghten: investigating Gaelic estates', Burren landscape and settlement an INSTAR project (Galway 2008), 134.

[58] Treneholt, Trieneborny and Trienekelly each comprising 1/9 qr of the denomination of Lisogane which measured 1/3 qr and was located in Druncreehy Parish. Simington, *BSD Clare*, 474. See Graham, 'Rural Society in Connacht', 193.

the quarter.⁵⁹ This pattern and the dominance of the quarter, however, may be due to a desire for standardisation in the survey, as the *seisre* would appear to underpin many of the denominations returned in quarters.⁶⁰ The nineteenth-century townland matrix represents the amalgamation and division of these aggregated seventeenth-century units. The close topographical and archaeological survey carried out by FitzPatrick at Cahermacnaghten, for example, has demonstrated that the nineteenth-century townland originally comprised three seventeenth-century units: the third-of-a-quarter or *leith seisre* of 'Kahirmacknaghty' and 'Kilbrack' in the civil parish of Noughaval, and the third-of-a-quarter of 'Kahirewoolly' in the civil parish of Drumcreehy.⁶¹

The uneven processes of estate consolidation and land division (as in the practice of partible inheritance for example) as practised by what Patrick Nugent terms 'adaptive' and 'tradition bound' clans, resulted in patchy detail in the returns of the Strafford Survey. Some areas merely listed a series of large blocks of land while others recorded a multiplicity of minute named parcels. Reflective of Nugent's findings for the county as a whole, the preponderance of large units are found on the land that by the 1637 formed part of the estates of the very adaptive and expansionist O'Briens, while smaller units, many of which comprise extinct placenames, were in the hands of smaller tradition-bound septs.⁶² Thus by 1637, the small tier of land units was already being forgotten as the lands melded into larger estates. This is evidenced by the notes written under several larger denominations in the BSD: '...whose mears betwixt them cannot be distinguished' and 'undistinguished'.⁶³ As more of the larger units were later translated into townlands, their identification in the nineteenth-century townland matrix is easier. Conversely, the small named parcels, common in areas where more traditional forms of land holding were still in use, are in some instances impossible to identify as they have

[59] This may be explained by the particular methods used in the undertaking the survey or the specific informants and their knowledge of the different areas.

[60] In Rathbourny parish, for example, units are valued at 2 & 2/3 qr, 1 & 1/3 qr, 2/3 qr and 1/3 qr equating to four, two, one and half a *seisre* respectively; Simington, *BSD Clare*, 470-5.

[61] FitzPatrick, 'Cahermacnaghten: investigating Gaelic estates', 136.

[62] For a broader discussion of the distribution of different sized land units see Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin, 2007), 185.

[63] See for example the civil parish of Kilmooney, a large part of which was owned by Donogh and Daniel O Bryan in 1636-7. The parish has a preponderance of large units whose mears or internal divisions are unknown. Caherbolog & Tullaghfinane, 2qrs; Ballyhina, Cullebeg & Caherclogane 2qrs; Kilmooney 1 1/3 qr were all held by Donogh or Daniel and were all 'undistinguished' internally.

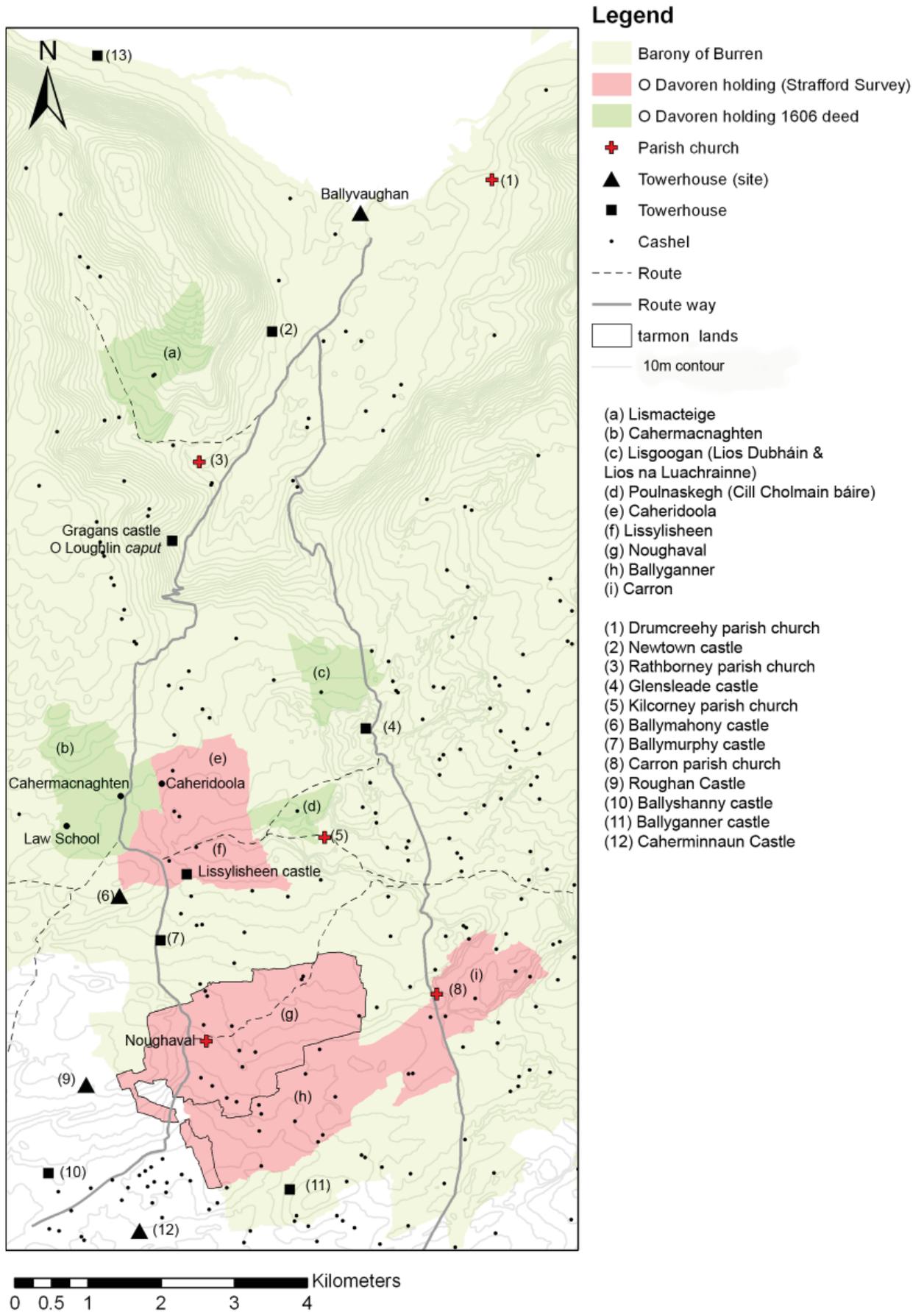


Fig. 4.6: The O'Davoren holding c.1637. Based on the Strafford Survey and the first edition OS map.

subsequently been incorporated into larger aggregates, which in turn were crystallised into townlands in the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

4.3 The O'Davoren holding c.1606-c.1637

In the early seventeenth century, the O'Davoren patrimonial sept lands were situated in the territory of *Tuath Eannuigh*, identified by Nugent as coterminous with the civil parishes of Noughaval, Kilcorney, Kilmoon and Killeany, with additional holdings in the *tuath* of *Muinntear Arga* (Rathbourney and Drumcreehy) (Fig. 4.4; Fig 4.6).⁶⁵ In 1637, ten named individuals with the name O'Davoren held approximately four and 25/36 quarters of land, or just over a *baile*. Their holding comprised approximately 5% of the land in the barony of Burren,⁶⁶ and lay in two unconnected parcels, one to the north, including the holding's *caput*, and the sept's law school. A second parcel of land to the south held Noughaval parish church. These two parcels of land arguably had distinct origins, and can be respectively traced to the high medieval allocation of a landholding to the O'Davorens on what is likely to have been the O'Loughlin *lucht tighe* or mensal lands,⁶⁷ and to the church land they held as *erenaghs* or *coarbs* of Noughaval (4.3.2).

The different origins and legal basis for the two portions of the O'Davoren lands engendered a distinct pattern of landholding on each. Thus, the land they held on the O'Loughlin mensal lands as *brehons* was in the hands of Giolla na naomh, the *ollamb* and *ceann fine*⁶⁸, and his sons Constance and Hugh, while the *tearmonn* or church lands at Noughaval were shared among eight members of the sept. Members of the sept held their land in non-contiguous parcels ranging from two-thirds of a quarter down to one-twenty-fourth of a quarter. Land was allocated to different sept members on a hierarchical basis; Giolla na naomh held the largest share with a total of one and two-ninths of a quarter, while one Teige O'Davoren held the smallest portion, at just one-twelfth of a quarter. The fragmented nature of the sept's collective holding allied with the proportionally large numbers of freeholders has led Nugent to classify them

[64] The denomination of Ballyganner in the parish of Noughaval is a prime example. The placename survives in the 19th century townland matrix as two townlands: Ballyganner North and Ballyganner South. In 1637 the denomination of 2 quarters contained 11 named internal divisions ranging in size from 1/18 quarter to 1/3 qr and was held by 14 named individuals.

[65] Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 164; Gibson identifies *Tuath Eannuigh* as being composed of the civil parishes of Carron, Noughaval and Kilcorney. D. Blair Gibson, 'Chiefdoms and the emergence of private property in land', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27 (2008), 52.

[66] As calculated using the BSD.

[67] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann *brehon* law school and its estate landscape' (2005), 4.

[68] The *ceann fine* or head of the family or kindred. John Davies noted in 1607 that 'every sept had a cheefe or canfinny as they called him'. John Davies, *Of the lawes of Irelande* (1607), 7.

among the tradition-bound clans of Co. Clare.⁶⁹ In contrast to Nugent's adapting clans, who saw the concentration of sept land in the hands of fewer clan members and the consolidation of holdings conducive to the production of agricultural surplus, tradition-bound clans continued to hold land in a more collective manner and did not consolidate their holdings.

4.3.1 The northern holding

While the O'Davoren holding, as it existed c.1637, cannot be precisely delineated due to the loss of placenames and the boundaries in the processes outlined above, enough placenames do survive to allow for a broad sketch of it. The northern part of the O'Davoren holding can be identified as the estate that they held on the mensal land in return for services rendered to their O'Loughlin chiefs. The holding is in part recorded in a partition deed dated 1606, surviving in the Corofin MS and transcribed by George U. Macnamara.⁷⁰ Part of it is also enumerated in the Strafford Survey (1637). It is important to note that these records post-date the 1591 O'Brien-O'Loughlin compact, which as noted above, entailed the renegotiation of the landholding of professional service families.

Denomination	Parish	Value	BSD	
Cathair mic Neachtain	Nuachonghabhail	Leith Sheisre	1/3 qr (p.465)	Hugh O'Davoren Donogh O'Davoren
Lios mic Taidhg	Druimcriche	Leith Sheisre	1/3 qr (p.472)	Donogh O'Brien
Lios Dubháin	Druimcriche	Leith Sheisre	1/6 qr (p.473)	Hugh O'Davoren
Lios na Luachrainne	Druimcriche		1/6 qr (p.473)	Hugh O'Davoren
Cill Cholmain báire	Cill Coirne	Leith Sheisre	1/3 qr (p.467)	Donogh O'Brien
		2 sheisre	1 1/3 qrs	

Table 4.1: The O'Davoren deed of 1606.

The O'Davoren estate, as recorded by the 1606 partition deed, comprised two *seisre* made up of : (i) the *leith sheisre* of Cathair mic Neachtain, (ii) the *leith sheisre* of Lios mic Taidhg, (iii) the *leith sheisre* of Lios Dubháin and Lios na luachrainne and (iv) the *leith sheisre* of Cill Cholmain báire.⁷¹ To this we can add the *seisre* (2/3 quarter) of

[69] Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 231.

[70] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 75; FitzPatrick, 'Uí Dhábhoireann brehon law school', 2.

[71] Macnamara, 'O'Davorens', 89.

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Lissylishen, which was noted in several documents as an O'Davoren residence (see below). It was partially held by the sept at the time of the Strafford Survey, as was the *leith sheisre* of 'Kahirenoolly', which has been identified as the eastern portion of what is now Cahermacnaghten townland.⁷² The northern holding contained the recorded dwelling places of the senior members of the family, mentioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century documentary sources, namely Lissylishen and Cahermacnaghten. It was also home to the O'Davoren school house which, it has been suggested, lay in the south-western part of the *leith seisre* of Cahermacnaghten.⁷³

Lissylishen and the Cahermacnaghten in the adjacent townland, were the recorded dwelling places of those senior members of the family who are mentioned in the documentary records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the late sixteenth century, one Oliver O'Davoren (d.1601) was described in several sources as residing at Lissylishen. Oliver's seniority is suggested by a number of details. He was referred to as a 'gent' or gentleman in the documents, and in 1585 he was listed among the 'good and lawful men' who gave evidence to Sir Richard Bingham at an inquisition for the composition of Connacht. An *inquisition post mortem* into Oliver's land taken in Ennis in 1626 found that he, 'being owner' of Lissylishen, conveyed it, by deed of the 29 September 1590, to one Constance Davoren, possibly his son. Oliver died in 1601 leaving Giolla-na-naomh his 'son and heir'.⁷⁴ The same year, a crown pardon again noted the above Constance and Giolla-na-naomh as 'of Lissylishen'; both were described as gentlemen.⁷⁵ The first reference to Cahermacnaghten is in 1601, when the *Fiants* recorded a crown pardon issued to Hugh O'Davoren 'of Cahirwicknaghty, yeoman'.⁷⁶ The most important document pertaining to the denomination is a deed of division of the townland dating to 1606. The deed, made between Giolla-na-naomh óg Ó Duibhdabhoireann, and his two sons, Aodh (Hugh) and Cosnui (Constance), records the division of the 'two ploughland homesteads of the land of their father and grandfather' (*dá seisre bhaile dfharan a n-athar agus a seanathar*).⁷⁷ In 1634, the above

[72] FitzPatrick, 'Uí Dhábhoireann brehon law school', 53.

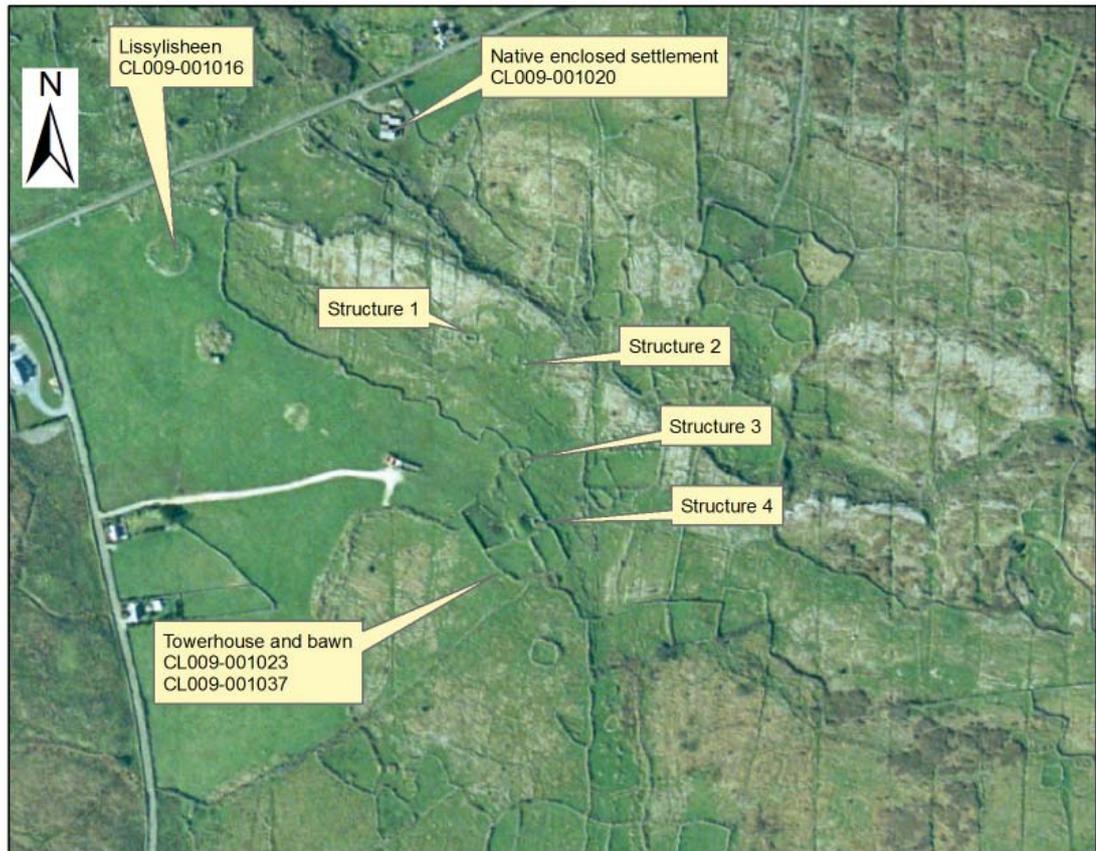
[73] FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school', 36.

[74] James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1893), 302.

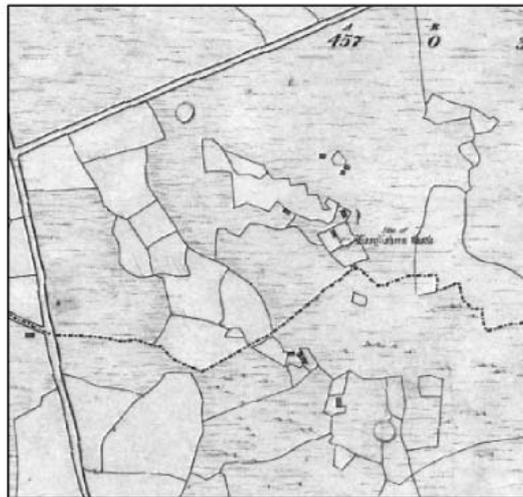
[75] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 505-6.

[76] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 505-6.

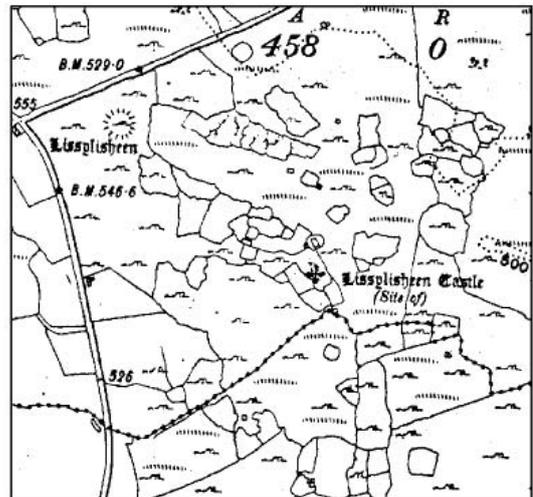
[77] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 86, 89.



0 30 60 120 180 240 Meters



0 50 100 200 300 400 Meters



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Fig. 4.7a: OS aerial photograph of Lissylisheen showing the site of Lissylisheen Castle and associated monuments.

Fig. 4.7b: OS first edition 6-inch map showing Lissylisheen Castle (1840).

Fig. 4.7c: OS 25-inch map showing Lissylisheen Castle (1895)



Fig. 4.8a: View from the mound of Lissylisheen towerhouse looking north. Note later building (structure 4 adjacent to the castle site).

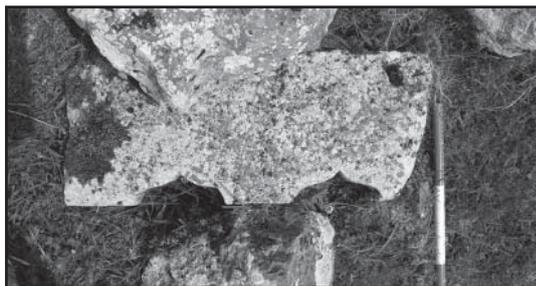


Fig. 4.8b: Portion of twin-light ogee-headed window reused in a later building (structure 2) at Lissylisheen.

Constance died and his death was enrolled with the Ulster King of Arms. The funeral entry accords him gentle status and notes him as ‘of Cahermacnaghten’.⁷⁸

4.3.1.1 *Lissylisheen (Lios Uí Ghlisín)*

The nineteenth-century townland of Lissylisheen lies in the southern-most part of the *túath* of *Muinntear Arga*, along the Ballyvaughan-Kilfenora road (Fig. 4.6). It has a roughly rectangular outline, and covers an area of 457 statute acres, stretching from the rough, karst-exposed uplands bordering Kilcorney to the east, to the boggy slopes of Binnroe to the west. The Stafford Survey valued Lissylisheen at two-thirds of a quarter (one *seisre*) and described it as ‘rocky pasture’. Three internal divisions were recorded by the survey: Ballyhoalton (1/3 qr), Lissenkirke (1/6 qr) and Cloghboely (1/6 qr).⁷⁹ It is not possible to identify these denominations on the ground with any conviction, but it

[78] G. Slevin, ‘Funeral entries from County Clare in the seventeenth century’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* XVII (1975), 64.

[79] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 473.

is likely that Cloghboley, containing the elements 'buaille' and 'cloch' refers to the stony, upland pasture in the east of the townland, or a prominent erratic in its north-west corner.⁸⁰

The denomination contains a towerhouse (CL009-001023-) and five native enclosed settlements. Its name, given in Irish as *Lios Uí Ghlisín*,⁸¹ comes from a *lios* located c.300m west of the towerhouse (Fig. 4.7). The castle was named on the 1574 castle list, although not on the 1570 version which detailed occupants.⁸² It is completely collapsed and remains only as a grassed-over cairn of rubble, c.4m in height, within the remains of a substantial bawn (Fig. 4.7). The tower was evidently still standing when Westropp visited the site, and he reported in 1899 that it 'still shows a large well built rectangular court and a lofty block of masonry'.⁸³ The bawn is the best preserved component of the castle, although it has been partially damaged by recent field clearance to the north. It is preserved to the west of the castle, where it is c.1.8m tall and c.1.5m thick. The masonry comprises large blocks of flat-bedded roughly cut limestone (up to 0.8m long by 0.18 high) built in regular courses. Another stretch of possible bawn wall is represented by a substantial linear mound running due south from the castle site for c.20m.

Although no diagnostic cut stone was detected in the castle mound, several pieces were found built into ruined rectangular structures situated c.60m to the north of the castle site. There are several architectural fragments in their fabric, including the upper portion of a twin-light ogee-headed window, the apex of a pointed doorway and a chamfered window jamb, as well as a number of pieces of punch-dressed stone (Fig. 4.8b). The window fragment is almost identical to a two-light ogee-headed window in the uppermost floor of Gleninagh castle.⁸⁴

The castle is surrounded by a knot of fields and small, walled *gardíni* for an area extending c.400m to the north, east and west of the monument (Fig. 4.8a). Among these are the remains of four small buildings of uncertain date which are depicted on the first edition OS map, along with another two that have since disappeared (Fig. 4.7a,b,c). Two of the buildings are of potentially medieval or early modern date. A rectangular structure c.9.8m by 5.8m is located within a sub-circular enclosure (c.18m in diameter), immediately to the north-east of the bawn. The structure, which is depicted

[80] FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school', 10.

[81] [<http://www.logainm.ie/5841.aspx>] Accessed 11 June 2012, 23:53.

[82] R. W. Twigge, 'Edward White's description of Thomond in 1574', *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, 1 (1909-11), 82; Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', 130.

[83] Westropp, *Archaeology of the Burren*, 49.

[84] At Gleninagh the two-light window, concealed behind a later mural fireplace is the only surviving lancet ogee-headed window in the tower, the rest having been replaced with mullioned windows complete with hood mouldings in the late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth century.

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on the first edition OS map, has substantial moss-covered walls composed of roughly hewn limestone blocks, and has two internal partitions dividing it into three rooms. There is evidence for a mural hearth in the southern gable of the structure. The setting of the structure within the circular enclosure is reminiscent of the site excavated by Ní Ghabhlán at Noughaval. Visual inspection of the building would indicate that the south-east end is not necessarily contemporary with the rest of the building and may have been added at a later date. Another building of late medieval or early modern date is located *c.*90m to the north of the castle. The rectangular structure is *c.*8m in length, its fragmentary walls are *c.*0.95m thick and comprise two outer skins of masonry made from roughly hewn limestone blocks with a rubble core. The south wall of the structure was built up with a single wall in the post-medieval period and a small single wall pen was appended to its east gable.

Lissylisheen tower house was a mere 4km south of Gragans, along the Kilfenora to Ballyvaughan road (Fig. 4.6). The location of the O'Davoren towerhouse in the demesne, strongly suggests that this portion of their holding was in return for legal services rendered to the O'Loughlins. The towerhouse may indeed have been built by the O'Loughlins specifically for their O'Davoren brehons. In this context, we should perhaps consider it as a backdrop to the legal work carried out by the O'Davorens, and as a locus of hospitality, the provision of which was an obligation of the *ollambain* or learned professors.⁸⁵

Most of the *seisre* of Lissylisheen seems to have passed out of O'Davoren hands in the early years of the seventeenth century, although occupancy of the site may have continued. It was listed as the property of Daniel Neylon, Bishop of Kildare in 1604, and in 1637 most of the denomination was held by Donogh O'Brien. The loss of Lissylisheen to the O'Davorens can perhaps, best be understood in terms of the demise of their traditional patrons. The 1591 agreement between the Earl of Thomond and Irial and Donogh O'Loughlin had implications for the holdings of the lordship's professional sept. Earl of Thomond, as lord of *Sliocht Melaghlín*, regranted the O'Daly bardic family (*Muintir Dála*), their holding of 'the four *sheisiodh* of Finavarra' for one hundred years from May 1591 'for services due and accustomed in law'.⁸⁶ No record of

[85] Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 108 (1978), 71.

[86] Hardiman, *Ancient Irish deeds*, 92.

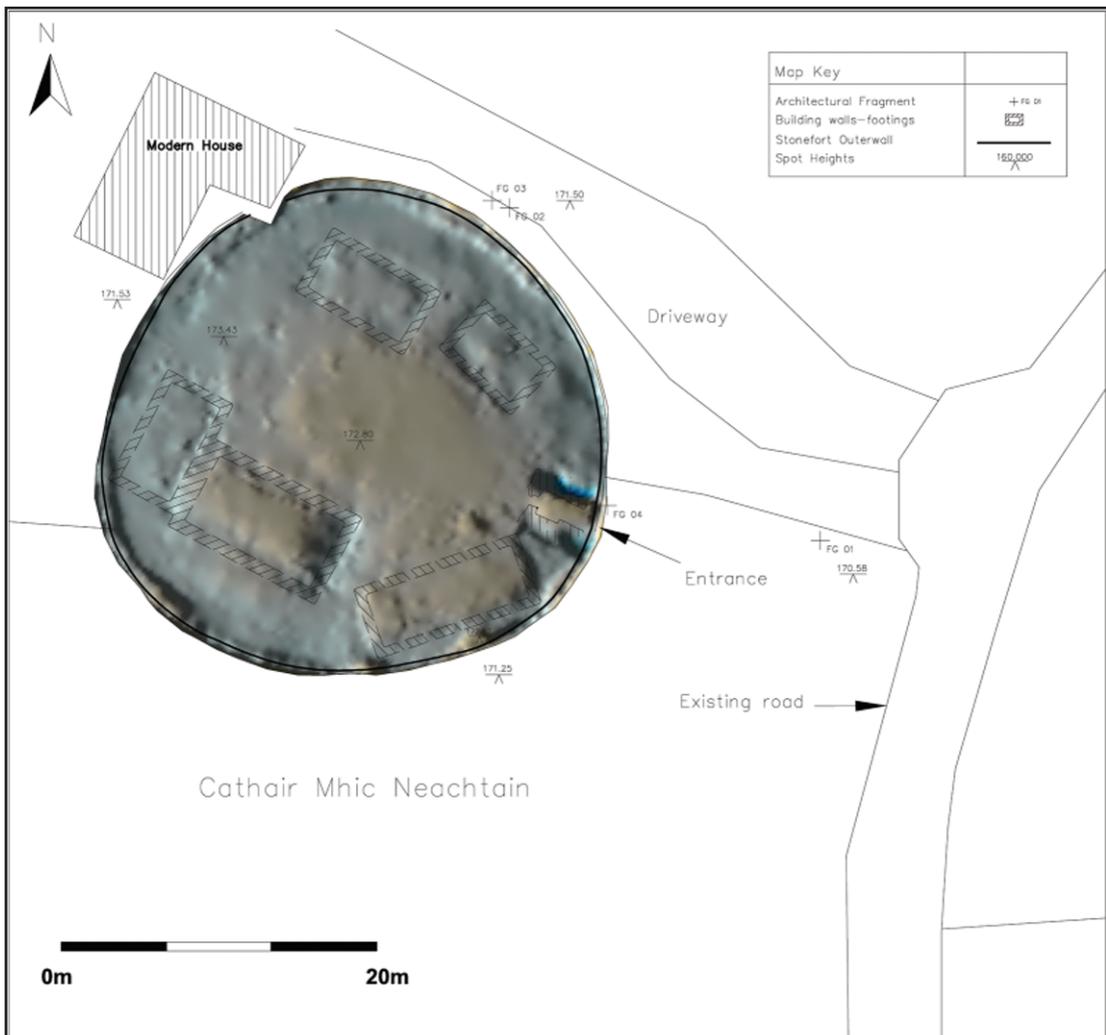


Fig. 4.9: Cahermacnaghten c.1900 (Macnamara Collection, Courtesy of Clare County Library).

Fig. 4.10: Plan of Cahermacnaghten cashel (FitzPatrick 2009).

such an agreement survives between the Earl and the O'Davorens, although it seems likely that such an agreement did occur.

4.3.1.2 Cahermacnaghten (*Cathair Mhic Neachtain*)

Cahermacnaghten comprised the ancestral core of the O'Davoren holding on the O'Loughlin *lucht tighe*.⁸⁷ The nineteenth-century townland comprised the two *leith sheisre* (1/3 quarters) of Cahermacnaghten and Caheridoola (Kahirnooly), located in Noughaval and Drumcreehy parishes respectively. The two principal places in the *leith sheisre* of Cahermacnaghten were its eponymous *cathair* ('*cheannáite Chathrach mic Neachtain*') and a late-medieval building called *Cabbail Tighe Breac*, which FitzPatrick has proposed as the family's school house.⁸⁸ The *cathair* was described as a castle on White's castle list of 1574.⁸⁹ Certainly with its substantial walls complete with two-storey gate house and suite of internal stone buildings, it was castle-like in many respects (Fig. 4.9; Fig. 4.10).⁹⁰ The *cathair* is c.30m in diameter and bound by walls of roughly coursed limestone blocks with a rubble and mortar core (2.5m wide; 3m high). Its entrance is to the east, and comprises the remains of a small late medieval two-storey gate house.⁹¹ The *cathair* contains the footings of five stone buildings, arranged around the perimeter of the garth. These buildings are named and listed in the 1606 partition deed and have been identified on the ground by FitzPatrick. Cahermacnaghten is significant in that it demonstrates how *cathair* sites could be modified and augmented in a later medieval and early modern context.

4.3.2 The southern holding: The *Tearmann* lands of Noughaval (Nuachabháil)

The southern block of the O'Davoren's land was in the southern part of the parish of Noughaval, centered on the *tearmonn* lands of the church, which the sept probably held as erenaghs or coarbs. In addition to the *tearmonn* lands, members of the sept also held land in the adjacent two quarters of Ballyganner in the same parish, as well as a *seisre* of the two quarters of 'Karne alias Balliowroe' and two-sixths of a quarter in 'Lehanagh' in the parish of Carron.⁹² The southern part of the O'Davoren holding lies on the southern reaches of the Burren uplands (Fig. 4.6). To the east of the holding the terrain

[87] FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school', 17.

[88] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 86, 90.

[89] White lists all the castles of the Burren as being in the ownership of the O'Loughlins, including Cahermacnaghten.

[90] FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement', 291-293.

[91] FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement', 291.

[92] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 450-1.



Fig. 4.11: Noughaval Parish church c.1910 (Macnamara Collection, Courtesy of Clare County Library).

is characterised by rough swathes of exposed karst (130 OD), which sweeps down to a shallow valley running north-south along which the Kilfenora-Ballyvaughan road runs (100 OD). The land rises again in the east of the denominations, to the boggy uplands of Roughan and Rusheen (130OD), providing the holding with a good mix of bog, arable land and rough grazing.

Before the Strafford Survey, references to the inhabitants of Noughaval are scant. The *fiants* mention the denomination only once, recording a pardon to ‘Connor roe O’Davoren of Noughaval, husbandman’ in 1601.⁹³ The returns of the Strafford Survey, however, make clear the connection between the place and the O’Davorens. The survey valued the denomination at two-and-two-thirds of a quarter, almost 80% of which (just over two quarters) was held by members of the sept. Giolla-na-naomh, the *ceann fine*, held the largest portion of land, two-thirds of a quarter. The rest was shared among seven other members of the sept (including Hugh and Constance), in parcels ranging between one-third and three-twenty-fourths of a quarter.

The proliferation of O’Davorens in the parish, and in particular in the lands surrounding the parish church, poses questions as to the connection between the sept and the establishment. According to Katharine Simms, the later medieval learned families usually originated as church tenants, minor nobility or pre-Norman

[93] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 505.

professionals.⁹⁴ Their connection with the church, underscored by shared literacy, and a tendency for learned families to sometimes also hold erenaghships, has been noted by Mac Cana and Nicholls.⁹⁵ In later medieval Fermanagh, for example, the Uí Breasláin brehons, Uí Luinín poets and historians and the Uí Cianán physicians served as erenaghs.⁹⁶ In the pre-twelfth-century period, the erenagh (*airchinnech*) functioned as an administrator and effective lord of the monastic establishment and its dependants.⁹⁷ They had a similar role to the coarb (*comarba*), or successor of the patron saint, but without the spiritual prestige.⁹⁸ After the twelfth-century reforms, the monastic *tearmann* lands were vested in the bishops; in Gaelic parts of Ireland, coarb and erenagh families frequently remained on as tenants of the bishops. They paid the bishops low rents out of their lands and were obliged to provide him certain food renders and hospitality, as well as more general hospitality to pilgrims and the poor, in addition to maintaining the church buildings and collecting rents and tithes. Many members of such septs often took minor orders and they figured prominently among the local clergy.⁹⁹

After the Reformation, *tearmann* lands that had been held by the See of Kilfenora, passed to the established church. Consequently they are noted in early modern church sources; the *tearmann* lands at Noughaval, for example, are alluded to in two seventeenth-century documents. The *Visitatio Regalis* of 1615 noted rent of four pounds due to the Bishop of Kilfenora from the 'four cesses' of Noughaval.¹⁰⁰ Again in 1699, the four 'sessies' of Noughaval were referred to in a lease by the Archbishop of Tuam and Kilfenora to Mortagh and Dermot O'Davoren.¹⁰¹ The terms 'cesses' and 'sessies' refers to the Gaelic denominations *seisre*, equating to one-sixth of a *baile*. This is equivalent to the two and two-thirds of a quarter that the denomination of Noughaval was assessed as in the Strafford Survey; thus the seventeenth-century denomination can be identified with *tearmann* lands. In addition to their occupancy of the *tearmann* lands, the suggestion that O'Davorens served as erenaghs or coarbs of Noughaval is also supported by their role in the church. There is some evidence for members of the sept among the local clergy in the late medieval period. In 1460, the papal letters noted the death of

[94] Katharine Simms, 'The brehons of later medieval Ireland', in D. Hogan and W. N. Osborough (eds.), *Brehons, Serjeants and Attorneys* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: The Irish Academic Press, 1990), 60.

[95] P. Mac Cana, 'The rise of the later schools of filidheacht', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 126-46; K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 91.

[96] Simms, 'Brehons of later medieval Ireland', 60; Ciaran Ó Scea, 'Erenachs, erenachships and church landholding in Gaelic Fermanagh, 1270-1609', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 112C (2011), 26.

[97] Ó Scea, 'Erenachs', 4.

[98] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 128.

[99] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 128; Henry A. Jefferies, 'Erenaghs and termonlands: Another early seventeenth-century account', *Seanchas Ardmacha*, 19, 1 (2002), 56; Simms, 'Guesting and feasting', 70.

[100] National Library of Ireland TCD MS 1066, Pos. 1563, Ecclesiastical Visitations, 377.

[101] John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961), 405.

'John Odubgaborynd' late vicar of Noughaval.¹⁰² Their longstanding ecclesiastical involvement is also suggested by their participation in the reformed church. The *Visitatio Regalis* of 1615 listed Murtoogh O'Davoren 'minister and an Irish man' as the vicar of Noughaval.¹⁰³ In 1633, Nehemias O'Davoren was noted as rector and vicar to Killonaghan, Rathbourney and Dromcreehy parishes.¹⁰⁴

How were the *tearmann* lands organised in the early modern period, and what kinds of settlements were located on them?

In the Strafford Survey, the two-and-two-thirds of a quarter or four 'sessies' of the *tearmann* of Noughaval contained nine named internal divisions. Three of these have been preserved in the townland system, so that the seventeenth-century denomination is coextensive with the nineteenth-century townlands of Noughaval, Lismoher, Kiltaan, Kiltennan North and Kiltennan South, and covering 1,119 statute acres. The two quarters of Ballyganner can be identified with the townland of Ballyganner North, on the southern border of the *tearmann*. The two quarters of 'Karne alias Balliowroe' can tentatively be identified with the townlands of Carran and Poulacarran, to the east of the *tearmann*, although it is uncertain which part of this was held by the O'Davorens. The quarter of 'Lehanagh' in the parish of Carron cannot be identified on the ground.

The principal place in the southern holding was the parish church-focused settlement of Noughaval (Fig. 4.16). The multi-period church was surrounded by a cluster of related monuments, including a late medieval market cross and group of house sites that may constitute the remains of a medieval church-based village. There are some fifteen native enclosed settlements spread across the *tearmann*, and another ten in Ballyganner North.

The name Noughaval derives from the Irish *Nuavonghaval*, meaning, new habitation or establishment.¹⁰⁵ It was the site of a parish church, which has its genesis in the early medieval period as an important monastic establishment.¹⁰⁶ Several monuments at the site are indicative of an early date, including the church itself. The south wall of the nave is constructed in the pseudo-cyclopean style, characteristic of ecclesiastical

[102] William Henry Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal letters*, (13 vols, Burlington, 2005), Vol. 12, 78; The only other reference to Noughaval in the CPL comes in 1455, when 'Macgeruastyr perpetual vicar of Nova alias Noughavl a public and notorious fornicator' was relieved of his position for having 'dilapidated and alienated etc. the goods of the said vicarage and committed simony, to the shame of the priestly order' Bliss & Twemlow, *Papal registers*, Vol. 11, 212.

[103] National Library of Ireland, TCD MS 1066, Pos. 1563, Ecclesiastical Visitations, 377

[104] National Library of Ireland, TCD MS 1067, Pos. 1563, Ecclesiastical Visitations, 305.

[105] Burnell, *The Anglicized words of Irish placenames*, 306.

[106] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church, parish, polity', 303.

architecture of the eleventh to early twelfth century.¹⁰⁷ Much of the church was rebuilt in the late twelfth century; it was extended to the north, a new late Romanesque-style door was placed in the south wall and a chancel was added.¹⁰⁸ Traces of a massive wall to the south of the church, enclosing part of the glebe land, have been interpreted as part of an earlier monastic *vallum*. The site features a *leacht* or dry-stone altar with a simple round headed cross, which Harbison has dated to the twelfth century, and there is a holy well dedicated to St. Mogua, located c.90m to the east of the church, at the base of a limestone shelf. It is argued in chapter 7 that these elements were part of a pilgrimage circuit or *turas*, that was known to have existed in Noughaval in the early nineteenth century. The church itself was altered in the late medieval or early modern period by the insertion of a two-light square-headed window into the southern wall of its nave.

4.4.2.1 The Market Cross of Noughaval

Perhaps, one of the most significant aspects of the Noughaval settlement was its role as a market site, the existence of which in the late medieval period is testified by a market stone, locally known as the 'bundle cross'. The cross itself comprises an octagonal, cut-stone column, set onto a rectangular stepped base, surmounting an undressed stone plinth (Fig. 4.12). The column is 1.29m high and 0.55m in diameter. It is made up of eleven individual cut and punch-dressed limestone blocks. Each side of the octagonal shaft is 0.23m or nine inches wide. The stepped base is made from five finely cut and punch-dressed stones. The plinth underlying the cross is composed of roughly cut, weathered limestone blocks, which are broken in places and are roughly mortared together. The cross is currently exhibits strap pointing, but this is not original.

Medieval market crosses have a poor survival rate in Ireland. Most recorded examples come from urban centres, predominantly in the east of the island.¹⁰⁹ They typically featured a stone column or cross, set atop a stepped base and carved with Christian images, but could also be made from wood.¹¹⁰ Little work has been carried out on market crosses outside of urban centres. In a broader context, the crosses bear some

[107] Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in early medieval Ireland: architecture, ritual and memory* (New Haven 2011), 119; Sinéad Ní Ghabhlaín, 'Late twelfth-century church construction: evidence of parish formation?', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 151.

[108] Ó Carragáin, *Churches in early medieval Ireland*, 298, 300, 313; Ní Ghabhlaín, 'Church, parish and polity', 474-7.

[109] Heather A. King, 'Late Medieval Crosses in County Meath c. 1470-1635', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 84C (1984), 97.

[110] John Bradley, 'Town Life in Medieval Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland*, 5/3 (1991), 26; Henry S. Crawford, 'The market cross of Dubin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1/4 (1911); John G. A. Prim, 'The Market Cross of Kilkenny', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2/2 (1853).

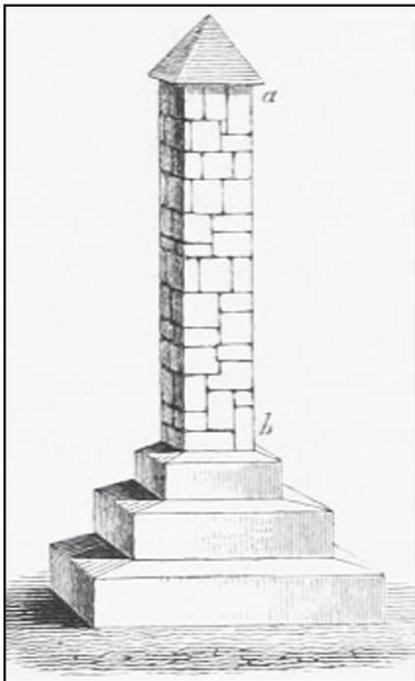


Fig. 4.12 (top left): The bundle cross at Noughaval.

Fig. 4.13 (top right): Donogh Mór O'Daly's monument at Finavarra.

Fig. 4.14 (left): Sketch of monuemnt from Moyneux's *Tour of Connacht* (1709).

comparison with later medieval Scottish examples, which typically comprised a pillar set atop a stepped base, both of which were frequently polygonal. They were often capped with a carved armorial device.¹¹¹ More locally, the Noughaval cross forms part of a small group in the Galway hinterland comprising polygonal columns. The others occur at Finavarra, Co. Clare (CL003-005----) (Fig. 4.13) and Ballynacourty, Co. Galway

[111] James Drummond, 'Notice of some stone crosses, with special reference to the market crosses of Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 4 (1860-62), 89.

(GA103-033003-), with a tentative unidentified fourth monument derived from a sketch by Molyneux c.1709 (Fig. 4.14).¹¹²

What was the origin of the market at Noughaval? What was being traded there and under whose patronage?

Despite the presence of the cross there is no surviving patent for a market at Noughaval.¹¹³ The nearest places with recorded patents are Kilfenora, where the bishop was granted a patent for a weekly market by James I, and Ballyvaughan where the earliest surviving patent dates from the 1690s.¹¹⁴ Ecclesiastical sites have a long association with markets in an Irish context. In early medieval Ireland, inter-group exchange took place at the tribal *óenach* held at territorial boundaries, but in the eighth or ninth centuries, some monasteries began to take over this function, developing an increasing significance as sites of redistribution and exchange between the tenth and twelfth centuries.¹¹⁵ Major monastic sites developed fixed market-places, which from at least the thirteenth century began to be marked by crosses.¹¹⁶ If the market place at Noughaval had an early medieval genesis, then it seems likely that control over that market was claimed by the Bishop of Kilfenora after the twelfth-century church reforms.

An indication of the goods traded at Noughaval comes from the name of its cross; it is known locally as 'the bundle cross' after the Gaelic unit of measurement.¹¹⁷ Referring to the edges of the octagonal cross, Frost related that it had 'certain lines drawn upon it to serve as measures of length for the people'.¹¹⁸ A bundle was an Irish unit of cloth measurement, whose name derived from the Irish words *bann* meaning measure, and *lámh* meaning hand or arm.¹¹⁹ According to Hely Dutton, it was still in currency as a unit of measurement in Co. Clare at the start of the nineteenth century, and although

[112] Thomas Molyneux, 'Journey to Connaught- April 1709', *The miscellany of the Irish archaeological society*, 1 (1856), 174.

[113] Hercules George Robert Robinson, Sir and John Macbeth, 'Fairs and Markets' Commission, Ireland. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets in Ireland. Part II. Minutes of evidence', (1852-53).

[114] A patent to hold a market at Kilfenora on Thursdays and fairs on the 'Wednesday, Thursday and Friday preceeding the feast of Pentecost and one other fair on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel and the two following days' (July 29, 16 James I); Hercules George Robert Robinson, Sir and John Macbeth, 'Fairs and Markets' Commission, Ireland. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets in Ireland. Part II. Minutes of evidence', (1852-53), 49, 67.

[115] Charles Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 110 (1980), 71, 81.

[116] Charles Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', 83.

[117] Archive of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, CL009-05927, Noughaval.

[118] Frost, *History and topography*, 29.

[119] "bundle, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15154?rskey=RiYWYo&result=2&isAdvanced=false>] Accessed June 11, 2012, 00:14.

its measurement was subject to regional variation 'it ought' to measure 27 inches.¹²⁰ This measurement tallies well with the cross at Noughaval, which has a circumference of about 54 inches, or two bundles. Cloth could thus be measured by wrapping it around the shaft of the cross the desired number of times.

Textiles comprised an important article of trade in later medieval Ireland. A considerable amount of linen and woollen cloth was domestically produced for both export and the home market in later medieval Ireland.¹²¹ Linen cloth was manufactured, principally in the north and west of the island, indeed, according to Nicholls, pieces of linen served as a medium of exchange in Galway in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²² Coarse woollen cloths, notably frieze and mantles were also manufactured for export.¹²³ There is some evidence that the Burren was a centre of wool production from at least the early medieval period. Excavations at Cahercommaun (*Catbair Chomáin*) near Carron, produced a substantial assemblage of spindle whorls (55) and pin beaters (20) indicating spinning and weaving of cloth c.800.¹²⁴ The port city of Galway served as a conduit and locus of consumption for fabrics made in its hinterland, including the O'Loughlin lordship. Merchants from the port towns travelled the countryside, selling imported goods and collecting local produce for export.¹²⁵

The resemblance of the cross to the Finavarra and Ballynacourty monuments is notable in this context. The stone at Finavarra was recorded by O Donovan as a *leacht* to Donal Mór O Daly. The monument is situated on a prominent hillock overlooking the bay at Finavarra, c.70m to the west of a ruined pier called 'Parkmore quay' on the first edition OS map. The site has a clear view of Shanmuckinish Castle to the south. Like the market cross at Noughaval, the Finavarra monument comprises a polygonal column atop a stepped base (Fig. 4.13). It is, however, grander in scale than the Noughaval cross. The shaft of the monument alone is almost 2m high, and is hexagonal in plan;

[120] 'The yard and the bundle differ in many places, according as the rule, by which they measure varies; the yard ought to be thirty-six inches, and the bundle twenty-seven inches long. In the county of Galway the bundle is thirty inches, and in Limerick only twenty-one inches, in some parts of Kilkenny twenty-four inches'. Hely Dutton, *Statistical survey of the county of Clare: with observations on the means of improvement: drawn up for the consideration, and by the direction of the Dublin society* (Dublin, 1808), 357.

[121] Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy', 417; Susan M. Lough, 'Trade and Industry in Ireland in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Political Economy*, 24/7 (1916), 722; Timothy O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), 58-70.

[122] Cloth has served as a medium of exchange in many different places throughout history. The Baltic Slavs used linen strips as a means of payment in commercial transactions, and in medieval Sweden and Iceland woollen cloth served as a currency known as *wadmal*. The use of cloth as currency is also known from medieval Norway and Germany; Larry Allen, *The encyclopaedia of money* (Santa Barbara, 2009), 73.

[123] O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners*, 68-10.

[124] Paul Gosling, 'The Burren in early historic times', J.W. O Connell and A. Korff, *The book of the Burren* (Kinvara, 2001), 87; Claire Cotter, 'Western stone forts project, Cahercommaun fort, Co. Clare: a reassessment of its cultural context', *Discovery programme reports 5* (Dublin, 1999), 71.

[125] Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy', 419.

its stepped base is also hexagonal. While the monument is recorded as a *leacht* and was locally remembered as such in the nineteenth century, there is at least the possibility that it too served as a market stone.¹²⁶ The location of the monument on the bay in close proximity to the pier, the possible presence of a clustered settlement at the site in 1660 as recorded by the poll tax, and the presence of the Galway, Lynch family in the denomination from at least 1612 are all suggestive of trading activity at the site.¹²⁷ Significantly, the site of the Ballynacourty cross was near a pier called 'Lynch's pier' on the 1838 OS map.

These monuments in the Galway hinterland can perhaps be read as part of the later medieval infrastructure of trade and exchange, instituted between the Galway grey merchants, the Bishop of Kilfenora and the chiefs of the lordship. In the context of Gaelic Ireland, it is not surprising that ecclesiastical sites should have remained *loci* of trade and exchange in the later medieval period. Indeed, the only other market cross recorded by the ASI in Co. Galway was at the ecclesiastical site of Kilskeagh. There, a wooden cross was recorded by the Ordnance Survey, and said to mark the site of a late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century market, of probable earlier origins.¹²⁸ It is not certain how long the market at Noughaval endured, but the presence of a pattern at the site in the early nineteenth century (see chapter 7) would certainly suggest that it endured as a place of congregation well past the later medieval period.

From about the seventeenth century, there is evidence of this local market place being linked to broader spheres of trade and exchange, to English and beyond the Atlantic to America. A shard of North Devon gravel-tempered ware manufactured was found during an excavation of a house site in Caherconnell cashel in 2007.¹²⁹ Sinead Ní Ghabhláin's excavations at Noughaval in 1990 also uncovered a shard of the ceramic type from a context associated with the construction of a small rectangular house (Fig. 7.2).¹³⁰ North Devon ware was manufactured in the area in and around the north Devon villages of Barnstable and Bideford from the early years of the seventeenth century, with the industry reaching its peak in the 1680s. Ireland was a major export destination for North Devon ware and the trade in ceramics was linked to that of other Irish staple imports and exports namely, livestock, hides, wool, butter and tobacco and coal. The pots were

[126] It is worth noting that late-medieval memorials and market stones had marked similarities. Heather King's Meath study, for example, noted interplay between the monuments in terms of form and decoration; King, 'Late-medieval crosses', 97.

[127] Hardiman, 'Ancient Irish deeds', 92.

[128] GA071-076004-: Kilskeagh is in the townland of Rathfee, located c.15km north-west of Galway city, between Athenry, Abbyknockmoy and Claregalway; Olive Alcock *et al.*, *Archaeological inventory of County Galway*, (3 vols, Dublin, 1999) Vol. 2, 335.

[129] Comber and Hull, 'Caherconnell Cashel, Caherconnell, Carron, Co. Clare, Final Archaeological Excavation Report'.

[130] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Excavation of House Site at Noughaval, Co. Clare E000567', 26.

particularly connected to the butter trade as they were used to hold Irish butter for export to Britain, France, the Caribbean and North America.¹³¹ The shards of pottery from Cahercommaun and Noughaval thus potentially link the Gaelic inhabitants of the Burren to the wider world of Atlantic trade. Given the largely pastoral nature of the economy it is a strong possibility that the shards of pottery were connected with participation in the butter trade.

Fragments of clay pipe recovered from the Noughaval excavation, and dated to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, further connect the communities of Burren to Atlantic trade. As noted, no patent is recorded for a market at Noughaval. The nearest market site was at Kilfenora where a patent to hold a weekly market on Thursdays was granted in 1624 (July 29 16 Jas 1) to John Lord Bishop of Kilfenora for butter only.¹³² On July 29 (16 Jas I) John Lord Bishop of Kilfenora was granted a patent to hold one fair on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday preceding the feast of Pentecost and one other fair on the feast of St Michael the archangel and two following days.¹³³

4.4.2.2 *The village of Noughaval*

The remains of a clustered settlement around the church was mapped and recorded by Sinead Ní Ghabhláin, who noted 'the foundations of a series of rectangular houses' at the site.¹³⁴ The ASI recorded at least six rectangular or sub-rectangular 'house sites' with another two possible sites. The structures were between 11.1m x 5.5m and 3.7m x 2.2m in size and were located in a matrix of small fields and 'gardens'. Fieldwork carried out at Noughaval in spring 2010 identified a further thirteen potential sites (Fig. 4.15; Fig. 4.16). As at Caheridoula, the house sites are morphologically diverse.¹³⁵ They have walls ranging from low earth-and-stone mounds c.0.30m high, to rubble walled buildings surviving to a height of c.1.20m. Three of the structures are depicted on the first edition 6-inch map. With the exception of one of the buildings, excavated by Ní Ghabhláin in 1990, their form and dating remains unclear. We cannot assume that they are contemporary or even that they were inhabited simultaneously. Variation within the standing remains would suggest a combination of materials and construction techniques, probably encompassing stone, sod and wattle, all easily procurable at the site. The structure excavated by Ní Ghabhláin was constructed from re-used, cut stone and

[131] Alison Grant, *North Devon pottery: the seventeenth century* (Exeter, 1983), 104.

[132] Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson and John Macbeth, 'Fairs and Markets' Commission, Ireland. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of the Fairs and Markets in Ireland. Part II. Minutes of Evidence', (1852-53), 52.

[133] Robinson and Macbeth, 'The state of the fairs and markets in Ireland', 70.

[134] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church, parish and polity', 375.

[135] FitzPatrick, 'The Uí Dhabhoireann brehon law school', 53-65.

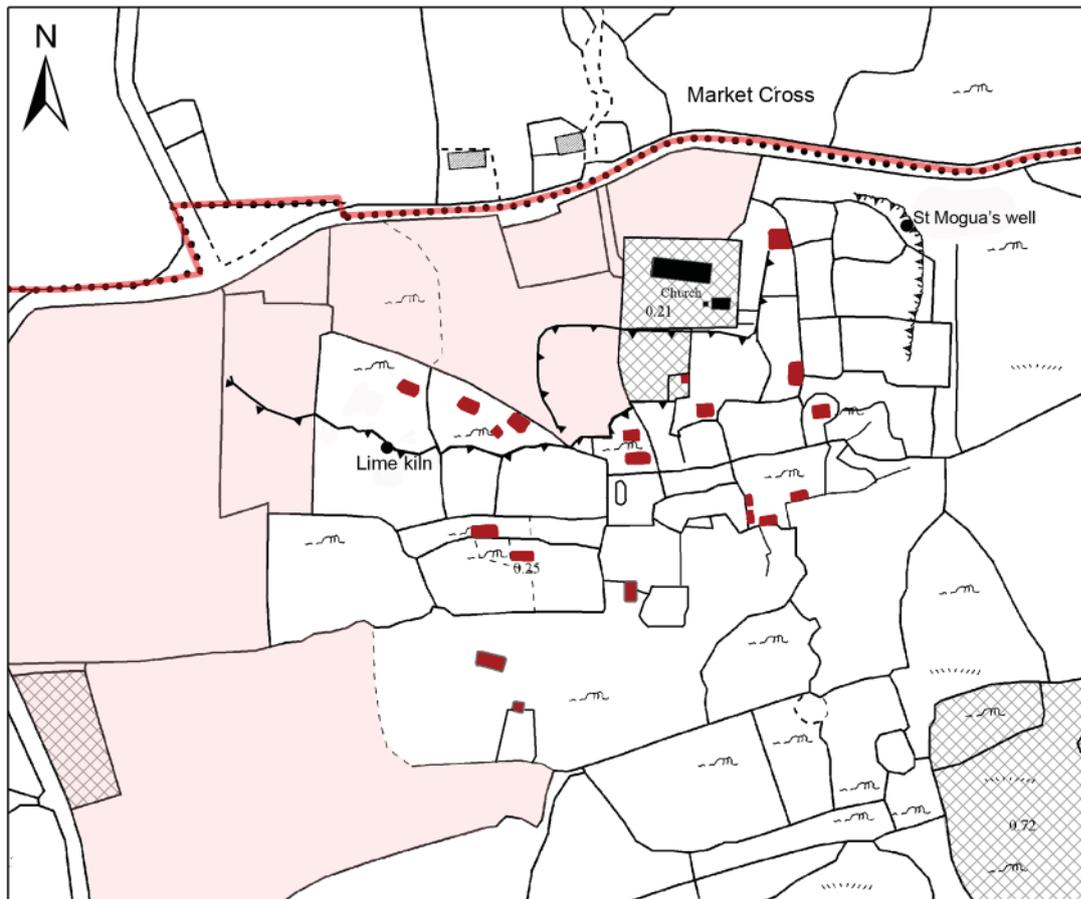


Fig. 4.15: House site at Noughaval. Looking north.

Fig. 4.16: The settlement at Noughaval. Based on the 5km OSI map.

was dated to the seventeenth century on the basis of a shard of north Devon gravel-tempered ware.¹³⁶ An occupation layer pre-dating the house was dated to the thirteenth century on the basis of a bone dice found in the deposit.¹³⁷

Our knowledge of later medieval and early modern housing below the level of towerhouses or manor houses is lamentably poor. In this context, the survival of a group of stone house footings in several *catbair* sites is of special note. FitzPatrick has used these house footings as one of a number of indices of later medieval/ early modern occupation. They are what she has described as the *tighe móir* or the 'big houses'. The buildings are distinguished by undressed rounded quoins and largely similar scale and plan, typically falling between 15 by 6m (Caherwalsh) and 8 by 5m (Caherconnell). Their common characteristics and context within *catbair* sites has led FitzPatrick to identify them as 'the dwellings of the later medieval and early-modern Gaelic gentry class on their small Burren landholdings'.¹³⁸

We have no figures for the population of Noughaval prior to 1660, but forty-two individuals were recorded for the purpose of the tax which when multiplied by 2.5, as recommended by Smyth, gives an estimated population for the denomination of 105 women, children and men.¹³⁹ This figure suggests that the bulk of its inhabitants must have had dwellings made from more perishable materials than stone. It is clear from contemporary accounts that the bulk of the population in early modern Ireland lived in buildings constructed primarily from wattle and wood. According to William Petty's figures some 160,000 families or 80% of the population lived in houses 'such as have no fixed hearth'. Contemporary accounts, both written and cartographic, capture

[136] Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, 'Excavation of house site at Noughaval, Co. Clare E000567', (1992).

[137] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church, parish and polity', 378-9. The dating is not unproblematic. Ní Ghabhláin's thirteenth-century date hinges on comparisons of a dice, found in the lower strata of the site, with an example from Christchurch, Dublin. Indeed she seems to assume that the dice was imported into the site, stating that 'it must indicate trading contacts with regional trading centers such as Limerick and Galway'. There is no reason why bone dice could not have been made locally. We know from Domhnall O'Davoren's manuscript, that they were used to pay the scribes in the law school in the sixteenth-century. Maghnus II, one of the scribes employed by Domhnall to copy the manuscript, noted in the margin that he expected to 'get a pair of dice worth thirteen halfpence for his part in the work'. O'Sullivan, 'The book of Domhnall Ó Duibhdábhoireann', 289. While Hurley suggests that medieval dice 'particularly those of thirteenth/fourteenth century date, generally read 1-2-3-4 and 5-6', Mac Gregor states that 'on cubical dice the convention most commonly observed since the Roman period is for the values to be arranged so that the opposite faces always total seven...deviations from this pattern do occur, but mostly, it would seem, within the medieval period from the thirteenth century onwards'. Maurice F. Hurley, 'Bone artefacts', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick *et al* (eds.) *Archaeological investigations in Galway city, 1987-1998* (Bray, 2004), 469; Arthur Mac Gregor, *Bone antler, ivory and horn, the technology of skeletal materials since the Roman period* (Sydney, 2001), 131-2.

[138] Cahermore 14 by 7m; Ballyganner 12 by 6m; Caherwalsh 15 by 6m; Caherconnell 8 by 5m. FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement', 300-2.

[139] Seamus Pender, *A census of Ireland, circa 1659, with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances (1660-1661)* (Dublin, 1939), 186.

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something of the nature and diversity of these houses. The evidence would suggest that they were wattle, post and wattle, or sod structures, of circular and rectangular, or sub-rectangular plan. They typically lacked walls of mass construction, and the roof was variously supported by crucks, posts or wattle woven to roof level.¹⁴⁰

Native enclosed settlements on the Tarmon lands of Noughaval

Some fourteen monuments were recorded as under the category 'ringfort-cashel' and a single monument a 'rath' by the ASI. Some seven of these monuments are depicted on the first-edition OS map, and four are named: Cahercottine and Caherwalsh in Noughaval, Caherkiltaan in Kiltaan and Kiltennan fort in Kiltennon North. Lismoher is named on the 25-inch map. Surprisingly none of these monuments, apart from Lismoher, gave their names to the denominations recorded in the Strafford Survey. There are, however, a number of placenames in the survey, such as Mohernaglogh, Moherinagh, which may refer to some of the unnamed cahers. The sites are diverse in morphology and siting, suggesting varied chronology and function within the group. The impressively large Cahercuttine located on the highest point of the upland in the east of the townland is 44.7 by 44.5m (ext.) and has walls almost 4m wide in places.¹⁴¹ Caherwalsh and Caherkiltaan are both sub-rectangular in plan (Fig. 4.18). The former is 52.3 by 40m north-south and bound by low collapsed stone walls and contains a number of internal structures including a large stone building.¹⁴² The latter is c.32 by 36.5m with walls up to 3m thick.¹⁴³ Like a number of other cahers in the adjacent Ballyganner North, Caherwalsh features a rock-cut souterrain, suggesting the site has its genesis between c.750-1250.¹⁴⁴

Some of the sites could well predate the 'new establishment'. Some of them may represent the holdings of members of the erenagh sept. Are any of these sites connected with the requirement to provide hospitality to the bishop? It has been suggested, for example, that Cahernaspeekee, on the border between Noughaval and

[140] P. Robinson, 'Vernacular housing in Ulster in the seventeenth century', *Ulster Folklife* 25 (1979), 4; Kieran O'Connor, 'Housing in later medieval Gaelic Ireland', *Ruralia*, 4 (2002), 201; Alan Gailey, *Rural houses of the north of Ireland* (Glasgow, 1984), 19-26.

[141] Archive of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, CL009-059039-, Noughaval; Westropp, *Archaeology of the Burren*, 24.

[142] Archive of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, CL009-059045-, Noughaval; Archive of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, CL009-059035-, Kiltaan.

[143] Westropp, *Archaeology of the Burren*, 23, 93.

[144] Muris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Souterrains', *Archaeology Ireland* 18, 4 (2004), 36.

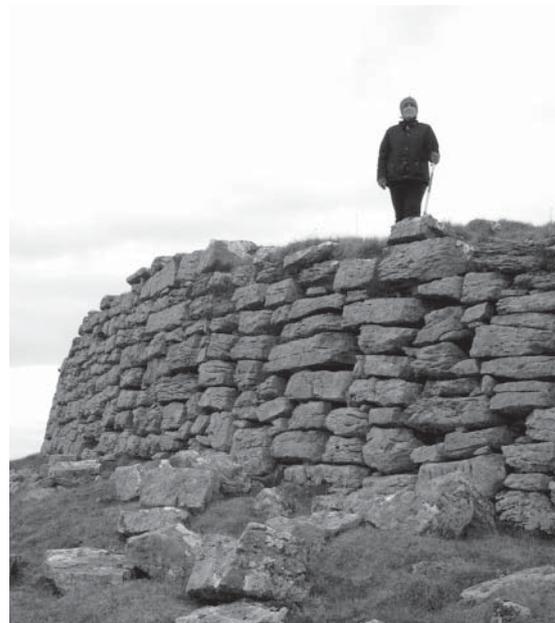
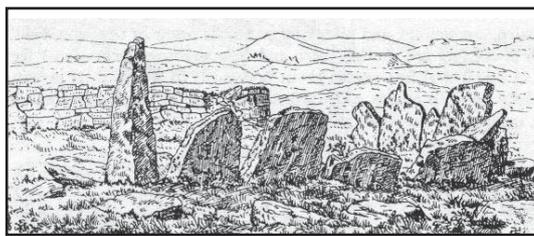
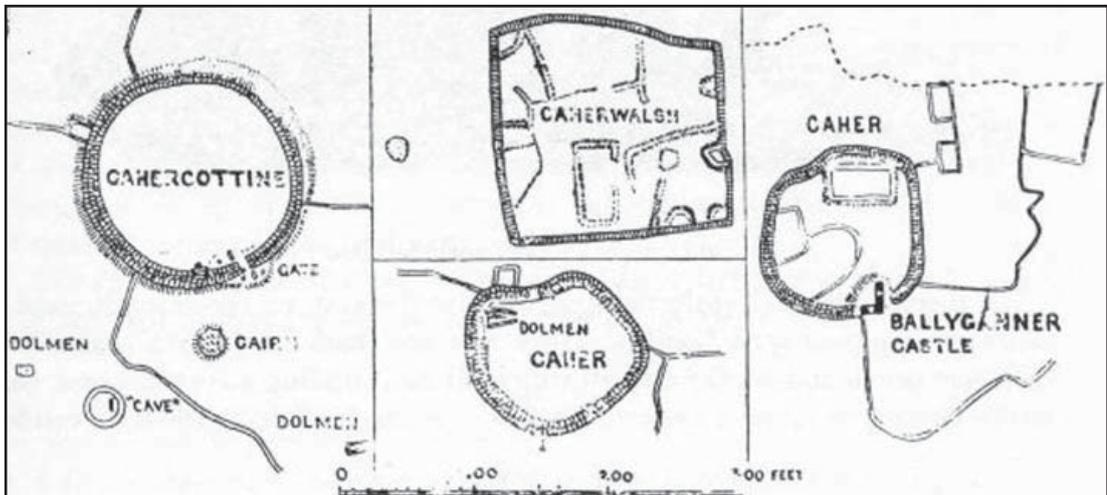


Fig. 4.17: Rough grazing on the uplands in the east of Noughaval townland.

Fig. 4.18: Cahers of the Ballyganner group (Westropp 1999, 25).

Fig. 4.19: Sketch of Cahereneden, Ballyganner North (Westropp 1999, 26).

Fig. 4.20: Detail of the walls of Cahercuttine, Noughaval.

Ballyganner North townlands, is a corrupt translation of 'cathair na easpuig' or the bishop's *cathair*.¹⁴⁵

4.5 Social change and the O'Davoren's responses

While the land-holding strategies employed by the sept as a whole are reflective of their being 'tradition bound', this does not mean that they were oblivious to changes reshaping the world around them. Their role as hereditary brehons to the O'Loughlins placed them in a position as negotiators, and while the brehon law which they traditionally practised was increasingly redundant, there is still evidence to suggest that they fulfilled this role into the latter years of the sixteenth century. Their school was noted as active between 1564 and 1570, when Donal mac Aodha Uí Duibhdábhoireann was compiling his famous book at the Mac Aodhgáin school in Park, Co. Galway and at the Ó Deoradháin school in Ballyorley, Co. Wexford.¹⁴⁶

The book's marginalia makes clear the scribes' awareness of broader political events. Among the jibes, complaints and levituous commentary jotted in the margins of the manuscript, the scribes made references to the ominous New English presence in Connacht. In 1569 the marginalia recorded 'the viceroy in Galway and going to Dunmore-M'Keorish to take it, and to Roscommon as well. For self and comrades all I crave is mercy of God'.¹⁴⁷ The scribe mentions a visit to the school from one of Clanricard's sons, who were in open conflict with the Crown, and in 1569 noted 'the conflict rages in every district of Medhb's province [Connacht] and I implore the king of both the hither and the yonder would to shield self and comrades with me from all harm both here and hereafter'.¹⁴⁸

It is not surprising that native lawyers should be cognisant of the broader political picture. Both their legal role and peripatetic lifestyle engendered an engagement with events outside of their immediate lordships. Indeed, it was as traditional law practitioners that they often engaged with the bureaucracy of the expanding state. In 1585, some fifteen years after Domhnall had been copying his book, his kinsman Oliver of Lissylishen provided evidence under oath to the queen's commissioners tasked with drawing up the Connacht composition agreements.¹⁴⁹ The agreement, which restructured the relationship between the various lords of Thomond and the English

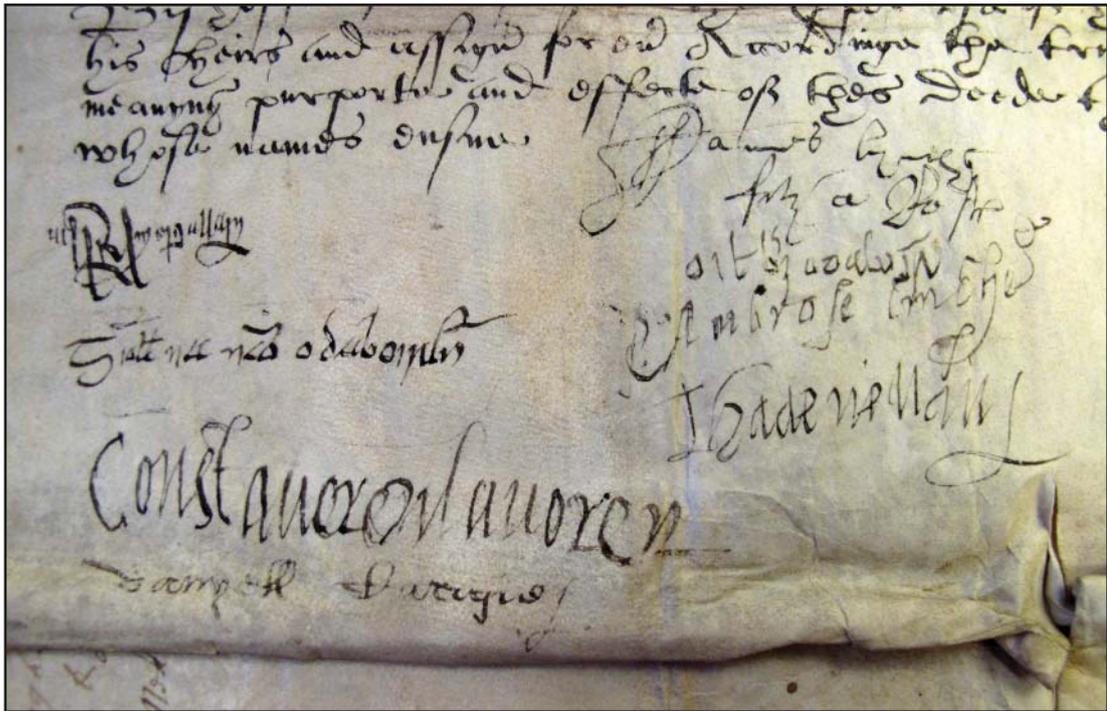
[145] Westropp, *Archaeology of the Burren*, 202.

[146] William O'Sullivan, 'The book of Domhnall Duibhdabhoireann, provenance and codicology', *Celtica*, 23 (1999).

[147] Standish Hayes O'Grady and Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the British Library (formerly British Museum)* (Dublin, 1992), 114.

[148] O'Grady & Flower, *Irish manuscripts in the British Library*, 120-1.

[149] Ainsworth *Inchiquin MS*, 3.



4.21: National Library of Ireland, Inchiquin Papers MS 45,678/2.

crown, was key to the dismantling of the Gaelic system and the extension of the English state. It is probable that Oliver attended the inquisition as part of the retinue of his O'Loughlin lord. Indeed, the account of the divisions of Burren was likely to have been derived from his testimony under oath. In this context his encounter with the commissioners very much constituted a continuation of the brokering role that his sept had traditionally played as brehons.

While we know Oliver gave testimony to the commissioners at Ennis we do not know what language he spoke. As Palmer has elucidated, the colonial writer in Ireland constantly sought to 'deny the materiality of the language barrier', glossing over encounters between actors of different tongues and rendering the native language invisible.¹⁵⁰ The literacy of the native learned families equipped them to negotiate with the state administration in a way that other sectors of society could not. Yet, the idiom in which their literacy operated was very different, as testified by Domhnall's book. That difference was manifested not just in the sort of texts that were produced, but also in the physical forms they took and in the styles of writing used: the old *cló gaelach* versus the English hand.

An insight into the shifts in the embodied practice of writing is found in the signatures on a late sixteenth-century deed (Fig. 4.21). In 1591, three members of the family were among six witnesses to the signing of a conveyance of land from O'Loughlin of

[150] Patricia Palmer, *Language and conquest in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2010), 54.

Dangan, Co. Clare to Daniel Neylan, Protestant Bishop of Kildare. William 'Nelande and Nicholas Nelande gents' were the attorneys for livery of seisin.¹⁵¹ Two of the family, Giolla-na-naomh and 'Oit' (Oliver?) signed their names using Irish characters and a more Gaelic spelling of their family name while the third Constance wrote his name in English script with a more anglicised spelling.¹⁵²

All three parties were presumably equally capable of using either script or spelling, and the decision by Giolla-na-naomh and 'Oit' to use the Gaelic script and form of their names must be seen as a deliberate statement. It was a statement set against a background of the replacement of *fenechas* with common law, and the displacement of the privileged position of brehons. In this context they may have objected to the English common law ritual of livery of seisin as a means of transferring land, and its replacement of native practices.¹⁵³ It is significant in this context that the attorneys overseeing the deed were both of the O'Neylon family, a native Clare sept, who allied themselves with the anglicizing O'Briens, and were quick to adapt to and benefit from the new order.¹⁵⁴

While members of the sept may have different attitudes to the social changes underway they probably agreed upon the nobility of their lineage. The senior members of the sept's identification of themselves as part of the broader, national nobility and their acceptance as such by others is evidenced by the enrolment of the death of Constance O'Davoren in 1634 in the funeral entries of the Ulster King of Arms (Fig. 6.8). This marked an important step in the sept's reframing of their gentility in a broader context. It shows that they were willing (and desired) to engage with modes of demarcating nobility outside of the established Gaelic methods.

4.6 Summary and Conclusions

The O'Davorens were a sept of *erenaghs* and *brehons* who, in the later medieval period, were in the service of the O'Loughlin lords of Burren. In the first half of the seventeenth century the sept's holdings were rooted in these native institutions and comprised the landholding they occupied as service providers on the *mensal* lands of the O'Loughlin lordship and the *tearmann* land of Noughaval. This land was held by ten members of the sept on a hierarchical basis, with the most senior members of the sept enjoying larger holdings. Divergent land holding patterns were noted on the

[151] Ainsworth *Inchiquin MS*, 286.

[152] Ainsworth *Inchiquin MS*, 286-7.

[153] For the ceremony of livery of seisin and the role of written texts in relationship to it see Heather MacNeil, 'From the memory of the act to the act itself. The evolution of written records as proof of jural acts in England, 11th to 17th century', *Archival Science*, 6/3-4 (2006).

[154] Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin 2007), 192, 228-31.

two holdings. The former was occupied by the most senior members of the sept. The principal residences within this part of the holding were a towerhouse and a *cathair* that had been substantially renovated in the later medieval period. In contrast, the *tearmann* lands were occupied by more junior members of the sept and their respective parcels of land were much smaller, evidencing the practice of partible division. Noughaval was the site of a medieval parish church, a later medieval market, a pattern and a clustered settlement. In the later medieval period the site was integrated into a broader market network focused on Galway.

While the lordship of Burren was never subject to formal plantation or confiscations of land prior to the transplantation, it was subject to other pressure in the early modern period. The land market was a powerful force in reshaping the political geography of the lordship from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. It was partly through this mechanism that members of the O'Brien sept achieved a new dominance in the lordship, largely supplanting their O'Loughlin clients. The reconfiguration of economic patterns engendered by the incorporation of Ireland into a broader British and Atlantic economy were felt in the Burren. Established market places like Noughaval and Kilfenora were drawn into wider networks of trade, introducing new material things to Burren households.

The O'Davorens were not passive objects of these social changes. They were cognisant of the broader political sphere and actively engaged in the processes of change. Oliver O'Davoren had given evidence at the Composition of Connacht in 1585 in his capacity as a member of a learned brehon family. The signatures on the 1591 land deed show that different members of the sept may have held divergent attitudes to the processes afoot, and provides an example of subtle protest to English common law, and modes of literacy. By the 1630s, they were keen to reframe their nobility as indicated by the enrolment of Constance O'Davoren's death with the state appointed arbitrator of nobility, the Ulster King of Arms.¹⁵⁵

[155] For a broader discussion of the Ulster King of Arms see chapter 6.7.

Chapter 5: *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*

5.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess how the O'Callaghan sept negotiated social changes in north Cork at the end of the sixteenth century and at the start of the seventeenth century, exploring how this change is expressed in the archaeological record, with the aim of contextualising the later transplanted settlements of the ruling family. The chapter will explore the physical and political geography of the O'Callaghan patrimonial territory, *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, assessing both the topography of the lordship and early modern patterns of landholding within the polity. Early modern settlement in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*¹ will be appraised using a combination of archaeological, historical and toponymic evidence. Consideration will be given to both broad patterns of settlement within the polity, as well as the morphology of this settlement on the ground. The archaeology of *capita* within the territory will be outlined, and the character and implications of architectural forms discussed with specific reference to changing social relationships and the transformation of elite Irish identity.

5.1 Setting the scene

The sixteenth-century territory of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* was situated in the northwest corner of what is now Co. Cork (Fig. 5.1). It comprised one of a triad of minor lordships, including those of the O'Keefes and the Mc Auliffes, under the overlordship of the Mac Donagh Mac Carthy of Duhallow (*Dúiche Ealla*). Mac Donagh Mac Carthy was in turn subject to the overlordship of the Mac Carthy Mór, who was made Earl of Clancarr in 1565, and 'accounted chieftest in the province' among the Irish.² The word *pobul*, from the Latin *populous*, was one of the Gaelic terms used to describe the institution of lordship, underscoring the fact that the concept of Gaelic lordship referred as much to a territory's inhabitants as the territory itself.³ Duhallow named after its principal routeway and axis, the river Allow, was roughly coextensive with the modern barony of the same name. *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* lay in the southeast corner of Duhallow, straddling the River Blackwater and the northern slopes of the Boggeragh Mountains.

[1] The form and spelling of '*Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*' is from Rev. Patrick Woulf, *Irish names and surnames* (Dublin, 1923), 686.

[2] In 1588, Clancarr was recorded as claiming out of the counties of O'Callaghan, Mc Auliffe and O'Keefe, 'the giving of the rod to the chief lords at their first entry'. They in turn were 'to rise out with him when he maketh war to maintain for him 27 gallowglasses, besides to find him for a certain time when he cometh to their country'. J.S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth* (6 Vols, Nendelin, 1974), Vol. 1, 393.

[3] K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 24.



Fig. 5.1: Jobson's map of Munster (TCD MS 1209-36).

Chapter 5- Pobul Uí Cheallacháin

It covered an area of c.55,649 statute acres (was c.20km E-W by c.15km N-S).⁴ In the sixteenth century, the lordship occupied the entire civil parishes of Clonmeen, Kilshanning and Roskeen⁵ and parts of Ballyclough, Castlemagner and Kilbrin (Fig. 5.7). It was comparable in size to the minor lordships of the Mc Kennas of Trough, the Meaghers of Ikerrin, the O'Garas of Coolavin and the O'Brennans of Odogh.⁶

The O'Callaghan sept claimed descent from *Ceallacháin*, a tenth-century king of Cashel. Prior to the Anglo-Norman expansion into Munster, the sept were seated in the denomination of *Cineal Aedba* (Kinelea barony) in the south of Co. Cork. They were displaced by Robert FitzStephen and Milo de Colgan and finally settled in the Blackwater valley, on the border between the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman territories in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.⁷ The process of the formation of Gaelic lordships in this frontier region is obscured by the lack of documentary sources,⁸ but it would seem that the O'Callaghan lordship was established in Duhallow sometime between 1364, when much of what became the O'Callaghan lordship was held by the Magnels, an Anglo-Norman sept,⁹ and 1420, when Giolla na Naomh Ó hUidhrín, the author of a topographical poem which mentions the O'Callaghans in the vicinity of the Allow river, died.¹⁰

The extent of the lordship was described in a Crown inquisition made in 1594 (see below). The document described the bounds of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* as extending 'from Glanda Ieyghe and Molyne Intrynnane, on the west, to the water of Clyedagh, Bearnynymohir, Bearnyn Inlyowe on the east, and from Portidieih and Bear Icanhin on the south, to the bog or foss of Ballynowe on the north'.¹¹ 'Glanda Ieyghe and Molyne Intrynnane' are unidentified but the former is likely to refer to one of the myriad of glens in the Boggeragh mountains. The 'water of Clyedagh' is an unambiguous reference to the River Clyedagh, a tributary of the Blackwater, which rises in the

[4] 27,556 statute acres in Kilshanning; 20,055 statute acres in Clonmeen; 4,627 statute acres in Ballyclough; 1,343 statute acres in Rosskeen and 2,068 statute acres in Castlemagner parish. Great Britain Census Office, *Townlands index general alphabetical index to the townlands and towns of Ireland 1901; supplement to the Census of Ireland 1901* (Dublin, 1904).

[5] Roskeen is a very small parish containing five townlands. It was listed as part of Clonmeen Parish in the Civil Survey. P.R.O. MFS 2/3, *Books of survey and distribution, (Quit Rent Office Set)*, Vol. VI Cork, 163.

[6] Assessment based on Nicholls' 'Lordships, c.1534' map in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne, *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (9 vols, Oxford, 2009), Vol. 3, 2-3.

[7] John O Donovan (ed.), *The topographical poems of John O Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O Huidhrin*, (Dublin, 1862), lxxiv; K. Nicholls, 'The development of lordship in County Cork 1300-1600' in Patrick O Flanagan, Cornelius G. Buttimer, and Gerard O'Brien, *Cork: history & society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1993), 164.

[8] Nicholls, 'The development of lordship', 165.

[9] Paul MacCotter, K. W. Nicholls, and Cloyne Literary and Historical Society, *The pipe roll of Cloyne*, (Middleton, 1996), 211.

[10] O Donovan, *Topographical poems*, 117.

[11] Kenneth W. Nicholls (ed.), *The Irish Fians of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I* (3 vols, Dublin, 1994), Vol. 3, 245; James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland* (3 Vols, Dublin, 1861-2), Vol. 2, 335.



Fig. 5.2: The river Clyda, which forms the eastern boundary of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*.

Boggeragh Mountains and flows north into the Blackwater forming much of the eastern boundary of the lordship (Fig. 5.2). ‘Bearnynymohir’ and ‘Bearnyn Inlowe’ cannot be identified, but the ‘Bearnyn’ element of both of these place-names, deriving from the Irish word *bearna*, is indicative of a gap or a pass.¹² In this context the place-names may refer to one of several passes through the Boggeragh Mountains in this vicinity. ‘Portidieih’ in the south of the lordship is a probable reference to the boggy uplands of the Boggeragh Mountains. The Boggeragh Mountains formed a topographical boundary clearly depicted on Petty’s *Hiberniae Delineatio* and on the Down Survey barony map of Duhallow (Fig. 5.3). The name ‘Portidieih’ survives as the minor place-name ‘Portaghadav’ in the townland Boola, Kilshannig parish. On the first edition Ordnance Survey (OS) map (1842) it refers to an unenclosed portion of bog.¹³ ‘Bear Icanhin’ is a likely reference to the modern townland of Barrahairin (Ir. *Barr and Chárthainn*) in the Boggeragh Mountains. The northern extent of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* is less well defined topographically. The ‘bog’ or ‘foss’ of Ballynowe is given as marking its northern limit

[12] Deirdre Flanagan and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish place names* (Dublin, 1994), 29.

[13] Berry translates it as ‘the bog of the ox, from the circumstances of a bull having sunk in it’ Henry Berry, ‘The parish of Kilshannig and manor of Newberry’, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* Vol. XI (1905), 32.

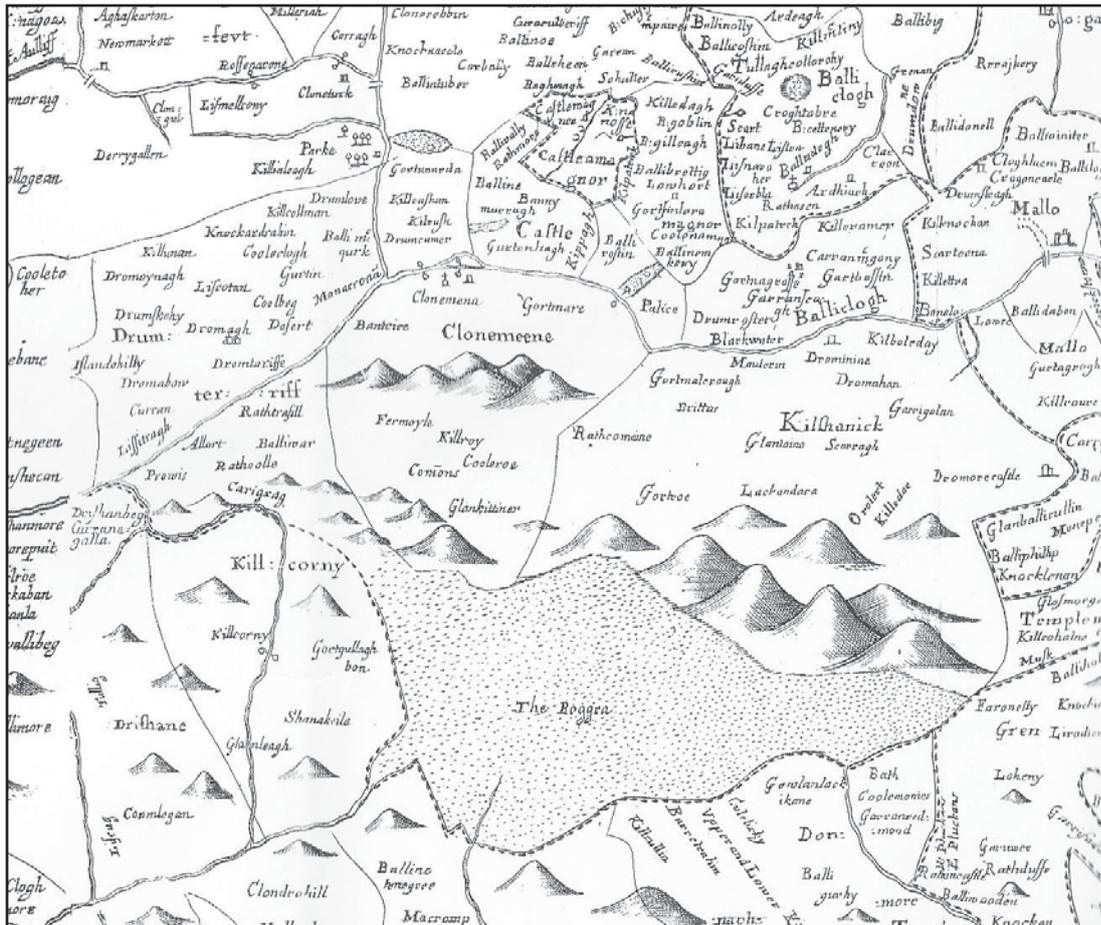


Fig. 5.3: Extract of Petty’s *Hiberniae Delineatio* (1685). Note ‘the Bogra’.

in 1594.¹⁴ This can be identified as the townland of Ballynoe in Kilbrin Parish, which marked the northernmost extent of land held by the O’Callaghans in 1641.

Most of Clonmeen and Kilshanning parishes is underlain by old red Devonian sandstone, with a band of Carboniferous limestone, flanking the Blackwater. The portion of the lordship north of the Blackwater (Ballyclogh, Castlemagner and part of Clonmeen) is dominated by shale and sandstone with a band of limestone and calcereous-shale in the northern part of Castlemagner parish. Much of the upland to the southwest of the territory is covered in blanket bog and peaty podzols, with patches of more fertile and free-draining brown podzolics in places (Fig. 5.4).¹⁵ The Blackwater, and northern part of the Clydagh River, is flanked by a band of fertile, well-drained brown podzolics.¹⁶ Another band of acid brown earths runs parallel to the Blackwater from Lombardstown east to Mallow. Both have a wide use range.¹⁷ The rolling lowlands

[14] It is referred to as the fosse of Ballynowe in the *Fiants* and the bog of Ballynowe in the Patent Rolls: Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 245; Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 335.
 [15] T. Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland and their land use potential: Explanatory bulletin to soil map of Ireland 1980* (Dublin, 1980), 39, 49.
 [16] Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland*, 65-7.
 [17] Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland*, 61.

to the north of the Blackwater are covered by gleys and free-draining brown podzols. To the west of Kanturk the soils are predominantly composed of poorly drained heavy gleys.¹⁸ To the east of Kanturk the soil cover is made up of deep and free-draining brown podzols, which are suitable for grassland as well as tillage.¹⁹

The most prominent topographical feature in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, and arguably the one which most shaped the lordship, is the Blackwater river (Fig. 5.1; Fig. 5.5). The Blackwater, called the *Abbainn Mór* in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM),²⁰ rises on Knockanefune Mountain, Co. Kerry (438m OD). It initially flows south, forming the Cork-Kerry border (the historical border between Duhallow and the territory of the Earl of Desmond), before turning east through Duhallow, Mallow and the Roache lordship. At Cappoquin it turns south and it empties into the sea at the port town of Youghal.

The southern part of the lordship was drained by a series of minor streams and rivers rising in the Boggeragh Mountains and flowing into the Blackwater;²¹ its northern half was drained by the Allow river, the Awbeg river, the Glashaboy stream and the Finnow stream, all flowing south to the Blackwater. Of these the Allow, rising in the Mullagharerik Mountains on the northern boundary of Duhallow and flowing into the Blackwater near Clonmeen, was the most significant. The Blackwater and the Allow articulated the lordship of Duhallow, linking the *capita* of the O'Callaghans, the O'Keeffes and the Mac Auliffes with each other and with that of their overlord the Mac Donagh Mac Carthy at Kanturk. It connected the lordship to the Desmond (later New English) settlement and fording point at Mallow, and linked the inland lordships of Munster to the port town of Youghal and abroad.

The fertile alluvial soils flanking the Blackwater and its tributaries provided a focus for settlement and agriculture. In *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, the Clydagh, the Glashaheagow stream and the Duvglasha river, the Glen river and the Awbeg river were all important

[18] Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland*, 80.

[19] Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland*, 103-4.

[20] John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland: from the earliest times to the year 1616* (7 vols, Dublin, 1990), Vol. 5, 1707.

[21] From east to west the territory is drained by the Clydagh; the Glashaheagow stream; the Duvglasha river and its tributary the Glenagarriff stream; the Glen river and its tributaries, the Fermoyle river, the Nad river, the Owenagluggin river, the Cumernafinnog stream, the Glencam river, the Caher river, the Glennaharee river and the Glennagurraecat stream.



Fig. 5.4: The soils of Duhallow (Gardiner and Radford, 1980).

foci of settlement, as indicated by the distribution of native enclosed settlements in their valleys. The Blackwater was also a rich source of fish.²²

The presence of several place-names containing the elements ‘ros’ and ‘kill’, both potentially pertaining to woodland, are suggestive of historical forest cover in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. Roskeen parish, its eponymous townland, and Rosnagussane in Ballyclogh parish, all contain the Gaelic place-name element *ros* which can mean either a promontory or a grove of trees.²³ The place-name element ‘kill’ translating as *cill* or *coil*, church or woodland, abounds in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. Twenty examples of the place-name element survive in the nineteenth-century townland matrix, and while the vast bulk of these can be considered to be derived from *cill*, on an archaeological basis, Kilgilky North and South in Castlemagner parish contains no archaeological evidence of ecclesiastical settlement and have been translated as *An Choill Ghiolcaigh* meaning the wood of reeds.²⁴ Less ambiguous evidence for the presence of woods can be found in the townland names Derry and Derrygowna in Clonmeen and Kilshannig parishes respectively, both deriving from the Gaelic term *doire* meaning an oak grove.²⁵ The element ‘garran’ from the Gaelic *garrán*, meaning a clump or grove of trees²⁶ is found in several instances in the lordship. The historic presence of birch woods in the lordship is indicated in the townland Shronebeha, Clonmeen parish, deriving its name from the Gaelic *srón bbeithe* meaning the nose or point of the birch trees and Gurteenbeha in Castlemagner parish from *goirtín beatha* meaning the little field of the birch trees.²⁷

There is evidence that substantial woodland existed in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* in the early modern period. A map dated 1572 depicts thick forest in the region of ‘O Calegane’ and flanking the banks of the Blackwater (Fig. 5.5).²⁸ At the turn of the sixteenth century, a New English commentator lauded the lordship’s ‘goodly woods and hawks’.²⁹ In the first half of the seventeenth century ‘O’Callaghan’s woods’ were a rich source of timber for the manufacture of pipe-staves and hogshead barrels, with the Blackwater providing a means of exporting the cut timber to Youghal and abroad. Both O’Callaghan and Mac Donagh Mac Carthy entered into agreements with Richard Boyle regarding the felling

[22] In the late sixteenth century, for example, John of Desmond’s manor at Mallow had attached to it ‘great fishing of salmon, trout and other fresh fish’; Arthur E.J. Went, ‘Fisheries of the Munster Blackwater (continued)’, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 91, No. 1 (1961), 19.

[23] Flanagan and Flanagan, *Place names*, 58, 137.

[24] [<http://www.logainm.ie/10796.aspx> Accessed 8 March 2011]; Denis Power *et al.*, *Archaeological inventory of County Cork* (5 vols, Dublin, 1992), Vol. 4, 752.

[25] Flanagan and Flanagan, *Place names*, 70.

[26] Flanagan and Flanagan, *Place names*, 91.

[27] [<http://www.logainm.ie/10449.aspx>] Accessed 8 March 2011.

[28] [<http://www.logainm.ie/eolas/Data/Brainse/1572-map.jpg>] Accessed 19 January 2011.

[29] Public Record Office Great Britain *et al.*, *Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603]*, : preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office (11 vols, Nendeln, 1974), Vol. 10, 136.



Fig. 5.5: Ancient map of Ireland, A.D. 1572, printed from the original copper discovered in Armagh... (printed by Forster & Co., Dublin) [<http://www.logainm.ie/eolas/Data/Brainse/1572-map.jpg>].

of woods in their lordships for the export of pipe and hogshead staves.³⁰ The location of ‘O’Callaghan’s woods’ is uncertain but the cluster of tree-related place names in the east of Clonmeen parish (Derry, Garrane and Shronebeha townlands), allied with the dearth of evidence for settlement³¹ suggests that this part of the lordship was covered by trees. This suggestion is supported by the establishment of an ironworks (CO031-160---) near Clonmeen Castle in the second half of the seventeenth century by Richard Kryle, a Cromwellian settler. Charles Smith in his 1774 tract on County Cork attributed much of the deforestation to Kryle, noting that he ‘...cut down a vast tract of wood

[30] Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers (5 vols, 1886), vol.1, 188*; K. W. Nicholls, ‘Woodland Cover in Pre-Modern Ireland’, in P. Duffy, David Edwards, and E. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland C.1250-C.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 192.

[31] The western part of Clonmeen Parish has a relatively low density of native enclosed settlements compared with the rest of the lordship.

in this neighbourhood'.³² Kryle's venture was short-lived; by 1684 the iron works were 'decayed' perhaps owing to the depletion of the woodlands that sustained them.³³

The Books of Survey and Distribution (BSD) list as a separate denomination 'the great bogg...called Bogra' in Kilshanning parish constituting 9,045 acres.³⁴ Indeed, the Down Survey map marks the entire southern part of Clonmeen and Kilshanning parishes with hashers indicating marshy ground, and annotates it 'The Bogg of Bogra unprofitable' (Fig. 5.3; Fig. 5.7). Part of this land may have been a common resource, used for transhumance and/or cutting turf. The Down Survey barony map depicts a denomination noted as 'common moun:t unprofitable belonging to ye Adjacent townes' in the vicinity of the nineteenth-century townlands of Knockdrishlagh and Carrigcleena More in Kilshanning parish. Petty's later map *Hiberniae Delineatio* indicates another commons in the southeast part of the parish, in the vicinity of Fermoyle. The practice of transhumance in the Boggeragh Mountains is historically attested in the early nineteenth century; in 1810 Townsend bemoaned the unimproved 'large tracts of moorland now affording only coarse summer grazing'.³⁵ In the same tract he commented on the plenitude of turf in the Boggeraghs, citing the 'abundance of this indispensable ingredient to the well-being of life', as one of the reasons for recent population movement into the uplands.³⁶ The historic presence of peat bog is indicated by place-names containing the element *móin* as in Moanaveel, Moanroe and Knocknamona townlands in Clonmeen, Ballyclogh and Kilshanning parishes. Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio* map also depicts 'bog' in the northern part of Gurteenarda and in Pallas; these bogs have been since drained.

Toponymic evidence indicates a swathe of cultivated land along the fertile alluvial soils flanking the Blackwater River and its tributaries. Nine townlands in the lordship contain the place-name element 'gort'; all of them adjoin either the Blackwater or the Allow River. The element 'gort' from the Gaelic *an gort* connotes an arable or a tilled field, especially a field producing cereal.³⁷ Most of the gort place-names are descriptive in character. Gortmore in Clonmeen parish means the big field; Gortroe in Kilshanning, the red field. Gortbofinna in Ballyclogh parish, from the Gaelic *gort bó finna* meaning 'the field of the fair cattle', is indicative of the historical importance of

[32] Charles Smith, *The ancient and present state of the County and City of Cork containing a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical, and topographical description thereof* (London, 1774), 295.

[33] Colonel T. A. Lunham Swift Paine Johnston, 'On a manuscript description of the city and county of Cork, cir. 1685, written by Sir Richard Cox', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 32/4 (1902), 361.

[34] *Books of survey and distribution: being abstracts from various surveys and instruments of title, 1636-1703* (1962) (microform, Stationary Office for the Irish Manuscript Commission,) 10 microfilm reels, Cork, 161.

[35] Horatio Townsend, *Statistical survey of the county of Cork: with observations on the means of improvement; drawn up for the consideration, and by the direction of the Dublin Society* (1810), 420.

[36] Townsend, *Statistical survey of Cork*, 419-20.

[37] Flanagan and Flanagan, *Place names*, 93.

cattle to the economy. Several of the *gort* place-names comprise the diminutive form of the word, *goirtín*, indicating small fields: Gurteenard in Clonmeen parish meaning the small high field; Gurteenbeha in Castlemagner meaning the small field of birches³⁸; and Gurteennacloona in Roskeen meaning the small field of the meadow. There are also several examples of the element ‘cluain’ that translates as a damp meadow or pasture and the element ‘inse’ meaning a water-meadow or a river-meadow, clustered around the river.³⁹ Clonmeen Parish derives its name from the townland of the same name, meaning *cluain mín*, the smooth meadow or pasture.⁴⁰ Cloonteen townland in Roskeen parish means the little pastures.⁴¹ Insedaly in Clonmeen parish implies the damp pasture of O’Daly. Place-names explicitly connected with human settlement are also restricted to the lowlands. Pallas, Brittas, Lisduggan, Rathmaher and Mohereen are all names derived from settlement forms.

5.2 Reconstructing the territorial organisation

5.2.1 *The Mallow Inquisition: ‘the Irish custom time out of mind used’*

It is in the latter half of the sixteenth century as the documenting instruments of the expanding English state permeated into north Cork, that the O’Callaghans and their landholding structures becomes visible in the historic record. A series of land conveyances, inquisitions and land grants, surveys and maps made from c.1570 allow for tentative reconstruction of the political geography of the territory in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. These documents were not passive reflections of patterns of landholding but were active tools utilised both by elite members of the sept and the New English administration in Munster to assert control over the land of the lordship. The earliest documents detailing landholding patterns in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* related to a major intra-sept succession dispute that broke out in the 1590s. Rival factions of the sept attempted to gain legal title to the land of the lordship by claiming it variously by the Gaelic mode of succession practised ‘time out of mind’ and the state endorsed method of primogeniture.

In 1594, one of the protagonists in this intra-sept struggle, Conchobhar na Cairrce (‘Connor of the rock’),⁴² sought to strengthen his claim to the land by entering into a ‘surrender and re-grant’ arrangement with the Crown. As part of this process the Crown dictated that an inquisition be held to determine the extent of his lands.

[38] www.logainm.ie/10539.aspx Accessed 14 March 2011.

[39] Flanagan and Flanagan, *Place names*, 56.

[40] www.logainm.ie/10574.aspx Accessed 14 March 2011.

[41] www.logainm.ie/10803.aspx Accessed 14 March 2011.

[42] This individual is referred to as ‘Conchobhar na Cairrce’ in the AFM, and variously spelled forms of ‘Conghor O’Callaghan’ in English documents: O’Donovan, et al., *Annals of the kingdom of Ireland*, 1707.

The inquisition was held in Mallow in October 1594 (hereafter called the Mallow Inquisition). The Mallow Inquisition survives in calendared form in the 1862 *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery of Elizabeth I*. An additional document enumerating the lands surrendered by Conchobhar na Cairrce is calendared in the *Irish Fiants* (hereafter referred to as the Surrender and Re-grant).⁴³ The former sketches the political geography of the lordship, listing 24 named denominations along with their owners and the social relationships in which they were enmeshed. The latter details a total of 91 denominations all to be surrendered to the Crown. Combined, the documents allow for tentative mapping of the lordship on the eve of surrender and re-grant.

Five different categories of land are detailed in the Mallow Inquisition:

1. Demesne land of the O'Callaghan
2. Lands connected to office of the *tánaiste*
3. Lands of O'Callaghan's kinsmen
4. Lands of freeholders
5. Lands 'chargable to' the MacDonagh MacCarthy

Land category	Holder	Ploughlands
Demesne Lands	Conchobhar na Cairrce 'the O'Callaghan'	20
Tánaiste	Teige O'Callaghan <i>tánaiste</i>	5
Kinsman	O'Callaghan M'Dermody	5
	Irrelaugh O'Callaghan (brother)	1
	Teige M'Cahirr	1
	Callaghan M'Owen	0.5
Freeholder	Donogho M'Thomas	3
	Conoghor Genkagh Dermod bane & Shane M'Teige	1.5
	Dermot M'Teig & others	1
By grant	Katherine Roache	1
Over lord	Mac Donagh Mac Carthy	18 (-6)*
	Total	51
*Six of the ploughlands from which the Mac Donagh Mac Carthy claimed tribute were held by the <i>tánaiste</i>		

Table 5.1: The Mallow Inquisition.

5.2.2 Land units and Place-names: evidence from the Mallow Inquisition and the Fiants

The Mallow Inquisition and the Surrender and Re-grant provide a rich source of place-names and Gaelic land denominations, providing an insight into organisation of the O'Callaghan lordship at the end of the sixteenth century. The survival of the Down Survey barony map for Duhallow among the 'Hibernia Regnum' set, housed in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (Fig. 5.7),⁴⁴ allows for correlation of the early

[43] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 245.

[44] Séan Ó Domhnaill, 'The Maps of the Down Survey', *Irish Historical Studies*, 3/12 (1943), 385.

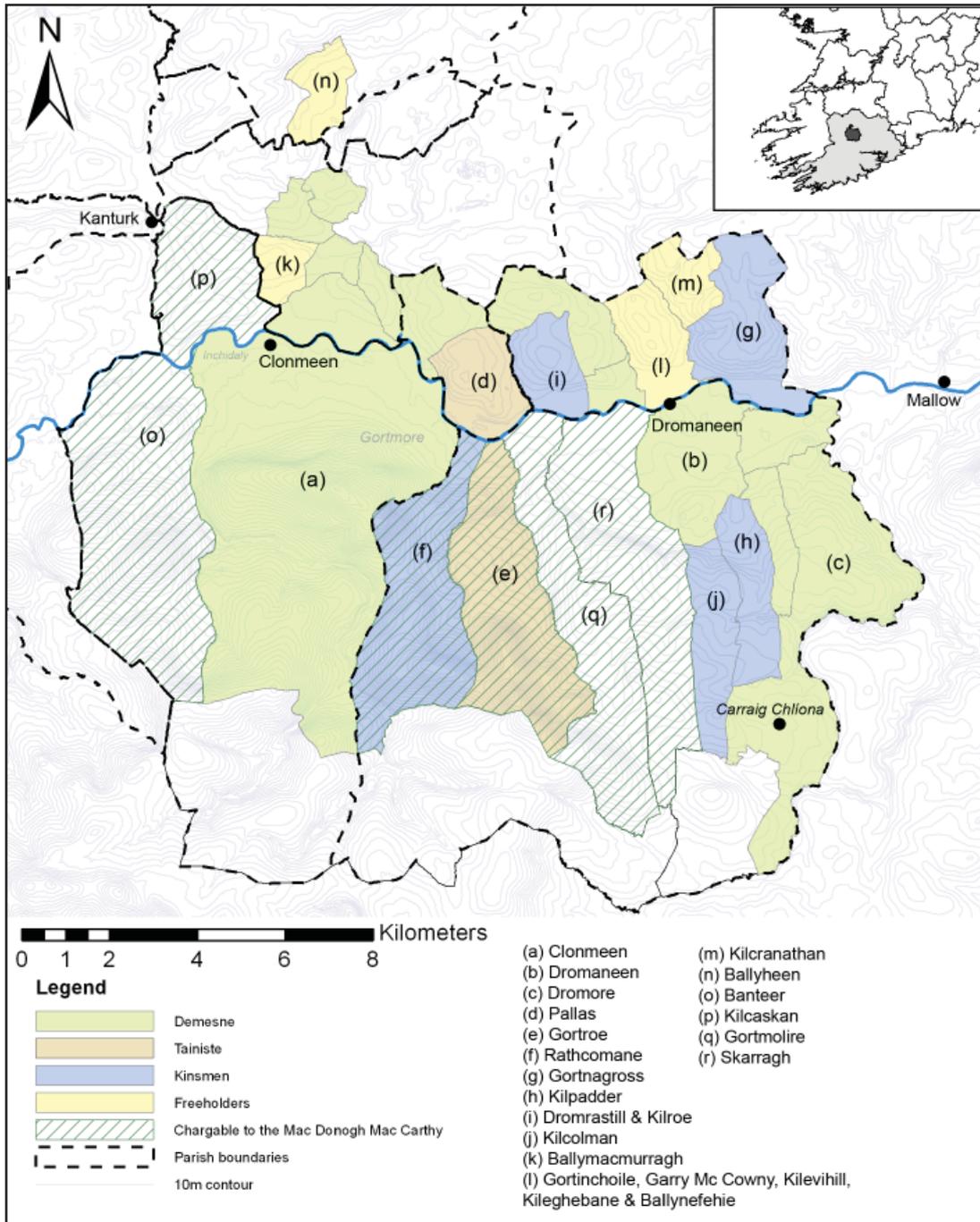


Fig. 5.6: Reconstruction of Pobul Uí Cheallachain based on the Mallow Inquisition.

modern denominations with the nineteenth-century townlands and thus allows the mapping of the territory's political geography. The Mallow Inquisition describes the division of the land in the lordship among various members of the sept, assessing the named denominations in ploughlands and quarters. The Surrender and Re-grant of 1594 assesses the land in terms of quarters and carucates or ploughlands,⁴⁵ with three

[45] The term 'carucate', the Latin form of the land assessment unit 'ploughland' is used in the Surrender and Re-grant. For the sake of consistency 'ploughland' will be used in favour of 'carucate' throughout this

Landholding structure in early modern Monaghan (Duffy 2001, 129)

1. **Ballybetagh lands** of the principal lord's family ('The MacMahon')
2. The *lucht tigh* or **mensal lands** assessed for provisioning the lord
3. The **demesne ballybetaghs of the lord** which accompanied the office of lord and were farmed by him
4. The **ballybetaghs of freeholders** from whom the lord was entitled to a range of dues and services
5. **Church and monastic lands**

ploughlands making up a quarter.⁴⁶ Land is divided into named parcels, each measured in multiples of ploughlands, ranging in size from four-and-a-half ploughlands to half a ploughland. Eight units measured three ploughlands or one quarter; five measured two ploughlands; eight measured one ploughland; six measured half a ploughland; one measured four-and-a-half ploughlands and two measured one-and-a-half ploughlands. These parcels of land contained between one and nine named sub-denominations, many of which correspond with nineteenth-century townlands. The nineteenth-century townlands generally equate to half a ploughland.

Comparisons of the Down Survey and 1842 OS map indicate a high level of boundary continuity, and thus it is likely that many of the nineteenth-century townlands constitute smaller late medieval Gaelic territorial units, sub-divisions of the ploughlands (Fig. 5.6). This boundary continuity is in part to do with the topography of the lordship; many of the boundaries are formed by the minor rivers and streams that drain into the Blackwater and its tributaries.⁴⁷ The shape and division of Gaelic land units was not just a passive reflection of local topography, it was underpinned by the demands of the Gaelic system of landholding. As McErlean has observed, part of the role of Gaelic land units was in 'regulating the division of the land resources of the territory among inhabitants'.⁴⁸ The land units depicted on the Down Survey barony map run in linear strips perpendicular to the Blackwater and Allow rivers. This pattern is particularly pronounced in the Kilshannig and Ballyclogh parishes which in the late sixteenth-century comprised the lands allotted to O'Callaghan's kinsmen and part of the land of the *táinaiste*. The linear pattern was in part derived from the drainage pattern but it also served to create a series of land portions with relatively uniform access to a variety of

chapter. Thomas McErlean, 'The Irish townland system of landscape organisation', in T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hammond (eds.), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983), 320.

[46] In West Cork and Kerry the quarter was usually composed of three ploughlands or carucates: McErlean, 'Irish townland system', 322.

[47] See Patrick J. Duffy, 'Social and spatial order in the MacMahon lordship of Airghialla in the late sixteenth century', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250-c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 126-8.

[48] McErlean, 'Irish townland system', 332.

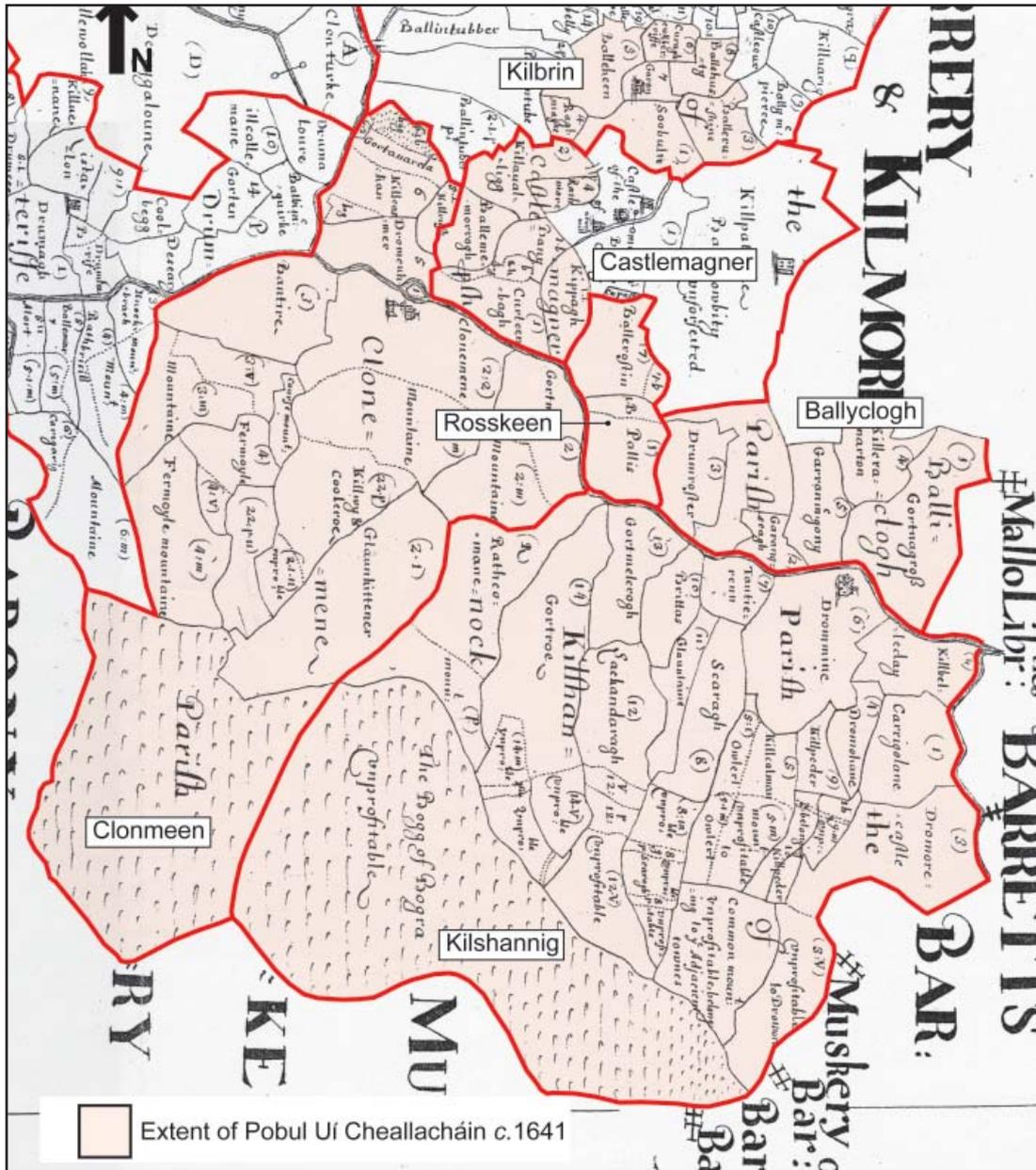


Fig. 5.7: Extract of the Down Survey Barony map of Duhallow.

resources including arable land, uplands, woods and bog.⁴⁹ The size of the respective denominations was relative to their fertility or ‘profitability’.⁵⁰ Thus Clonmeen with its poorer soils and greater degree of upland was recorded as having seven denominations in 1641, Kilshannig with its more fertile soils returned fifteen. The half of Ballyclogh in Duhallow returned six. This pattern is also reflected in the nineteenth-century townlands. Clonmeen parish has the largest mean townland size at 527.76 statute acres,

[49] McErlean, ‘Irish townland system’, 332; Duffy, ‘Social and spatial order’, 134.

[50] See McErlean, ‘Irish townland system’, 322-3.

while the half parish of Ballyclogh, which is almost entirely composed of fertile alluvial soils, has the smallest at 257.05 statute acres.

Parish	Area in acres	No. of townlands	Mean townland size (acres)
Ballyclogh (half parish)	4627	18	257.05
Clonmeen	20,055	38	527.76
Kilshannig	27556	63	437.39

Table 5.2: Townlands and parishes.

5.3 Settlement

5.3.1 *The Demesne Lands of the O'Callaghan*

The Mallow Inquisition determined that ‘Conoghor O’Callaghan was seized of the castle and lands of Clonemyne, in the county of Cork, containing four ploughlands and a half ...[and] several other lands... of which he was seized in his demesne as Lord and Chieftain of Poble I Callaghan, by the Irish custom time out of mind’.⁵¹ These ‘other lands’ are not listed in the Mallow Inquisition but it can be surmised that they comprise the lands listed in the Surrender and Re-grant that do not also appear in the Mallow Inquisition. In total, the demesne lands of the O’Callaghan contained 20 ploughlands, equating to six and two-thirds quarters or one and two thirds of a *baile*. They comprised the largest portion of the lordship. The lands lay predominantly in the parishes of Clonmeen and Kilshannig, with smaller parcels in Ballyclogh and Castlemagner. The demesne lands occupied much of the most fertile soils of the territory and many of its denominations bordered the Blackwater or the Clydagh River.

As Simms has elucidated, there were generally two types of land attached to the office of chief: that which he farmed directly (his demesne), and the mensal lands or *lucht tighe* estates, held by certain hereditary vassals who yielded the lord food renders for the provision of his household.⁵² According to Nicholls, the practice of large-scale direct demesne cultivation by Gaelic lords is evidenced in the widespread exaction of agricultural labour services, namely ploughing, weeding and reaping by Gaelic lords from their dependants in the sixteenth century.⁵³ In the twelfth and thirteenth century

[51] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 260.

[52] In the twelfth and thirteenth century ‘lucht tighe’ referred to a lord’s ‘household’ or military retinue. From the late fifteenth century the term came to mean the mensal lands lying around the chief’s main residence ‘presumably the area traditionally tenanted by such people.’ Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structures of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Dover, 1987), 94, 139.

[53] Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Land, law and society in sixteenth century Ireland* (Cork, 1976), 13.

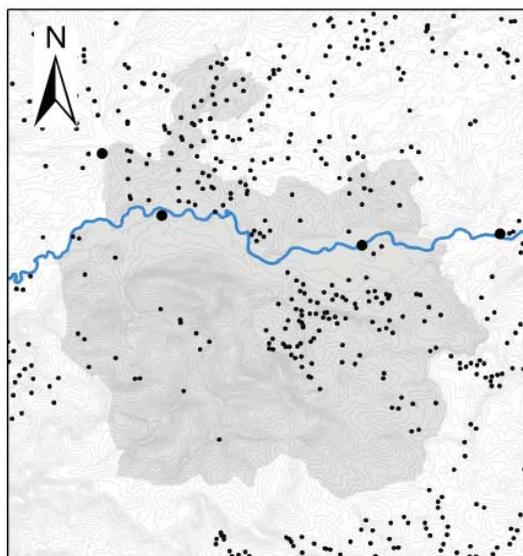


Fig. 5.8: Distribution of native enclosed settlements in Duhallow.

the term *lucht tighe* referred to a lord's 'household' or military retinue. From the late fifteenth century it came to mean the mensal lands lying around the chief's main residence 'presumably the area traditionally tenanted by such people'. The mensal lands did not have to be adjacent to the chief's demesne, but could be scattered throughout the lordship, as was the case in the West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship of the Mac Namara Fionn.⁵⁴ Simms has argued that the late medieval inhabitants of the mensal lands perpetuated 'the role of the earlier king's clients, yielding food-rents and escort duties no longer on the basis of a contract

of submission, but as an inherited obligation'.⁵⁵

This 'dual system' of demesne and mensal lands has been identified in several lordships. In Fermanagh, for example, Davies noted that the Maguire had 'about his Castle of Enniskillen ...almost a ballibetagh of land, which he manured with his own churls' in addition to four ballibetaghs of mensal lands lying in several baronies, which were 'free from all common charges and contributions of the country, because they yielded a large proportion of butter and meal and other provisions for M'Guire's table'. According to Davies, most of Mac Guire's mensal lands were in the possession of 'one M'Manus and his sept'.⁵⁶ Similarly, in the Mac Mahon lordship of Monaghan, Duffy has identified among five levels of land-ownership 'the *lucht tighe*...assessed for provisioning the lord [and] the demesne ballybetaghs which accompanied the office of lord and were farmed by him'.⁵⁷ Simms has identified this 'dual system' in Ó Raghilligh's lordship of East Bréifne and in the lordship of Ó Néill.⁵⁸ Breen did not identify mensal lands in the lordship of O'Sullivan Beare, but an inquisition made in 1587 describing 'the ancient custom of division of lands...among the O'Sullivans' noted that part of the lordship's lands were rent free because 'they were to pay everything that the lord lacked from time

[54] Luke McInerney, 'The west Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: evidence from a forgotten inquisition', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 48 (2008), 33-62.

[55] Simms, *Kings to warlords*, 140.

[56] Morley, *Ireland under Elizabeth*, 368, 370.

[57] Duffy 'Social and spatial order', 129.

[58] Simms, *Kings to warlords*, 140.

to time...or to supply the wants of his house'.⁵⁹ The reference to supplying the wants of the chief's house is suggestive of mensal lands.

The Mallow Inquisition did not list mensal lands in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. Regional variation was a feature of the structure of Gaelic lordship. The attachment of demesne land to the office of chief, for example, 'was not universal'.⁶⁰ It is thus possible that the O'Callaghan lordship did not contain mensal lands. McDermott's study of the analogously sized McKenna lordship of Trough, for example, noted their potential absence.⁶¹ Arguably, the dearth of *lucht tighbe* or mensal lands in both cases can be connected to the minor scale of the lordships, neither of which comprised more than three parishes, and both of which formed part of bigger polities. It may be that in the case of such minor or sub-lordships the lord provisioned his household from his own demesne lands and by renders from the freeholding septs within his territory which could also take the form of food stuffs.

5.3.2 *Settlement on the demesne lands*

Five of the six castle sites in the lordship were located on the demesne lands, including the three most important early modern castles: Clonmeen, Dromaneen and Dromore. These three sites alone were explicitly mentioned in the Surrender and Re-grant, and depicted on the Down Survey maps and *Hiberniae Delineatio* (Fig. 5.6; Fig. 5.3). Clonmeen and Dromaneen served as the *capita* and residences of the O'Callaghan lords in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, and both show early modern phases of building. Kilshannig and Clonmeen parish churches were also on the demesne lands, in close proximity to Clonmeen and Dromaneen castles.⁶²

Identifying archaeological evidence of settlement below the lordly level is difficult. Native enclosed settlements constitute the dominant medieval settlement type in the lordship (Fig. 5.8). The difficulty in dating these sites and their long chronology makes it difficult to use these monuments as an index of late medieval/ early modern

[59] Colin Breen, *The Gaelic lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare: a landscape cultural history* (Dublin, 2005), 123-4; Hamilton, *State Papers*, Vol. 3, 365.

[60] K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 41.

[61] Siobhán Mc Dermott, 'Negotiating the colonial process: society and settlement in Truagh, north Co. Monaghan, c. 1591 - c. 1800', Unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, Galway, 2009, 77.

[62] Aubrey Gwynn and Neville R. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (Harlow, 1970), 364.

settlement.⁶³ These difficulties are compounded by the high rate of monument destruction in N Cork.⁶⁴

Historical documents were used in order to investigate settlement of ‘tenants and followers’ of the O’Callaghan chiefs. This method has many limits, but nevertheless provides a useful index of settlement and allows for the tentative identification of patterns in the organisation of the demesne lands.

5.3.3 *Castles & Elite Settlement on the demesne lands*

One of the most striking aspects of the archaeology of the O’Callaghan’s personal demesne is that five of the seven castle sites in the lordship are located on it. All five castles on the demesne may not have been in use contemporaneously and the lack of standing remains for three of them hinders interpretation of the sites. The prevalence of castles on the demesnes of Gaelic chiefs has been noted by Loeber, with reference to the O’Carroll lordship. While the role of the ‘chiefly’ castles as principal residence of the lord of the territory can be defined with some degree of certainty, he comments that ‘the precise function of the many castles on the demesne lands is unclear’, suggesting that they may have been occupied by members of the chieftain’s family.⁶⁵

In late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, the two ‘chiefly castles’ were Dromaneen and Clonmeen. Dromaneen Castle would seem to have been the principal residence of the lords of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* in the late sixteenth century. In 1574, it was noted as the residence of the famed sixteenth-century chieftain, Donagh Mac Teige Roe celebrated in the poem ‘*Caithréim Dbonnchaidh mhic Thaidhb Rna Uí Cheallacháin*’.⁶⁶ Donagh Mac Teige Roe’s successor, Callaghan Mac Conoghor, appears to have moved from Clonmeen to Dromaneen upon his accession to the office in 1577.⁶⁷ In the early years of Conchobhar na Cairrce’s lordship he also resided at Dromaneen where he is noted in 1585 and 1595.⁶⁸ While Dromaneen was the ‘chiefly castle’, Clonmeen also played an important role. There is some evidence to suggest that it may have served as the residence of the lord’s immediate family. In 1573, Callaghan Mc Conoghor O’Callaghan, then grandson of the O’Callaghan, was recorded as residing

[63] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, ‘Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish ‘ring-fort’’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2009).

[64] Tony Lowes, ‘The men who eat ringforts’, *The Village* /October-November (2010).

[65] Rolf Loeber, ‘An architectural history of Gaelic castles and settlements, 1370-1600’, in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland: c.1250- c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 301.

[66] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 393.

[67] Callaghan Mac Conoghor is noted as of Clonmeen in 1573; in 1577 after he acceded to the O Callaghaship he is noted as residing at Dromaneen: Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 288, 290, 419.

[68] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 701; Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 246.

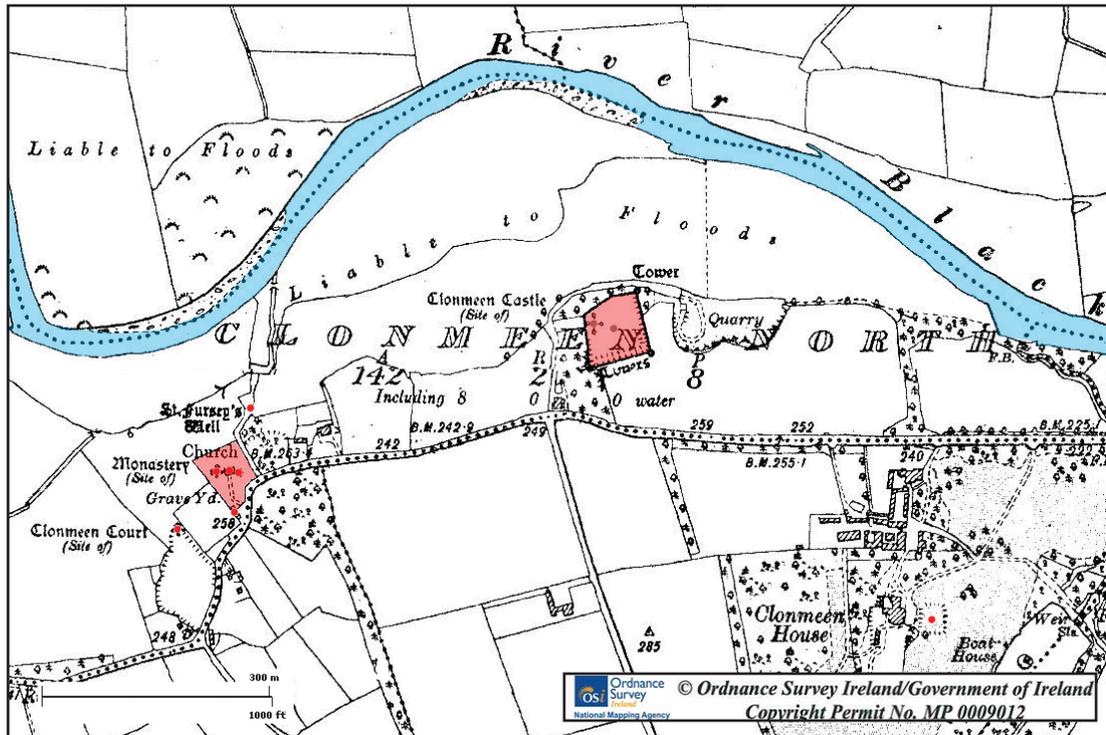


Fig. 5.9: Clonmeen on the 25-inch OS map (1903). The bawn of Clonmeen castle and the graveyard of the parish church are marked in red.

at Clonmeen when he was issued pardons by the crown.⁶⁹ Upon his accession to the O'Callaghanship in 1577 he would appear to have moved to Dromaneen where he is noted in 1577 in another pardon.⁷⁰ Dromore's role is less clear, but must be in part connected to its location overlooking the eastern border of the lordship.

Dromaneen and Clonmeen were implicated in the succession dispute that broke out in the 1590s and they each became the *caput* of rival factions of the family. Between 1595 and 1600, Conchobhar na Cairrce, left Dromaneen and took up residence at Clonmeen. After the protracted legal proceedings concerning the lands of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* and the agreement to partition the lands in 1610, Clonmeen became the principal seat in the lands apportioned to Conchobhar na Cairrce. His son, Callaghan Mc Conoghor, inherited the lands upon his father's death between 1610 and 1619,⁷¹ residing there until his own death by drowning in the Blackwater in 1631.⁷² Callaghan Mc Conoghor was married to Joan Butler and when he died their sole child and heir, Ellen O'Callaghan of Clonmeen, inherited the lands. After Ellen and her cousin Donogh married they would appear to have lived at Clonmeen, while Donogh's father

[69] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 288, 90.

[70] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 419

[71] Conchobhar na Cairrce was dead by 1619. He is described as 'late of Clonmyne' in a pardon of alienation dated that year in the Calendar of Patent Rolls James I; M.C. Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commission's calendar* (Dublin, 1966), 430.

[72] National of Library, Genaeological Office, MS68 f132.

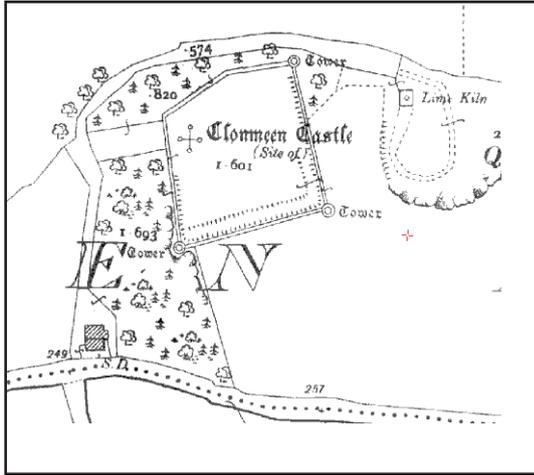


Fig. 5.10: 25-inch OS map of Clonmeen Castle (1903).



Fig. 5.11: Extract of the Down Survey Barony map of Duhallow.

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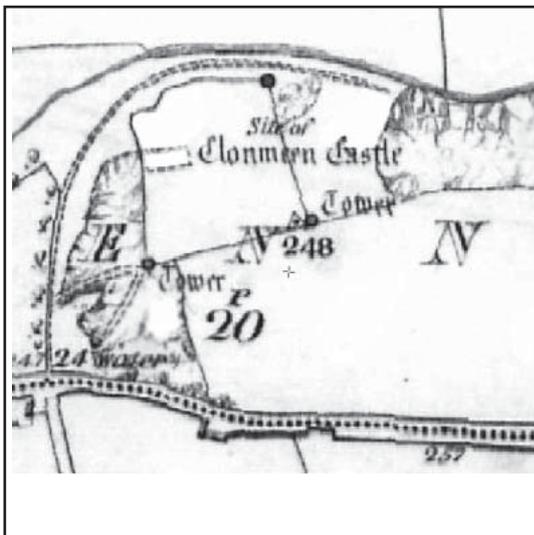


Fig. 5.12: 6-inch OS map of Clonmeen Castle (1841).

Cahir ('Cahir Modere') remained in residence at Dromaneen.

5.3.4 Clonmeen

Clonmeen was the largest denomination in the lordship, and encompassed the entire half of Clonmeen parish east of the Glen and Fermoy rivers, sweeping down from the boggy heights of Carraigeannon (375 OD) in the S, to the low fertile river banks of the Blackwater in the N (69 OD) (Fig. 5.6).⁷³ In the Surrender and Re-grant, it was noted as containing four-and-a-half ploughlands comprising five named sub-

denominations. The principal focus of settlement in the denomination was at Clonmeen itself, which featured a castle site with an early modern bawn, c.500m to the W of which was a parish church/ Augustinian house, a graveyard, a holy well and the site of a late-seventeenth-century house ('Clonmeen court') (Fig. 5.9). There is some evidence to suggest that there may have been a clustered settlement at Clonmeen. Another

[73] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3,245; Morrin, *Patent and Close Rolls*, Vol.2, 335. The denomination of Clonmeen was coterminous with the fourteen nineteenth-century townlands of Inchidaly, Clonmeen North, Clonmeen South, Gougane, Curraghrour East, Curraghrour West, Dunich, Gortmore, Glen North, Glen South, Lyre, Coolroe More, Coolroe Beg and Killavoy.



Fig. 5.13: North wall of the bawn at Clonmeen Castle.



Fig. 5.14: East bawn wall (internal) of Clonmeen Castle. Note gun loops.

focus of settlement in the four-and-a-half ploughlands of Clonmeen was in the sub-denomination of Gortmore, which contains two castle sites.

Prior to the formation of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Clonmeen was the site of a high medieval manor held by the Magnel family. About 1364-7, one David Magnel held 5 carucates in ‘Soboltre and Clonmyn...with the demesne of Clonmyn, by services of homage, fealty and common suit of the castle of Kylmaclenyn’ from the Bishop of Cloyne. The heir of Philip O Mal held ‘a castle in Clonmyn, by services four pence yearly, of homage, fealty and court suit of Kylmaclenyn’ from the Bishop of Cloyne.⁷⁴ It is uncertain which, if any, of the three known castle sites in the four-and-a-half ploughlands relate to this fourteenth-century castle.

In its present form, Clonmeen castle comprises a partially modified sub-rectangular early modern bawn (84m E-W by 83m N-S) (Fig. 5.10; Fig. 5.11; Fig. 5.12).⁷⁵ The bawn has three surviving circular corner-flanker towers (internal diameter c.4m) on its NE, SE and SW corners. It is impressively sited on the precipice of a sheer limestone cliff running parallel to the Blackwater, with commanding views over the river’s flood plain. The northern end of the bawn is built over the cliff, giving the outer wall a maximum external height of c.7.5m (Fig. 5.13), while on the interior the enclosing wall has a maximum height of c.3m (Fig. 5.14). The walls and towers were fitted with gun loops comprising splayed and lintelled embrasures with rectangular shot holes. There are no traces of internal structures in the bawn, this may be partly due to its apparent reuse as a garden at a later period, possibly associated with the nearby Clonmeen House. The 1842 OS map does, however, depict the footprint of a rectangular structure in the western portion of the enclosure (Fig. 5.12).

The presence of gun-loops in the bawn at Clonmeen is suggestive of an early modern date. Gun loops feature in defensive structures in Ireland as early as the fifteenth century. The town walls at Limerick, Reginald’s Tower, Waterford, the Kildare castle at Woodstock, Co. Kildare, Augnanure Castle, Co. Galway and Leighlinbridge Castle, Co. Carlow all exhibit gun-loops deemed by Kerrigan to potentially date to the second half of the fifteenth century.⁷⁶ It was, however, not until the mid-to-late-sixteenth century that gun loops became a more widespread architectural feature, allied to the

[74] Mac Cotter et al, *Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 33-5; Colonel James Grove-White, *Historical and Topographical Notes etc. on Buttervant, Castletownroche, Doneraile, Mallow and places in their vicinity* (4 vols, Cork,1906-1915), Vol. 2, 222.

[75] Power et al., *Inventory of Cork*, 530.

[76] Paul M. Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications in Ireland, 1485-1945* (Cork, 1995), 24.

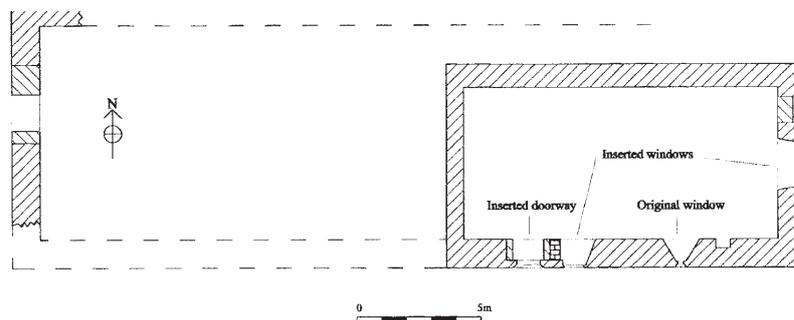


Fig. 5.15: Clonmeen church (above). Plan of Clonmeen medieval parish church (below)(Cotter 2006, 271).

proliferation of firearms.⁷⁷ The *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork* describes the structure at Clonmeen as of ‘seventeenth-century type’.⁷⁸

The earliest reference to a named member of the sept at Clonmeen is in 1573, when ‘Kallaghan m’Conchor O Kallaghan, gent’ was pardoned.⁷⁹ The most likely candidate for the construction of the early modern bawn is perhaps Conchobhar na Cairrce.

[77] Kerrigan, *Fortifications*, 24; James O Neill, ‘An introduction to firearms in post medieval Ireland: 1500-1700’, in A. Horning et al. (eds.), *The post medieval archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), 470-1.

[78] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 530.

[79] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 288.

His predecessors Donagh Mc Teige Roe (*Donnchaidh Mhic Thaidhg Rua*) and Callaghan Mc Teige would seem to have resided at Dromaneen during their respective lordships. Conchobhar na Cairrce's epithet may refer to his construction of the early modern bawn of Clonmeen Castle on its prominent rock outcrop. It is possible, in this context, that the construction of the bawn was connected to the dispute over lands that ultimately resulted in the cleavage of the lordship.

5.3.4.1 Clonmeen Parish Church

Partial remains of a substantial medieval church survive at Clonmeen, c.500m W of the castle (Fig. 5.9). The church, only part of which survives was rectangular in plan. Its SE corner was incorporated into a smaller post-medieval Church of Ireland, while its W gable is now free-standing (Fig. 5.15).⁸⁰ The medieval church was 31.7m E-W by 11.2m N-S, making it somewhat larger than the average medieval parish church in Cork, an attribute connected to both the population of the parish it served and the largesse of its O'Callaghan patrons.⁸¹ Power and Lane date the church to the fifteenth century. There is some suggestion that Clonmeen may have been the site of an Augustinian friary endowed by the O'Callaghans, but the attribution is ambiguous.⁸² Unlike Kilshanning parish church, it was noted to be in 'good repair' as late as 1615, but suffered during the upheavals of the mid-seventeenth-century and was 'out of repair' by 1676.⁸³ The church is depicted on the Down Survey barony map.

5.3.4.2 Inchidaly

One of the place-names of note within the early modern denomination of Clonmeen is Inchidaly townland, located immediately west of Clonmeen North at the confluence of the Glen and Blackwater Rivers. The name Inchidaly translates as *Inse Uí Dhálaigh* the river-meadow or the water-meadow of O'Daly. The attribution of the meadow to *Uí Dálaigh* is significant. In 1601, 'Eanes O Dally' and 'Shane Mc Owen O Daly' were listed as of Clonmeen.⁸⁴ O Rahilly has identified the former as Aonghus O'Dalaigh Fionn, a poet closely connected with the Mac Carthaigh Mór and O'Keefe of Duhallow.⁸⁵

[80] Eamonn Cotter, 'Architectural change and the parish church in post reformation Cork', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 269-71.

[81] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 559; Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church and community in Medieval Ireland: The diocese of Kilfenora', *J.R.S.A.I.*, 125 (1995), 75-6.

[82] Rolf Loeber has noted the pairing of Gaelic chiefly castles and priories, suggesting that 'In contrast to Anglo-Norman settlements of manors and churches many of the Gaelic chieftains built a chiefly castle and founded a nearby priory'. Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, Vol. 2, 559; Gwynne and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 364; Loeber, 'Gaelic castles and settlements', 278.

[83] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 559.

[84] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 502

[85] Thomas F. O Rahilly, 'Irish Poets, Historians, and Judges in English Documents, 1538-1615' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 36, (1921 - 1924), 99.

There are no surviving poems written by the Uí Dhalaigh poets for Ó Ceallacháin lords, however a poem dated to the sixteenth century, commissioned by one of the noble women of the family, Eileanoir, daughter of Cathaor Ó Ceallachain, and wife of Domhnall O Keefe, does survive.⁸⁶ The close relationship between the O'Keefe and O Callaghan sept, allied with the presence of the poet Aonghus Ó Dalaigh Fionn at Clonmeen in 1601, suggests that the O'Callaghan lords may have patronised the Uí Dhalaigh poets. In this case the townland Inchidaly could represent a parcel of land allotted to the poets in return for their services. It contains no recorded archaeological monuments.

5.3.4.3 Gortmore

Gortmore, a sub-denomination in the eastern part of Clonmeen (now a townland), has two castle sites marked on the 1842 OS map. In the northern portion of the denomination, close to a loop in the Blackwater, and immediately south of Roskeen Bridge⁸⁷ there is a site marked 'castle' located in an orchard and adjacent to a field marked 'Castle Quarter'. This site is known as Gortmore Castle. Further south in the townland there is a site marked 'site of Gurteenkreen Castle' situated adjacent to a rectangular building orientated NE-SW. This building is depicted on the 1903, 25- inch map as a simple rectangular unroofed structure in a much altered fieldscape where it is marked as 'Gurteenkreen Castle in ruins'. Neither Gortmore nor Gurteenkreen castle survive on the ground.

5.3.5 *The castle and lands of Dromaneen*

Dromaneen was another of the *capita* of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* located in the demesne lands attached to the office of 'the O'Callaghan' (Fig. 5.6). The denomination was smaller than Clonmeen, encompassing just two ploughlands. Dromaneen Castle is situated 2km W of Mallow. As at Clonmeen, the structure is situated on a limestone cliff running parallel to the south bank of the River Blackwater. It lies at the base of a gentle hill called Darling Hill on the first edition OS map and is located c.1km to the west of the medieval parish church of Kilshannig.

The castle comprises a multiphase complex of ruined buildings within a double-bawn (Fig. 5.17; Fig. 5.19). Its central component is a rectangular gabled-ended building (structure 1) orientated E-W and positioned along the limestone cliff face. The building has four storeys, including a third floor garret. A spine wall rising to first-floor level

[86] [<http://bardic.celt.dias.ie/main.html>] Accessed 14 March 201. The poem is called *Tus cuarda tar mbnaibh Mumban*.

[87] A bridge of probable mid-eighteenth century date (SMR CO32:236): Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 638.



Fig. 5.17: Dromaneen Castle, looking north.



Fig. 5.16: Extract of the Down Survey Barony map showing Dromaneen.

bisects the house into E and W portions; the eastern portions features a rock-cut basement reached by a set of cut-stone stairs. At both ground and first floor level the building contains two rooms: a larger one to the W (11.8m E-W; 7.65m N-S) and a smaller one to the E (7m N-S; 4m E-W).⁸⁸

Traces of plaster on the N wall suggest that the building was not internally partitioned on these levels. The second floor wall plates and floor beams were supported on punch-dressed corbels projecting from the wall. The division of the second and third (garret) floors is uncertain, as plaster does not survive on the walls, but the presence of two or possibly three fireplaces at the garret level suggest that it was divided into separate rooms. The floors throughout the building were timber, confirmed by the presence of large joist holes accompanied by projecting corbels. The location of the presumably timber stairs in the building is uncertain. Following Leask,⁸⁹ it is proposed

[88] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 542.

[89] OPW plan.

that the most likely position is in the smaller eastern chamber. A series of holes in the wall plaster at this juncture support this suggestion.

The building has two doorways stacked vertically in the eastern end of its S facade, providing access to the ground and first floor levels. All the cut stone has been robbed out of the first floor doorway and only one block of punch-dressed, chamfered stone survives on the base course of the E side of the ground floor doorway. It is probable that as at Kanturk the first floor doorway was more elaborately embellished, while the chamfer and dressing on the ground floor doorway is suggestive of a simple, perhaps, arched portal.⁹⁰

At Dromaneen the first floor doorway leads to a large room that was probably the principal chamber in the building. The chamber is well lit. It has a four-light window in the W wall; a six-light and a three-light window in the N wall. The S wall features a fine cut fireplace (Fig. 5.20) accompanied by another aperture that may have started out as a window but was probably converted to a door with the addition of structure 2. This first floor fireplace is the finest surviving example in the castle. The feature is constructed from finely cut limestone; it comprises jambs with panels of stepped moulding, edged with rope moulding and surmounted by a plain mantle of three pieces of joggled stone, edged again with rope moulding and crowned with a moulded cornice. The rope moulding on the fireplace jambs and mantle is reminiscent of that on the doorways at Kanturk Castle. Given the political relationship between the O'Callaghans and the Mac Donogh Mc Carthys, it is interesting. It may be that the same masons worked on both sites, a plausible occurrence given their proximity and closeness in date. The rope motif may have had a certain significance or meaning for the Mac Donogh and O'Callaghan lords, influencing their choice to use it as an architectural detail.

At some time subsequent to the building of the main house, a rectangular S wing with a square corner tower was added (structure 2). The wing extended at a right angle from the SW corner of structure 1. It is 13.28m N-S by 7m E-W. The corner tower measures 3m square.⁹¹ From the physical relationships between structures 1 and 2, it is clear that they were constructed in separate episodes. They also feature different window and

[90] Other examples of stacked doorways include Donegal Castle.

[91] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 542.

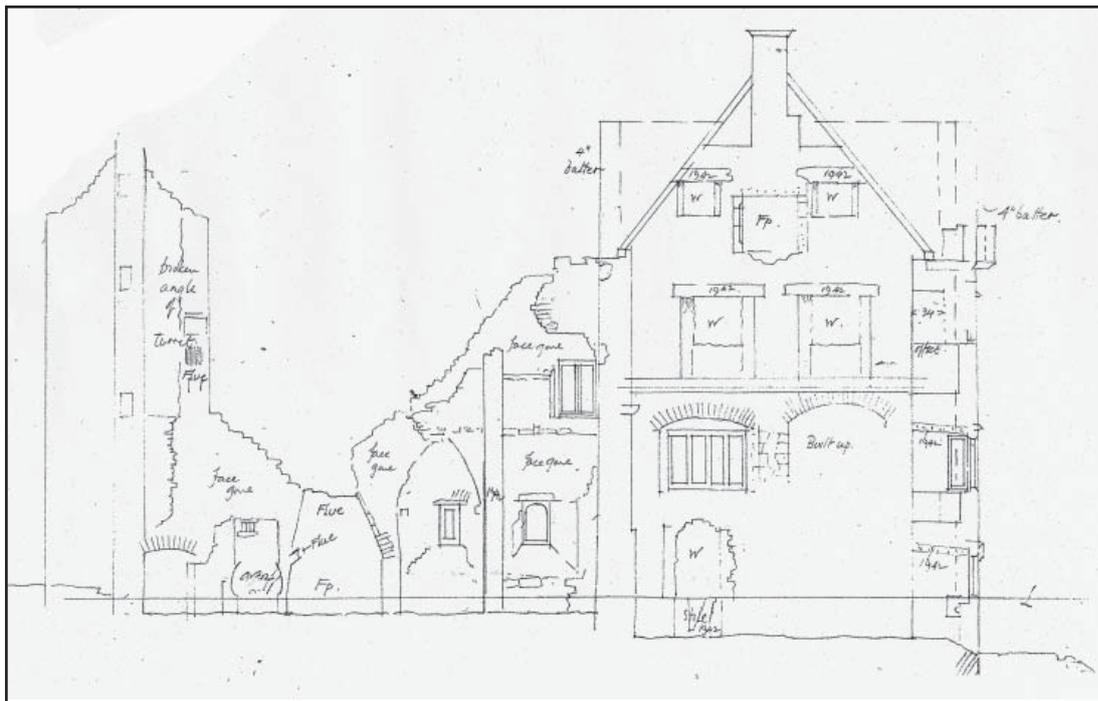


Fig. 5.18: Elevation of the west wall of Dromaneen castle from the OPW archive. Possibly by Harold Leask.

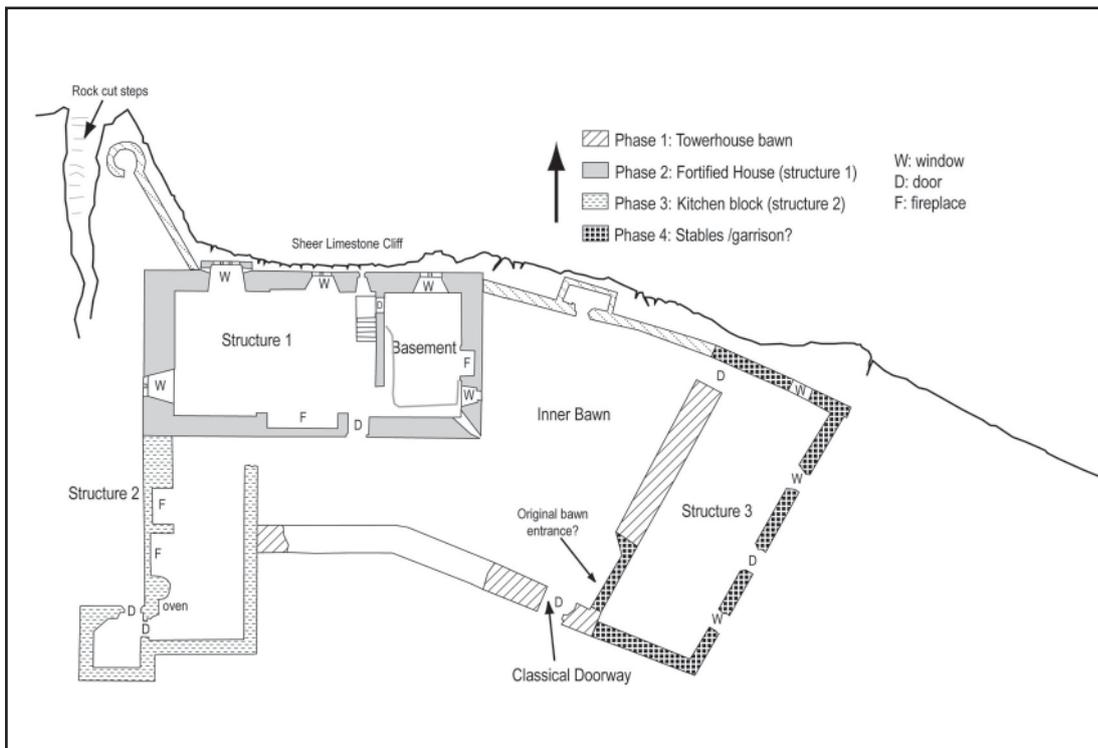


Fig. 5.19: Plan of Dromaneen Castle. Based on plan from the OPW archive.

hood moulding styles. The windows of structure 1 consistently feature L-shaped stops, while structure 2 features double L-shaped stops.

The ground floor of structure 2 was a kitchen. Its heat damaged W long wall contains two large hearths and the remnants of a domed bread oven (Fig. 5.18).⁹² The advent of the mural bread oven has been pin-pointed by Sherlock as a distinctively early modern architectural feature in Munster. The second floor of structure 2 is poorly preserved. It has a door communicating with the first floor hall of structure 1 and another door communicating with its angle tower, which would seem to have served to carry a timber stair. The corner tower has an external ground floor doorway with a finely cut, stone frame with a Tudor arch. The W wall of the building also features a Tudor arched window.

O’Keeffe and Quirke have commented that the most important change that took place in fortified houses was to the presentation of the exterior, rather than to the interior arrangement of space.⁹³ When it was first built the S wall of structure 1 had three windows, all at second floor level, flush with a band of string-coursing running along the upper part of the S wall level. The windows are rectangular and have hood mouldings, with L-shaped stops integrated into the string coursing. They consist of two three-light and a two-light mullioned windows. The mullions do not survive. The SE corner of the S wall is crowned with a machicolation. There are traces of an additional window or windows at garret level at the E end of the S face.

The N facade of structure 1 contrasts markedly with that of the S. The N facade is well proportioned, with clear evidence for consideration of symmetry and balance of architectural elements in its design, an attribute absent in the southern facade. The N facade was constructed flush with a sheer cliff overlooking the River Blackwater. It contains a suite of nine windows arranged in three bays in an almost symmetrical manner. The bays and the windows are evenly spaced in the face of the building but the W bay protrudes from the facade of the wall to facilitate the insertion of a window seat. The number of lights per window varies also across the facade, with three-light windows in the E and central bays and six-light windows in the W bay. The top of the wall is crowned by four evenly spaced machicolations. From the Blackwater river or its N bank the castle appears as an imposing symmetrical cliff-top structure. This concern

[92] Rory Sherlock, ‘Mural domestic bread ovens: evidence for the medieval -post medieval architectural transition in Co. Cork’, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 111 (2006); Rory Sherlock, ‘The Later Medieval Fireplaces of County Cork’, *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, 105 (2000), 207-30.

[93] Tadhg O’Keeffe and Sinead Quirke, ‘A house at the birth of modernity: Ightermurragh Castle in context’, in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland settlement and material Culture, c.1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 110.

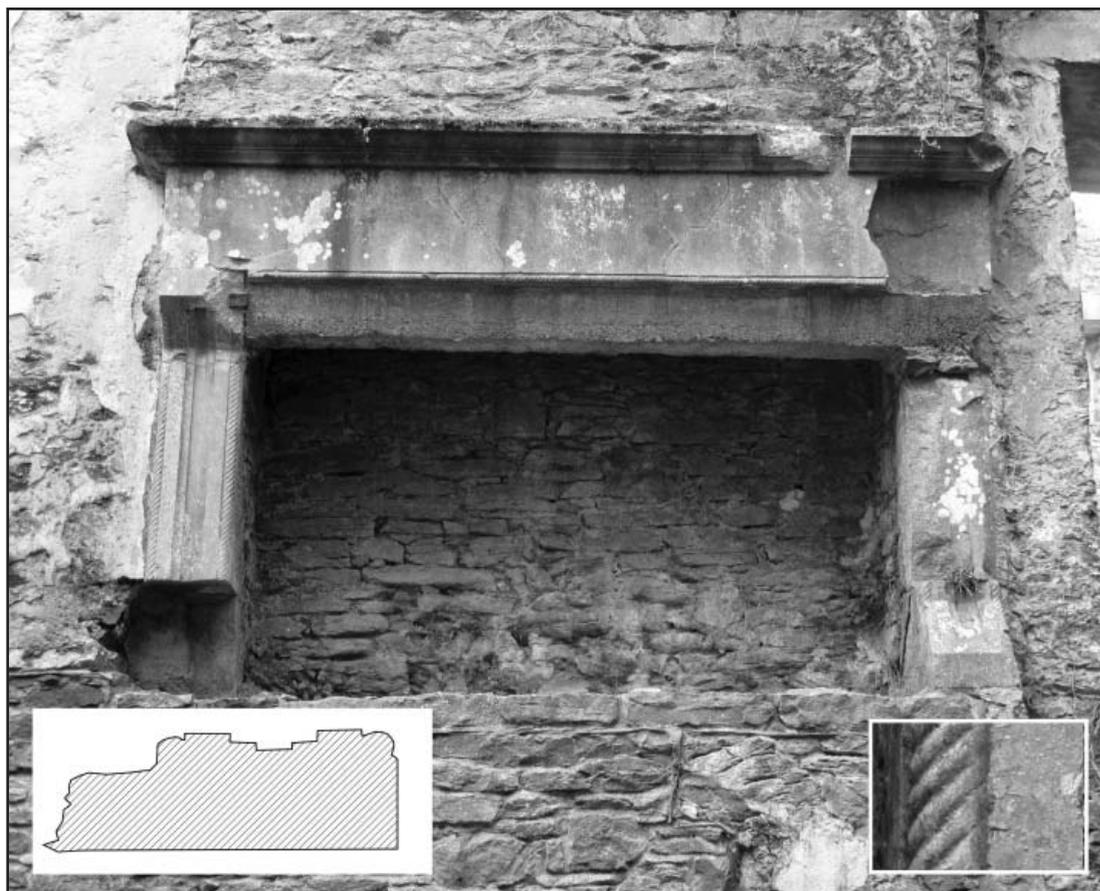


Fig. 5.20: First floor fireplace, Dromaneen Castle.



Fig. 5.21: Classical style doorway, Dromaneen Castle.

with display and symmetry exemplified in the northern facade of the castle is at odds with its physical approach to the S.

Dromaneen was surrounded by an inner and an outer bawn. The former enclosed the immediate area in front of the house. The latter was much larger. It extended S from the inner bawn, enclosing a trapezoidal area (c.1.58 ha). The bawn has walls of up to 4m in height featuring corner towers fitted with gun loops, one of which doubled as a columbarium.⁹⁴

To the E of the main block of buildings there is a rectangular building aligned N-S (structure 3). The building has two stories with a mural fireplace serviced by a tall chimney at first floor level in the W wall. Large beam-slots set into the E and W walls indicate the level of the first floor. The E wall of the building is punctuated by three large breaches, either doors or windows. The configuration of the walls clearly indicates that the W wall of the building formed the original E wall of the inner bawn onto which the structure was added. The W wall is notably thicker than the other walls and has a clear return joining to the southern wall of the inner bawn. The later construction of this structure is also suggested by the presence of brick in a machicolation on its NE corner. White relates that 'In King William's wars the English kept a garrison in this castle for a considerable time, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Culliford'.⁹⁵ This building may be related to the garrison phase of the site.

One of the most notable architectural features of Dromaneen is the ornate doorway in the inner bawn wall (Fig. 5.21). The distinctive elliptical headed doorway leads from the outer bawn to the inner space between the buildings. Comparisons have been drawn between the Dromaneen door and that in Kanturk Castle.⁹⁶ While similarities do exist between both examples, namely their classical style, they also contrast. The carving around the Dromaneen door exhibits finer, more delicate execution of the mouldings. The door form too is different, rounded at Kanturk and elliptical at Dromaneen.

Like Clonmeene, Dromaneen is a castle of ostensible early modern construction and with an earlier pedigree. The earliest clearly datable structures are of the early seventeenth century. Power suggests that the structure was constructed to celebrate the wedding of Donogh and Ellen in the 1630s, partly basing his dating on similarities between the ornamental doorway in Dromaneen with a similar fireplace in Monkstown known to date from the 1630s. While the standing buildings are of early seventeenth-century date, there are hints of older components at the site. In 1897 Gillman noted

[94] Power *et al. Inventory of Cork*, Vol. 4, 542.

[95] Grove-White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, Vol. 4, 64.

[96] Denis Power, 'Dromaneen Castle, an O'Callaghan stronghold', *Mallow Field Club Journal*, 17/5-17 (1999), 13.

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in the interior of the bawn ‘an ancient wall 5 ½ feet thick, which appears to be the remnant of an earlier castle’.⁹⁷ Power is of the opinion that there was an earlier structure on the site, ‘probably a towerhouse’.⁹⁸

Historical evidence suggests that from at least the 1570s the site served as the primary residence of the lords of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. This early date, predating the architectural styles exhibited in the standing masonry, would further suggest that the present ruin was built on the site of an earlier structure, most likely a towerhouse. Gillman’s ‘ancient wall’, the inner bawn wall measuring c.1.70m thick is possibly the remnant of an earlier phase of activity at the site. It may, for example, be the original bawn enclosing a late medieval towerhouse. This may account for the curious configuration of the inner bawn and the early modern structures, particularly the relationship between the bawn and structure 2.

Dromaneen was created a manor in 1610 by James I, with 600 acres in demesne and power to alienate the rest; to hold courts leet and baron; to impark 150a Ir. with free warrens and park.⁹⁹ In 1612, the king accepted a surrender of the castle of Dromaneen from Cahir O’Callaghan with provision of court leets, court barons, two fairs a year and a weekly market to be kept at ‘the town of Dromynine’.¹⁰⁰ The manor was a key tool in the campaign of the English state to abolish Gaelic tenure. The creation of manors occurred both in a plantation context and in cases where land was re-granted to Gaelic or Old English elites.¹⁰¹ Neither the markets nor the fairs survived into the nineteenth century. The location of the market or fair is not marked on the first edition map.

The medieval parish church of St. Senach’s is located c.1km to the E of Dromaneen Castle, in the nineteenth-century townland of Newberry. The appellation is suggestive of an early medieval genesis for the site. The current church building sits in the centre of a rectangular graveyard enclosed by a stone wall. A parcel of glebe land is marked on the first edition OS map opposite the church. As at Clonmeen, the parish church at Kilshannig was substantially remodelled in the post-medieval period, although traces of the medieval fabric do survive. The current church is bicameral with a tower appended

[97] Herbert Webb Gillman ‘The chiefs of Pubul-I-Callaghan, Co. Cork’, *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, Vol. 3, No. 30 (1897).

[98] Power, ‘Dromaneen Castle’, 15.

[99] Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I*, 197.

[100] Public Record Office Great Britain, Charles William Russell and John P. Prendergast, *Calendar of the state papers, relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I*. (5 vols, Nendeln, 1974), vol. 3, 584.

[101] William Roulston, ‘Seventeenth-century manors in the Barony of Strabane’, in James Lyttleton and Tadhg O Keeffe (eds.), *The Manor in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2005); Brian Shanahan, ‘The manor in east County Wicklow’, in James Lyttleton and Tadhg O Keeffe (eds.), *The manor in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2005), 150; Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian problems in the sixteenth century and after* (London, 1969), 19.

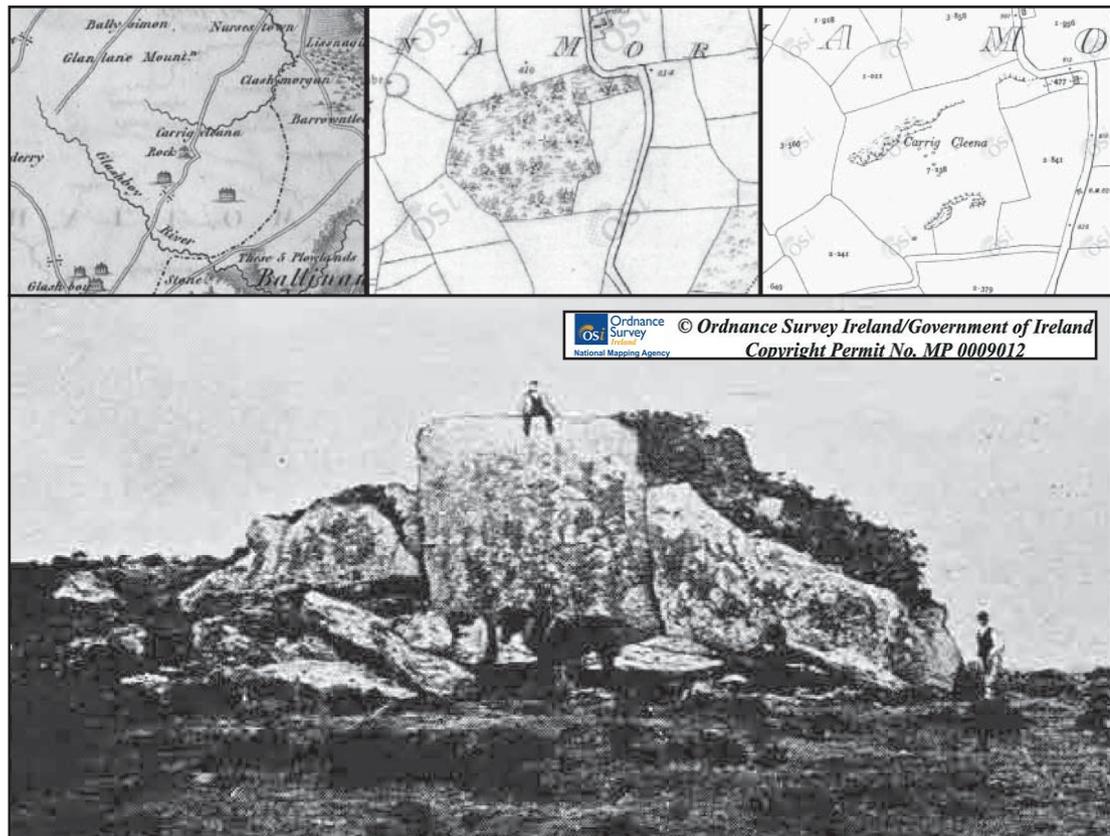


Fig. 5.22: Carrigcleena depicted on the Grand Jury Map of Co. Cork (1811) (above left); on the first edition 6-inch map (1841) (above middle); on the 25-inch OS map (1903) (above right); the ‘door’ at Carrigcleena (Grove-White 1911, 42).

to its W end.¹⁰² Unlike Clonmeen, which remained in good repair until the latter part of the seventeenth-century, St. Senach’s church was noted as being ‘in ruins’ in 1615.¹⁰³ It was not depicted on the Down Survey barony map of Duhallow.

5.3.6 Dromore and Carraigcleena

Dromore castle was the third of the ‘three fine castles’ on the demesne lands of ‘the O’Callaghan’.¹⁰⁴ The castle site has been completely destroyed and the site of the castle within its townland is disputed.¹⁰⁵ Healy has placed the site on a prominence overlooking the Clyda River valley.¹⁰⁶ The castle is therefore sited on the eastern boundary of the lordship, overlooking Desmond territory centred on Mallow. The site is depicted on

[102] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 613.

[103] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 589.

[104] Public Record Office Great Britain, *State papers*, Vol. 10, 135.

[105] Power *et al.*, *Inventory of Cork*, 512.

[106] James Healy, *The castles of Cork* (Cork, 1988), 334-5.

Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio* indicating that it was still standing in the latter half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 5.3).

Another site of much importance in the denomination of Dromore was Carrigcleena, from the Irish *Carraig Chlóna* or Clóna's rock. *Carraig Chlóna*, in the eponymous townland, was a prominent rock outcrop on the summit of a small hillock (Fig. 5.22). The outcrop was the mythic abode of Clóna, a supernatural female figure closely connected with the O'Callaghan family.¹⁰⁷ The site was destroyed by a (still operative) stone quarry, and no prior archaeological assessment was carried out, so we are reliant on antiquarians for a description of the site. A Mr Windele, visiting the place in 1836, described it as:

A kind of area, nearly circular in form is partly fenced in with piles of rock rising twenty feet over the level of the neighbouring fields, offering perpendicular faces to the area, while they slope on the outside. The rocks form separate and distinct groups, divided by considerable intervals, and stand one at the east, one at the north-west, south-west, and south-east. In this last is what is called the door, a square stone standing upright, bearing some resemblance to an enormous door. This area is nearly equally divided by a rude range or line of stones running south to north.¹⁰⁸

Grove-White added 'among these rocks and level with the plain, yawns a wide opening, the entrance to the supposed fairy palace of Queen Cleena, within the bosom of the hill'.¹⁰⁹

The site remained an important landmark into the nineteenth century. It was marked on the 1811 Grand Jury map of Cork (Fig. 5.22). In folklore it was regarded as the principal residence of Clóna, and 'the Munster fairies'.¹¹⁰ In 1897, Deenham Franklin reported that it was 'the place of fairy amusement, when those of the north and south assemble

[107] John O'Donovan, 'Elegy on the Death of the Rev. Edmond Kavanagh, by the Rev. James O'Lalor', *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society (New Series)*, 1/1 (1856), p. 127.

[108] Grove-White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, Vol. 2, 49-50.

[109] Grove-White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, Vol. 2, 45.

[110] James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy, or bardic remains of Ireland with English poetical translations*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), Vol. 2, 124; Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *The lore of Ireland, an encyclopaedia of myth, legend and romance* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 85-6.

quarterly; it is also their place of meeting to transact business for the well government of their race and adjustment of their differences'.¹¹¹

Clíona was a figure of many guises. She was 'queen of the fairies of Munster', 'wicked queen', banshee, 'benefactress', ancestress and inspiration of the poets.¹¹² The name Clíona means 'the territorial one' indicating her origin as a goddess of sovereignty.¹¹³ Indeed, as Lysaght has argued, the banshee (Irish: *bean sí*) or woman of the otherworld is a personage derived from the older figure of the land or territorial goddess.¹¹⁴ Echoing the perennial theme of the marriage of the land goddess and the proper ruler, the keening banshee of medieval and early modern poetry, thus represents the widow of the dead chief, and sovereignty itself (8.8).¹¹⁵ The references to territorial assembly implicit in the folklore of Clíodhna, strongly suggest that this site was an assembly place for the O'Callaghans, possibly the inauguration and *oireachtais* venue of the ruling family.¹¹⁶

5.3.7 *Non-elite settlement on the demesne lands*

Hayes-McCoy has commented that the 'greater part of the unfree people [in Gaelic lordships] seem to have been settled on the demesnes'. He cites the case of the Maguire who, in the opening years of the seventeenth century had his personal demesne lands lying about his castle at Enniskillen 'manured with his own churls'.¹¹⁷ The *Fiants* would suggest the O'Callaghan demesne lands were well populated, and there is evidence for clustering of people at certain sites, most notable at the castle and parish church sites of Clonmeen and Dromaneen, at the castle of Dromore, and in Gortmore. While some of those returned are without title or occupation, several are returned as 'yeoman' or 'husbandman' indicative of agricultural occupation but also suggesting a status other than 'churl'.

Over thirty-five individuals are listed as 'of Clonmeen' in the *Fiants* between 1573 and 1603. Some of these seem to be in family groups. There are a two 'O Flyn's', three 'I Corkerys' and two 'O Dalys'. Other surnames listed are one 'I Doherty', one 'Garvane' and one 'I Cabae'. The bulk of those named are without occupation, title

[111] Grove-White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, 47.

[112] Kate Muller-Lisowski, 'Contributions to a study in Irish folklore: traditions about Donn', *Béaloides*, 18/1/2 (1948), 179.

[113] Ó hÓgáin, *The lore of Ireland*, 85.

[114] Patricia Lysaght, 'Aspects of the earth-goddess in the traditions of the banshee in Ireland', in Sandra Billington and Miranda J. Green (eds.), *The concept of the goddess* (London & New York, 1996), 153.

[115] Lysaght, 'Aspects of the earth-goddess', 158.

[116] For the use of upland stone outcrops as inauguration sites see Elizabeth FitzPatrick, *Royal inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100-1600 : a cultural landscape study* (Studies in Celtic history; Woodbridge & Rochester, 2004), 131-7.

[117] Gerard Anthony Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic society in Ireland in the late sixteenth century', *Historical Studies (Irish conference of historians)*, 4 (1958), 53.

or surname. One, ‘Donagh Mc Owen Mc Donagh oge’, is described as a yeoman.¹¹⁸ ‘Denis O Cronyne’ is described as a tailor¹¹⁹ and ‘Donell O Bowghylly’ is described as a carpenter.¹²⁰ Most of the names mentioned are of Munster origin. O’Flynn is a name with multiple geographical origins including Cork, where one sept of that name was a branch of the *Corca Laoidhe* and the other were lords of Muskerylinn (*Muiscre Uí Fhloinn*).¹²¹ Ó Garbháin and Ó Corcra (O Corkery) are both names with roots in southwest Munster.¹²² The Ó Cróinín were a sept of the *Corcu Laoidhe*, the leading family of which were erenaghs of Gougane Barra.¹²³

The inclusion of ‘Donneghy m’Donnell I Cabae’ is of note and suggests the presence of galloglasses at Clonmeen. The Mac Cába were a major mercenary lineage who mainly served the lords of south Ulster and the midlands.¹²⁴ The billeting of mercenary soldiers by lords was common practice in late medieval Ireland, and frequently comprised one of the exactions which lords claimed from their *ur-rioghtha* and vassals.¹²⁵ The exaction, known simply as ‘galloglass’, was noted in the lordships of the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Clancarr (Mac Carthy Mór) and O Sullivan Beara in the late sixteenth century.¹²⁶ So too in Duhallow, where the Mac Donagh Mac Carthy claimed ‘galloglass’ from his three *ur-rioghtha*. In 1569, O’Callaghan, O’Keeffe and Mc Auliffe were noted as keeping 180 axes (galloglasses) between them for their lord.¹²⁷ In 1588, Sir William Herbert reported that the three *ur-rioghtha* were to ‘maintain for him [Mac Donagh Mac Carthy] 27 galloglasses’.¹²⁸

The concentration of named individuals at Clonmeen is not surprising given the denomination’s role as a *caput*. Many of those listed as ‘of’ Clonmeen are likely to have comprised part of the retinue or court of the O’Callaghan chief. The presence of

[118] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 608.

[119] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 502.

[120] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 608; The tailor and carpenter combination is interesting considering that one of the exactions imposed in the Ó Duinn lordship was the ‘meate and drinke to O Donn’s tayliors and carpenders everie Sondaie and Holydaie’ Kenneth Nicholls (ed.), *The O Doyne Manuscript* (Dublin, 1983), xv; See also Simm’s comments regarding craftspeople in the households of great Gaelic lords: Katharine Simms, ‘References to landscape and economy in Irish bardic poetry’, in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy (eds.), *Surveying Ireland’s past: Multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms* (Dublin, 2004), 154.

[121] Edward MacLysaght, *The surnames of Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), 112.

[122] Mac Lysaght, *Surnames*, 59, 119.

[123] Mac Lysaght, *Surnames*, 66.

[124] Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Scottish mercenary kindreds in Ireland, 1250-1600’, Seán Duffy (ed.) *The world of the galloglass, kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200-1600* (Dublin, 2007), 103.

[125] Simms, *Kings to warlords*, 131-2.

[126] Brewer *et al.*, *Carew manuscripts*, Vol.3, 71-2; Butler, W. F. ‘The lordship of Mac Carthy Mór’, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 36/4 (1906), 354; Public Record Office Great Britain, *State Papers*, Vol.3, 362-3.

[127] Brewer *et al.*, *Carew manuscripts*, [1515- 1574] 395.

[128] Public Record Office Great Britain, *State Papers*, Vol. 4, 535.

clustered settlement at Clonmeen must be looked at in the context of the site's role as a parochial centre and possible site of an Augustinian abbey.¹²⁹

Between 1573 and 1602/3, the *Fiants* list eight men as residing in Gortmore.¹³⁰ Two of these men were O'Callaghans; one was an 'O Mahowny' and one was an 'O Connell'. Four are not given surnames. Two of the men, 'Donell and Connoghor m'Teig m'Owen' were described as yeomen; and one, 'Dermod m'Donagh m'Owen I Callaghan' was described as a husbandman. At least two of the men, 'Donell and Connoghor m'Teig m'Owen' would appear to have been brothers.

Ten men are listed as 'of Dromore' in the *Fiants*.¹³¹ Eight of these had the surname 'O'Callaghan', one had the name 'O Garrywan', one had the name 'O Kief' and one had the name 'O Konnall'. One was called 'Thomas angyllot' or 'Tho. England': a presumable reference to the same person. One of the men, 'Irlagh O Kallekhane', was referred to as a gentleman; three, 'Manus O Kief', 'Donogh ro O Konnall' and 'Tho. England', were designated yeomen. One 'Dermot m'Owen O'Callaghan' was described as 'alias baron of Dromore'.

Apart from the O'Callaghan chiefs only four men were listed as of Dromaneen in the *Fiants*. In 1577, 'Kalleghane m'Conoghor' of Dromaneen was pardoned. In 1597 'Kenedy O'Callaghan of Drommyneene', 'Mortagh O Sheahan' and 'Donagh m'Diermott of same' were also pardoned and in 1601 one 'Doneghow m'Conoghor oge O Fowlue of Dromynyne' was pardoned.¹³²

5.4 Lands of the *Táinaiste*

The Mallow Inquisition describes a parcel of five ploughlands attached to the office of *táinaiste*, namely Gortroe, Pallas and 'the Fandems' in Clonmeen and Kilshannig parishes (Fig. 5.6).¹³³ The *táinaiste*'s portion ran in a long N-S strip down the centre of the lordship. The documentary evidence would suggest that the principal residence or *ceann*

[129] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'The material world of the parish', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 72-3.

[130] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 294, 389, 419, Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 448, 503, 609.

[131] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 290, 291, 292, 415.

[132] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 419; Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 309, 421, 515.

[133] The Mallow inquisition can be found in Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 260-2. The Surrender and Regrant details the denomination of 'the Pallace' as containing the sub-denominations of 'Gortnyclowny and Farredorisse'; it lists 'Gartrowe containing 3 carucates' as comprising the sub-denominations of 'Dromfise, Kilegortroe, Kilechonebet, Gortnygadderye and Kuolerysye.'; Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 245; The seventeenth-century denomination of Pallas was coterminous with the nineteenth-century townlands of Pallas, Carrigane and Gurteenacloona; the denomination of Gortroe was coterminous with the townlands of Gortroe, Curraghbowler, Drumpeesh, Laharan, Kilgobnet and Gneevies. This was determined using the Down Survey Map.

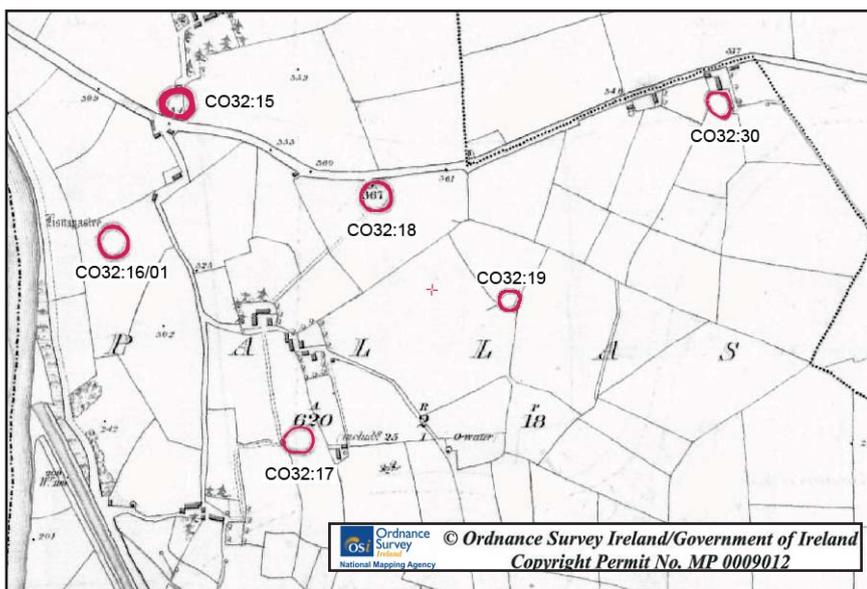


Fig. 5.23: Pallas townland as shown on the first edition OS map. The raths are highlighted in red and give their RMP numbers.

áit of the holding was at Pallas. Pallas lay in a gentle bend on the northern bank of the Blackwater, about half way between the castles at Clonmeen and Dromaneen.

According to Joyce, the placename Pallas is a loan word from the Latin *palatium* signifying a palace or royal residence. It was borrowed into Irish as *an Phailís*.¹³⁴ He argues that it was usually applied to ‘a circular for or lis’ and attributes the attachment of the name to later castles as deriving from pre-existing monuments.¹³⁵

Other sources indicate that the word is derived from the Middle English *palis* meaning a palisade, a stockade or a castle.¹³⁶ It has consequently been associated with Anglo-Norman settlement forms, particularly moated sites.¹³⁷ It has been argued by some that the word was introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, accounting for its distribution in the southern part of the island.¹³⁸ The 41 Irish townlands containing a ‘*palis*’ element are confined to the counties of Cork, Galway, Wexford, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Westmeath, Longford, Offaly, Laois, Waterford and Monaghan.¹³⁹ Similarly, Ferguson, connecting the word to masonry castles, argues that the term represents ‘an

[134] [<http://www.logainm.ie/8899.aspx>] accessed 18 January 2011.

[135] P. W. Joyce, *The origins and history of Irish names of places* (3 vols., Dublin, n. d.), Vol. 2, 232.

[136] Royal Irish Academy, *Dictionary of the Irish language: based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials* (Dublin, 2007), 494.172:12.

[137] Flanagan, Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish place names* (Dublin 1994), 128.

[138] Flanagan & Flanagan, *Place names*, 128.

[139] Census Office of Ireland, *General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns of Ireland* (1901), 761, 77. For Monaghan see Mc Dermott, ‘Negotiating the Colonial Process’, 91.

echo of a word and a concept once current among castle-builders in western Europe', and was introduced to Ireland by English speakers, and assimilated into Irish.¹⁴⁰

While the placename can be connected to masonry castles, in some instances it would appear, as argued by Joyce, to refer to pre-castle monuments. At Pallaspark, Co. Offaly, for example, the towerhouse was built on 'an earthen platform' 70m E-W.¹⁴¹ The placename is associated in the native sources with high status later medieval Gaelic settlement.¹⁴² O'Rahilly, for example, has connected the *Palis* placename to the residences of a number of Gaelic learned families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴³ O'Connor and McDermott have both linked the element with lordly sites, at Cloonfree, Co. Roscommon, and Pullis, Co. Monaghan, respectively.¹⁴⁴

This is of particular note in the context of Pallas being part of the holding of the O'Callaghan *táinaiste*. It may be that the place-name denotes a particular form or grade within the tradition of native enclosed settlement.¹⁴⁵ This suggestion is supported by the proliferation of native enclosed settlements in the denomination.¹⁴⁶ More recently, FitzPatrick has identified the *palis* placename with a suite of other landscape features (including inauguration sites, racecourses, horse and *páirc* placenames) associated with the later medieval holdings of learned Gaelic families, and potentially earlier dynastic centres.¹⁴⁷ In the case of the O'Callaghans, the seat of the *táinaiste* may have been the original lordly dwelling of the family, prior to the construction of the later masonry castles. Another instance of the placename in an analogous context is discussed below (9.4).

Pallas is one of only two places outside of the demesne lands to have inhabitants listed as 'gent' recorded. In 1573, it was recorded as the place of residence of Kallaghan

[140] Kenneth Ferguson, 'Castles and the Pallas placename: a German insight', *The Irish Sword*, XXII/89 (2001), 244.

[141] Caimin O'Brien, P. David Sweetman, and Archaeological Survey of Ireland., *Archaeological inventory of County Offaly* (Dublin, 1997), 152.

[142] McDermott, 'Negotiating the colonial process', 90.

[143] Thomas F. O'Rahilly, 'Irish poets, historians and judges in English documents, 1538-1615', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36C (1921-24), 91-100.

[144] O'Connor, Kieran, 'The morphology of Gaelic lordly sites in North Connacht', in Patrick Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 340; McDermott, 'Negotiating the colonial process', 91.

[145] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish 'ring-fort' ', *Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2009), 271-307.

[146] The nineteenth-century townland contained six examples of native enclosed settlement measuring between 27m and 40m in diameter (CO32:19; CO32:15; CO32:17; CO32:18; CO32:20) and one 'circular enclosure' (CO32:223) with a diameter of 48m. One of these monuments (CO32:6/01) is named 'Lisnapastee' on the 1842 OS map and is recorded as containing a souterrain with later use as a burial ground, possibly for children; it measures 45m in diameter. Gurteenacloona townland contains one example of a native enclosed settlement, designated a rath.

[147] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Ollamh, biatach, comharba: lifeways of Gaelic learned families in medieval and early modern Ireland', in L. Breatnach (ed.) *Proceedings of the 14th International Celtic Congress* (forthcoming), 7.

m’Teig O Kallaghan (gent) and Donell m’Teig m’Donogh O Kallaghan (yeoman). Both men, who judging from the form of their names may have been brothers, were independently issued pardons by the Queen.¹⁴⁸ They may have been the sons of Teige O’Callaghan *táinaiste* of the lordship in 1594. One ‘Donougho m’Teige m’Donougho’ noted as residing in Gortroe, the other parcel of land apportioned to the office of the *táinaiste* in 1576 may also have been one of the same Teige O’Callaghan’s sons.¹⁴⁹ It would thus appear that in this period the lands of the *táinaiste* were farmed by his sons. In 1602-3, ‘Irrilagh m’Dermod O’Callaghan of Pallice, gent...[and] Ellen ny Arte O Keefe, his wife’, were noted as resident in the denomination.¹⁵⁰ The denomination was held by Donagh O’Callaghan in 1641.

5.5 Lands of the Kinsmen

The Mallow Inquisition details a series of parcels of land allocated to the kinsmen of O’Callaghan: ‘every kinsman of O’Callaghan is to have a certain parcel of land to live upon’. This comprised the land of the ruling sept.¹⁵¹ It did not pass by primogeniture but was allocated by the O’Callaghan who had the prerogative to remove its occupants to other lands: ‘like his predecessors before, O’Callaghan for the time being, time out of mind, may remove him to other lands according to the custom’. Four kinsmen and their allotted parcels of land are named in the Mallow Inquisition, including the brother of the O’Callaghan.¹⁵² While the other freeholders owed rents and duties out of their lands, it would appear that the kinsmen of the O’Callaghan, co-members of the *derbfine*, did not.¹⁵³

In total the land allocated to the kinsmen contained seven-and-a-half ploughlands in Kilshannig and Ballyclough parishes. The bulk of this, five ploughlands, was held by O’Callaghan Mac Dermody in ‘Rathcoman’ and ‘Gortengrosse’. Irrelaugh O’Callaghan, brother to the O’Callaghan and Teige Mac Cahir held one ploughland each, namely ‘Kilecolman’ and ‘Kilfadire’. Callaghan Mac Owen the last named kinsman held the half ploughland of ‘Dromrastle-tinegherine’ and ‘Kilerowe’.¹⁵⁴ As noted above, the

[148] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 290, 291.

[149] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 389.

[150] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 606.

[151] Nicholls, ‘Land, law and society’, 18.

[152] The practice of the lord allocating parcels of land to his kinsmen was particular to Gaelic Munster: Nicholls, *Land, law and society*, 26.

[153] See Hayes-McCoy, ‘Gaelic society in the late sixteenth century’, 52.

[154] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 260-2.

denominations have a distinct linear pattern, in part dictated by the drainage pattern, but serving to create units with relatively equal access to the lordships resources (Fig. 5.6).

Analysis of the patronyms of individuals returned in the *Fiants* suggests that the kinsmen's lands were occupied, and probably farmed, by family groups. Kilpadder presents some of the clearest evidence. In 1594, the land was held by Teige Mac Cahir as a kinsman. He had resided in the ploughland since at least 1575, when he received a crown pardon.¹⁵⁵ Three men bearing the patronym 'Mac Teige', suggesting they were Teige Mac Cahir's sons, were noted as residing in the townland between 1601 and 1603. They were Deirmod *Mac Teig* Mac Cahir O'Callaghan (gent), Morrogh *Mac Teige* Mac Cahir and Mackragh *Mac Teig* O'Callaghan, (yeoman).¹⁵⁶ Deirmod's status as a gentleman would indicate that he was the eldest in the family and this is corroborated by his funeral certificate. In June 1640, Cahir 'son and heir' of 'Darby O'Callaghan of Kilpeadir...gent eldest son and heir of Teig O'Callaghan ...eldest son of Cahir O'Callaghan' enrolled his father's death in 1635 with Thomas Preston Esq., the Ulster King of Arms.¹⁵⁷ It was probably the same Cahir O'Callaghan who held Kilpadder in 1641.¹⁵⁸ Thus, between 1575 and 1640 the ploughland of Kilpadder was occupied and farmed by a single family group.

A similar pattern can be detected in Gortnagrosse which in 1594 was held, along with Rathcomane, by O'Callaghan Mac Dermody as kinsman to the O'Callaghan.¹⁵⁹ Four men 'of Gortnygrose' were issued pardons by the crown in the late sixteenth century. In 1575, Teige óg *Mac Teige* Mac Dermody was pardoned, as were Dermot *Mac Teig* O'Callaghan, Thady *Mac Teig* O'Callaghan and Tho *Mac Teige* Mac Dermody (all yeomen) in 1576.¹⁶⁰ The common patronym 'Mac Teige' indicates they may have been brothers.

In addition to members of the O'Callaghan sept, a number of men of different names are recorded as residing on the kin lands. Two O Mullanes, 'Donell roe' and 'Dermod roe', were recorded at Kilpadder in 1602/3.¹⁶¹ Similarly, at Kilcolman (which in 1594 was the land of Irrelaugh, brother of the O'Callaghan) three men were listed in 1601. They were 'Fynen m'Donell m'Conoghor O Mahown (husbandman)', 'Moriertagh O Donegan (labourer)' and 'Conoghor buoy m'Teig M'Enestlis'.¹⁶² The relationship between the kinsmen and these men is not clear, but it was probably one of

[155] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol.2, 342.

[156] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol.3, 515, 606

[157] National Library of Ireland GO MS69, Funeral entries, f.287.

[158] National Library MFS 2/3, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Quit Rent Office set*, Vol. VI, Cork, 161.

[159] Gortnagross was coterminous with the nineteenth century townlands of Gortnagross and Moanroe. Rachaman' was coterminous with the nineteenth century townlands of Ballyboneill, Ballynoe, Cregane, Derrygowna, Esk North, Glanminnaune, Gortavoher, Lackaneen, Moanaveel Mounthillary.

[160] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 389, 343.

[161] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 606.

[162] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 438; Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 445.

dependence. Fynen m'Donell's status as a husbandman might indicate he was a tenant of sorts.

5.6 Lands of the Freeholders

The Mallow Inquisition lists three compact parcels of land, amounting to five-and-a-half carucates, as being held by 'freeholders'. These lands were variously held individually or jointly, and the O'Callaghan claimed both cash rents and other 'duties and customs', out of them. They were in the parishes of Ballyclogh and Castlemagner (Fig. 5.6).¹⁶³ Donogho Mac Thomas held the three carucates of 'Ballinacmorosho' Castlemagner parish, out of which O'Callaghan was due a seignory of '£2 and other duties and customs as other freeholder yield, according to the custom'.¹⁶⁴ The other two freeholds were jointly or collectively held. Conoghor Genkagh Dermot bane and Shane Mac Teig jointly held one-and-a-half ploughlands in 'Gortinchoile, Garrymc Cowny, Kilevihill, Kileghebane and Ballynefehie', Ballyclogh parish for an annual rent of thirteen shillings and four pence in addition to 'other duties according to the country custom'.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Dermot Mac Teige 'and others' held one ploughland in 'Kilchrany', for the yearly rent of 'four shillings and four white groats'. The 'white groat' is a reference to the debased Tudor coinage.¹⁶⁶

Just as on the kinsmen's lands, name evidence from the *Fiants* suggests that Ballymacmurragh was held by a kin group, significantly with the patronym 'Mac Morrogho', suggesting that they had a long association with the denomination. In 1585, the above Donogho Mac Thomas Mac Owen 'of Bally m'murighoe' was granted a pardon. Some ten years previously, in 1573 and 1577 Thomas Mac Owen Mac Morrogho (yeoman), who may have been his father, had been issued pardons by the crown, and a probable brother, Owen Mac Thomas was pardoned in 1585 and 1601-2.¹⁶⁷

Included among the freeholders in the Mallow Inquisition was Katherine Roache, who had 'an estate during her life in a ploughland in Ballyhene within *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, by grant to O'Callaghan', the document noted that on her death the estate would revert to O'Callaghan.¹⁶⁸ The exact nature of the relationship between the O'Callaghan and Katherine Roache is unclear but the close ties between the families were underlined

[163] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 262.

[164] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 260-2.

[165] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 262,

[166] Edward Colgan, *For want of good money, the story of Ireland's coinage* (Wicklow, 2003), 85.

[167] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 290, 420, 701; Vol 3, 245, 381, 478.

[168] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, Vol. 2, 260-1.

by the fact that ‘wardship and marriage’ of Donagh O’Callaghan was granted to John Roache, son of Viscount Roache upon the death of his grandfather in 1578.¹⁶⁹

5.7 Lands chargable to Mc Donagh

The Mac Donagh of Duhallow, overlord of the O’Callaghan, claimed a rent of 60 cows or 6 shillings 8 pence in lieu of each cow annually out of the six quarters of ‘Batier, Kyichastane, Gortrowe, Scarrough, Rathchoman and Gortvollire’, comprising an annual rent of twenty pounds (Fig. 5.6). In additional ‘14s sterling’ was owed from the quarter of ‘Kylichastane’. It was usual for overlords to hold land in the territory of their *ur-rioghtha*.¹⁷⁰ Mac Carthy Mór, for example, was noted as holding ‘certain ploughlands...of demesne land’ in Duhallow, Muskerry and O Sullivan Beara’s country.¹⁷¹ They frequently also held castles in the territory of their subordinates in order to maintain their authority over vassal septs.¹⁷²

As discussed above, in 1594, Gortroe comprised part of the lands of the *táinaiste* and ‘Rathchoman’ was part of the land of O’Callaghan M’Dermody, as kinsman to the O’Callaghan. The remaining four quarters were located in Clonmeen and Kilshanning Parishes. Evidence for occupancy is patchy. In 1577, ‘Kahir oge O Kallaghane of Bantier’ was issued a pardon by the crown; no individuals were recorded as residing in Kilcaskan or Skarragh in the *Fiants*.¹⁷³ There is more evidence for occupancy in Gortmollire: in 1578, ‘Teige m’cahire O’Callaghane of Gortwollire, horseman...Earevan m’Gilleduff [and] Rory O Cassyne of same’ were issued pardons by the crown.¹⁷⁴

The name ‘O Cassyne’ is of note here. The Mac Caisín were a medical family from Upper Ossory, whose name was often rendered O Caisín in Munster¹⁷⁵ but it is uncertain if the Rory O Cassyne in question served the O’Callaghan in a professional capacity; if he did, one would expect him to have held a parcel of tribute-free land in the *lucht tighe* lordship. The reference to a ‘horseman’ in Gortmolire is interesting. The horseman was a figure of some position in Gaelic Ireland. Stanyhurst described him as ‘chiefest next to the lord and captaine’, commenting on how they ‘gad & range from house to house like arrant knights of the round table’.¹⁷⁶ The elevated status of the horseman is echoed in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century saga recounting John de Courcy’s battle at Downpatrick, which noted that the Irish always looked for ‘the aid

[169] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 467.

[170] Hayes-McCoy, *Gaelic society*, 48.

[171] Public Record Office Great Britain, *State Papers*, Vol. 4, 527.

[172] Loeber, ‘Gaelic castles and settlements’, 299.

[173] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 419.

[174] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 445.

[175] Mac Lysaght *Surnames of Ireland*, 40.

[176] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed’s chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 vols. (London, 1807), Vol. 6, 68.

of their horsemen, amongst whom were all their gentlemen'.¹⁷⁷ In the Ó Néill lordship, the vassal septs occupying the mensal lands and charged with supplying the chief's table were termed horsemen.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps some of these quarters 'charagable to the Mac Donagh' comprised his *lucht tighe* or mensal lands.

5.8 Settlement: Discussion

The demesne lands have by far the largest number of individuals returned in the *Fiants* and there is evidence for a number of foci of settlement within those lands, most notably at Clonmeen, which may have had a clustered settlement adjoining the parish church and Clonmeen castle. Within the lands of the kinsmen and freeholders of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* a picture emerges of dispersed settlement with close family members farming parcels of land together. As observed, several of the parcels of kin-held land would appear to have been farmed by brothers, this is a pattern that has also been observed by O Dowd in early modern Sligo.¹⁷⁹ There is certain evidence to suggest that Kilpadder was held and farmed by three successive generations between 1575 and 1641 and that Gortnagross may also have been inhabited and farmed by brothers. Of the three parcels of land apportioned to freeholders, two of them, Garranmcgony and Kilcranthan were collectively held in the Mallow Inquisition; these two parcels were still co-held in 1641. It is uncertain how settlement was coordinated with these parcels of lands, and therefore identifying its archaeological footprint is not straightforward.

Contemporary cartographic evidence suggests that dispersed clustered settlement was a common rural form. A sixteenth-century map of the lordship of O Sullivan Beara depicts clusters of what Breen has interpreted as *creats*,¹⁸⁰ connected with towerhouses and parish churches. The map also depicts clusters of *creats* around 'single storied gabled houses', and clusters of *creats* un-associated with other buildings. Similarly, the map of the siege of Dunboy Castle, Castletownbere, Co. Cork, depicts what appear to be clusters of *creats* both associated and un-associated with more substantial gabled houses (Fig. 5.24).¹⁸¹ It is useful in this context to consider Duffy's observations on Monaghan, where he noted a correlation between the number of 'small cabin clusters' and the number of gentlemen returned in certain seventeenth-century land surveys. According to Duffy these 'gentlemen' were "'strong" men who would have been

[177] Katherine Simms, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', *The Irish sword*, Vol. 12 (1975/6), 106.

[178] Simms, *Kings to warlords*, 140.

[179] Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo 1568-1688* (Belfast, 1991), 70.

[180] Breen defines *creats* as 'round one-roomed wattle-built structures': Breen, *The Gaelic lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare*, 93.

[181] Stanish O'Grady (ed.) *Pacta Hibernia or a history of the wars in Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (2 Vols, London, 1896), Vol. 2, 191; J.H. Andrews 'The mapping of Ireland's cultural landscape, 1550-1630' in Duffy *et al* (eds.) *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 167.

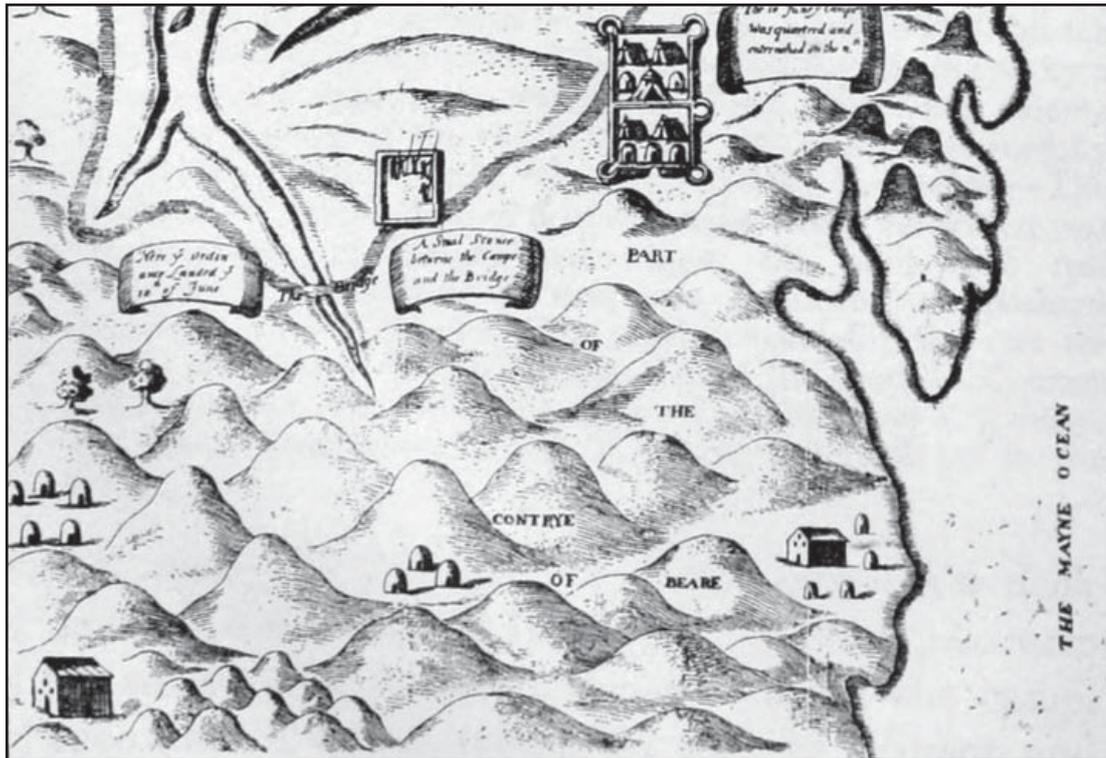


Fig. 4.24: Extract from 'Siege of Dunboy' map in *Pacta Hibernia* (1633) depicting dispersed settlement clusters, near Dunboy Castle (Castletownbere) on the Beara Peninsula (Stafford 1896, 191).

responsible for the rent and cess for their districts and on whom the other inhabitants would have been dependant, economically and socially'.¹⁸² Arguably this is what is being represented on the early modern maps: the central residence of a senior landholder (or head tenant) surrounded by lesser residences of his family and dependants.

5.9 The dynamics of change 1594-1641

The end of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century was one of deep change in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. The most profound change, the shift from Gaelic tenure to feudal tenure and primogeniture, was engendered by old patterns of intra-sept rivalry. The extension of the English state into early modern Munster put a new range of legal weapons in the hands of lordly rivals. When Donagh Mac Teig O'Callaghan opted to convey the lordship to his direct descendants via common law, in order to circumvent the Gaelic system, he set in motion a series of events that would ultimately lead to the unpinning and remaking of the bonds that held the lordship together. The result was the disenfranchisement of certain kinsmen of the O'Callaghan sept and their relegation

[182] Duffy, 'Social and spatial order', 133.

to mere tenants. It was a paradigm shift in the social relationships that articulated the lordship.

A comparison of the Mallow Inquisition (1594) and the Civil Survey (1641) shows that land was being concentrated in the hands of fewer people. While in 1594, the O'Callaghan, held a demesne by virtue of his office and oversaw the distribution of parcels of land among four kinsmen, by 1641 Donogh O'Callaghan 'chief of his name' stood alone as the dominant landowner, with claim to 79% of the sept land (19,888 statute acres), followed by Dermot O'Callaghan on 15% (3,762 statute acres), and six individuals held the remaining 6% with parcels of between 398 and 84 statute acres.¹⁸³ The expansion of the O'Callaghan's holding was at the expense of his kinsmen.

In 1641, all the kinsmen's land except Kilpadder and Rathcoman was held by Donagh O'Callaghan.¹⁸⁴ Kilpadder was held by the same family group that had held it in 1594. The decision by Cahir O'Callaghan of Kilpadder to obtain a funeral certificate for his father underlines the independence of this branch of the sept. In 1641, Rathcoman was the property of William St. Leger,¹⁸⁵ the President of Munster, whose seat of Doneraile was about 10km north of Mallow. St. Leger had rented the denomination to a number of 'British Protestants', two of whom Edward Harris, yeoman, and Samuel Willies, mason, were attacked and driven out of their holdings by the O'Callaghans in 1641.¹⁸⁶

The 'freeholders' seem to have had somewhat of a stronger hold on their land than the kinsmen. In 1641, none of their lands was held by Donogh O'Callaghan. Indeed, both Gortinchoile and the Kilechrany were still jointly held. The former by Callahan Dermot Mc Callagan and Dermot Mc Dermot O Callahan; these men may be brothers or sons of the above 'Conoghor Genkagh Dermot bane' of the Mallow Inquisition.¹⁸⁷ The latter was held by Callahan O'Callaghan and Owen O'Callaghan; it is not clear how they related to Dermot Mac Teige and the 'others' who held the land in 1594.¹⁸⁸ The denomination of Ballymacmurragh was held by Owen O'Callaghan in 1641.¹⁸⁹ In 1641, Kilcaskan, Gortmollire, Bantier were held by Donagh O'Callaghan.¹⁹⁰ Skarragh was

[183] NLI BSD Cork, 160-76.

[184] NLI, BSD Cork, 160; NLI, BSD Cork, 175.

[185] NLI, BSD Cork, 161.

[186] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970.

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 825022r018?>>] accessed Wednesday 28 March 2012 11:15 PM; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970.

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 822023r022?>>] accessed Wednesday 28 March 2012 11:21 PM.

[187] NLI, *BSD Cork*, 160.

[188] NLI, *BSD Cork*, 160.

[189] NLI, *BSD Cork*, 175.

[190] NLI, *BSD Cork*, 161.

divided into three parcels: 'Scearragh' held by Donagh O'Callaghan; 'Glantaine' held by William Lambert and 'Brittas' held by John O'Mullane.¹⁹¹

Gaelic society had its own internal dynamics.¹⁹² Its increasingly centralised, hierarchical nature, from the sixteenth century, in particular, has been masterfully explicated by Katharine Simms.¹⁹³ These changes expressed themselves in changed property relationships, which effectively restricted access to land to different groups in the lordship, blurring the boundaries between political lordship and landownership.¹⁹⁴ As Simms has argued, these changes cannot simply be laid at the feet of the Tudor/ Stuart reconquest, but constituted part of a process that was both 'more gradual and more complex'.¹⁹⁵ They can perhaps be understood as part of the broader retreat of European elite from popular culture as outlined by Peter Burke.¹⁹⁶ These shifts were manifested materially, particularly in buildings. Dromaneen is a good example.

Architecturally, Dromaneen Castle belongs to a group of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century buildings constructed in Cork. What is striking about this corpus of buildings, classically associated with the incoming New English planters in early modern Ireland, is that the vast bulk were built by native Gaelic and Old English landowners.¹⁹⁷ Out of the twelve fortified houses recorded by the archaeological survey dating before 1650, where the ethnic affiliation of the builder is known, five were constructed by Gaelic landowners, eight by Old English and only one, Mallow Castle, by New English. As MacCarthy-Morrogh has remarked, the evidence for building in the Munster Plantation is slight.¹⁹⁸ The proliferation of medieval castles in Munster provided incoming New English with readymade residences.¹⁹⁹ In Limerick and Kerry for example five undertakers made earlier castles their chief residences.²⁰⁰ The example

[191] NLI, *BSD Cork*, 160-1.

[192] Bernadette Cunningham, 'Native culture and political change in Ireland, 1580-1640', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial Society 1534-1641* (1986).

[193] Simms, *Kings to warlords*, *passim*; Nicholas Canny, has also explored some of these themes in the O'Neill lordship Nicholas Canny, 'Hugh O'Neill and the Changing Face of Gaelic Ulster', *Studia Hibernica*, /X (1971), 7-35.

[194] Simms, *King to warlords*, 149.

[195] Simms, *King to warlords*, 150.

[196] Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994).

[197] Joe Nunan, 'The fortified houses of County Cork: origin, form, function and social use of space', in Kerri Cleary and Grahan McCarthy (eds.), *Association of Young Irish Archaeologists Proceedings of Conference 2006* (2006).

[198] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation, English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), 126.

[199] Denis Power, 'The Archaeology of the Munster Plantation', in A. Horning et al. (eds.), *The Post Medieval Archaeology of Ireland* (Dublin Wordwell, 2007), 28-9.

[200] Askeaton, Corgrig, Rathurde, and Lough Gur in Limerick and Killorglin in Kerry see MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster plantation*.

par excellence is Edmund Spenser's occupation of Kilcolman castle, a fifteenth-century towerhouse in Co. Cork.²⁰¹

The historiography of the fortified house has largely concerned itself with architectural description, neglecting the social context in which these buildings were created (what O'Keefe and Quirke, somewhat unfairly, term the 'Leaskian' approach).²⁰² Where cultural context is discussed the buildings are commonly explicitly connected with incoming English and Scottish planters. Waterman's discussion on the sources of design, attributes the introduction of new architectural styles of the seventeenth century to incoming Elizabethan 'West Country men'.²⁰³ Of the Munster houses, Sweetman erroneously asserts that 'most of these...can be associated with the Elizabethan Planters rather than the Old English'.²⁰⁴ Even in his recent assessment of the buildings, Reeves-Smith, citing Munster as an example, locates the 'driving force for architectural change' embodied in these structures in the 'building demands' of the New English and Scots, explaining that it was in the areas settled by New English and Scots that the main focus of manorial building occurred.²⁰⁵ Craig is an exception, highlighting the 'curiously diverse' 'origins and fates' of the fortified house builders.²⁰⁶

The trend towards descriptive, asocial analysis of the buildings is arguably connected to the tendency to attribute them to New English elements. When discussed taxonomically as arrangements of gables and fenestration, the specific cultural, historical and therefore regional context of the buildings is lost. They are all subsumed into a narrative whereby the Gaelic and Old English elite are inevitably supplanted by the incoming English and Scots.²⁰⁷ The narrative relies on images of Old English and especially the Gaelic elites as backwards and unchanging, locked hopelessly into a medieval way of life. Regionality is paramount in understanding fortified houses. In Ulster, the bulk of surviving fortified houses were built by newcomers as part of the Plantation. In contrast, the Munster or Desmond Plantation was piecemeal in nature, creating a patchwork of New English footholds among the native Gaelic and Old English territories. While many native families did maintain their holdings, the frameworks within which they lived out their

[201] Eric Klingelhofer, 'Castle of the Faerie Queene', *Archaeology*, 52/2 (1999).

[202] Harold Graham Leask, *Irish castles and castellated houses* (Dundalk, 1951), 170; D.M. Waterman, 'Some Irish 17th century houses and their architectural ancestry', in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in building history* (London, 1961); David Sweetman, *Medieval castles of Ireland* (2000); Nunan, 'The fortified houses of County Cork'; Marice Craig's assessment of the buildings is an exception, Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (Dublin, 1982).

[203] Waterman, 'Some Irish 17th century houses', 259.

[204] Sweetman, *Medieval castles of Ireland*, 177.

[205] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to privacy : Late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland, 1560-1640', in Audrey J. Horning (ed.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007).

[206] Craig, *The architecture of Ireland*, 118.

[207] Reeves-Smyth, 'Late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland', 289.

lives were undergoing tremendous change. The colonisation of the Desmond estates, combined with the attempts by the English government to socially, economically and administratively restructure the province, created new parameters in which Gaelic and Old English elites were challenged with functioning.

As Sherlock's thorough study of the social use of space in tower houses has highlighted, these changes were manifested architecturally. Sherlock identified a tendency towards privacy in tower-houses, linked to shifts in social relationships, realised through remodelling as well as new building design from the sixteenth-century onwards.²⁰⁸ Sherlock's work is of immense importance in understanding the changing social relationships of late medieval and early modern Ireland and in rescuing the towerhouse from a monolithic 'medieval' category. Contextualised in this manner fortified houses, particularly in Munster constitute, not a 'revolution' in Irish architecture introduced by foreign settlers, but an elaboration of tendencies at work in late tower-houses.

What is notable about Dromaneen is the manner in which the building articulates and channels social relationships. Throughout the buildings, it is possible to detect socially differentiated spaces. This is most clearly manifested in the stacked doorways in structure 1, which provides access to a kitchen area on the ground floor and direct access to the hall on the first floor. This double-door feature is found in other houses of the era. At Kanturk, the fine classical-style door, at first-floor level, sits atop the robbed-out frame of another ground floor entrance. A variation of this arrangement is found at Ightermurragh, where a principal doorway, surmounted by a square hood-moulding and an armorial plaque leads to the first floor, while a second door at the back of the castle leads to the ground floor.²⁰⁹ Donegal castle also features vertically stacked doors. The double entrance dictates a (literally) hierarchical division of space, creating ranked arenas within the building and maintaining the separation of those of different social status.

In the case of Dromaneen, the ground floor is designated a domestic function while the first floor is accorded a more public and formal function as a hall/ reception space. The different doorways provide for the separation of the 'gentle' folk of the house, with those who cooked, cleaned and waited on them. This separation was deepened with the addition of the domestic wing (structure 2). The focus of the domestic activity was shifted out of the residential building, to the new wing the entrance of which was outside the internal bawn, to the W of structure 2 (Fig. 5.19). Communication between the new kitchen and the rest of the building was most likely via a timber stair contained

[208] Rory Sherlock, 'The Social Environment of the Irish Towerhouse', unpublished PhD thesis, N.U.I. Galway, 2008, 231.

[209] O'Keefe and Quirke, 'A house at the birth of modernity', 107.

in the corner tower of structure 2. The first floor of structure 2 communicated with structure 1 via a doorway from the hall/ reception area.

The ranked space of the building is symptomatic of the widening social cleavage in Gaelic society. The desire of the Gaelic aristocracy to be physically and architecturally separated from those of lower social status is reflective of the attitude of contempt for the lower orders evident in contemporary poetry.²¹⁰ As Scott has noted, ‘as an integral part of their claim to superiority, ruling castes are at pains to elaborate styles of speech, dress, consumption, gesture, carriage and etiquette that distinguish them sharply from the lower-orders’.²¹¹ The house articulated the position of its owner in the social hierarchy. Geoffrey Keating’s critique of John Barclay’s account of the Irish dwellings in of importance in this context:²¹²

John Barckly, writing on Ireland, says these words:-- “They build (says he speaking of the Irish) frail cabins to the height of a man, where they themselves and their cattle abide in one dwelling.” I think, seeing that this man stoops to afford information on the characteristics and on the habitations of peasants and wretched petty underlings, that his being compared with the beetle is not unfitting, since he stoops in its fashion to give an account of the hovels of the poor, and of miserable people, and that he does not endeavour to make mention or narration concerning the palatial princely mansions of the earls and of the other nobles who are in Ireland.²¹³

5.9.1 Forging a new elite identity

Accompanying this shift in social relationships within the lordship was a reorientation in focus, from local to national politics. The shift from rivalry to solidarity among the elite members of the O’Callaghan sept is reflective of broader coalescent interests among native elites in Ireland. The expansion of the Tudor/Stuart state, allied with renewed continental links and the emerging concepts of faith and fatherland, were implemental in the forging of an ‘Irish’ identity that was avowedly confessional and geographically

[210] Joep Leerssen, ‘Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (1995), 36.

[211] James C. Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance, the hidden transcripts* (New Haven and London, 1990), 133.

[212] Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating, history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), 152.

[213] ‘Adeir Seon Barclaí, ag scríobhadh ar Éirinn, na briathra so: Lag-bhoth in tógbhaid (ar sé, ag labhairt ar Éireannchaibh), go n-áirde duine, mar a mbíd féin agus a spréidh i n-aoin-tigheas. Measaim ar an gcromadh do-ghní an fear so ar thuarasgbháil do thabhairt ar airdheanaibh agus ar árusaibh coilíneach agus fodhaoine mbeag ndearóil, nach éigneasda a choimhmeas re proimpiollán, mar go gcromann ar a nós ar thuarasgbháil do thabhairt ar chróbhóthaibh bochtán agus daoine ndearóil, agus nach gabhann ré’ ais luadh ná iomrádh do dhéanamh ar phioláidibh palásda prionnsamhla na n-iarlath agus na n-uasal eile atá i n-Éirinn’. David Comyn and Patrick S. Dinneen (eds), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn* (4 vols, London, 1902–1914), Vol. 1, 54-6.

rooted.²¹⁴ In *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* these themes are embodied in the persons of Donogh O’Callaghan of Dromaneen and Ellen O’Callaghan of Clonmeen whose marriage in 1637 reunited the territory, exemplifying the ascendancy of a pragmatic elite solidarity over older patterns of intra-family rivalry. Donogh served as a member of the Supreme Council of the confederated Catholics. This shift was accompanied by a tendency for the Gaelic nobility to frame themselves as part of a pan European aristocracy and to use a new vocabulary of honour, stressing adherence to ‘proper reformed Catholicism and... respect for rigid social hierarchy’.²¹⁵ These changes were part of a broader intellectual project on behalf of Gaelic elites attempting to square Gaelic lordship and nobility with monarchical rule. As Kane has remarked, new European conceptions of identity could be used ‘to bolster traditional notions of status and hierarchy and to underpin traditional claims to local authority’.²¹⁶

Classical design elements found two principal routes to Ireland: through the influx of new officials and settlers and through links with the continent.²¹⁷ In the period from the Nine Years War to the Cromwellian conquest, the use of the Classical motifs in Irish architecture was restricted to details, typically on doors or fireplaces; in the second half of the seventeenth century whole elevations were informed by Classical schemes.²¹⁸ In Ireland where the Counter-Reformation effort enjoyed marked success, affiliation to the movement could be expressed materially and that included architecture.²¹⁹ The Catholic fourth Earl of Clanrickard, MacDonagh MacCarthy of Duhallow, and the Earl of Antrim all included Classical details in their residences at Portumna, Kanturk and Dunluce respectively.²²⁰ The links between elite Catholic Ireland and the continent were extensive. Gaelic and Old English elites travelled to the continent for education, Irish soldiers fought in foreign wars and continental clerics came to Ireland to preach.²²¹ It would be wrong to suggest that fortified houses were not influenced by English Elizabethan and Jacobite architecture. They were. But it is also important to remember

[214] Brendan Kane, ‘Making the Irish European: Gaelic honor politics and its continental contexts’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61/4 (2008), 1152.

[215] Kane, ‘Making the Irish European’, 1152.

[216] Kane, ‘Making the Irish European’, 1140.

[217] Rolf Loeber, ‘Early Classicism in Ireland: Architecture before the Georgian era,’ *Architectural History*, Vol. 22 (1979), 50, 51

[218] Loeber, ‘Early Classicism’, 52.

[219] Loeber, ‘Early Classicism’, 50.

[220] Loeber, ‘Early Classicism’, 61; David Newman Johnson ‘Portumna Castle: a little known survey and some observations’, in John Bradley (ed.) *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: studies presented to Francis Xavier Martin* (Kilkenny, 1988).

[221] Mary Ann Lyons and Thomas O Connor, *Strangers to citizens, the Irish in Europe 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2008), Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating*, 25.

that flows of people and ideas to and from Ireland, informing the builders of these houses, crossed not just the Irish Sea.

Dromaneen is a powerful statement. It clearly expresses a new set of social relationships within the sept that are reflected in the documentary sources. The building carries an array of connotations simultaneously and is part of multiple discourses. By constructing the house on the site of an earlier castle, the antiquity of the O'Callaghan sept and their connection to the territory is underlined. The symmetrical facade so clearly visible from the river and the far side of the riverbank, sends out a broader message. The site echoes the prominently placed Mallow castle, 2km east along the Blackwater. Within the architectural details, links with the Mac Donogh Mac Carthys are hinted at and in the layout of space, social relations are restructured.

5.10 Conclusion

Landholding in late-sixteenth-century *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* was organised on the basis of the customary Gaelic system practiced 'time out of mind'. Land was held collectively by the sept group and the physical territory was ordered according to the structure of Gaelic lordship, with lands being apportioned on the basis of individual's relationships to the O'Callaghan. Settlement in early modern *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* was largely dispersed across the fertile lowlands of the lordship. The largest focus of settlement was at Clonmeen, the site of an early modern castle, parish church and possible site of Augustinian Friars. There is evidence for clusters of settlement at other castle sites and on the lands held by the kinsmen and freeholders of the O'Callaghan.

In the late sixteenth century, internal power struggles between members of the sept culminated in the surrender and regrant of the lordship to the crown. This move fundamentally altered the legal basis of landholding in the lordship, effectively disenfranchising members of the extended kin group who had been eligible to claim land under Gaelic tenure. By 1641 the bulk of the lordship was held by Donogh O'Callaghan. The shift in landholding structures wrought by the embrace of common law by elite members of the sept from the 1570s, ultimately signalling its commutation from sept to private land, was allied with broadening political horizons engendered by the expansion of the Tudor and Stuart state. The period witnessed the forging of an elite Irish Catholic identity as the upper tiers of Gaelic and Old English society closed ranks against a hostile Protestant administration.

This burgeoning elite Irish Catholic identity was expressed architecturally in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* at Dromaneen, a house most likely built by Donagh and Ellen O'Callaghan in the first half of the seventeenth century. The building embodies both traditional and innovative architectural elements. The internal organisation of space within the building

is suggestive of a widening social cleavage, testifying the changing social relationships within the lordship.

Chapter 6: The Nugents of Delvin

6.0 Introduction

The position of the Old English in early modern Ireland has engendered much historiographical debate, focusing on their long, but somewhat fraught relationship with the English crown, and in particular their attempts to broker a position that was at once Catholic and loyal in the period after the Reformation. By the first half of the seventeenth century, they had become increasingly marginalized. By the 1640s their interest had broadly coalesced with landed Catholics of Gaelic background. By the time of the interregnum they were enumerated as Irish papists. The protagonists of this chapter are the Nugents, barons of Delvin and later Earls of Westmeath. The family's holding was in the eastern part of Co. Westmeath, in what was considered the marches of the Pale during the sixteenth century.¹

This chapter explores the patrimonial lands and settlements of the Nugents of Delvin in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, with a view to contextualising their later transplantation holdings. The chapter sketches the extent of the family's estates in Westmeath. The Nugent's *caput* at Castletowndelvin will be treated, with particular reference to the manner in which the settlement developed in the century prior to the transplantation. In the late sixteenth century the Lords of Delvin appear to have abandoned their medieval castle at Castletowndelvin and built a new mansion house in the adjacent townland of Clonyn. The house was set within a designed landscape, substantial traces of which survive on the ground. In 1641 the house was burned to the ground in the course of the 'rebellion'. Both its construction and destruction are discussed with a view to understanding the social tensions at play in early modern Delvin. As long standing members of the titular aristocracy, the Nugents of Delvin occupied an elevated social position within the lordship, later the kingdom of Ireland. Material expressions of this nobility are discussed with particular reference to the deployment of heraldry in multiple contexts.

6.1 The Middle Nation

I shall tell you about Hugh de Lacy/ and how he gave fiefs to his barons/ knights, men-at-arms and retainers./...[he] gave lands and honours/ to Gilbert de Nugent/

[1] Nicholas Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite in Ireland: O'Donnell lecture delivered at University College Galway, 6 September 1974* (Dublin, 1975), 2.

...Know then, that in this manner/ the country was planted/ with castles and fortified towns/ and keeps and strongholds/ so that the noble and renowned vassals/ were able to put down firm roots²

The Nugent family came to Ireland during the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman settlement. Guilbert de Nogent, the family's progenitor, was among the knights in the service of Hugh de Lacy. De Lacy granted de Nogent the barony of Delvin³, in what is now Co. Westmeath, 'which the O Finilians held in the time of the Irish' for the service of five knights to be rendered to the manor of Trim.⁴ Upon De Nogent's marriage to De Lacy's sister Rosa, De Lacy gave the couple the barony of Delvin and built a motte castle for them at what would become Castletowndelvin.⁵ It was here on the north-west marches of the Englishry that the Nugents forged their patrimony.⁶ Physically and culturally, they lay between the 'civilised' English Pale to the east and the Gaelic O'Reilly and O'Farrell lordships of south Ulster to the north. Echoing other marcher septs, the senior branch of the Nugents negotiated a pragmatic position between the 'two nations'.⁷ As members of the titular peerage, the family were close to the heart of politics and society in the English lordship and looked to England as their cultural home.⁸ Yet, like other Anglo-Norman septs, they were bicultural, borrowing from Gaelic customs and patronising the Gaelic arts, in their case the Ó Cobhthaigh poets.⁹

The question of Gaelicisation of the Old English has proved historiographically contentious. Ellis has warned against reading all departures from 'English civility' as Gaelicisation, arguing that they can also be seen as a response to marcher conditions.¹⁰ While some septs, like the Burkes in Connacht embraced Gaelic titles and inauguration and election practices, others were more conservative, arguably adopting or 'tolerating' certain customs to 'cut a figure in Gaelic society as a means of strengthening colonial

[2] Evelyn Mullaly, *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland = La geste des anglais en Yrlande : (the song of Dermot and the Earl)* (Dublin, 2002).

[3] Westmeath was shired in 1543: D. B. Quinn and K. W. Nicholls, 'Ireland in 1534', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *Early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), 5.

[4] Goddard Henry Orpen, 'Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 37/2 (1907), 236; William Lynch, *A View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices and Feudal Baronies Established in Ireland During the Reign of Henry the Second*. (London, 1830), 150.

[5] Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans 1169-1333* (3 vols, Dublin, 2005), Vol. 2, 87.

[6] Colm Lennon, 'The Nugent family and the diocese of Kilmore in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', *Breifne* X (2001), 361.

[7] Anonymous, *Historical sketch of the Nugent family* (Ledestown, 1853); Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998), 106.

[8] Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite in Ireland*, 4.

[9] K. W. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin, 2003), 73; Colm Lennon, 'Nugent, Christopher, fifth baron Delvin (1544-1602), nobleman', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004-12); Katharine Simms, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture', in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), 177 - 97.

[10] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 48.

dominance'.¹¹ The Nugents arguably belonged to the latter category.¹² In the later medieval and early modern period, for example, the senior line's choice of marriage partners came exclusively from fellow Old English families, particularly the daughters of the FitzGerald and the Viscounts Gormanstown.¹³

Throughout the fifteenth century, members of the Nugent sept served as justices of the peace for Delvin and adjacent baronies.¹⁴ As well as participating in local administration, members of the sept served in the highest offices in the lordship. Richard Nugent, tenth baron of Delvin had a distinguished career, serving as sheriff and seneschal of Meath in 1424 and 1452 and as Deputy Lieutenant of the Lordship of Ireland between c.1448-1449.¹⁵ The barons' engagement in politics was not restricted to the English lordship. Throughout the later medieval period, they and their followers partook in the internecine feuding and raiding that characterised those parts of the island outside the crown's dominion.¹⁶

Richard (1522-1559) and Christopher Nugent (1544-1602), the respective thirteenth and fourteenth barons, both succeeded their predecessors before reaching their majority and consequently they were made wards; the former of Thomas Cromwell and the latter of the Earl of Sussex.¹⁷ Both men were educated in England. Richard served Henry VIII as deputy governor (to Kildare) in 1527-8 and as governor in 1534.¹⁸ His patrimony was augmented by the acquisition of dissolved monastic land. The Nugent patrimony was again extended under Richard's successor, Christopher, with crown grants of land and monastic leases in Westmeath, Longford and King's country. Christopher entered

[11] Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, 'Assembly and inauguration places of the Burkes in late medieval Connacht', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, lordship and settlement* (Dublin, 2004), 357; Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 47.

[12] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 48

[13] *Anonymous, Historical sketch of the Nugent family*, passim.

[14] 1382 three members of the sept were appointed as keepers of the peace and another, Thomas Nugent was appointed as supervisor of the keepers of the peace in 'Lune, Delvin, Ferbill, Moyeshell, Feartolagh, Mullingar [and] Foure'. [http://chancery.tcd.ie/document/patent/5-richard-ii/236?view=chancery_advanced_search&display=search_persons_or_page&path=search-persons-text&surnametext=nugent&surname=nugent&forename=nugent&titlestatus=nugent&office=nugent]. Again in 1388 two Nugents were appointed as keepers of the peace. [http://chancery.tcd.ie/document/patent/12-richard-ii/193?view=chancery_advanced_search&display=search_persons_or_page&path=search-persons-text&surnametext=nugent&surname=nugent&forename=nugent&titlestatus=nugent&office=nugent] Accessed 28 June 2012; See Annette Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, *A history of medieval Ireland* (New York, 1980), 180.

[15] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*; Kennedy Abraham, 'Upward mobility in later medieval Meath', *Archaeology Ireland*, 5/4 (1997), 16.

[16] Nicholas Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite in Ireland: O'Donnell lecture delivered at University College Galway, 6 September 1974* (Dublin, 1975).

[17] Iske, Basil Iske, *The green cockatrice* (Dublin, 1978), 16, 20.

[18] Ellis, Steven, G., *Ireland in the age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule*, ed. Steven G. Ellis (London, 1998), 367-8; For more details on the role of governor. See Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 161-5.

Cambridge in 1563 aged 19.¹⁹ He is remembered for his primer on the Irish language, which he presented to Queen Elizabeth.²⁰ The 1570s were a tumultuous period for the Palesmen as they attempted to resist the encroachments of a sometimes hostile New English administration and to maintain loyalty to the Crown, from which they held their lands. Delvin's refusal to sign a proclamation against the earl of Desmond, and his leadership in the Pale resistance to the cess in the late 1570s, cast him under suspicion.²¹ He was implicated in the Baltinglass rebellion, and subsequently imprisoned, spurring his brother, William's, unsuccessful attempt to secure the baron's freedom by force of arms.²² After a sojourn in England under the custody of Nicholas Bagenal, Delvin was allowed to return to Ireland in 1585, where he attempted to resume an orderly life at his seat at Clonyn. Delvin emerged as an important military commander against the rebels at the outset of the Nine Years War, but he was forced to submit to O'Neill in 1600, as his armies marched through Nugent's land. This capitulation confirmed Dublin officials' long-standing distrust of his loyalties, and in 1602, he was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin castle. Delvin died in custody in October 1602.²³

Christopher's son Richard had a similarly fraught relationship with the Crown. Born in 1585, he had barely reached his twenties when in 1607 he and his kinsman Kildare were implicated in a conspiracy surrounding the flight of the earls and imprisoned in Dublin castle. The nimble young Delvin scaled the castle wall by means of a rope and made his escape from Dublin.²⁴ He fled to Clogh Oughter castle in Cavan and from there to Slewcarbry,²⁵ where John Davys reported 'he lurks like a woodkern in a mantle and trousers'.²⁶ Nugent eventually received pardon from the Crown and was elevated to the Earldom of Westmeath in 1621, an honour that he purchased for the sum of £1,500.²⁷ He fell in and out of favour with the Crown but remained a prominent figure among the community of the Pale.²⁸ The Earl played a leading role in the negotiations surrounding 'the graces', and was delegated to lobby the king on several occasions on

[19] Iske, *The green cockatrice*, 20.

[20] Iske, *The green cockatrice*, 20.

[21] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 308.

[22] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, 315.

[23] National Library of Ireland, GO MS 64 f.39, Funeral entries; National Library of Ireland GO MS 65 f.62, funeral entries.

[24] C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast, *Calendar of the state papers, relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I. 1606-1608 preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere* (London, 1874), 333.

[25] In 1602 the Earl's land in 'Slewcarbrye' was willed to two of his sons, John F. Ainsworth and Edward Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping, second series', *Analecta Hibernica*, 20 (1958), 133. Slewcarbrye is the name given on Petty's *Hib. Del.* to the hills west of Lough Gowna in north Co. Longford.

[26] Charles William Russell, and John P. Prendergast, *Calendar of the state papers, relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I. 1603-1606*, (5 vols, Nendeln, 1974), Vol. 2, 355.

[27] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Making Ireland English': the seventeenth-century Irish peerage', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700, colonisation and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), 135.

[28] Pádraig Lenihan, 'Nugent, Richard, first earl of Westmeath (1583-1642)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20397>>.

the matter. Wentworth's denial of 'the graces' marked the end of Westmeath's political activism; while it spurred many of the other Old English to take up arms in 1641, he refused to do so. While his neighbours and kinsmen entered rebellion, Westmeath sided with the government. His home at Clonyn became a refuge for Protestant refugees fleeing the violence.²⁹ Thomas Graves deposed that the Earl had clothed, sheltered and funded the passage to Dublin of 'poor englishe men'.³⁰ Westmeath's siding with the state against the rebels had consequences and in the course of the rising, his house at Clonyn was burned. Thomas Baker, one of the Earl's former servants, deposed that he had been dragged from his carriage and shot in the thigh by his kinsmen Sir Thomas Nugent and Robert Nugent of Drumcree, while en route to the government garrison at Trim.³¹ He died of his injuries and was buried at Delvin in a chapel in St. Mary's church, that he had built for himself and his wife.³²

6.2 The Nugent patrimony

This core territory of the Nugent lordship was located in the eastern-most part of what is now Co. Westmeath, focused on the settlement of Castletowndelvin at the centre of its eponymous barony. The barony of Delvin was coterminous with the kingdom of Delbhna, which, in the mid-twelfth-century, was held by the Uí Findalláin kings of Delbhna Mór.³³ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the territory of the sept's senior branch had expanded substantially to the north and west, acquiring land in adjacent baronies and counties. At the time of the Civil Survey the core of the second Earl of Westmeath's holding lay in the baronies of Delvin and Fore. He held additional lands in counties Longford, Leitrim, Cavan, Roscommon and Dublin. Much of this land was acquired from the mid-fifteenth century as Crown grants and later as dissolved monastic land. In 1476 Christopher Nugent, 11th baron of Delvin was granted the manors of Fore and Belgard, and by 1557 Richard, the thirteenth baron, was given the manors in fee.³⁴ The sept benefitted from the dissolution of the monastic houses. They acquired the lands of the Benedictine monastery of Fore and the Cistercian monastery

[29] Aidan Clark, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (Dublin, 2000), 188.

[30] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817031r044?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 11:11 PM

[31] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 835234r262?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 11:05 PM

[32] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 133.

[33] John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland: from the earliest times to the year 1616* (7 vols. Dublin, 1990), Vol. 2, 1075, 1133, 1167; O'Donovan, *Annals*, Vol. 3, 13.

[34] Rory Masterson, 'The early Anglo Norman colonisation of Fore, Co. Westmeath', *Ríocht na Míidhe*, XIII (2002), 52; Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 129.

at Granard, Co. Longford.³⁵ In 1641, Richard Nugent held 40, 346 plantation acres, placing him among the largest landholders in Ireland.³⁶ His widow, Jane Plunkett, reckoned that the ‘proffitts of their mannors Lands & meanes hereditantes’ was worth £3000 sterling per annum.³⁷ In addition to the large swath of land held by the senior branch of the family, cadet branches held much of the barony of Corkerry as well as land in Delvin, Fore, Moygashel and Magheradernon. Among the larger landholders of the cadet branches of the family were James Nugent of Portloman, a Protestant, who held 3690:28:88 in Corkerry, Delvin and Fore. Sir Thomas Nugent [of Dardistown] held 3324:24:148 in Delvin and Corkerry. Robert Nugent of Drumcree, Edward Nugent of Bracklyn held 2217:9:56 in Delvin, Fore and Corkerry.

6.2.1 The physical landscape

The Nugent patrimony was concentrated in the north-east corner of Co. Westmeath in the baronies of Delvin, Fore and Corkerry, where the sept were dominant landholders. The north and south of their territory comprised lowland areas divided by a band of low cherty hills (Fig. 6.1). The bedrock underlying Co. Westmeath is almost entirely composed of Lower Carboniferous (Tournaisian and Viséan) limestones, with deposits of younger Namurian shale in places.³⁸ The county is covered in deep glacial drift laid down by the most recent ice sheets.³⁹ To the south and west of the county, the drift is dominated by limestone, while east of Lough Owel it contains quantities of cherty limestone debris. Glaciofluvial sands and gravels deposited by glacial meltwater formed kames and eskers in the region.⁴⁰

The area is dominated by a mixture of grey brown podzolics, gleys and brown earths derived from the underlying Carboniferous limestone and glacial till. These soils are suited to pasture production but can also support tillage despite its heavy texture and somewhat poor drainage in places.⁴¹ The combined suitability for arable and pasture was noted by the Civil Survey for all three baronies, with Delvin boasting the most profitable arable grounds. The Civil survey described Delvin barony as being ‘very playne and level having some red bogg but generall the soyle being good arable land having good

[35] Newport Benjamin White, *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541: from manuscripts in the Public record office, London* (Dublin, 1943), 280.

[36] Ohlmeyer, ‘Making Ireland English’, 139.

[37] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970 [http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817022r038?>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 11:04 PM

[38] T. F. Finch, *Soils of Co. Westmeath* (Dublin, 1977), 6; Chris Stillman and George Sevastopulo, *Leinster* (Harpden, 2005), 34-5.

[39] Finch, *Soils of Co. Westmeath*, 6; Stillman and Sevastopulo, *Leinster*, 38.

[40] Stillman and Sevastopulo, *Leinster*, 38.

[41] M. J. Gardiner and T. Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland and their land use potential: explanatory bulletin to soil map of Ireland* (Dublin, 1980), 97, 99, 110-1.

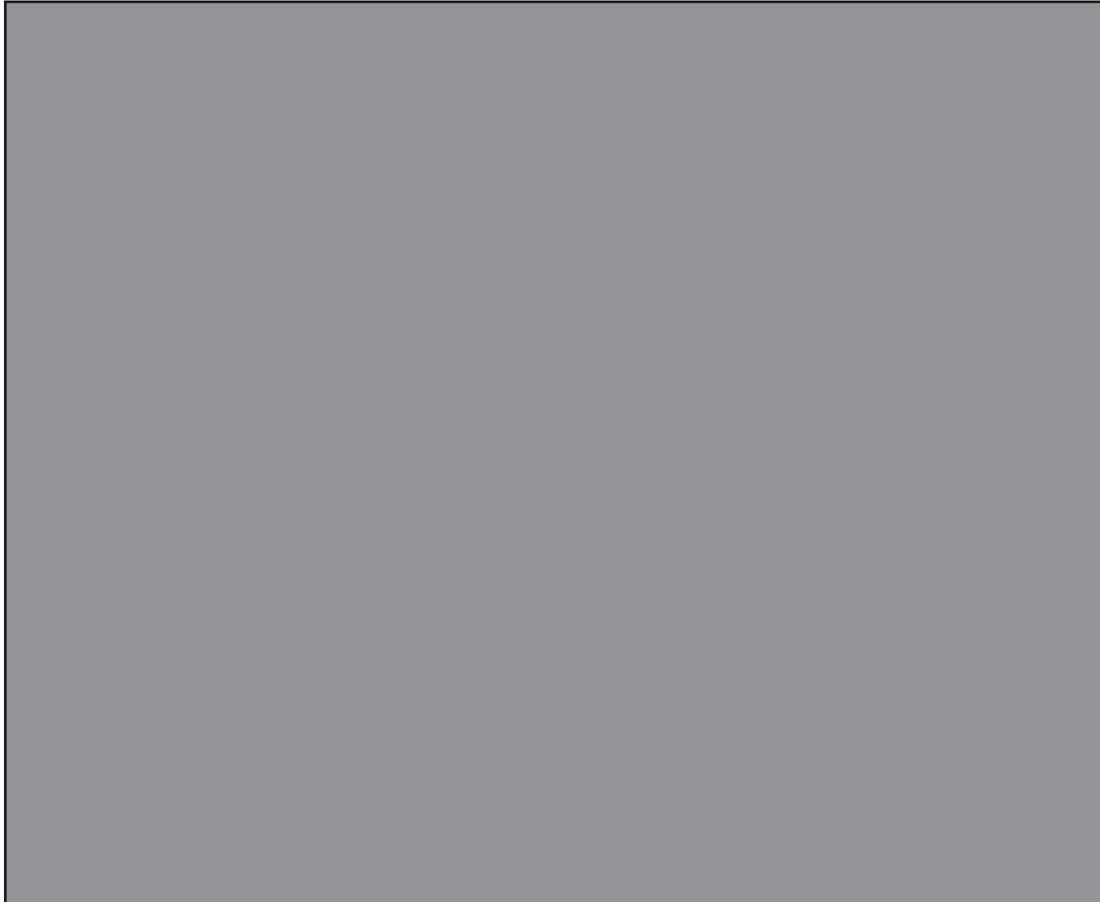


Fig. 6.1: Topographical regions of Westmeath (Finch 1977, 2).

meadow & sheep walks with other pasturable grounds'.⁴² The suitability of the land for grazing is borne out by the toponymic evidence. The element *cluain*, meaning meadow, is found in seven instances in Delvin. The examples are clustered around the town. Fore was noted to contain much arable in addition to much shrubby, moorish and rocky pasture and bog.⁴³ Corkerry was noted as being 'a great part arable' but also featuring 'many barren mountains and black heathy hills'.⁴⁴

Basin peat is found to the south and west of Delvin. This type of peat usually forms in river valleys and inter-drumlin hollows. It is composed predominantly of the remains of reeds, sedges and other semi-aquatic or woody plants. The Civil Survey recorded most parishes as including some red bog and/or heathy pasture.⁴⁵ Sir Henry Piers noted that he did 'not remember that [he] had at any time seen in this county any large farm that hath not a bog in one skirt or other of it'.⁴⁶ Bogland was returned separately in the Civil Survey and much of it would appear to have been held in common, linked to townlands.

[42] National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f. 9, Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[43] National Library of Ireland, MS 723, f. 24-32, Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[44] National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f.28, Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[45] National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f.1-8, Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[46] Sir Henry Piers, 'A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath written A.D. 1682', in Major Charles Vallancey (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (Dublin, 1776), 49.



Fig. 6.2: Lough Deravarragh.

Turf bogs were specifically noted in Tyfarnan and Lackan parishes, Corkery. Cutting and hauling turf were part of the customary works due to the manor of Fore.⁴⁷

In addition to depositing glacial till and gravel, the ice sheets gouged out lakes and imposed a north-west, south-east direction on the drainage patterns of the region. Lough Bane, Lough Glore, Lough Lene, Lough Derravaragh and Lough Owel (from east to west), were all carved out by the ice sheets during the re-advance phase of the Midlandian Glaciation (Fig. 6.6; Fig. 6.3).⁴⁸ Drainage patterns in the eastern part of Westmeath are dominated by two principal rivers: the Inny to the north and the Boyle to the south.⁴⁹ The Inny River (*An Eithne*) flows south from Lough Sheelin on the Cavan-Meath border, through Lough Kinale, forming the boundary between Longford and Westmeath, before joining Lough Derravaragh and turning west where it meets Lough Ree and the Shannon. The Glore (*An Ghleoir*) rises in Fore and flows south, through its eponymous lake, before joining the Inny. The Gaine (*An Ghaoine*) flows south between Lough Derravaragh and Lough Owel, before joining the former at its northernmost end. To the south, the two main rivers in the barony of Delvin, the Deel and the Stoneyford are tributaries of the Boyne. The Deel rises in Lough Lene and flows south towards the Boyne, which it joins at Donore, Co. Meath. The Stoneyford rises along the Meath-Westmeath border, north of Delvin and flows south, joining the Boyne c.3km west of Trim.

Piers extolled the abundant fish stocks in Westmeath's lakes and rivers. Lough Lene in the barony of Fore, which lies about one kilometre south of the borough of Fore, was 'excellently well stored with all sorts of freshwater fish'.⁵⁰ Prior to the dissolution part of the fishing rights to Lough Lene were held by the manor of Fore; in 1540

[47] White, *Irish monastic possessions*, 271

[48] Finch, *Soils of Co. Westmeath*, 7.

[49] Finch, *Soils of Co. Westmeath*, 4.

[50] Piers, 'A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath', 9.

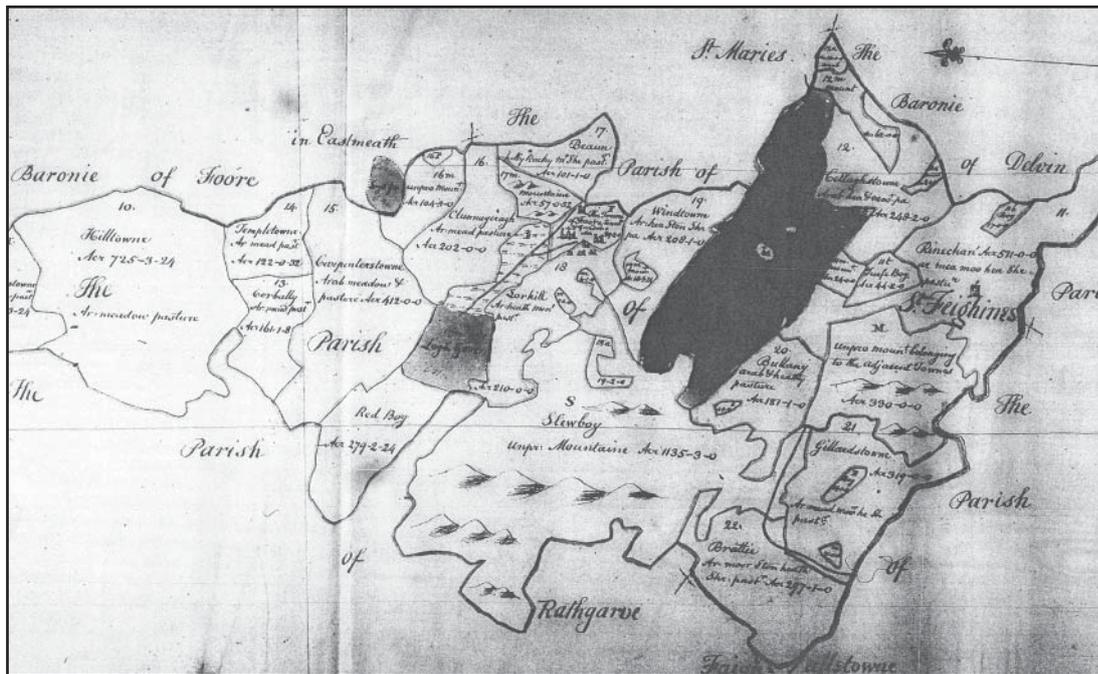


Fig. 6.3: The Down Survey barony map of Fore, Co. Westmeath (National Library of Ireland MS 723, f. 25).

they were valued at 6s 8d.⁵¹ Piers also related that Lough Owel (called Lough Foyle by Piers) contained ‘abundance of fish, salmon excepted’ and that ‘the trouts hereof are the best and largest in West-Meath’.⁵² The Civil Survey noted that the rivers and loughs of Corkerry barony ‘yield the inhabitants...pike, trout and eel in abundance and of extraordinary bigness’. This rich fish source was well utilised. In 1640, the rent of Ballyharney, on the Inny in Corkerry, was ‘400 eels and some pike’.⁵³ An eel weir immediately adjacent to the motte castle is marked on the first edition map. It was noted that the ‘Ballinacur River furnishes the inhabitants with eels and pikes’.⁵⁴

By the time of the Civil Survey, most woodland in Delvin was to be found adjacent to the developing parks surrounding the residences of the barony’s elites. There was a grove of trees at Clonyn and ‘diverse ash trees and a wood of staple oakes and other underwood’ at Rosmeade. Cavetstown too had a wood of staple oakes with other underwood. Ash trees were also noted at Bracklin and Archerstown.⁵⁵ ‘Shrubby pasture’ and ‘shrubby wood’ was noted in several places in the barony of Fore.⁵⁶ At the beginning of the seventeenth century a strip of woodland had stretched from Lough Sheelin in the very north-east of the county to Kilbeggan in the south, where an iron-

[51] White, *Monastic possessions*, 271.

[52] Piers, ‘A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath’, 17.

[53] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 145.

[54] National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f.5., Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[55] National Library of Ireland, MS 720-1. Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[56] National Library of Ireland, MS 723, 24-32., Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath

works was established c.1640.⁵⁷ By 1682 however, Piers complained of the dearth of ‘timber in bulk’ in Westmeath, lamenting the ‘havock thereof made by iron-works’.⁵⁸

The oak woodlands, from which Lough Derravagh got its name, survived in places, *dairbbreach* meaning ‘the place of oaks’ or ‘abundance of oaks’.⁵⁹ Piers noted that Knockros on the shores of the lough was ‘well shaded with all sorts of underwood and a great store of low spreading oaks’,⁶⁰ and that Knockeyon, at its southern end, was ‘in all its ascent clothed with trees’.⁶¹ The later medieval survival of this woodland is suggested by the presence of English language placenames. There is a cluster of ‘wood’ placenames between the River Gaine and Lough Owel in Corkerry parish: Lackanwood in Lackan parish, Knightswood in Leny parish and Littlewood in Portnasangan parish.⁶² There is a cluster of *Doire* names on the boggy ground flanking the Inny River in Abbeylara⁶³ and Lickbla⁶⁴ parishes. Further north, near the Hill of Moat in Lickbla are the townlands of Littlewood and Bigwood.

6.3 The Nugent lordship: the barony of Delvin

The largely undocumented process of manor creation in the Liberty of Meath was not completed until the mid-thirteenth-century.⁶⁵ The barony was divided into six parishes, Castletowndelvin, Kilcumny, Clonarny, Killua, Killvollah and Killagh. The correlation of parishes and early medieval ecclesiastical sites suggests that the Anglo-Norman manors/parishes were superimposed on the existing Gaelic territorial structure. In the sixteenth century, the manor of Delvin comprised the parishes of Castletowndelvin and Killua.⁶⁶ In addition to the *caput baroniae* at Castletowndelvin, there is archaeological evidence for the creation of manorial centres at Killagh and Killulagh, where motte castles were built adjacent to early medieval monastic establishments.

Writing in 1682, of County Westmeath, Sir Henry Piers observed, ‘our inhabitants live more scattered small villages, consisting mostly of poor small cottages...you will now and then meet with a few towns-corporate, some ancient castles, and some abbies and

[57] Eileen McCracken, *The Irish woods since Tudor times distribution and exploitation* (Belfast, 1971), 73, 168.

[58] Piers, ‘A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath’, 2.

[59] Tom Burnell, *The Anglicized words of Irish placenames* (Dublin, 2006), 130.

[60] Piers, ‘A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath’, 11.

[61] Piers, ‘A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath’, 12.

[62] Now Clanhugh Demesne and Ballynafid.

[63] Derryard, Derragh, Derreen and Derragh Lough.

[64] Derrycrave,

[65] B.J. Graham, ‘The mottes of the Norman liberty of Meath’, in Harman Murtagh (ed.), *Irish midland studies essays in commemoration of N.W. English* (1980), 47.

[66] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 126-7.

monasteries'.⁶⁷ Allowing for the destruction of the interregnum, the picture was broadly similar in the 1640s, although not all the castles could be called 'ancient'. The Earl of Westmeath's holdings in the barony of Delvin were restricted to the manor (Fig. 6.14). Settlement in the manor of Delvin during the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth century can be assessed using the *inquisitions post mortem* of Richard Nugent (1538) and Christopher Nugent (1603).⁶⁸ The manor of Delvin was made up of the medieval parishes of Delvin and Killua; it was held by knight service from the manor of Trim. In 1538, eighteen denominations were listed, described and valued, eight of which were rented by chief tenants of the baron, and ten of which appear to have been farmed by him or leased to tenants of lesser status. In 1603, Christopher Nugent was deemed to have held 12 denominations 'of the Queen in chief', measuring some 1376 acres. The lands held by the baron in Delvin in 1538, 1603 and 1641 are broadly coterminous. They comprise a swathe of ground running along the centre of the barony flanking the N51 road to Athboy, with another parcel in Killua. Most of the denominations contained between one and three messuages, but in 1538, Killua contained six. In addition to the Earl's land there were other holdings in the manor. One of the largest holdings was that of the Moores. William and Melchoir Moore held 1602:10:12 and 632:6:0 in Castletowndelvin and Clonarney. William's seat was at Rosmide on the eastern banks of the Stoneyford River. His kinsman Melchoir had a seat at Crowinstown.⁶⁹ In 1641 the denomination contained a house with two barns. It was one of the most heavily wooded holdings in the barony, containing 'a wood of staple oaks' as well as 'diverse ash trees'.

Four other parishes, Clonarney, Kilcumny, Kilulagh and Killagh made up the barony of Delvin. Much of the land in these parishes was divided into compact holdings of between 2000 and 70 plantation acres. The parish of Kilcumny is located in the north-west corner of Delvin. At the time of the Civil Survey the entire parish was held by James Nugent. He held two castles, one at Drumcree and Johnstown, neither of which survive. Killulagh parish (*Cill Uailleach*)⁷⁰ flanks the Deel River, south of Castletowndelvin parish. It contains one of two lesser Anglo-Norman manorial centres in the barony (the other one being Killagh). The relict settlement features a medieval church and graveyard within a circular enclosure, c.600m south of which a motte castle was built on a low knoll. The church was in repair in 1600 but little trace of it now remains.⁷¹ Significantly, the denomination returned the second highest population, at

[67] Piers, 'A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath', 60.

[68] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 147.

[69] 'Melcher Moore of Croenstown' appears on the Ormond List; John Thomas Gilbert, and Rosa M. Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny*, (2 vols, London, 1895), Vol. 2, 171.

[70] [<http://www.logainm.ie/51401.aspx>] Accessed 13th October 2011.

[71] Brady, 'Documents concerning the diocese of Meath', 242-3.

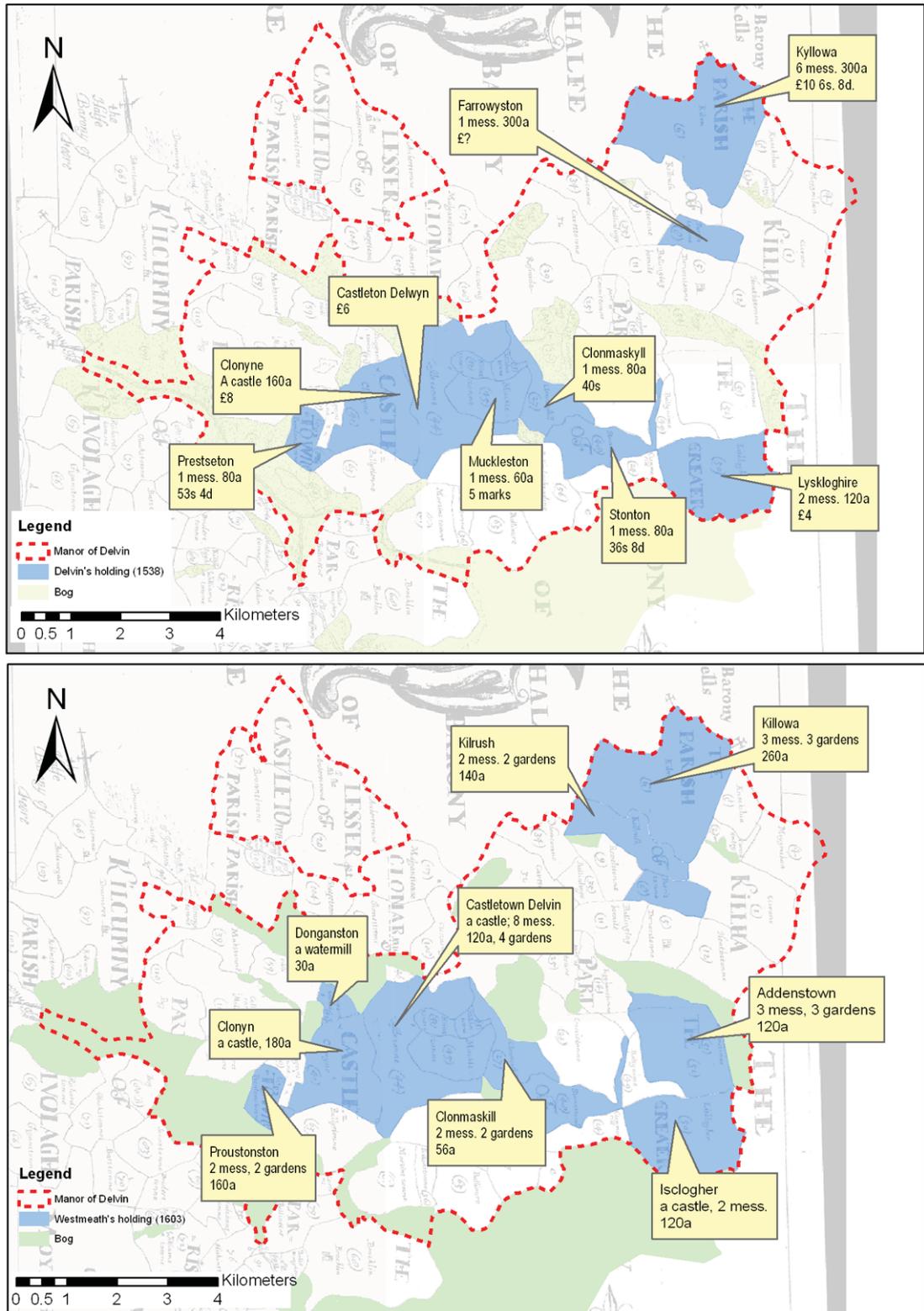


Fig. 6.14: The demesne at Delvin in 1538 (top) and 1603 (bottom). Bog is marked in green.

61 taxable persons in the 1659 poll tax.⁷² Killulagh contained an important fording point on the River Deel. Ballinacur had two stone bridges in 1641 and a garrison had been stationed in the townland during the 1640s. The Civil Survey noted that ‘there is a great road through this town from Kells and Trim to Athlone and otherplaces by reason of two stone bridges in repair’. In 1641 Bracklyn was one of its most important settlements. The denomination was inhabited from at least the 14th century. In 1382 ‘Hugh Nugent of Breklyng’ was appointed as a keeper of the peace in the barony of Delvin.⁷³ In the Civil Survey the denomination was held by Edward Nugent, who had almost 2000 acres of land in Delvin, Corkerry and Fore. Bracklyn was reported to contain a castle with a garden, an orchard and some ash trees. Killagh is located in the south of the barony on a minor crossroads, on a small tributary of the River Deel. Like Killlulagh, the settlement contains the remains of a motte castle (9.1m high)⁷⁴ and a medieval parish church. In 1655, there was a ‘corn mill, a ruined church and a castle’ at the site.⁷⁵ The first edition OS map also depicts a water mill and a millrace, which may well have had medieval antecedents.⁷⁶

6.4 Castletowndelvin: the *caput baroniae*

The *caput baroniae* of Delvin was at Castletowndelvin (Fig. 6.4). The settlement was located in the geographical centre of both the barony and manor of Delvin (Fig. 6.14). It sat at the crossroads of the east-west route from Ardee to Athlone (via Kells and Mullingar) and the north-west route from Navan (via Athboy) and Trim to Granard. The settlement grew up around the the earth and timber castle, which was subsequently replaced by a stone edifice. The settlement also contains a medieval church and there is evidence for burgage plots (Fig. 6.4; Fig. 6.5; Fig. 6.6).

The motte castle was probably built in the 1180s by de Lacy as part of the process of subinfeudation.⁷⁷ Reflective of broader trends in the Anglo-Norman colonisation, de Nogent’s new *caput* was probably superimposed on an existing *Uí Findalláin* stronghold. Flanagan has identified Castletowndelvin as *Telach Cail*, the *caput* of the kingdom of Delbhna.⁷⁸ She further argues that given the *tulach* element in the placename, the Anglo-Norman motte may have been built on an

[72] Pender, *Census*, 527.

[73] [<http://chancery.tcd.ie/document/Patent/5-richard-ii/234>] Accessed 27 June 2012.

[74] Graham, ‘The mottes of the Norman liberty of Meath’, 55.

[75] National Library of Ireland, NLI Ms 724, Reeves Down Survey.

[76] Mills were mentioned at the settlement in 1663 Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 150.

[77] Graham, ‘The mottes of the Norman liberty of Meath’, 45.

[78] Marie Therese Flanagan, ‘Anglo-Norman change and continuity: the castle of Telach Cail in Delbna’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 28/113 (1993), 387.

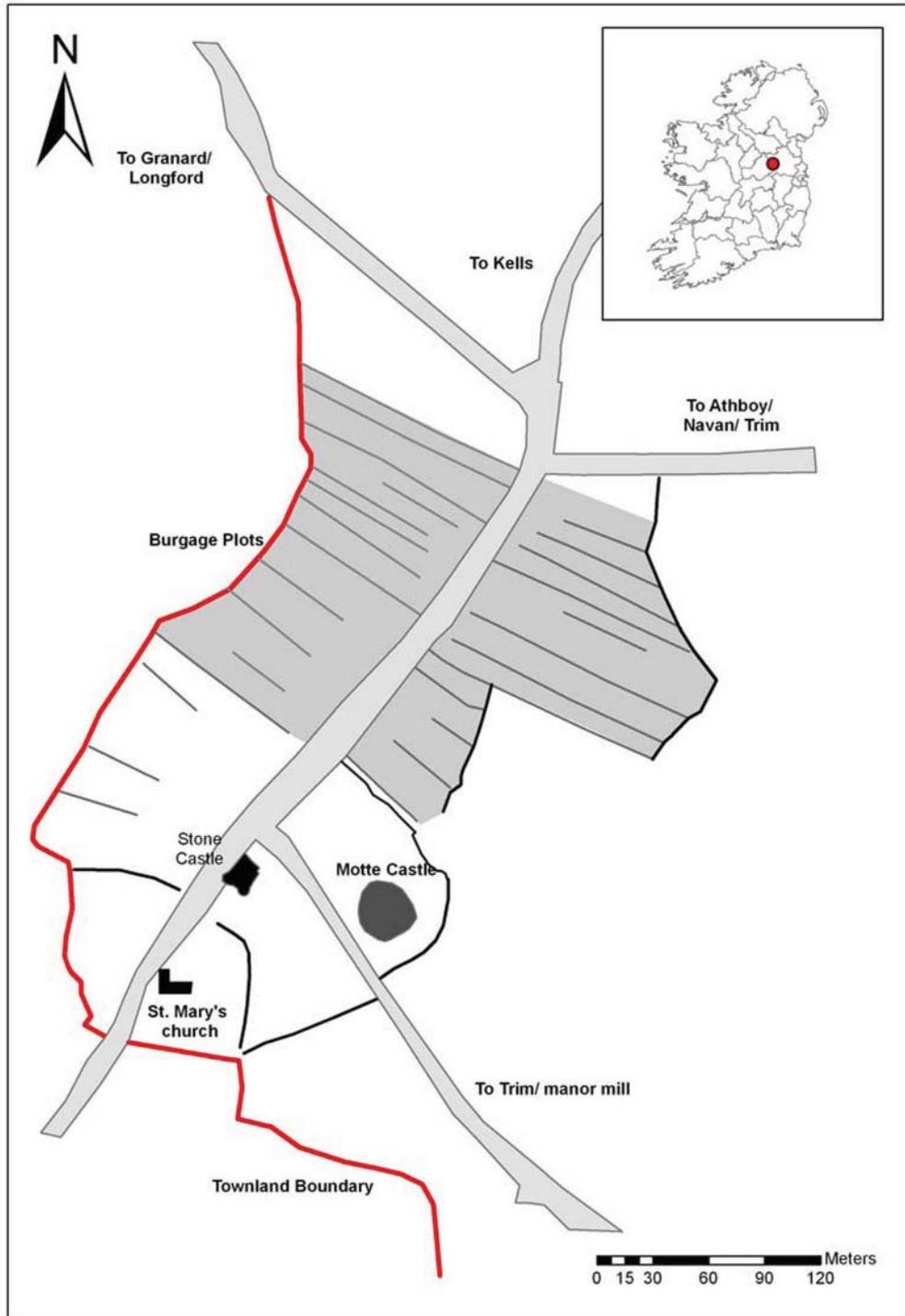


Fig. 6.4: The borough of Castletowndelvin.

earlier Gaelic earthwork.⁷⁹ By the fifteenth century, the earth and timber castle was replaced by an edifice of stone.⁸⁰ A rectangular masonry castle with corner drum-towers was built west of the motte, aligned northeast-southwest, in the direction of the main street (Fig. 6.5). Delvin castle is now only partially extant, its northern extent having been truncated by a nineteenth-century market house. The castle was burnt down in 1641. The Civil Survey described it as ‘a great castle, only the walls thereof standing’. In 1682, Sir Henry Piers described the castle as ‘a large oblong square castle, high raised, having at each corner a large round tower... a structure speaking of antient magnificence’. Adding that, ‘it is now wholly waste, without roof or inhabitants’.⁸¹

By at least the end of the thirteenth century, the settlement had a parish church.⁸² St. Mary’s church at Delvin was assessed at 12 marks for the purposes of the 1302 Papal taxation, while its attendant vicarage was valued at 6 marks.⁸³ The extant church has later medieval fabric, suggesting that the earlier church was of possible wooden construction (Fig. 6.6).⁸⁴ The western facade contains the remains of a blocked-in two-light, round-headed window and a similar single-light window. The windows have a number of parallels in Co. Meath, where O’Neill has dated the style to the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.⁸⁵ In 1600, the church was among those reported to be ‘in repair’ by Thomas Jones, Protestant bishop of Meath.⁸⁶ In 1602 Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, stipulated in his will that he be buried ‘in the Sowthe side of or la:[dy’s] Churche in Castletowne of Delvin where I leave a Chappell and a Tumbbe for myself my wyfe and or posteritie’.⁸⁷ The Ulster King of Arms’ record of the funeral of Christopher Nugent⁸⁸, who was buried in 1625, noted his place of interment as ‘church of Clonyn’.⁸⁹ There are no traces of a church in Clonyn; it may be that St. Mary’s was called Clonyn church owing to its association with the Nugent residence in that townland. In 1680

[79] Flanagan, ‘Anglo-Norman change and continuity’, 389; Tadhg O’Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland: an archaeology* (Stroud, 2000), 22.

[80] T. E. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: feudal power in a Gaelic world* (London, 1997), 261, 240; O’Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland*, 39.

[81] Piers, ‘A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath’, 62.

[82] The church at Delvin is first mentioned in 1293 in the H. S. Sweetman and Gustavus Frederick Handcock, *Calendar of documents, relating to Ireland*, (5 vols, London, 1875), Vol. 4, 18.

[83] Sweetman and Handcock, *Calendar of documents, relating to Ireland*, Vol. 5, 259.

[84] Michael O’Neill, ‘The medieval parish churches in County Meath’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 132 (2002), 30-1.

[85] O’Neill, ‘The medieval parish churches in County Meath’, 10, 15; Adrian Empey, ‘The layperson in the parish: the medieval inheritance, 1169-1536’, in Raymond Gillespie and W. G. Neely (eds.), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin 2002), 16.

[86] J. Brady, ‘Documents concerning the diocese of Meath’, *Archivium Hibernicum*, 8 (1941), 242-3.

[87] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 133.

[88] The above Christopher’s grandson.

[89] National Library of Ireland, GO MS 68, f.89, Funerary Entries.



Fig. 6.5: Delvin Castle c.1865-1914 (National Library of Ireland, Lawrence Photograph Collection).



Fig. 6.6: Saint Mary's church at Delvin.

Piers noted that Delvin church was 'fair and large' and in 'good repair' and that 'divine service according to the rites of the church of England ...[was] constantly celebrated'.⁹⁰ The medieval church was twice augmented in the nineteenth century, in 1810, and again in 1860, with the addition of a transept designed by Joseph Wellard.⁹¹

The nucleated settlement that grew up around the castles at Castletowndelvin can at least be described as a manorial village⁹², and it may have had borough status. There is no surviving evidence that the settlement was granted a borough charter, or for the granting of a fair or market patent prior to 1715.⁹³ However, as Otway-Ruthven has pointed out, the survival of borough charters is poor, and prior to the fifteenth century 'not only the greatest lords with semi-regal powers...but even the sub-tenants of their sub-tenants freely created boroughs' without Crown authority.⁹⁴ The granting of borough status to a settlement and the attendant privileges of burgess status was used to attract English and Welsh settlers to Ireland.⁹⁵

The layout of the settlement is suggestive of borough planning. It has a linear street plan reminiscent of other Anglo-Norman foundations (Fig. 6.4).⁹⁶ The castles and the church are located to the south end of the settlement and, to the north, both the first edition 6-inch and the 25-inch OS maps depict long narrow strips of enclosed land flanking the main street that may be the remains of burgage plots. The village also had associated commonage or grazing lands.⁹⁷ In 1663 George Nugent was recorded as being seized of 'two houses with gardens and common of pasture' in Delvin. In the same year Henry Nugent was noted as holding 'three houses with their gardens' and 'the freedom of cattle' in the settlement.

[90] Piers, 'A chorographical description of the county of West-Meath', 63.

[91] [<http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=WM®no=15308017>] Accessed 8 June 2012, 23:41.

[92] Manorial village 'a settlement from where the lords manor was administered, where his home farm was located and where some tenants lived. It was focused on a church and usually also a castle and a mill'. K. J. Edwards, F. W. Hamond, and A. Simms, 'The Medieval Settlement of Newcastle Lyons, County Dublin an Interdisciplinary Approach', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 83C (1983), 14.

[93] Hercules George Robert Robinson, Sir and John Macbeth, 'Fairs and Markets' Commission, Ireland. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets in Ireland. Part II. Minutes of evidence', (1852-53), 139.

[94] See Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', in J. L. McCracken et al (ed.), *Historical Studies V* (London, 1965), 79; B.J. Graham, 'The towns of medieval Ireland' in R.A. Butlin (ed.) *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977), 29.

[95] O'Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland*, 92. Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland'.

[96] John Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', in H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds) (ed.), *The comparative history of urban origins 900-1250: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia* (British Archaeological Reports, 255; Oxford, 1985), 434.

[97] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 150, 153.

The settlement's location in the marches of the Englishry left it prone to the cyclical raiding that characterised Gaelic society. The chronicles note a series of raids (*creacha*) on the territory of the 'Barún Delbna'. In 1461, the Mag Eochagáin and the Ledwiches (Ledúsachaibh) raided the baron's territory as far as the Inny.⁹⁸ The town was burned in 1475 by Ua Domhnaill on a foray into Meath to extract an *éiric* [compensation] for his father who 'fell by the foreigners'. The chronicles record that 'much of Meath was destroyed by him and the castle-town of Delvin (*baile caislein Delbna*) was burned'.⁹⁹ How the settlement was impacted by the great mid fourteenth-century plague is undocumented, but that it may have suffered from the sporadic episodes of disease that visited Ireland in the fifteenth century is suggested by the baron's death in 1478, during a '*pláigh mbór*'.¹⁰⁰

The *fiants* are largely silent on residents of the settlement with the exception of one Richard Nugent, who was listed as of Delvin in 1544-5.¹⁰¹ In 1603, an inquisition *post mortem* into Christopher Nugent's (14th Baron) lands recorded the settlement as containing 'a castle, 8 messuages, 4 gardens, and 120a. land'.¹⁰² The Civil Survey described the settlement as containing 'diverse small cabins'.¹⁰³ In 1659, the village returned a population of 80, one of the highest in the county, following only the boroughs of Mullingar (334) and Kilbeggan (99) and the villages of Multifarnham (81) and Ballymore (82).¹⁰⁴ The site was listed among six 'market towns' in 1598, and the Civil Survey noted that Delvin was 'formerly a market town',¹⁰⁵ highlighting its commercial importance at the end of the sixteenth century, at least. 'Westmeath hath the town of Delvin, giving the title of baron to the English family of the Nugents'.¹⁰⁶

[98] O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. 4, 1009.

[99] AU, Vol. 2, p. 255

[100] According to the AFM 'the plague was brought by a ship into the harbour of Assaroe...and spread through Fermanagh, Tirconnell and the province in general'; O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. 4, 1107.

[101] Kenneth W. Nicholls (ed.), *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I* (3 vols, Dublin, 1994), Vol. 1, 51.

[102] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 134.

[103] National Library of Ireland, NLI Ms 724, Reeves Down Survey maps.

[104] Seamus Pender, *A census of Ireland, circa 1659. With supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances, 1660-1661* (Dublin, 1939), 513, 516, 519, 526, 527.

[105] Edmund Hogan, *The description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is at this present in anno 1598: Now for the first time published from a manuscript preserved in Clongowes-Wood college, with copious notes and illustrations* (Dublin, 1878), 102. The other sites were Fore, Kilkenny West, Athlone, Ballimore and Rathwire. Mullingar was listed as a town. National Library of Ireland, MS 724, Reeves Down Survey maps.

[106] Moryson 'The description of Ireland', 218.

6.5 Retreat from the borough: the ‘fayre house’ at Clonyn

In the early sixteenth century, Delvin castle was replaced by a residence in the adjacent townland of Clonyn, where the family’s house remained until the twentieth century. The precise date of this new construction is unclear. The first reference to occupancy at Clonyn is in an *inquisition post mortem* of Richard Nugent, twelfth Baron of Delvin (d.1537) taken at Trim in 1538. The inquisition listed ‘a castle and 160a arable worth £8’ in the denomination of ‘Clonyne’. Clonyn was listed second only to Castletowndelvin (£6) in the inquisition, but significantly, Clonyn was given a greater value.¹⁰⁷ By the turn of the century, it is evident that the Baron of Delvin’s primary residence was Clonyn. Writing in 1598, Sir Henry Folliott listed ‘Killeen’ [*recte* Clonyn] as the ‘chief Hous’ of the Baron of Delvin with ‘Castle toune delvin’ relegated to a secondary possession.¹⁰⁸ The ‘castle’ at Clonyn was again listed in an *inquisition post mortem* of Christopher, fifteenth Baron of Delvin in 1603.¹⁰⁹ Westmeath’s ‘castle’ or ‘house’ at Clonyn was burnt in the 1641 rebellion. The Civil Survey noted Clonyn as the Earl of Westmeath’s chief seat and described ‘the ruins of a fayre house’ in the denomination.¹¹⁰

The character of this sixteenth-century ‘castle’ is uncertain. There is no clear standing archaeological evidence confirming its site or form. Unfortunately, the Down Survey parish map of Castletowndelvin omits to sketch any structures or features, noting only the denomination boundaries.¹¹¹ Evidence from the Down Survey maps and the Civil Survey suggests that towerhouses were the most common form of elite residence in the Nugent lordship in the mid-seventeenth century. ‘Castles’ recorded in the Civil Survey correlate with sketches of narrow tower-like structures on the maps and with towerhouses on the ground. There were a number of other residence forms in the lordship. In Delvin barony a ‘house with a bawn’ was noted at Dervotstown and a ‘house’ at Rosmeade. At Donowire, Multifernan parish, there was a ‘very handsome English-like house’.¹¹² The sketch of James Nugent’s ‘castle’ at Drumcree appears to depict a towerhouse with an appended house (Fig. 6.10).

The earliest identifiable structure in Clonyn townland comprises the remains of a late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century building concealed within the ruins of Clonyn House (WM013-014----) (Fig. 6.8). Clonyn House is a multi-period edifice that was occupied until the 1870s, when the newer Clonyn Castle, a Gothic Revival style pile,

[107] A ‘castle’ in Clonyn is listed in the *inquisition post mortem* of Richard Nugent, 12th Baron of Delvin; Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 126.

[108] Hogan, *The description of Ireland*, 103.

[109] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 134.

[110] National Library of Ireland, Ms 724, f.8. Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[111] National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f.8. Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.

[112] National Library of Ireland, NLI MS 724 f. 26. Down Survey maps, Co. Westmeath.



Fig. 6.7: Facade of Clonyn House. Note Georgian Gothic tower to left.

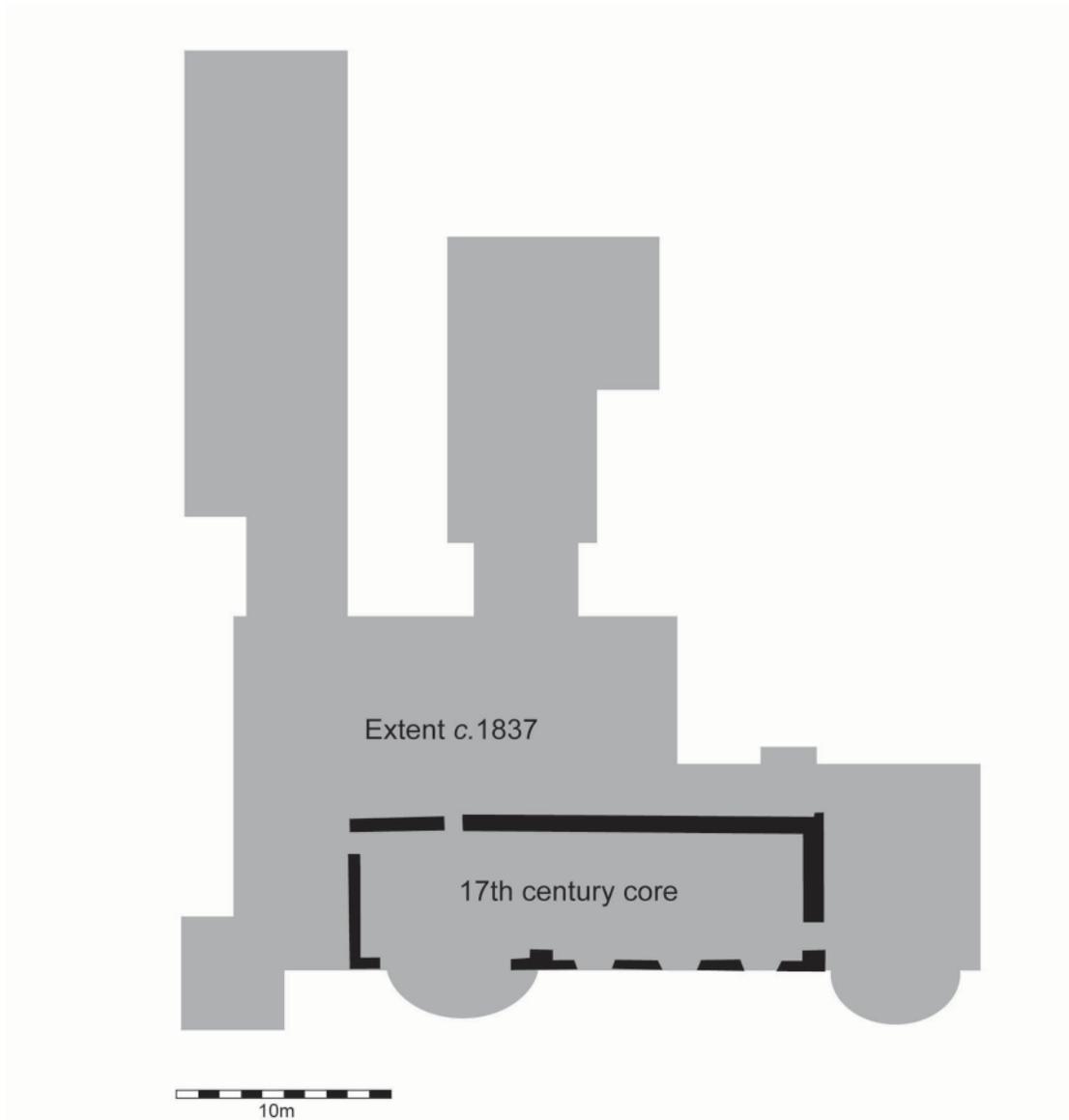


Fig. 6.8: Sketch of Clonyn House showing the seventeenth-century core of the house.



Fig. 6.9: Armorial plaque on Clonyn House.

was built to replace the older structure.¹¹³ Clonyn House comprises a central block, orientated north-east/ south-west, which was augmented at either end and by the addition of perpendicular wings to the back (west). The earliest surviving phase of the house is a five-bay, single-pile, rectangular plan building, c.22.5m by c.7.5m. No characteristic early modern cut or dressed stonework could be detected in the building.

A carved armorial plaque, set into the later Gothic Revival tower, appended to the southern end of the original structure, is likely to date from this period (Fig. 6.9). The plaque is rectangular and made from limestone, now heavily eroded. A cockatrice surmounted by a crown is carved in high relief on the top left-hand corner of the plaque. No further inscriptions could be discerned on the plaque, but the Architectural Archive's assessment of the building reported that the date 1680 was engraved on it. If this date is correct it must relate to the Restoration rebuilding of the earlier house after its destruction in 1641. According to the deposition of Jane Plunkett, Countess of Westmeath and widow of the first Earl, the destruction wrought in that episode was substantial. She testified that she 'hadd three faire Castles or howses burned & demolished'. Plunkett estimated her losses in the region of £20,025. The extant architectural remains support a post-Restoration date for the core of Clonyn House. Loeber has noted the long rectangular form as more characteristic of the later part of the century.¹¹⁴

If the earliest phase of Clonyn House post-dates the Restoration, where was the original sixteenth-century structure and what did it look like? One possibility is that the later post-Restoration house was built on the site of the earlier burnt-out building, leaving no discernible trace of the earlier structure. Alternatively, it may have been located elsewhere in the denomination. One potential site (marked X on Fig 6.18) is located c.100m to the north of Clonyn House, at the western end of a partially preserved avenue (B), orientated east-west. Avenue (B) runs from the Clonyn-Castletown delvin townland boundary west to courtyard/enclosure (C). It is aligned both on Delvin Castle

[113] [<http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=WM®no=15308017>] Accessed 8 June 2012, 23:41.

[114] Rolf Loeber, 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period: an unremembered past recaptured?', *Quarterly bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 16/1 & 2 (1973).

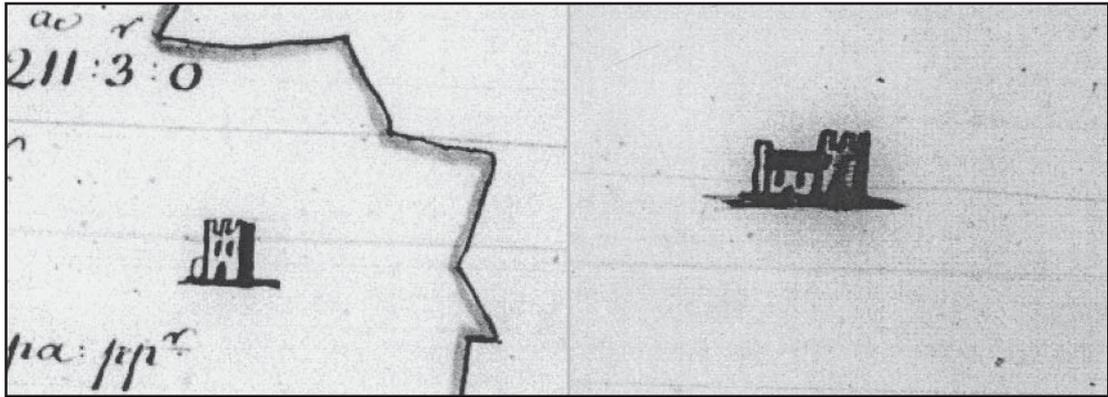


Fig. 6.10: Johnstown (left) and Drumcree (right) castles as depicted on the Down Survey map of Kilmumny parish. (National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f.7).

and on the courtyard/enclosure. It is of note that the townland boundary of Clonyn and Castlletowndelvin (c.1838) has a pronounced kink in it at the place where the avenue (B) would have reached the town. The original house may have been built along this avenue, most likely immediately to the east of courtyard (C).¹¹⁵ If correct, however, the alignment of the new house on the old castle is significant. The physical and visual linking of the two monuments would have underlined the antiquity of the Nugents in Delvin, making a visual connection between their old seat of power and their new house in its secluded demesne.

It is tempting to connect the construction of Clonyn House with swelling incomes derived from late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century land grants bestowed upon the family. In England, the privatisation of monastic land had helped to fuel the sixteenth-century building boom.¹¹⁶ In Ireland, this post-dissolution period saw the substantial refurbishment or rebuilding of the residences of a number of Irish magnates and wealthy merchants.¹¹⁷ The tenth Earl of Ormond substantially remodelled Carrick-on-Shannon castle in the 1560s and 1570s, and appended a mansion house to his chief seat, Kilkenny castle.¹¹⁸ The mid-sixteenth century witnessed a period of urban rebuilding in cities like Kilkenny and Galway, spearheaded by merchant oligarchs.¹¹⁹

[115] This supposition needs to be substantiated by fieldwork. The thorough fieldwalking of the Clonyn demesne is outside of the scope of the thesis.

[116] Malcolm Airs, 'Architecture, politics and society' in Robert Tittler (ed.) *A companion to Tudor Britain* (Oxford, 2004), 471-2; Matthew Johnson, 'Meanings of polite architecture in sixteenth-century England', *Historical Archaeology*, 26/3 (1992).

[117] Jane Fenlon, 'Moving towards the formal house: room usage in early modern Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C (2011), 145.

[118] Jane Fenlon, 'Episodes of magnificence: the material worlds of the Dukes of Ormonde', in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds.), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), 138.

[119] Gertrude M. Keane, 'Great stone houses' *Kilkenny and its early modern townhouses 1550-1650* (2010), 11-2; Elizabeth FitzPatrick *et al* (eds) *Archaeological investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998* (Wicklow, 2004), 349.

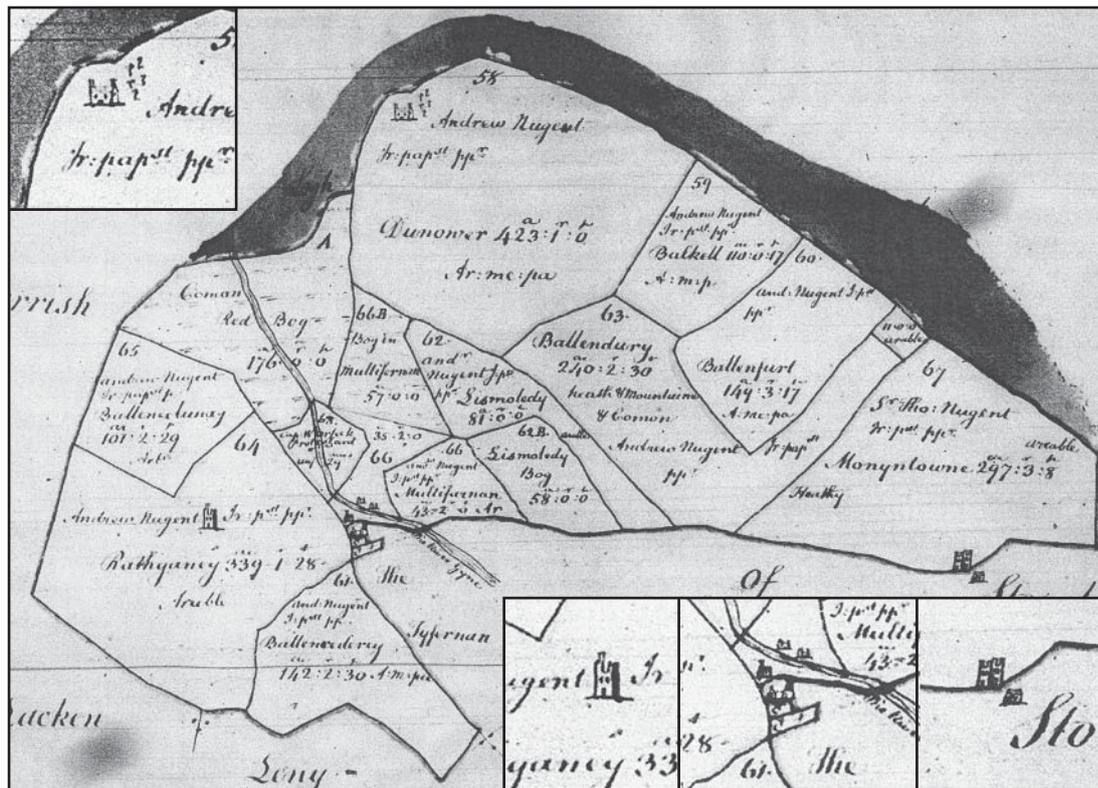


Fig. 6.11: Multifarnan parish. Note the ‘handsome English like house’ in Donore (Donowire) and the ‘castles’ in Multifarnham, Rathganny and Monintown (National Library of Ireland, MS 724, f. 26).

6.5.1 Garden and Parkland

The seventeenth-century house at Clonyn was set within a designed landscape (Fig. 6.18). As at many Irish and British demesnes, the earlier formal geometric landscape was largely swept away in the late eighteenth century to make room for the creation of open parklands.¹²⁰ This later designed landscape was again transformed in the twentieth-century with the construction of a golf course. Traces of seventeenth-century landscape features can, however, be tentatively identified at Clonyn using a combination of the first edition 6-inch OS map and aerial photography. Characteristic of pre-Brownian demesne landscapes, the earlier phase comprises a series of avenues, enclosures, bosquets and gardens laid out on a common grid.

A long avenue (A), c.1.3km in length, traverses the townland. The earthwork is c.30m wide, and comprises a central roadway flanked by a fosse-bank-fosse on each side. The western part of the avenue was still in use in the nineteenth century and formed a route to the house from the west. Its eastern extent is depicted on the first edition OS map as a discontinuous line of trees and is visible as a prominent linear earthwork in aerial

[120] Reeves Smith, Terence, ‘The natural history of demesnes’, in John Wilson Foster and Helena C.G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland: A scientific and cultural history* (Dublin, 2007), 550; Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004), 186; Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy, *Property and landscape: a social history of land ownership and the English countryside* (London, 1987), 140.

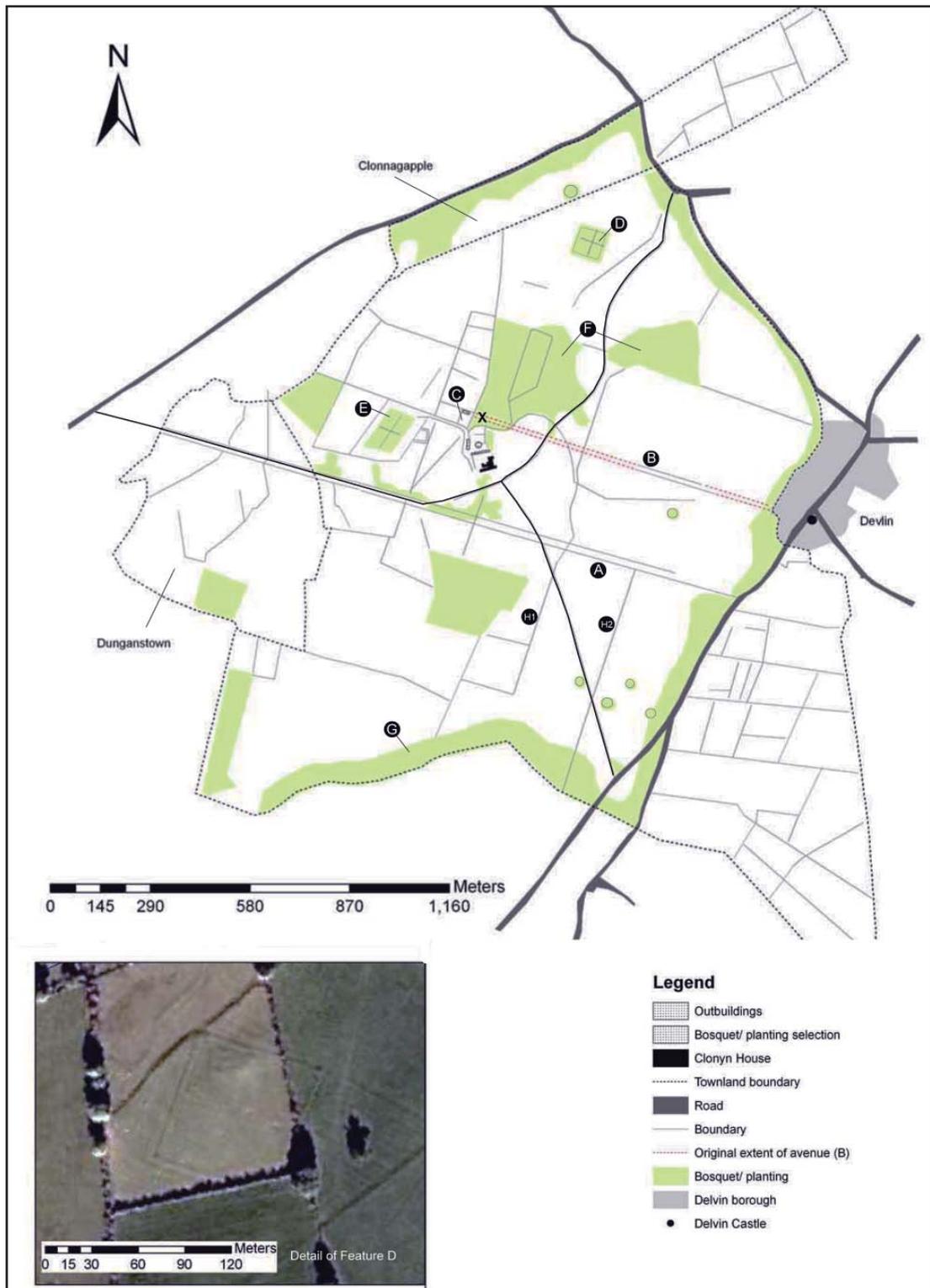


Fig. 6.18: The designed estate landscape at Clonyn. X marks the proposed site of the early seventeenth century Clonyn House.

images (Google Earth). There are traces of another avenue (B) running c.275m to the north of (A). Avenue (B) is c.20m wide; unlike (A) it runs discontinuously across the townland and it would appear that part of its extent was obliterated by later landscaping. Significantly, (B) is aligned on Delvin castle. It is also aligned on a rectangular courtyard (C) situated c.150m to the north-west of Clonyn House. (H1) and (H2) are linear earthworks c.10m wide, running south and perpendicular to the avenue (A). They may be smaller avenues.

A square earthwork (D) is located in the north-east corner of the townland. The feature is c.90m square and defined by a fosse and bank. The interior of the feature is divided into quadrants by low earthen banks. It is possibly a parterre or a kitchen garden. Kitchen gardens were not always adjacent to the house. As McKean has pointed out, 'in larger demesnes, the kitchen garden was a separate walled enclosure...often at some distance from the house, beyond the privy garden, bowling green, terraces and the walled wilderness'.¹²¹ It (D) is depicted on the first edition OS map as a rectangular plot of forestry. Another, probably later, trapezoidal walled garden (E) is located in the west end of the townland. It measures c.75m east-west, by c.130m north-south. Like (D), the garden is divided into quadrants by low banks. The garden is behind the main house, out of sight and adjacent to the stable buildings that provided a source of manure.¹²² Several bosquets or groves of trees are depicted in the park on the first edition OS map. There are two large groves of deciduous trees to the north of Clonyn House (F), complete with walking paths.

What is most significant about all the above features is that they are aligned on a common grid orientated north-northeast by south-southwest. Avenues (A) and (B) are parallel and perpendicular to (H1) and (H2). The gardens, courtyard features (C), (E) and (F) are also aligned on this grid, as are a number of other boundaries in the park. Surprisingly, in this context, Clonyn House is not aligned to this grid. Instead, it is placed a 45° angle to the grid, midway between avenues (A) and (B).

Gardens, orchards and forestry were essential elements of early modern estates; they were at once displays of power, taste and civility as well as essential hubs of production, provisioning the owner's table and local markets.¹²³ While orchards, gardens and woodlands were all important features of later medieval demesnes,¹²⁴ in the early modern period their layout, design and relationship to the castle or house took on new

[121] Charles McKean, 'The Scottish Renaissance country seat in its setting', *Garden History*, 31/2 (2003), 153; Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', 551.

[122] Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', 559.

[123] Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, 190; Toby Barnard, 'Gardening, diet and improvement in later seventeenth century Ireland', *Irish Protestants ascendants and descents, 1641-1770* (Dublin, 2004), 224.

[124] Terence Reeves-Smith, 'Irish Gardens and Gardening Before Cromwell', in John Ludlow and Noel Jameson (eds.), *Medieval Ireland: The Barryscourt lectures I-X* (Kinsale, 1999), 116-8.

significances. From the late sixteenth century onwards, but particularly towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, there was a tendency for the house and garden to form part of a unified design, arranged on a common geometrical grid.¹²⁵ Initially this approach manifested itself in the arrangement of a series of courts or walled, sometimes defended, gardens around the immediate environs of the house. Towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, the designed garden began to expand beyond the confines of walled courts and extended into the landscape, organised around long avenues axially arranged on the house.¹²⁶ In Ireland, the Baroque garden has largely been characterised as a post-Restoration feature.¹²⁷ Following this broad interpretation, the designed landscape at Clonyn may date to the post-Cromwellian period.

What then of the ‘fayre orchard... garden...[and] grove of trees’ that the Civil Survey noted in the 1650s? Much rests on the extent to which the second Earl or his grandson and successor, the fourth Earl, remodelled the gardens alongside the construction of the Clonyn House, to replace the building that was destroyed in 1641. One possibility is that the landscape features were aligned on the sixteenth-century house and while the later seventeenth-century replacement was built on a different site, the development of the garden continued along the original axis.

In addition to gardens orchards and avenues, appurtenances for horses made a significant mark on the landscape. Horses served not just a practical role as a means of transport or a beast of burden, but also served in the creation and expression of elite identities. Petty divided Ireland’s horse owners into those who kept a small horse or ‘garran’ primarily for tillage and those who kept some 40,000 horses between them ‘for the coach and saddle’. The former comprised 92% of the population and the latter 8% according to Petty’s calculations.¹²⁸ For the upper classes, horse riding was a leisure pursuit as well as a mark of distinction. While other sectors of society also rode horses what set them apart was ‘the quality of the horses they rode and the skill they displayed while doing so’.¹²⁹ The act of horse riding was itself a metaphor of male aristocratic rule and a demarcation of prosperity and rank.¹³⁰ Horse breeding was imbued with notions of ‘improvement’. The importance of horses is underlined by the will of Richard, the first Earl of Westmeath (d.1641). The animals feature prominently among the items

[125] Reeves-Smith, ‘Irish Gardens and Gardening Before Cromwell’, 121; Patrick Bowe, ‘The Renaissance garden in Ireland’, *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 11 (1995), 74.

[126] Williamson and Bellamy, Property and landscape, 139; Reeves-Smith, ‘Irish Gardens and Gardening Before Cromwell’, 131; Reeves-Smyth, ‘The natural history of demesnes’, 550; Loeber, ‘Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period’, 47; McKean, ‘The Scottish Renaissance country seat in its setting’, 156.

[127] Barnard, ‘Gardening, diet and improvement’; Reeves-Smyth, ‘The natural history of demesnes’, 550.

[128] William Petty, *Tracts chiefly relating to Ireland* (Dublin, 1769), 338.

[129] Peter Edwards, *Horse and man in early modern England* (Cornwall, 2007), 82.

[130] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 82.

left to his children. His sons Francis and John were respectively willed '6 brood mares of his stud, with their foals' and '4 mares with their foals, and two 3-year-old colts'. His sons Lawrence and Ignatius were willed two mares each.¹³¹ The will of Richard's mother, Lady Mary Baroness Nugent (née FitzGerald) (d.1610), included 'my own little nag with my saddle & furniture' to her daughter Margaret and 'a nag or colt' to her son Gilbert.¹³²

6.4.2 Horses in the landscape

Equine appurtenances made their mark on estate landscapes in the form of commodious stables, paddocks and rides.¹³³ In the seventeenth century, stables were often in a prominent position, flanking the forecourt of the house.¹³⁴ Dineley's sketch of Rathlahine Castle, Co. Clare shows an example from the 1680s, which he opined was the 'the fairest stable of the County' (Fig. 6.13).¹³⁵ At Clonyn a complex of buildings located to the north of the house was marked as a riding school on the first edition map.

In England, horses were generally kept in a home close or in a park.¹³⁶ Within the park at Clonyn there was ample ground on which horses could be pastured. The presence of a purpose-specific area for grazing or racing horses is suggested by a small townland bordering Clonyn called Clonnagapple. This narrow townland is located immediately north of Clonyn and, on the first edition OS map, part of the townland is included in Clonyn demesne. The placename was first recorded in 1659 as 'Cloon Capull'¹³⁷ and has been given the Irish *Chlain na gCapall* meaning 'the pasture or meadow of the horses'.¹³⁸ The denomination is c.1450m long, c.140m wide at its western end and c.200m wide at its eastern end. Today it is bisected into eastern and western portions by the R395 from Delvin to Castlepollard. The townland is bounded to the north by a wet fosse parallel to the minor road and to the south by a stream, which flows west into Lough Analla. There are no recorded archaeological monuments in Cloonagapple, but a probable rath (c.47m in diameter) is visible in Google earth imagery of the denomination (Fig. 6.12).

In aristocratic households, numerous servants were dedicated to the care and training of horses. Grooms, aveners and farriers took responsibility for the animals' welfare, while other specialised servants looked after horse-drawn vehicles or served in the sports of hawking and hunting.¹³⁹ In 1641 Richard, the first Earl of Westmeath could number a

[131] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 144; See Iske's comments on the Earl of Kildare's will, Iske, *The green cockatrice*, 50.

[132] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 137.

[133] Barnard, *The grand figure*, 226-7.

[134] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 4-5; Barnard, *The grand figure*, 234-5.

[135] Shirley, et al., 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire', 82-3.

[136] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 37.

[137] Pender, *Census*, 527.

[138] <http://www.logainm.ie/51306.aspx> Accessed 13 October 2011.

[139] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 38.



Fig. 6.12: Earthwork at Clonnagapple. Note the turrets of the nineteenth-century Clonyn Castle in the background

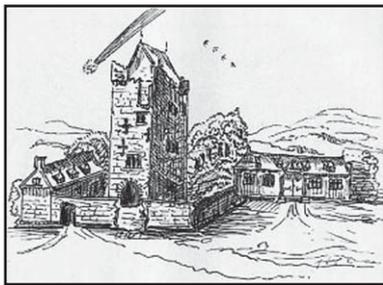


Fig. 6.13: Dineley's sketch of Rathlahine Castle, Co. Clare.

groom, a coachman, a postillion and a wainman among his staff at Clonyn.¹⁴⁰ Three of these servants, were engaged in tasks connected with horse-drawn transport. The use of coaches by the Earl is corroborated by William Baker's account of the Earl's assault en route to Trim by coach in 1641.¹⁴¹ The early modern coach emerged in Hungary in the early sixteenth century and first appeared in England during the reign of Mary Tudor.¹⁴² Coaches were the preserve of the social elite and a means of ostentatious display of wealth

and status. The coaches themselves could be painted, gilded or adorned with heraldic imagery of the owner, and their interiors were often richly decorated with fine textiles and furniture.¹⁴³ The number and quality of the horses used to pull the coach was another indication of the owner's rank.¹⁴⁴

[140] 1641 depositions

[141] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 835234r262?>>] accessed Thursday 03 November 2011 01:34 PM

[142] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 213.

[143] Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy, essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge, 1987), 139; J. T. Cliffe, *The world of the country house in seventeenth-century England* (New Haven & London, 1999), 122.

[144] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 211.

Horses were associated with other pursuits, intimately connected with the expression of status, namely hunting and hawking.¹⁴⁵ Christopher Nugent (14th Baron of Delvin, d.1602) willed ‘the earie of hawkes that breedethe’ in the ‘country of Slewaghe’ Co. Roscommon to his son and heir Christopher.¹⁴⁶ The first Earl’s bequest to his eldest son and heir was ‘the great haukes & eyries of great haukes that breed on Termonbarie [Co. Roscommon] or on his lands in Leitrim’.¹⁴⁷ His servant ‘James the faukener’ was willed an annuity of £10.¹⁴⁸ The sport of falconry, as Almond has observed, was ‘the prerogative of the nobility and gentry’.¹⁴⁹ The expense of buying, equipping and training the birds restricted the sport to the aristocracy.¹⁵⁰ By the reign of Elizabeth I earlier legal prohibitions regulating the ownership of hawks had been dispensed with, and the sport reached its zenith in England paralleling the emergence of the new Tudor gentry.¹⁵¹

6.6 Cleavage and coalescence

The retreat of the family from Castletowndelvin to Clonyn was a significant move, reflective of broader cleavages between social classes (5.9). It is a pattern echoing developments in England, where in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth century certain manor houses were relocated from their manorial villages to an isolated position within the medieval deer park, while elsewhere the deerpark was extended to encompass the manor house. In some instances, new parks were created to surround the house, often necessitating the total or partial clearance of existing settlements around the elite residence.¹⁵² Judging from comments by contemporary commentators, the top stratum of Irish landholders were creating parks as part of their estate landscapes by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Miles Symner¹⁵³ reported that before the [Cromwellian] war the Earls of Ormonde, Clanricarde, Thomond, Cork and Sir Robert King were in possession of ‘parks and in them fallow deer...all planted within 50 or 60 years’.¹⁵⁴ Fynes Moryson noted ‘closed in Parkes’ at Maynooth (Earl Kildare),

[145] Edwards, *Horse and man*, 125; Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, 238; William H. Forsyth, ‘The noblest of sports: falconry in the middle ages’, *The metropolitan museum of art bulletin, New series* 2/9 (1944).

[146] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 133.

[147] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 144.

[148] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 144.

[149] Richard Almond, *Medieval hunting* (Stroud, 2003).39.

[150] Almond, *Medieval hunting* 40.

[151] Almond, *Medieval hunting* 46.

[152] Williamson and Bellamy, Property and landscape, 136-7; Christopher Taylor, *Village and farmstead: a history of rural settlement in England* (London, 1983), 202.

[153] Symner was appointed a commissioner for setting out lands to soldiers by the Cromwellian government, and was subsequently appointed as a professor of mathematics at Trinity College. Toby Barnard, ‘Miles Symner and the new learning in seventeenth-century Ireland’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 102/2 (1972).

[154] Barnard, ‘Gardening, diet and improvement’, 213.

Munster (Ormond) and ‘the North’ by the lord of Belfast.¹⁵⁵ At Portumna, the principal residence was located inside the eastern boundary of the park, which extended west, utilising the marshy callow ground flanking Lough Derg. Thomond’s seat, at Bunrarry, was described by Dinely as adjoined by a ‘very fair park with deer’.¹⁵⁶

The ultimate demise of Clonyn house in 1641 and the Earl of Westmeath’s violent death at the hand of his own kinsmen underlines the social tensions that simmered in early seventeenth-century Delvin. Some of these tensions at least, came from a frustration on the part of Westmeath’s kinsmen at his refusal to take suitable political action following the outbreak of violence in the autumn of 1641. While his neighbours and kinsmen threw their lot in with the rebellion, Westmeath refused. Indeed his house at Clonyn became a refuge for Ulster Protestants fleeing the violence. Among them was one William Baker, who after fleeing his home in Co. Fermanagh at the outbreak of the rebellion, sought sanctuary with the earl. He, his wife and children, were ‘freely entertained’ at Clonyn, and Baker subsequently served him as a cook for six months. Baker was among a number of the ‘Erles english servants’.¹⁵⁷ The earl also had Irish servants of prominent position in his household, a number of whom were named by Baker. Among them were ‘Donnell Birne the Butler ...Patrick Warde the Coachman, George the Taylor, Henry Kellie the Postillioun, one ffalkenour the Bayliffe of his Lordships house, one Dorley the Groome, one Donnell the Waineman, & John Birne the Vnder-Cooke’.¹⁵⁸

The household at Clonyn was made up of a mix of natives and newcomers. It was a place of accommodations, but also of contradictions and tensions. William Baker related in his deposition that as well as sheltering Protestants in his household, the Earl entertained ‘rebels’:

About ten days before Christmas last past there repaired unto the said Earl’s house, Myles Relie, one of the Chief of the Rebels in the County of Cavan...the said Myles Relie, with sundry of the Rebels were entertained for a night and a dat. At which time this Examinant saw the said Myles, with the said Earle of WestMeath in his Lordships bedchamber. And

[155] Graham Kew, ‘The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson’s Unpublished “Itinerary”’, *Analecta Hibernica*, 37 (1998), 112-3.

[156] Evelyn Philip Shirley, et al., ‘Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II (Continued)’, *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 6/1 (1867), 87-8.

[157] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 835234r262?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 09:20 PM

[158] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817065r067?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 09:21 PM

likewise saw the said Myles suppe and dine in the dining room, with the Countesses of Westmeath & the said Earl's sons.¹⁵⁹

The Earl's attempts to maintain his loyalty to the Crown and to appease his kinsmen ultimately failed and ended in his own death and the burning of Clonyn House. Jane Countess of Westmeath made two depositions in the aftermath of the attack on Clonyn giving an account of events and the financial losses ensuing. According to the Countess, on the night her husband was buried she 'and her family were forced forcibly & by violence dispossessed of her house of Clonyn...men of the County Westmeath assembled in arms to the number of about a thousand men who befell said house & fired several shots of the out housing'.¹⁶⁰ Most of the men involved in the attack were known to Jane, indeed she recounted the reticence of one her dead husband's relatives to burn the house. 'Robert Nugent of Carlonstowne having persuaded that house should not be touched which being not able to effect he went away with tears in his eyes'.¹⁶¹

6.7 Reiterating nobility: heraldry and material culture

Having discussed evidence for the residence and demesne of the Nugents of Delvin, the next section of this chapter takes a more thematic approach, focusing on material expressions of nobility by the Nugents.

Heraldry has its roots in the early twelfth century; it developed from identifying devices used by knights in tournament or battle. Gradually, the devices were systemised and made hereditary, engendering the development of an administration in the persons of heralds and by the fourteenth century, the Kings of Arms. While their origin was martial, arms came to be regarded as evidence of privilege, dignity or nobility, and their use spread beyond the battlefield. Analogously, the role of the herald developed from an attendant at the tournament to officers responsible for the regulation and granting of arms and the recording of genealogies.¹⁶² The development of heraldry in the lordship of Ireland followed a similar course to the rest of feudal Europe, although it was not until 1552, when Ireland had been declared a kingdom, that a King of Arms was

[159] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817065r067?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 09:17 PM

[160] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817010r023?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 08:30 PM

[161] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970
[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817023r039?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 09:31 PM

[162] John Barry, 'Guide to Records of the Genealogical Office, Dublin, with a Commentary on Heraldry in Ireland and on the History of the Office', *Analecta Hibernica*, 26 (1970), 9.

appointed to the polity.¹⁶³ In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, heraldry constituted ‘iconography of hono[u]r’ and the ‘recognition of gentility’.¹⁶⁴ Its cultivation among older, established nobles, like the Nugents, served to ‘reassure themselves of their innate superiority’ over the parvenu elements of the landed classes (4.4).¹⁶⁵

Heraldry could be materialised in a wide variety of contexts. As well as the shields, coats of arms, flags and banners associated with its original military context, it was also displayed on seals, funerary monuments, buildings, glass, textiles and furniture.¹⁶⁶ It found expression in the burgeoning accoutrements of polite living and in the products of newly industrialising crafts; coaches, silverware, glassware and fine textiles.¹⁶⁷ While armorials were a common feature of medieval Gothic architecture, they took on a new significance in the early modern period. Carved stone panels containing coats of arms are found in prominent positions above doorways at a number of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century houses.¹⁶⁸ Reflective of broad European trends, coats of arms were often accompanied by dates or initials of the builders, a practice which both Mytum and Ronnes have characterised as distinctly ‘post-medieval’.¹⁶⁹

In addition to the undated plaque at Clonyn house (Fig. 6.9) another public display of heraldry by the Earl of Westmeath was at Finnea on the Westmeath-Cavan border, where he and his wife Jane Plunkett built a bridge over the River Inny (Fig. 6.15; Fig. 6.16). Finnea was an important fording point. It provided one of the only crossing places from north Westmeath into Longford and Cavan, much of the border of which was demarcated by boglands flanking the river. Finnea thus connected the Earl’s lands in Westmeath with those his family had acquired in Longford and Cavan. Finnea had long had significance as a fording point and this must in part have influenced the granting of market and fair patents to Lord Delvin (Richard Nugent) for the settlement c.1618.

[163] Barry, ‘Guide to Records of the Genealogical Office’, 21, 23.

[164] J. F. R. Day, ‘Primers of honor: heraldry, heraldry books, and English Renaissance literature’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21/1 (1990), 93.

[165] Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558-1641* (London, 1967), 16.

[166] Barry, ‘Guide to Records of the Genealogical Office’, 3, 13; Captain N.R. Wilkinson, ‘Heraldry in its relation to archaeology’, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Fifth Series, 40/1 (1909), 53; David Jenkins (ed.), *The Cambridge history of western textiles* (Cambridge, 2003), 352, 366; Knight of Glin and James Peill, *Irish furniture* (Yale, 2007), 15, 41; Charles Boutell and A. C. Fox-Davies, *English heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1908), 316.

[167] Wilkinson, ‘Heraldry in relation to archaeology’, 54; Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish and Scottish silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark art institute* (New York, 1997), 11; Phillippa Glanville, *Silver in England* (Oxton, 1987), 197.

[168] Terence Reeves-Smyth, ‘Community to privacy: late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland, 1560-1640’, in A. Horning, et al. (eds.), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007); Demesne, Co. Cork, Igtermurtagh, Co. Cork, Ballycown, Co. Offaly, Carstown, Co. Louth.

[169] Hanneke Ronnes, ‘Continental traces at Carrick-on-Suir and contemporary Irish castles’, in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds.), *Ireland in the Renaissance c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), 270; Harold Mytum, ‘Materiality and memory: an archaeological perspective on the popular adoption of linear time in Britain’, *Antiquity*, 81 (2007), 384-8.

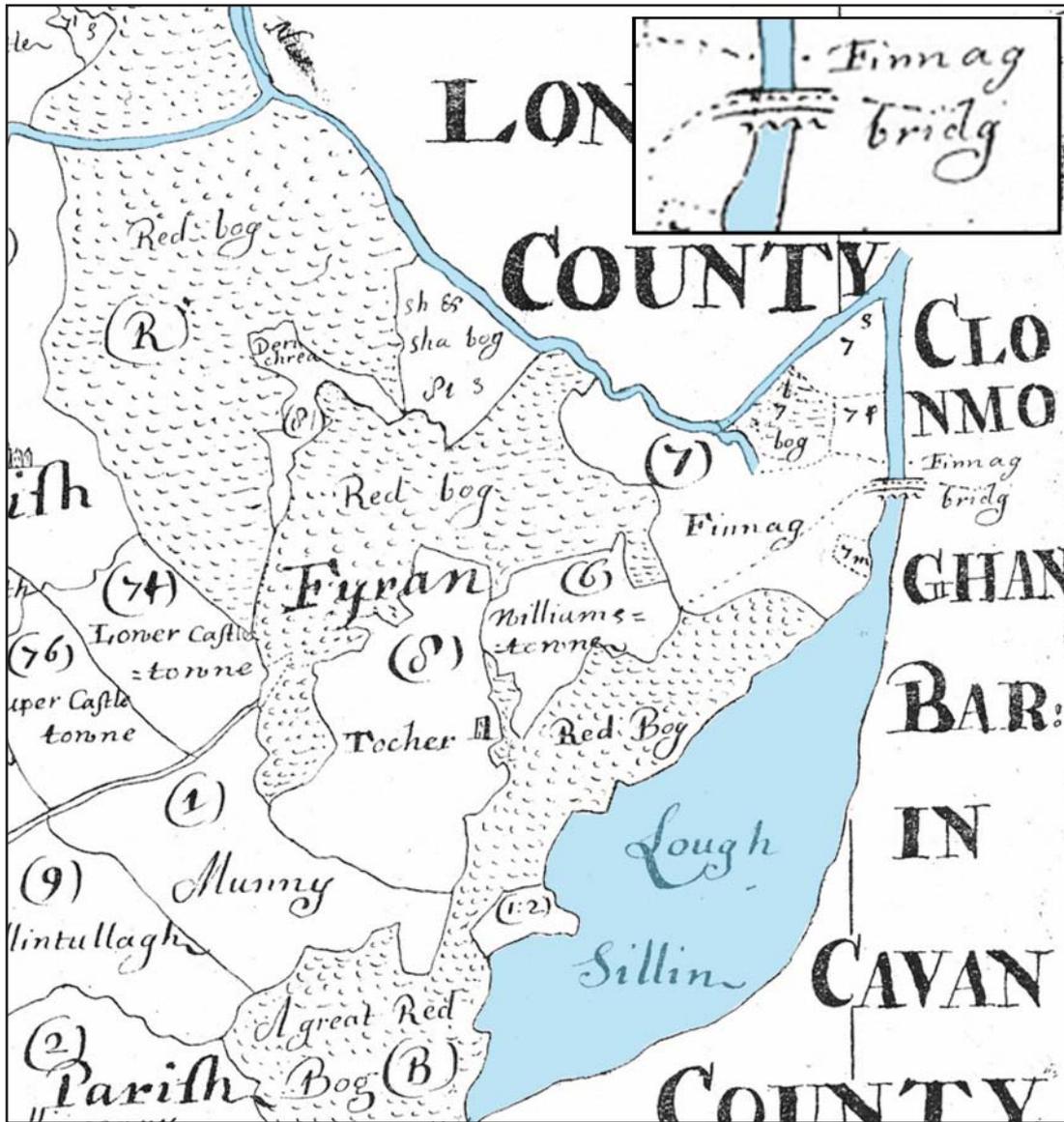


Fig. 6.15: (left)
 Armorial plaque on the bridge at
 Finnea (Manning 1997).

Fig. 6.16: (above)
 Detail of Finnea bridge from
 the Down Survey map. National
 Library of Ireland, Ms. 723-4
 Down Survey parish maps of
 Westmeath.

Delvin was granted a weekly Tuesday market and biannual fairs on the 8th September and Whit Monday.¹⁷⁰

The central part of the bridge was rebuilt in the nineteenth century but original seventeenth-century fabric, complete with wicker-centring, survives to either side. The Nugent-Plunkett armorial is set into the later central span of the structure. The limestone plaque depicts the joint arms of Nugent and Plunkett, flanked to the left by a cockatrice and to the right by a pegasus. The heraldic shield is surmounted by the earl's coronet.¹⁷¹ The display of the carved stone armorial on the bridge was not an isolated example. Some sixty years previously, Sir Henry Sidney embellished his new bridge at Athlone with an elaborate carved frieze the panels of which included a depiction of Sidney's arms along with those of Queen Elizabeth.¹⁷² In 1635 Peter Creagh, son of the mayor Limerick, built a bridge over the Shannon, and commemorated his commission with a stone plaque in Latin naming him as the builder and stating the date.¹⁷³

Perhaps the most blatant display of heraldry was the heraldic funeral. The institution of the heraldic funeral served to publically underscore the social position of the deceased and their family in the local and national community. Just as important as the elaborate funeral procession and ceremony, was the registering of funeral certificates, which served to detail the social position of the dead in a permanent form.¹⁷⁴ The broader Nugent family are well represented in the folios of the Ulster King of Arms' 'funeral entries', unsurprisingly the most detailed entries refer to the titled members of the family, notably Christopher Nugent (14th baron) and his grandson also Christopher (d.1625) (Fig. 6.17).¹⁷⁵ In the case of the latter, the mourners and their servants were listed in the certificate.

The country house was an arena for the display of power and taste, and a locus of conspicuous consumption, one of the discriminating attributes of the early modern nobility.¹⁷⁶ While, the detailed inventories that have allowed investigation of the material worlds of the Ormondes and the FitzGeralds do not survive for the Nugents, a number of other sources make mention of material culture.¹⁷⁷ The will of Lady Mary

[170] Robinson and Macbeth, 'The state of the fairs and markets in Ireland', 57, 115; Conleth Manning, 'The bridge at Finnea and the man who built it', *Archaeology Ireland*, 11/1 (1997).

[171] Manning, 'The bridge at Finnea', 30.

[172] John Bradley, 'Sir Henry Sidney's bridge at Athlone, 1566-7', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds.), *Ireland in the Renaissance c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), 181-8.

[173] Peter O'Keefe and Tom Simington, *Irish stone bridges* (Dublin, 1991), 78.

[174] Raymond Gillespie, 'Funerals and society in early seventeenth century Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxv (1985), 90, 87.

[175] National Library of Ireland (NLI), GO MS 64, f.39, Funerary Entries; National Library of Ireland (NLI), GO MS 68, f.89, Funerary Entries.

[176] J. A. Sharpe, *Early modern England, a social history 1550-1760* (London, 2003), 172.

[177] Jane Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels: A Survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Dublin, 2003).

Nugent¹⁷⁸ (d.1610) details dining accoutrements. It included a ‘white silver salt’ and a diaper tablecloth.¹⁷⁹ From the fourteenth to the late-seventeenth century, the salt was the centrepiece of the table. Salts were large and elaborate containers, often made from silver, silver gilt or pewter.¹⁸⁰ The Nugent collection of fine plate was augmented in 1620, when a warrant was granted to the port at Chester to allow Lord Delvin to transport £300 worth of gilt and silver plate to Ireland for his own use.¹⁸¹ The vast bulk of surviving or recorded early seventeenth-century silver in Ireland is in the form of church plate, both Catholic and Church of Ireland. Of the pre-Cromwellian domestic or household items, spoons are the most numerous, followed by porringers, tankards, goblets, salts and candlesticks.¹⁸² Significantly, most of these items are connected with eating and drinking, underlining the role of commensality in conspicuous consumption and display. The surviving items, as catalogued by Sweeney, tally well with the evidence from contemporary household inventories and wills. The 11th Earl of Kildare (1525-85) counted silver candlesticks and gilt spoons among his goods at Maynooth Castle in 1575.¹⁸³ The Dublin merchant Robert FitzSymonds had ‘one silver tankard’ and ‘one dozen silver spoones’. The tenth earl of Ormond bequeathed silver candlesticks, bowls, dishes, and salts to his wife and daughter.¹⁸⁴

In addition to the accoutrements of fine dining, references to costly items of personal adornment also survive. Lady Mary Nugent’s will also listed ‘two gold rings, a diamond ring, two ‘rings’, and her daughter-in-law Jane Plunkett listed apparel and furniture among the items destroyed or stolen from Clonyn in 1641.¹⁸⁵ As Fenlon’s study of early modern household inventories indicates, furniture and soft furnishings accounted for some of the most expensive items in elite seventeenth-century households.¹⁸⁶ Sir Richard Nugent willed his parliamentary robes to his grandson.¹⁸⁷ But in addition to these fine possessions was the Nugent’s *duanaire* or poetry book. Like many other

[178] Wife of the 14th Baron, Christopher Nugent, and daughter of the 11th Earl of Kildare.

[179] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 137. Diaper was a method of making cloth, usually linen, whereby patterns formed by the different directions of the thread were woven into the fabric.

[180] Amelia Fearn ‘From the salt to the centrepieces, 1580-1780’ in Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (eds.), *Elegant eating four hundred years of dining in style* (London, 2002), 64.

[181] Mary Anne Everett Green, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the reign of James I*, (5 vols, Burlington, 1858, Vol. 3, 150.

[182] Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver: a short descriptive catalogue of surviving Irish church, civic and ceremonial & domestic plate dating from the reigns of James I, Charles I, the Commonwealth, Charles II, James II, William & Mary, William III and Queen Anne: 1603-1714* (Dublin, 1995).

[183] Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels*, 11.

[184] Fenlon, *Goods and chattels*, 16-7.

[185] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 817022r038?>>] accessed Friday 15 June 2012 10:31 PM

[186] Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels*, *passim*.

[187] Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght, ‘Survey of documents in private keeping’, 144.

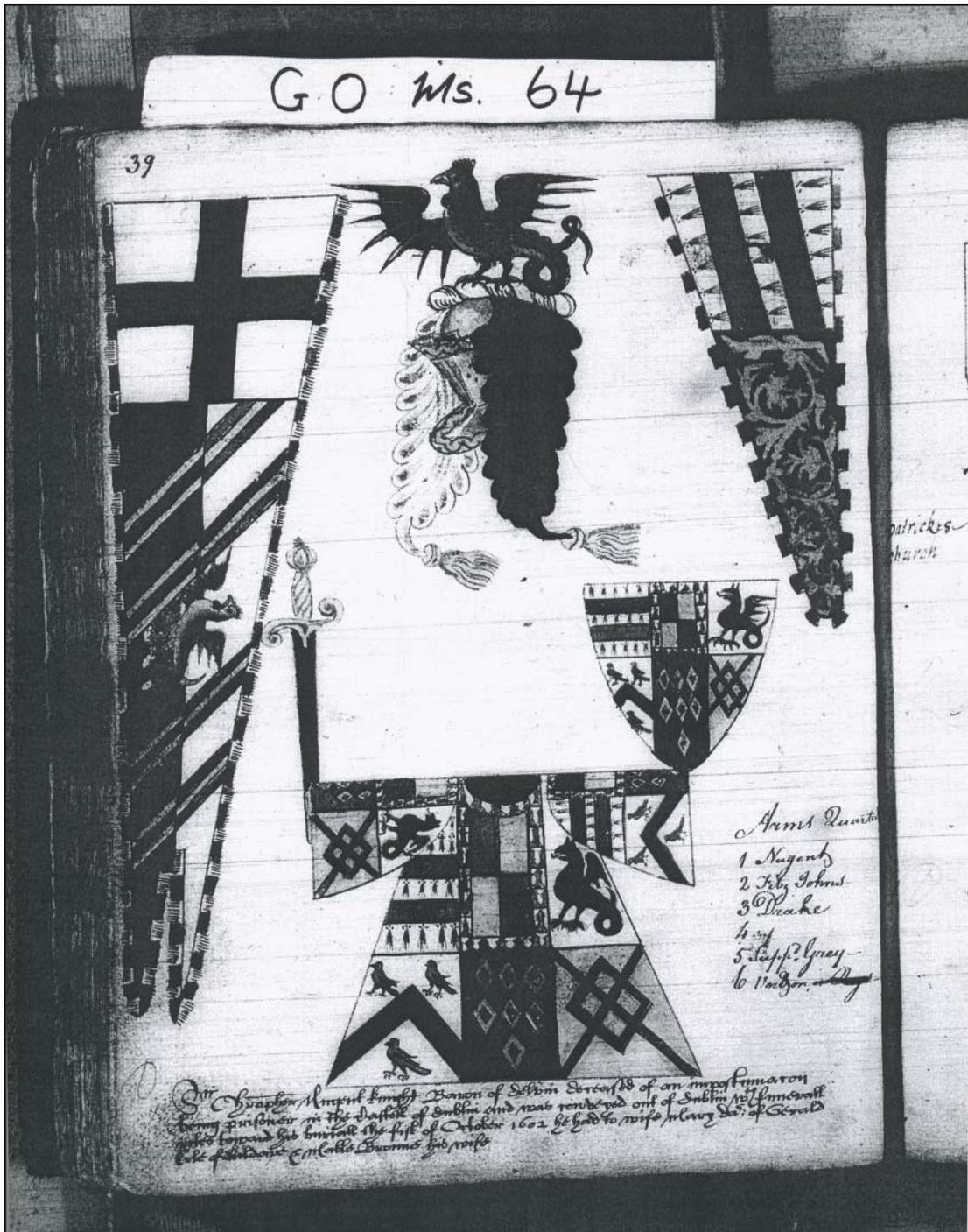


Fig. 6.17: Entry for Christopher Nugent (d. 1602) in the Funeral Entries (National Library of Ireland MS 64 f.39).

Anglo-Norman families, the Nugents were patrons of Gaelic poets.¹⁸⁸ The family were patrons of the Ó Cobhthaigh poets.¹⁸⁹ The Nugent *duanaire* (*duanaire na Nuinseannach*), is held in the NLI.¹⁹⁰ It is late-sixteenth century in date, and features poems dating from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁹¹ The compilation features two poems by Muircheartach Ó Cobhthaigh commissioned by Christopher Nugent (14th baron).¹⁹² The late-sixteenth date is of note, particularly in the context of a letter from 14th Lord Delvin to Lord Burghley in 1591, relating that much of his time was spent in ‘books and building’.¹⁹³

6.8 Summary and Conclusion

As members of the titular nobility, the Nugents of Delvin were near the apex of the pyramidal social hierarchy of the Pale. On the eve of transplantation, the Earl of Westmeath had an extensive patrimony that had been substantially augmented during the dissolution and subsequently by crown land grants. The principal holding of the Nugents of Delvin was their manor of Delvin. This was their original high medieval land grant and it contained their *caput* of Castletowndelvin. Castletowndelvin was a small borough or manorial village settlement, with a masonry castle and a parish church. In the mid sixteenth century, the Nugents moved from their castle to the adjacent townland of Clonyn, where they were residing in a manor house in the first half of the seventeenth century. The original house has since been destroyed, but the remains of an extensive geometric designed landscape survive. The landscape was organised around a series of avenues. It is argued that the site of the original house may have been at the core of this geometric grid, aligned on the medieval castle, thus creating a visual link between the family’s past and present. The removal of the Barons of Delvin from their medieval castle, and the construction of a new house in a landscape park, echoes broader tendencies within Britain and Ireland, and is reflective of the widening social cleavages within Irish society.

The extensive revenues from the Nugent’s extensive estate were channelled into the conspicuous display, befitting his elevated status. Materially this was expressed in a fine house within a designed landscape, filled with sumptuous furniture and plate, but also in the compilation of the family *duanaire*. Heraldry was cultivated and used in multiple contexts including on the house at Clonyn, the bridge at Finnea and in

[188] Simms, ‘Bards and barons’, 180.

[189] Iske, The green cockatrice, 179; Tomás Ua Brádaigh ‘Clann Cobhthaigh’ in *Ríocht na Midhe*, 4 (1967), 26.

[190] National Library of Ireland. NLI Ms. G992. *Duanaire na Nuinseannach*.

[191] [<http://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html>] Accessed 13 January 2012.

[192] <http://bardic.celt.dias.ie/main.html>

[193] Lennon, ‘Nugent, Christopher, fifth baron Delvin (1544-1602), nobleman’; Hamilton, *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland 1588-92* (1855), 420.

the heraldic funeral to express and underscore the family's nobility. The breeding and racing of horses was another expression of nobility. The presence of a townland called Cloonagapple flanking the north of the estate has been identified as a possible racecourse or paddock.

These material expressions of nobility by the Nugent Barons of Delvin and Earls of Westmeath were backgrounded against their increasing marginalisation as Catholics in a Protestant state. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries they maintained an uneasy relationship with the government in Dublin, attempting to reconcile their Catholicism with loyalty to the Crown. The first Earl of Westmeath was faced with difficult choices after the outbreak of violence in 1641. His attempts to negotiate a position between the demands of the Dublin administration and his kinsmen was ultimately unsuccessful, culminating in his own death and the destruction of his house at Clonyn.

Chapter 7: The local transplantation of the O'Davorens

7.0 Introduction

The objective of the local transplantation from the perspective of the land settlement architects was to free up land for incoming transplinters. While the process resulted in a substantial reduction in the number of individuals who held land, many more small landholders of local origin survived in Connacht than elsewhere. Significantly, several of these received grants of land on or near to their patrimonial holdings, meaning that communities in Connacht were not fractured to the same extent as elsewhere. These small landholders generated a distinct material culture, drawing from their pasts and their participation in popular culture, but embracing new elements. This chapter discusses the O'Davoren sept's responses to the transplantation, sketching evidence for O'Davoren interaction with the administration of the land settlement, and detailing evidence for continuity of settlement. The survey and interpretation of settlement in the two O'Davoren transplantation sites and an eighteenth-century chapel built by, James Davoren c.1725 best elucidate the adaptation of members of this sept to their new circumstances.

7.1 The transplantation in the Burren

In 1656, the baronies of Burren and Inchiquin, Co. Clare, were assigned to the inhabitants of County Kerry.¹ Only two transplinters from Kerry, Dame Joane While and Margaret Comyn were set lands in the barony, the remaining transplinters were from Cork, Galway, Limerick, Roscommon, Tipperary and Westmeath.² In total, 23 inter-county and sixteen local transplantees were allocated land in the settlement.³ Many of these did not opt to keep their lands but sold them on to the Connacht purchasers.⁴ Chief among these in Burren were Sir William King⁵, and Ralph Wilson.

Four members of the O'Davoren family engaged with the apparatus of the transplantation. As 'innocent papists', the 1652 Act of Settlement entitled them to receive two thirds of the value of their land back. Transplantation certificates were

[1] Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (Manchester, 1913), 567; Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), 15.

[2] Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, 15.

[3] Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, 15-19.

[4] Ciaran Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society in seventeenth century Clare', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University College, Galway, 1982, 83; John Cunningham, *Conquest and land in Ireland: the transplantation to Connacht, 1649-1680* (Suffolk, 2011), 116.

[5] See Thomas J. Westropp, 'Notes on the Sheriffs of County Clare, 1570-1700', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland Fifth Series*, 1/1 (1890), 72.

issued to Cyprian,⁶ Hugh, Thady and William Davoren.⁷ Of these four, only Hugh and Cyprian are named in the Ormond List, where they were recorded to have received their final settlements on 31 August 1657 and on the 3 May 1656 respectively.⁸ The Loughrea commissioners allocated 148 plantation acres of land to Hugh in disparate parcels across four civil parishes. His kinsman Cyprian Davoren of 'Maherinelane'⁹ received 211 acres in two parcels, in two parishes (see table).¹⁰

Both Cyprian and Hugh were confirmed land under the Restoration Settlement but in both cases the portion of land they claimed back was less than that which they had been originally decreed, suggesting that they sold part of their grants. In 1676, Cyprian Davoren was confirmed 46 Irish plantation acres in 'Lissdownvarnagh als Lisdourecarra and Ballyteige' under the Act of Settlement and Explanation.¹¹ In the same year the Commissioners of the Restoration land settlement confirmed to Constance Davoren the lands set out to his father Hugh in Lislarheen.¹²

One striking outcome of the transplantation was the reduction of the numbers of O'Davoren freeholders after the settlement. As noted above, c.1637 ten members of the sept were returned as freeholders. This was reduced to just two by 1660. The O'Davoren case is part of broader pattern of significant reduction of the number of freeholders in the Books of Survey and Distribution (BSD) between 1641 and 1660. As Ó Murchadha has discussed, there are different explanations for this phenomenon. The depopulation of the early 1650s goes some way to explaining it, but the manner in which freeholders engaged with the process was also key. Where land was collectively held and farmed, one member of the group might obtain the land in his name, while occupation continued much as before.¹³ Many freeholders also simply refused to engage

[6] The names Constance/Constantine and Cyprian are used variously in the different sources to describe this individual. In order to distinguish him from Hugh O'Davoren's son Constance the name Cyprian will be used here.

[7] Irish Records Commission, *The 11th, 12th and 13th and the 14th and 15th reports from the commissioners appointed by his majesty to execute the measures recommended in an address of the house of commons respecting the public records of Ireland 1821-1823 and 1824-1825*, 582

[8] James Butler Ormonde, et al., *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde: preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (8 vols, London, 1902), Vol. 2, 131, 135. Cyprian O Duneran of Maherinelane

[9] Called of Moherineagh in the Ormond List. The BSD lists the O'Davorens holding a land unit called Moherineagh in the denomination of Noughaval. Could this be the Maherinelane that Simington list in his table?

[10] Simington, *The Transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58*, pp. 18; Books of Survey and Distribution, Quit Rent Office, Headford Collection, third set, Co. Clare, Ms 2B 33 18, folio X-X, 17.

[11] Irish Records Commission, *The 11th -15th reports*, 243.

[12] James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1893), 391.

[13] Ó Murchadha, *Land and society*, 70.



Fig. 7.1 (above): Noughaval on the first edition map (1840).

Fig. 7.2 (below): Plan of the house excavated by Ní Ghabhláin at Noughaval (1992).

with the bureaucracy of the land settlement, rather ‘relying on their entrenched position as occupiers to fend off the claims of incoming transplanters’.¹⁴

In the case of the O’Davorens, the fact that the two most senior members of the sept succeeded in obtaining and securing grants of land under the settlement is perhaps suggestive that they claimed it on behalf of themselves and more junior kin. Other members of the sept would appear not to have applied for settlements, but managed to maintain occupancy of parts of their ancestral land primarily through renting.

Between 1650 and 1700

a combination of historical sources show that the principal sites within the O’Davoren patrimonial lands were still being occupied by members of the family. Cahermacnaghten, in the Burren uplands, was listed as the residence of ‘Gillerneafe oge O’Davoren, gent’ in the 1660 poll tax. He was again listed as ‘of Cahirmckneyhad

[14] Ó Murchadha, *Land and society*, 72.

[Cahermacnaghten]' in 1669 in a bond of £40 from Donough O'Brien. The Finavarra court leet panel of 1678 lists two members of the family, Patrike and Mortough as being of Cahir, which may be Cahermacnaghten.¹⁵ In 1668, 1670 and 1674, one William O'Davoren, gent was listed as being resident in the denomination of Lissylishen. Two of the documents are leases. In 1670, William Davoren made a rental contract for the denominations of the 'half sessie or third of a plowland of Kilcolmanbarry, in the parish of Kilcorney' with Captain Thomas Walcott, and in 1674 he made a contract to rent 'the two cessies of Ballymohony alias Beanroe [Ballymahony, Binnroe], being one plowland and the third part of one, in the parish of Noughavaile [Noughaval]' from Donogh O'Brien of Leamaneh.¹⁶ Kilcolmanbarry had comprised part of the ancestral O'Davoren holding in 1606. In 1699, Mortagh and Dermott O'Davoren of Noughaval jointly rented 'a cartron in Kiltanan [Kiltennan], a cartron and a half called Carnaukey, half a sessie of Carrowkeile, and a half a sessie of Li... , containing one quarter and twelfth part of a quarter, all being part of the four sessies of Noghavale' from the Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Kilfenora, John Vesey.¹⁷

This documentary evidence for continuity of occupation on the O'Davoren lands is corroborated by archaeological evidence from Noughaval (Fig. 7.1). The settlement around the medieval church continued through the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the 1659 poll tax, Noughaval had the highest recorded population for any denomination returned in the Burren, seconded by Finavarra. Forty-two individuals were recorded for the purpose of the tax. In his analysis of the document, W.J. Smyth established that it only comprises a partial listing of population excluding children under the age of fifteen, as well as single women and most single adult men who are not servants or otherwise gainfully employed. Smyth suggests that actual population can be arrived at by multiplying the figure by 2.5, giving Noughaval an estimated population of 105 women, children and men. As late as 1837, Samuel Lewis reported that there were 408 people living in the parish of Noughaval, 64 of who lived 'in the hamlet'.¹⁸

Archaeological evidence for continuity at the site was uncovered by Sineád Ní Ghabhláin as part of her doctoral research on the genesis and development of the parish in the diocese of Kilfenora.¹⁹ Ní Ghabhláin surveyed the settlement at Noughaval and excavated one of the house sites.²⁰ The excavation targeted a rectangular building

[15] John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inbiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961), 368; Chris O'Mahony, 'Finavarra court panel', *The Other Clare*, 25 (2001), 49-50.

[16] Ainsworth *Inbiquin MS*, 371-2

[17] Ainsworth *Inbiquin MS*, 405.

[18] Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, (2 vols, London, 1837), Vol. 2, 444-5.

[19] Sinead Ní Ghabhláin, 'Church, parish and polity: the medieval diocese of Kilfenora, Ireland', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1995.

[20] Sinead Ní Ghabhláin, 'Excavation of House Site at Noughaval', 8.

located within a small circular enclosure and situated 50m southeast of the medieval church and graveyard enclosure (Fig. 7.2). The poor survival of distinct archaeological strata, partly due to soil leaching, hampered the interpretation of the deposits uncovered, but nevertheless some important information was obtained.

The excavation clarified the morphology of the house. It was a rectangular structure, 8.9 x 5.8m E-W externally. The walls were 0.9m thick and constructed using two outer skins of dressed and coursed masonry with a rubble core. Mortar was used in the wall construction. One definite portal was found in the centre of the south wall and the possibility of an opposing door in the north wall was noted but could not be confirmed. The house was internally partitioned by a wall sectioning off a small room, 4.2 x 1.9m, in the western end of the structure.²¹ Excavation of the house site uncovered a series of deposits representing both the construction and occupation of the house, as well as activity predating the structure. The earliest phase of activity uncovered in the excavation comprised a number of occupation deposits dated on the basis of artifactual evidence to between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. A thirteenth-century polished bone dice, found in one of the oldest deposits, comprised the principal dating evidence. The house itself was dated to the seventeenth century on the basis of a sherd of North Devon gravel-tempered ware found in a layer of mortar mix laid under the walls of the structure to provide an even surface for the walls and floor. Occupation deposits from the house indicated that it was in use for at least 200 years from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.²²

7.2 The O'Davorens as the underground gentry

What of the holdings of Cyprian and Hugh who succeeded in obtaining grants of land in the Cromwellian land settlement?

Constance O'Davoren was the eldest son and heir of Hugh O'Davoren 'the transplanted'. His grandfather was Constance of the 1606 deed, who died in 1634.²³ Hugh was granted several parcels of land as a transplanted person. He died between 1660 and 1676, when his son Constance received confirmation of his title to the land.²⁴ Constance was prominent in the Finavarra manor court. In 1690, the high sheriff of Clare, Sir Donogh O'Brien of Leamaneh, listed Constance among the 'chief gentlemen and ablest persons' in Burren to be summoned to supply horses to King James.

[21] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Excavation of House Site at Noughaval', 8.

[22] Ní Ghabhláin, 'Excavation of House Site at Noughaval', 25-9.

[23] Gerard Slevin, 'Funeral entries from County Clare in the seventeenth century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* XVII (1975), 64.

[24] Frost, *History and topography*, 391.

Constance was not listed among the Clare regiments that fought for King James,²⁵ although we know that he and two of his kinsmen did fight in the war because they were granted pardon under the Articles of Limerick.²⁶ The Catholic parish priest of Gleninagh was listed as residing at Constances' house in 1704.

We know somewhat more about Constance's cousin James Davoren.²⁷ James, or Seamus Davoren was born about 1666, possibly at Lissylisheen, where his father, William, was noted as residing in 1668, 1670 and 1674.²⁸ In 1686, aged about twenty, he married Eileanóir ní hAichir of Cahermacon, near Kilnaboy.²⁹ Like Constance, he was summoned to supply horses to King James in 1690 and, as noted above, he was granted a pardon under the Articles of Limerick in 1694. After the war, Davoren worked as a land agent for the O'Briens of Leamaneh and Dromoland, overseeing their Burren estate. In addition to managing O'Brien's tenants, Davoren would appear to have had tenants of his own.³⁰ Reference is made in the Calendar of the Inchiquin MS to his 'tenants in Glinvane'. By 1700 he was pronounced to be 'a powerful man now-a days'.³¹ He was active in sponsoring the Catholic clergy in Burren. In 1704, he provided as surety for two priests active in the Dioceses of Kilfenora: William O'Daly 'pretended parish priest' of Killfenora, Kiltoraght, and Noughaval, and Connor O'Brien, priest of Killshanny and Killaspuglonane.³² His participation in popular culture is evidenced in his letters to Catherine.³³ Macnamara, referencing his (now destroyed) will, noted that at the time of his death he had 'an enormous estate'. He made his will on 12 May 1725, and died just over two months later on 31 July.³⁴

Constance and James Davoren epitomise what Kevin Whelan has termed the 'underground gentry': the descendants of the late-medieval, Catholic landowning families, who by the eighteenth century had often fallen to the rank of middlemen or substantial farmers. This stratum remained as the de facto leader of rural Catholic society, drawing their position from the persistent vertical social ties and the reservoir

[25] Frost, *History and topography*, 564; John D'Alton, *Illustrations, historical and genealogical of King James' Irish army list* (2 vols, Dublin, 1889), *passim*.

[26] J. G. Simms, 'Irish Jacobites', *Analectica Hibernica* 22 (1960), 93, 123.

[27] Their paternal grandfathers Aodh and Consnamhach of the 1606 partition deed were brothers.

[28] Genealogical information based on Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158-201; Ainsworth *Inchiquin MS*, 366, 371, 374.

[29] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158.

[30] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 66.

[31] Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin MS*, 55.

[32] [http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/popish_parish_priests_1704_list.htm] Accessed 12 June, 2012, 23:14.

[33] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 136; In June 1718 for example, he related 'what I drank at Quin fair and the day before has so disordered me that I am not able to wait of your lapp. this day'.

[34] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158.

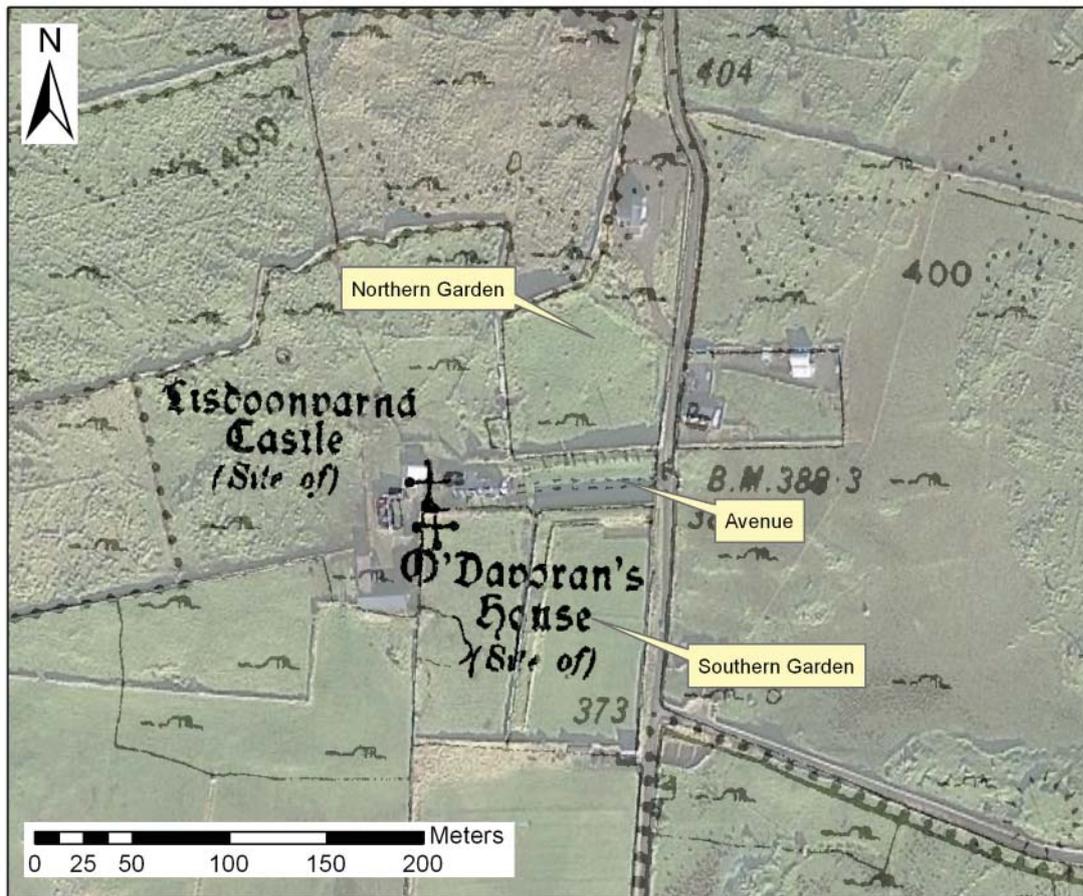


Fig. 7.3 (top): Site of James Davoren's house at Lisdoonvaran, Kilmoon parish.

Fig. 7.4 (bottom left): Lisdoonvarna House marked on the Grand Jury Map (1787).

Fig. 7.5 (bottom right): Site of O'Davoren's house marked on the first edition OS map (1840).

of memory sustaining them.³⁵ The contemporary vernacular appellation for these middlemen is instructive: *tiarna beag*, meaning little lords and Anglicised 'terny beg'.³⁶ The use of the common sixteenth-century title for the lords of a territory is significant in that in many instances underground gentry did maintain some of the attributes of old *tighearna* or lords.³⁷ They were dispensers of patronage, facilitating access to

[35] Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic Middlemen in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 10 (1995), 7-8.

[36] David Dickson, 'Middlemen', in Thomas Bartlett and D. W. Hayton (eds.), *Penal era and goldern age* (Belfast, 1979), 163.

[37] For the continuing valency of Gaelic titles see Whelan, 'Underground gentry', 21.

jobs, sublease, conacres or cottiers holdings. Informally, or in their role as landlord's agents, they served as arbitrators, and they settled disputes. Unlike the interloping Cromwellians or Anglicised native landlords, who had long retreated to the realm of the polite, middlemen were immersed in the popular culture of their communities. Their relationships with their clients took on a more personal, paternal tenor, turning on the kin and communal bonds that underpinned the moral economy.³⁸ These vertical bonds were cemented by a reservoir of memory. The underground gentry were in Whelan's words 'obsessed to the point of neurosis with ancestry' and family background.³⁹ In their ability to bridge gaps between the landlord and the sub-tenant, between the polite and popular cultural realms, middlemen families served as cultural, social and economic brokers.

7.3 Lisdoonvarna: 'an extensive building called the house of O'Davoren'

Cyprian Davoren was one of six individuals who were allocated land in the two quarters of Lisdoonvarna and Ballyteig (roughly coterminous with the nineteenth-century townlands of the same names) in the southern part of Kilmoon parish. He received 46 plantation acres. It seems that Cyprian did not take up his holding immediately. In the 1660 poll tax, for example, a James Butler was listed as the *tituladoe* in the denomination.⁴⁰ It was not until 1696, that an O'Davoren, namely James, Cyprian's nephew, was recorded as residing at Lisdoonvarna, although it is of course possible that they had settled the holding beforehand.⁴¹ The denomination of Lisdoonvarna contained a towerhouse which, according to a dedicatory plaque reputed to be from the castle, was built by one Finian FitzPatrick in 1619.⁴² The towerhouse may have been demolished in 1651, when the Burren was laid waste and its habitations burned by Charles Coote and Hardress Waller.⁴³ One of the O'Davorens, probably James (d.1725) built a new house adjacent to the castle site in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The building was marked 'O'Davorens House' on the 1840 OS map.

As nothing remains of either the castle or the later O'Davoren house, we are reliant on historical accounts to get a sense of the buildings. The earliest depiction of the house is on Henry Pelham's 1787 Grand Jury map of Clare, where it was annotated 'Lisdownovarna Ho', the castle was not shown (Fig. 7.4). By 1840, both the O'Davorens House and the FitzPatrick castle would seem to have been badly ruined.

[38] Whelan, 'Underground gentry', 25.

[39] Whelan, 'Underground gentry', 15.

[40] Seamus Pender, *A census of Ireland, circa 1659. With supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances, 1660-1661* (Dublin, 1939), 187.

[41] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 402.

[42] The plaque is now inserted into a wall in Ennistymon.

[43] Cunningham, *Conquest and land*, 24.

The Ordnance Survey (OS) map uses a faint dotted line to indicate the site of both the towerhouse and 'O'Davoren's house', and the sites are simply marked by crosses on the 25-inch OS (1895) (Fig. 7.3; Fig. 7.5). Writing in 1837, Samuel Lewis reported that 'There are also considerable remains of the old castle of Lisdoonvarna, with its terraces, garden walls, and fortifications'.⁴⁴ In 1839, O Donovan related that he had been shown the site of the castle ('no part of it remains') and the 'site of a dwelling house belonging to the ... [O'Davorens] at a later period'.⁴⁵ Frost noted in 1893, that 'the townland of Lisdoonvarna contains the ruins of an extensive building called the house of O'Davoren, in which the last of the family died about the year 1750'.⁴⁶

No traces of the castle or the house remain, both are now under a modern farmyard. However, as Lewis noted, the castle/house had an associated designed garden landscape. The site was reached via a short, broad avenue (100m long, 25m wide), which was perpendicular to the main road. This avenue was flanked, to the N and S, by two terraced gardens. The northern garden is polygonal in plan and is c.85m in diameter. It exhibits much ruined terraces c.7m wide running the entire course of its perimeter. The southern garden is quadrangular in plan (125m by 62m). It is orientated N-S and features a terrace (c.9m wide) along its N and W sides.

Both gardens show evidence for multiple phases of construction. The southern garden in particular would seem to have been considerably renovated in the nineteenth century; a date stone marked 1839 was set into one of its entrances. However, its western wall in particular exhibits a characteristically early modern building style. Here, the wall is constructed from two outer skins of masonry with a rubble core.⁴⁷ It is tempting to associate the gardens with the construction of the towerhouse in the first half of the seventeenth century. The elaborate designed gardens at Leamaneh, laid out by Máire Rua O'Brien, provide an excellent contemporary parallel for such endeavours.⁴⁸ We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that they were constructed by James Davoren in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Even if O'Davoren did not construct the gardens, it is interesting that he chose to build his house immediately adjacent to the

[44] Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, vol. 2, 183.

[45] Maureen Comber (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis, 1997), 70.

[46] Frost, *History and topography*, 31.

[47] Richard K. Morriss, *The Archaeology of Buildings* (Stroud, 2000), 33.

[48] Elizabeth C. Reetz, 'The elite landscape of Leamaneh Castle, County Clare', unpublished M.A. thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2003.

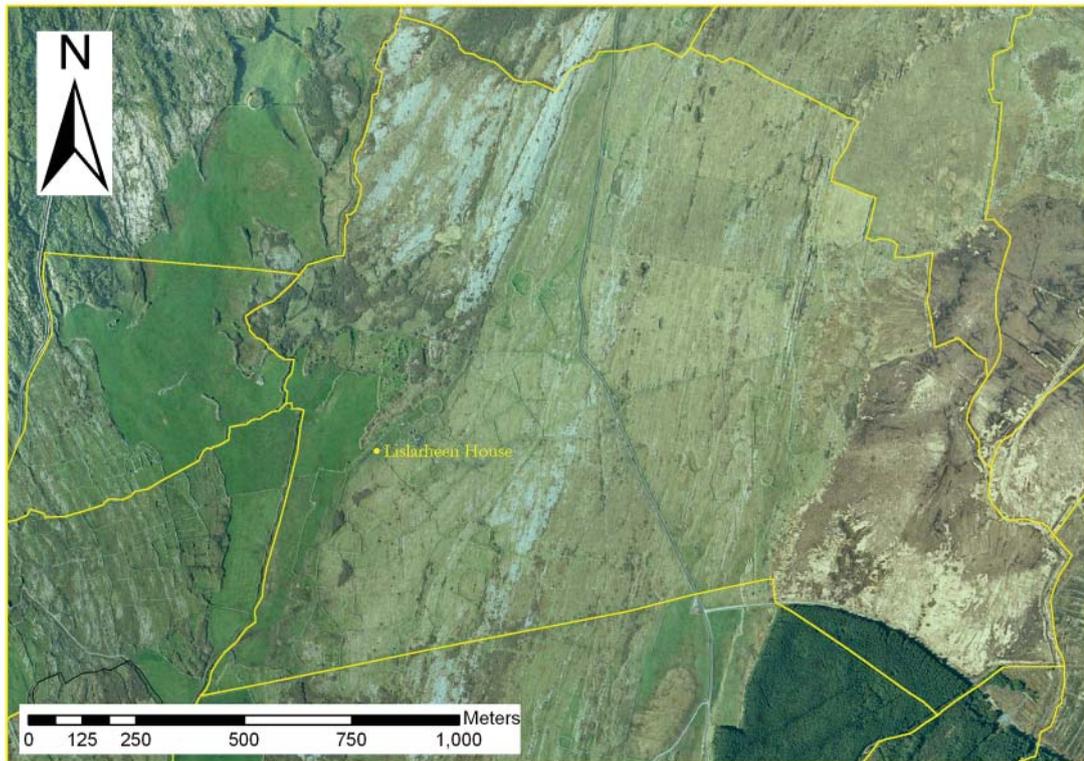


Fig. 7.6 (top): OS aerial imagery of Lislarheenmore townland. The townland boundaries are marked in yellow.

Fig. 7.7 (bottom): Lislarheenmore townland on the 5km OS map.

castle, aligned on the avenue, thus incorporating his new house into an extant designed landscape.

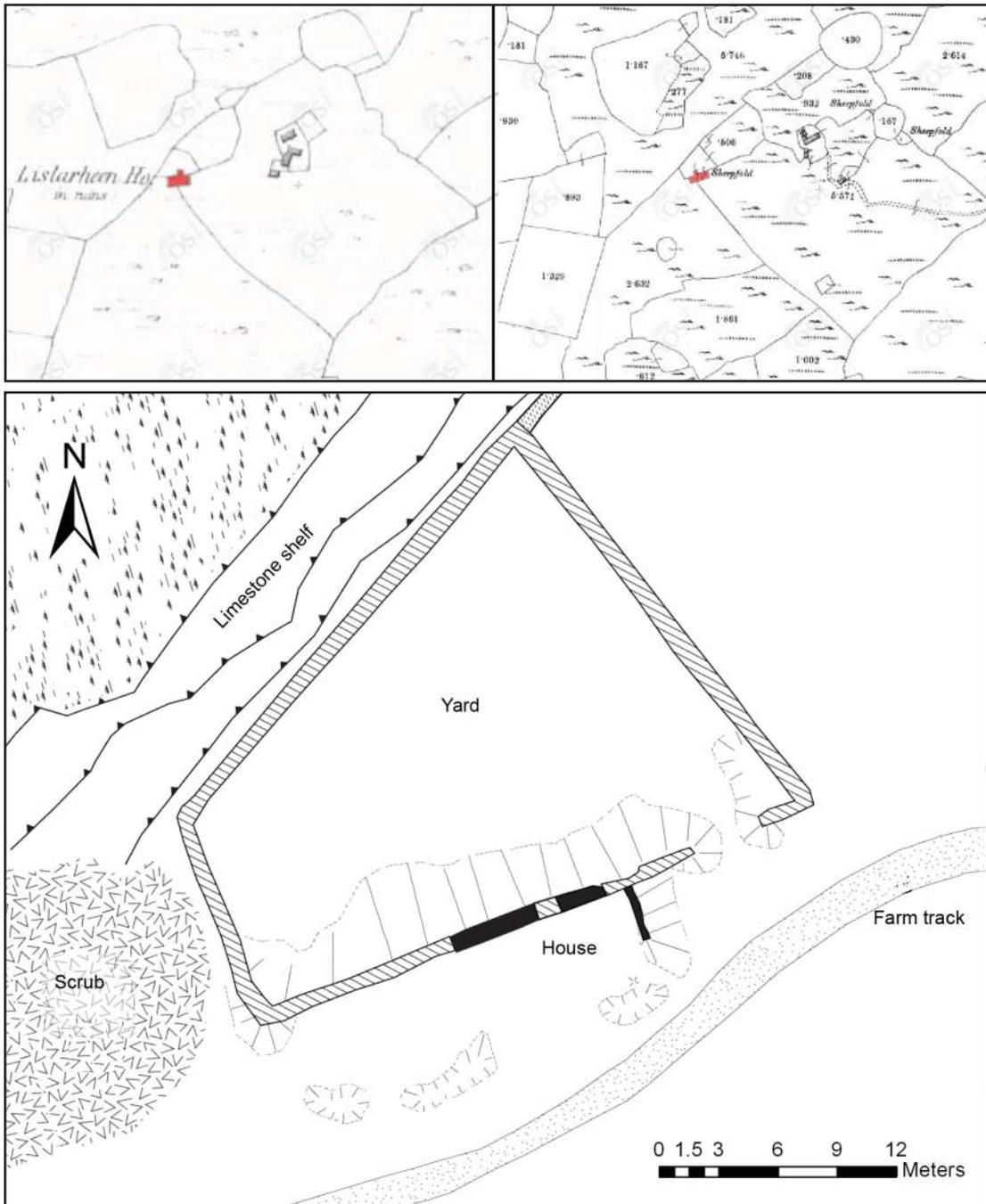
7.4 Hugh O'Davoren's House at Lislarheenmore

Issues of ambiguity over building authorship are less prevalent at the second O'Davoren transplantation site Lislarheenmore. In contrast to Lisdoonvarna, the site lacks any clear archaeological or historical evidence for occupation in the early seventeenth century, thus it would seem to have been a 'greenfield site' when acquired by Hugh O'Davoren in 1567. The land which Hugh O'Davoren received, and which his son Constance had confirmed under the Restoration Act of Settlement was situated in the Caher valley, c.6km northwest of Cahermacnaghten in the northwestern area of the Burren. The quarter of 'Lislarhee' which Hugh was allotted corresponds with the nineteenth-century townland of Lislarheenmore. The townland, which lies on the eastern slopes of the Caher Valley, is irregular in plan and is c.1.5km N-S by c.1.3km E-W, covering some 504 statute acres.

The underlying geology is composed of Carboniferous limestones with an outcrop of Namurian shale in the eastern uplands. Bands of limestone aligned N-S along the eastern slopes of the Caher Valley give the townland topography its distinctive stepped character. The uplands to the east of Lislarheen stand at 275m Ordnance Datum (OD) sloping down to the limestone floor, which is 170m OD. The eastern part of the townland is underlain by poorer draining shales, covered by peat bog. The remainder of the townland is covered in a thin mantle of rendzina soils, except for the valley bottom which has a deeper layer of gleys with a depth of c.0.60m.⁴⁹ The denomination contains a number of springs and short sections of above ground streams along the valley floor.

At the time of the Stafford Survey, the portion of land which was later allocated to Hugh O'Davoren comprised part of a larger denomination, measuring two quarters, called 'Lislarhee'. This was divided into 'Lislarhee 1 qr being pt of the Parish of Drumkrehy' and 'Lislarhee 1 qr being part of Killeny Parish'. The former being classified as rocky heathy pasture and the latter as rocky pasture. Both quarters were noted as being one-third profitable. Prior to the Cromwellian Settlement, the denominations were part of the extensive Burren estate of Donogh O Bryan. After the settlement the denomination was divided. One quarter, Lislarheenmore, was allocated to

[49] Ljubica Jelacic, 'Investigations towards the reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore, north-western Burren, Co. Clare', unpublished Thesis M. Sc. Thesis, University College, Galway, 1991, 8.



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Fig. 7.8 (top left): Lislarheen House on the first edition OS map (1840).

Fig. 7.9 (top right): Lislarheen House on the 25-inch OS map (1894).

Fig. 7.10 (bottom): Plan of Lislarheen House.

Hugh O'Davoren and the other quarter, Lislarheenbeg, was allocated to the Connacht purchaser Sir William King.

Lislarheenmore would seem to have been occupied by Hugh O'Davoren by the end of the 1650s, because in the 1660 poll tax he was listed as the *tituladoc* in the denomination.⁵⁰ It would seem to have been occupied by the O'Davorens until the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1812, the *Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser* carried an obituary for 'J. Davoren of Lislarhee Esq.' who died aged 73 years, suggesting that c.1739 Lislarheenmore was still serving as a residence for members of the family.⁵¹ The denomination passed out of O'Davoren ownership in 1773, when James Davoren of Craggaridane gent.⁵² (the above Hugh's great grandson), sold Lislarheenmore to one Francis McNemara of Doolin for the sum of £1,500.⁵³

The O Davoren settlement at Lislarheen was focused on what is noted on the first edition 1840 O.S. map as 'Lislarheen House'. The house is depicted on the 1840 first edition map as a small ruined T-plan building. By the time the 25-inch map was being surveyed (1895), the structure was in use as a sheep fold. The house, then, had a life span of c.100 years from its construction probably after the Restoration land settlement c.1676 to the period of its abandonment c.1770. The house, only fragments of which are now extant, is situated on the lower slopes of the valley near the junction between the thin rendzinas and the thick gleys of the valley floor. It is carefully sited in a dip behind a shoulder of ground, sheltering it from the prevailing south-westerly winds,⁵⁴ and it is within 200m of a number of water sources.

The remains of the structure are lamentably fragmentary, in part owing to the removal of material from the building to construct the later eighteenth- or nineteenth-century cottages. The outline of the rectangular body of the house can be discerned, but the northern T-projection, so clearly depicted on the 1840 OS map, has largely been robbed out and its foundations are hidden under rubble. The house is modest in scale. Its dimensions are c.9m east-west by c.6m north-south. If we accept the 1840 OS map as reasonably accurate, the outshot would have measured c.3m square. The north and east walls of the building are the best preserved, providing evidence of the construction method employed in the house. The walls are c.0.8m in width, and composed of flat-bedded limestone rubble bound with mortar. The 1895 25-inch OS map shows an internal wall dividing the house into roughly equally sized rooms, but it is difficult to say

[50] Pender, *Census*, 187.

[51] *Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser*, Wed. 16 Sept 1812

[52] This James Davoren was called Seamus Bán in Muircheartach O Bhriain's pedigree of the sept. Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 164.

[53] Registry of Deeds Book 298 Page 366 No.97730.

[54] Jelčić, 'Reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore', 7.



Fig. 7.11 (top): North wall of Lislarheen House, looking south.
Fig. 7.12 (bottom): East wall of Lislarheen House, looking east.

whether this was original to the building or a later wall inserted to contain stock. The location of the entrance(s) is uncertain.

The tradition of building stone houses was well established in the Burren in the early modern period, both within the flourishing late-medieval and early modern tower house tradition, and in the smaller stone buildings found in and around cahers and parish churches, some of which have been treated by FitzPatrick (4.4.2.2).⁵⁵ The house at Lislarheenmore bears certain similarities to these late-medieval structures, particularly in terms of scale. The group of rectangular buildings associated with Burren cahers discussed by FitzPatrick (the *tighe móir*) for example, ranged between 12 by 5m and 6.2 by 4.4m internally.⁵⁶ The dimensions of 9 by 6m for the Lislarheen House fit comfortably within this range; it is almost identical in scale to a house excavated by Ní Ghabhláin at the parish church and market centre of Noughaval (8.75 by 6m) (Fig. 7.2). The house is not dissimilar in scale to the later, nineteenth-century vernacular dwellings, recently discussed by O'Reilly, which tended to be c.3.5-4m wide (internally) and 12-14m long.⁵⁷

The house at Lislarheen diverges in several important aspects from its Burren antecedents. The construction method of its walls contrasts with that seen at other stone house sites investigated in the area. The late-medieval and early modern structures excavated at Caherconnell, Noughaval, Cahermacnaghten in the Burren, and at Ballycally in Bunratty, all had walls with two outer skins of masonry filled with a rubble core, and exhibited rounded corners.⁵⁸ While they had similar wall widths to Lislarheen House, none exhibited clear evidence of mortar, and the excavators variously suggested the use of clay bonding, or opined that the surviving masonry comprised a dwarf wall over which lay a sod structure, perhaps roofed with crucks. A variant on the double skin and rubble core method, but using mortar bonding, is also in evidence in the more substantial *Cabhail Tighe Breac* at Cahermacnaghten, and it is characteristic of later medieval building in Ireland and Britain.⁵⁹

One implication of the mortar bound, mass walls of Lislarheen House, is that they could have been built to a greater height than clay bonded examples, facilitating the

[55] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish 'ring-fort' ', *Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2009), 289, 298-303.

[56] FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement', 299-300.

[57] Barry O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from c.1800 ', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 111C (2011), 197.

[58] Michelle Comber and Graham Hull, 'Caherconnell Cashel, Caherconnell, Carron, Co. Clare, Final Archaeological Excavation Report' (2008), 9.; Etienne Rynne, 'Some Destroyed Sites at Shannon Airport, County Clare', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C*, 63 (1962 - 1964), 251.

[59] Richard K. Morriss, *The archaeology of buildings* (Charleston, 2000), 33; Elizabeth FitzPatrick, Preliminary report: Archaeological excavation at Cabhail Tighe Breac, Cahermacnaghten, Burren, Co. Clare (2008), 10.

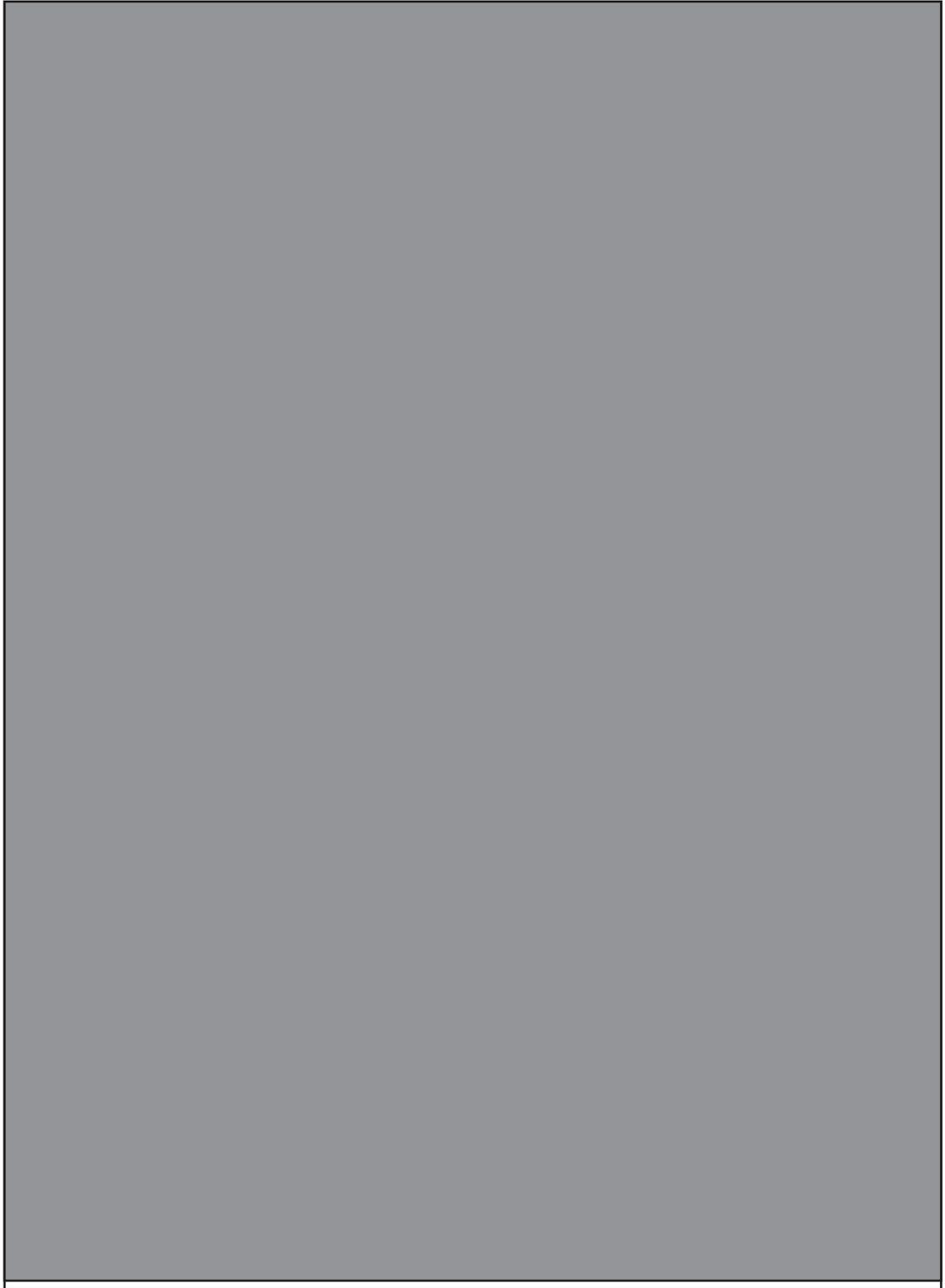


Fig. 7.13: Farmyard types in Ireland after Ó Danachair (1981).

addition of a first floor level. This is also suggested by the building's plan, which contrasts with both the late-medieval Burren houses and typical later vernacular cottages.⁶⁰ All the buildings investigated by FitzPatrick are rectangular in plan, and a significant number of them have rounded corners. In contrast, Lislarheen House has a T-plan with right angled corners. The function of the T outshot is important for understanding the form of the building, and the way that it worked. While we cannot definitively identify its function, there are several possibilities. It may have been a porch, a bed-outshot, a room or a stair-outshot.

Another possibility is suggested in a class of building called a 'cross house' that appear in the returns of the Thomond manor courts. Two buildings, one at Cahiracon and a second at Innishdie were described in some detail. The first was 'a cross house 30 foot long with a double and single chimneys, and a gable, and yet not according to the covenant for want of slating'. The second comprised a house

of four couples, seven foot high in the leg or thereabouts and about fifty feet long in the floor, and a cross house that was thereunto adjoining of two couples and a half that had a stone wall thereunto, there being twist the said house a double chimney the lower part thereof being of stone and mortar and the upper part being of timber.⁶¹

The written descriptions seem to suggest either T- or L-plan structures, with the two wings sharing a 'double chimney'. It is not clear what the walls were made from in the above accounts, although the reference to slating, or the lack thereof, in the first house suggests it could have had stone walls, a common stipulation (and point of contention) on Thomond manor rentals. The second house was at least partially constructed from stone, although this could have been restricted to the double chimney. Both houses were somewhat larger in scale than Lislarheen.

In light of its scale (c.3m²) and the contemporary architectural comparisons, it is most likely that the 'T' served as a stair outshot. There are numerous examples of Irish T-plan houses dating to the seventeenth century. In common with L-plan houses, their distinguishing feature was a rear projection, which usually carried a wooden stair. While the bulk of those houses discussed in the literature are of a much grander scale than Lislarheen, there are a number of comparable examples, one the best of which is Graney, near Castledermot, Co. Kildare (KD040-013----). Graney is a T-plan house c.13 by 7m, with an outshot c.4 by 4m.⁶² It has two stories and a garret, and gable chimneys at either end. A local, but earlier, parallel for the practice of locating that stair

[60] O Reilly, 'Heath and home', 193; Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Traditional forms of the dwelling house in Ireland' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 102 (1972), 77. Fidelma Mullane, 'Vernacular architecture' in Colin Rynne et al (eds) *The Heritage of Ireland* (Cork, 2000), 75.

[61] O'Mahony, 'Thomond manor courts', 149-50.

[62] Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish houses of the middle size* (London, 1976), 65.

in a projecting tower can also be seen in the L-plan towerhouse at Gleninagh, some 7km to the north of Lislarheenmore.

Lislarheen House had a yard attached to its northern side (Fig. 7.10). The yard was trapezoidal in plan, closely following the immediate contours of the local topography. Its northern wall was built along the lip of a shallow limestone shelf. The yard is 31m long and 23.5m wide at its eastern end and 8m wide at its western end. It is bound by a dry-stone wall 1.8m high and \approx 0.4m thick, constructed from roughly coursed limestone rubble. It has an entrance in its south wall, immediately east of the house, \approx 3m wide. The walls are much collapsed here and it is not clear whether the yard was originally closed with a gate.

The notion of appending an enclosed space to a dwelling house was clearly not a new one. It had a long heritage, locally manifested in *catbair*, *mothair* and towerhouse bawns. The yard at Lislarheen is distinctive in that the house was not within the enclosure. Rather, in a similar manner to the 'court-yard farmsteads' treated by Ó Danachair, the house itself forms one of the enclosing elements.⁶³ The court-yard farmstead typically comprised a U-plan arrangement of buildings with the dwelling house in the middle flanked by out-buildings and bounded by an enclosing wall on the fourth side. A variation on the theme was the half courtyard, generally comprising the dwelling house with one block outbuildings placed at a right angle to it. The yard may well have had a similar plan. Outhouses would have easily fitted around the perimeter of the building, and it is quite possible that they were built of perishable materials. We know for example that there was 'a kitchen, a stable of cooples, a bakehouse, four other cooples houses of timber' at Ballinahinch castle, in the east of the county in 1635.⁶⁴

7.4.1 Peopling the landscape of Lislarheenmore

Two documents assist in building up a picture of the population of the settlement of Lislarheenmore in the second half of the seventeenth century. These are the 1660 poll tax and the 1678 list of the panel of the Finavarra manor court.

Hugh O'Davoren was listed as the *tituladoe* at Lislarheenmore in the 1660 poll tax return, but by the time the family's title to the denomination was secured by the Restoration land settlement in 1676, Hugh had died and his son Constance inherited his land. The 1660 poll tax return lists nineteen 'Irish' as resident in the townland. When multiplied by 2.5, as recommended by Smyth, that gives Lislarheenmore a hypothetical population of

[63] Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Farmyard forms and their distribution in Ireland', *Ulster Folklife* 27 (1981), 68.

[64] ¹²¹

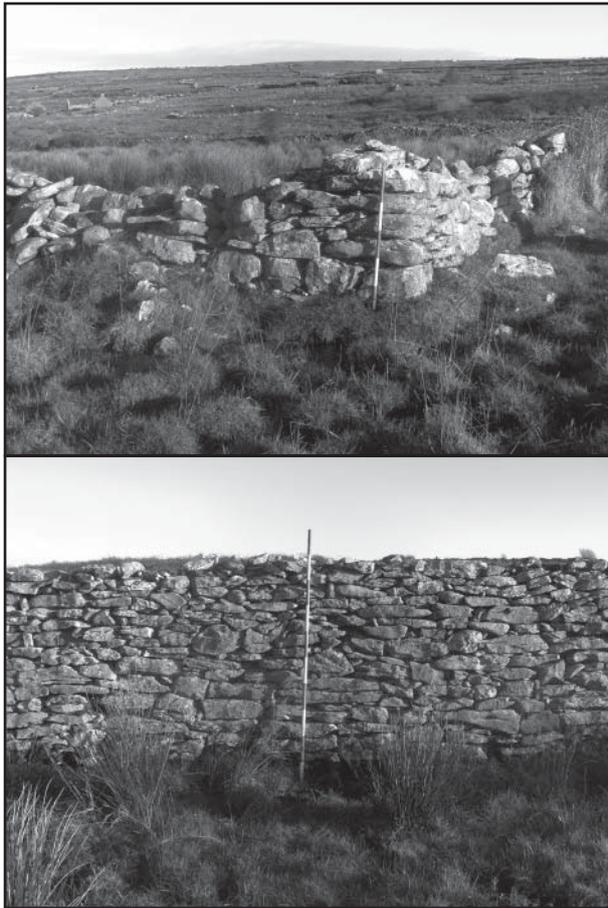


Fig. 7.14 (top): View of the large enclosure at Lislarheenmore, looking northeast.

Fig. 7.15 (bottom): Detail of the wall fabric of the large enclosure at Lislarheenmore.

47 women, children and men
c.1660.⁶⁵ Among these were, of course, the named Hugh, his wife Evelin (*née* Markaghane), his children including his eldest son and heir Constance, and perhaps some of his ten brothers and sisters or other relatives.⁶⁶ Included in these 47 women and men might also be farm and/or domestic servants in Hugh and Evelin's service, or small tenants holding part of the townland from them.

We get another glimpse into the inhabitants of Lislarheenmore in 1678, in the return of the panel of the Court Leet of the Finnavara Manor Court for that year.⁶⁷ The return names ten people as being 'of Lislarine' including two O'Davorens, four O'Loughlins, and an O'Benis, a McGibbon and an O Beakie. The court leet panel divided jurors into

three main social or occupational groups: gentlemen, yeomen and labourers, with one smith and one constable also listed. While the social meaning of these recorded categories are difficult to fully tease out, it is likely that those listed as gentlemen were the social leaders of the community. According to Gillespie, the 97 individuals listed as labourers are likely to equate to small tenants rather than landless peasants.⁶⁸ The exact character of the relationships between the landowner, Constance, and these men is not

[65] William J. Smyth, 'Society and settlement in the seventeenth century Ireland: the evidence of the '1659 census'', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), 56.

[66] His ten siblings are named in his father's Constance's funeral entry: Slevin, 'Funeral entries', 64.

[67] Gillespie suggests that the list may have been compiled for the purposes of levying of manorial dues, probably leet silver, which was a payment made to the lord once year by each person subject to the court. Gillespie 'Finnavarra', 45.

[68] Gillespie 'Finnavarra', 46.

totally clear, but it would seem that they were patronage based. Perhaps, as noted above, they were minor tenants, receiving portions of land from Constance and Evelin.

The role of Lislarheenmore as a political hub is indicated by fact that all three O'Davorens acquitted under the articles of Limerick, Constance and James in 1694, and Nehemiah in 1699, were listed as of Lislarheen.⁶⁹ In addition to their active support for the Jacobite cause through military action, members of the sept also provided material support for the local Catholic clergy. James Cahine, parish priest of Gleninagh was listed as residing at Lislarheenmore in the 1704 priest list.⁷⁰ Cahine's residency at Lislarheenmore is also suggestive of its role a locus of hospitality. As Whelan has discussed, hospitality remained one of the hallmarks of nobility in eighteenth century Ireland. This was perhaps particularly true of a family like the O'Davorens, of erenagh and brehon stock, as both roles carried the obligation to provide hospitality.⁷¹

Given the number of people recorded as living at Lislarheenmore in the latter half of the seventeenth century, it was expected that some evidence of their housing would be found in the townland. Extensive field-walking, however, has failed to identify additional stone buildings or building footprints. It may be that such dwellings, were subsequently robbed out or cleared out either in antiquity or c.1960, when mechanical boundary clearance was carried out on the valley floor. It may also be that additional houses at the site were not constructed from stone. Perhaps more likely the dwellings of Hugh and Constance's dependants and/or tenants were constructed from perishable materials such as hazel and sod, both easily procurable at the site. Indeed, a pollen core taken in the townland noted the presence of both ash and hazel in the locality in the early modern period.⁷²

7.4.2 *Lislarheenmore fieldscapes*

The distinctive field walls of the Burren were commented upon as early as 1681, when Thomas Dineley noted that 'in this barony the partitions of land are made by broad stones like slate turned up edgeways'.⁷³ More recently, archaeologists and geographers have studied the morphology of the field boundaries in an attempt to understand land organisation and settlement patterns in periods from the Neolithic to the twentieth

[69] Simms, 'Jacobites', 93, 121.

[70] [http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/popish_parish_priests_1704_list.htm] Accessed 20 March 2012.

[71] Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978), 70.

[72] Ljubica Jelacic, 'Investigations towards the reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore, north-western Burren, Co. Clare', unpublished Thesis M. Sc. Thesis, University College, Galway, 1991, 69.

[73] Brian Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze : travels in County Clare 1534-1950* (Ennis, 1998), 59.

	Wall Type	Description	Date
1	Single stone walls	These walls are one stone wide and between 1- 1.50m high. Several styles exist. In the commonest type stones and slabs are positioned without any particular order giving the walls a filigree appearance. Other walls have closely packed stones and some of these have distinctive patterns.	1700-present
2	Double walls	Walls at least two stones wide. The centre of the wall consists of loosely piled rubble with larger stones on either side, and a capping of small square stones. The stones are closely packed so that rainwater does not flow into the core of the wall. Typically measuring 0.5- 0.7m wide.	1700-present
3	Earth banks	Earth banks and ditches characteristically 1m high and 0.5 – 1m deep respectively.	?
4	Tumble walls	Linear heaps of stones partially overgrown with bryophytes and herbs. These rubble mounds often have a core of one or two stone courses. Were originally single walls.	Bronze Age – 18 th century
5	Slab walls	Lines of upended slabs one slab wide and at most two slabs high. Often slabs from wall are found lying on the ground adjacent to these walls.	Medieval
6	Mound walls	Low vegetation covered mounds measuring on average 0.30 – 0.8m in height and 0.8—1.5m in width. Larger stones are visible in these walls.	Prehistoric

Table 7.1: Categories of Burren field walls after Plunkett Dillon (1985)

century.⁷⁴ In her close study of Burren boundaries, Emma Plunkett Dillon identified six categories of field wall based on morphology.⁷⁵ While she was only able to offer a ‘speculative’ chronology for field boundaries hampered by ‘a general lack of evidence, especially chronological evidence’ more recent work has helped to date her schema of wall types.⁷⁶ The work of Jones, Comber and FitzPatrick in particular has shed new light on the field boundaries associated with settlement in the Bronze Age, Early Christian, and Late Medieval/ Early Modern Burren respectively.⁷⁷ While the schema of field boundaries devised by Emma Plunkett Dillon is an important basis for understanding the development of field walls in the Burren, components of material culture such as stone walls are not static and do not necessarily comply with constructed categories. The dynamic nature of this monument type is evident from examination of them in the field. Boundaries are repaired, rebuilt, robbed out and allowed to decompose giving

[74] Plunkett Emma Catherine Plunkett Dillon, ‘The field boundaries of the Burren, County Clare’, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1985; Various Authors, *Burren landscape and settlement: an INSTAR project* (Galway 2008).

[75] Plunkett Dillon, ‘The field boundaries of the Burren’, 48-50.

[76] Plunkett Dillon, ‘The field boundaries of the Burren’, 189.

[77] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, ‘Cahermacnaghten: investigating Gaelic estates’, *Burren landscape and settlement an INSTAR project* (Galway 2008).

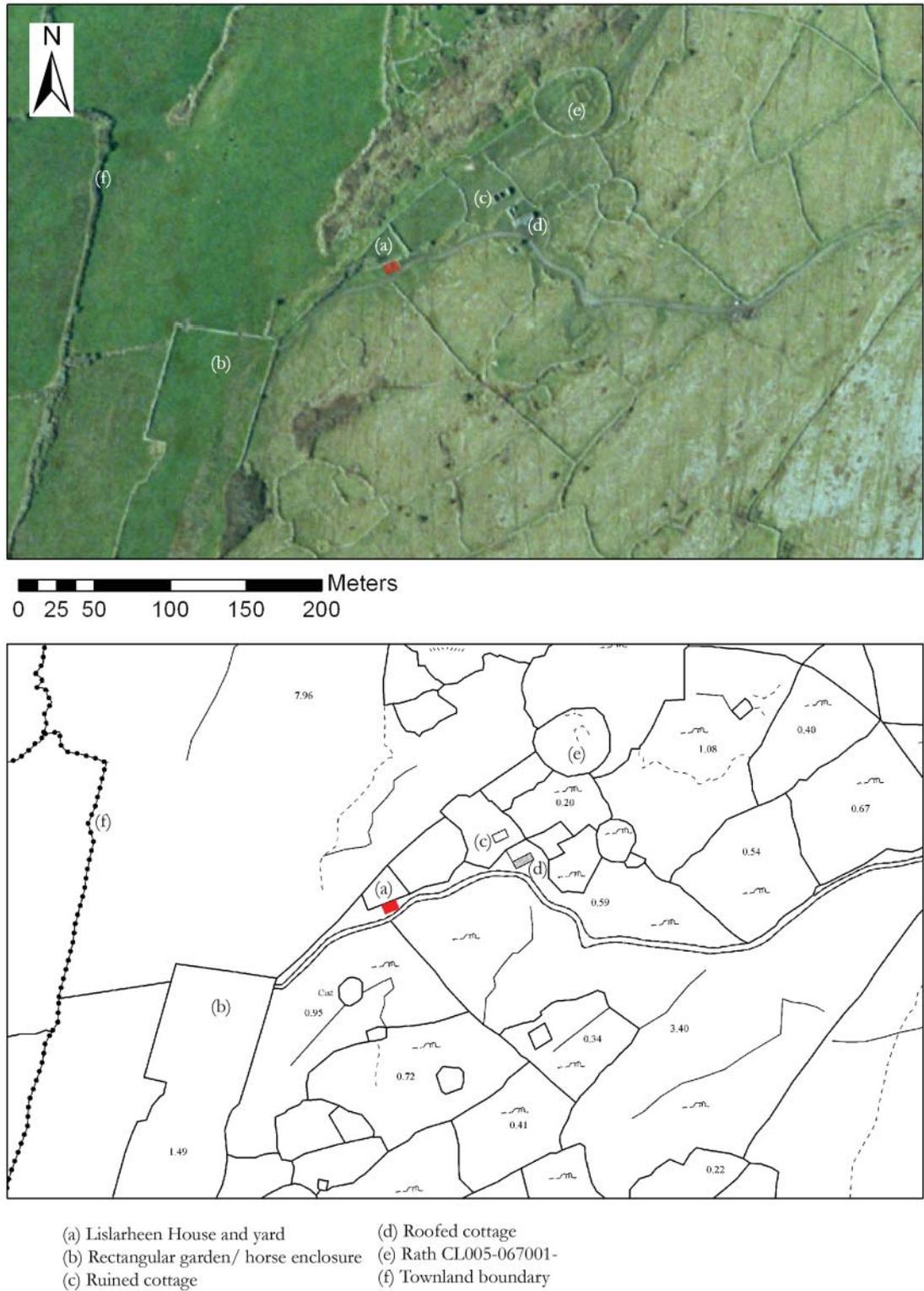


Fig. 7.16: Extract of the OS 5km map showing Lislarheen House and associated features. Lislarheen House is marked in red.

the field patterns of the Burren the character more of a palimpsest than of a series of discrete episodes of building characterised by distinct morphology.

The pattern of field walls and other archaeological features recorded at Lislarheenmore during walkover survey is largely reflective of the palimpsestic character of Burren settlement remains. The survey identified the physical remains of settlement in the townland from the prehistoric periods to the twentieth century. Prehistoric settlement was represented as a series of low mound walls running E-W across the townland, from the boggy uplands to the valley bottom. The presence of three wedge tombs in the vicinity suggests a Beaker period date for these walls.⁷⁸ A possible hut site of uncertain, but possible prehistoric date was also identified. The archaeological survey recorded a cist in the townland but this was not identified on the ground.

The most prominent archaeological features in the townland are the seven raths or cahers contained within its bounds, most of which are accompanied by related slab wall field systems. As discussed above, raths and cashels with their potentially thousand-year use span can be difficult to date. The raths and cashels of Lislahreen are low denuded monuments composed of earth and lacking the impressive stone walls found elsewhere in the region and known to have been occupied into the later medieval period. The townland's eponymous *lios*, Lislarheenmore (RMP CL005-073---), is located in the uplands in the western part of the townland, adjacent to an area of blanket bog.⁷⁹ An unnamed *lios* (CL009-067001-) at the centre of the townland, adjacent to the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century cottages features the very prominent remains of an internal house site (CL005-067002-). In the absence of diagnostic features, it is virtually impossible to date such structures, based on visual inspection. Some indication as to the dates of occupation may be gleaned from a pollen core taken in the boggy eastern uplands of the townland in 1991. The core indicated a marked rise in agricultural activity in the last quarter of the sixth century, peaking in the tenth century. At a point in the pollen core radio-carbon dated to 1350AD, the diagram indicated a decline in farming activity and the regeneration of scrub in the area.⁸⁰ While the evidence for late medieval occupation of the townland is unclear it cannot be ruled out. Donogh O'Brian may have had tenants at the site, perhaps former holders of the denomination. It is also possible that Lislarheenmore was used on a seasonal basis for the grazing of cattle.

A number of boundaries recorded at Lislarheenmore may be contemporary with the occupation of the site in the second half of the seventeenth century. Several substantial slab walls have been grafted onto the earlier boundaries in the area east of Lislarheen

[78] Carlton Jones *pers comms*.

[79] Jelicic, 'Reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore', 14; It lies under a thin covering of peat, probably the result of a bog burst.

[80] Jelicic, 'Reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore', 78.

House suggesting that these rough grazing lands were being sectioned off into fields during the period, probably for stock management. Environmental evidence at the site certainly indicates renewed agricultural activity during the period. *Circa* 1650-1750, the pollen core data shows 'deliberate clearance' of ash and hazel scrub and an allied increase in plant species associated with pastoral farming.⁸¹ The more fertile area to the east of the townland was cleared of stone walls in the 1960s. It was here that arable activity is most likely to have taken place. The bulk of remaining enclosures cluster between the 160m and 200m contour lines along the lower slopes of the valley. It is in this zone that most of the extant habitation sites are found, including Lislarheen House and the later cottages, and three native enclosed settlements.

While the bulk of the field walls that knot around the core of the settlement at Lislarheenmore are single and slab walls, a large enclosure on the bottom of the valley floor stands out in dramatic contrast because of its scale and distinctive fabric (Fig. 7.14; Fig. 7.15; Fig. 7.16). The enclosure is sub-rectangular in plan, and is situated southwest of the site of Lislarheen House. It is placed on the eastern edge of the flat valley floor *c.*80m to the southwest of Lislarheen House. Its east wall runs along the junction between the sloping, rough karst slopes of the valley, with their thin mantle of dark rendzina soils, and the flat damp valley base with its deeper deposits of gleys.

The long E and W walls of the enclosure have a length of 85m and 78m respectively and its N and S walls have a length of 66m and 65m respectively. It encloses an area of approximately 5430m². A large section of the S wall of the enclosure has been cleared away, probably by mechanical digger in the 1960s when other clearance work was carried out on the holding.⁸² The wall of the enclosure is much collapsed in places, particularly to the N and E. It is best preserved along its E side where it continues to act as a field boundary for the containment of cattle. There are several breaches in the wall along its N and E extent. Most of these would appear to be of relative recent date created for or by cattle. Along its E side the enclosure wall survives to a maximum height of 1.78m. It has a slight batter, 0.9m wide at the base and 0.5m at the top. Along its N extent, where the base course of the wall has been exposed, it is *c.*1.20m wide. The dry-stone walls of the enclosure are constructed of flat-bedded limestone rubble with a rubble core. No structural evidence from an original entrance to the enclosure survives, but the most likely place for it is in the NE corner of the enclosure where a path leads from the enclosure to Lislarheen House.

It is not possible to definitively date the enclosure, but a number of pieces of evidence would suggest an early modern date. The enclosure is depicted as a full rectangle on the

[81] Jelacic, 'Reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment at Lislarheenmore', 69.

[82] Martin Neylon *pers comms.*

1840 OS map. The construction technique employed in the walls is suggestive of an early modern date, the dilapidation of large sections of the enclosure is also indicative of age. The known history of the townland of Lislarheenmore also places the most likely construction date in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

The scale of the walls and their contrast with the other boundaries in the holding would suggest that the enclosure was built for a specialised purpose. The location of the enclosure on the flatter, deeper soils of the valley floor might suggest that it was constructed for horticultural purposes. Walled gardens have been commonly identified as components of seventeenth-century landscapes, locally at Lisdoonvarna and Leamaneh for example. If this was the case, the tall walls would have acted to shelter and warm plants within their bounds. Palaeoenvironmental investigations carried out at the site by Blathnaid O'Neill in 2010 determined that the soil within the enclosure contrasted with that outside of it. The soil within showed higher phosphorus levels than the exterior, and it contained flecks of charcoal and small fragments of a ceramic-like material that O'Neill suggested derived from the application of fire ashes and manure to the soil in order to increase its fertility.⁸³

However, the elevated phosphate level might also indicate that the enclosure was designed to hold livestock. The height at over 1.78m far exceeds that needed to contain cattle or sheep, and if the enclosure was intended for the containment of livestock it was arguably for larger or more nimble animals such as horses. The military and logistical importance of keeping horses in the period is underlined by the first batch of penal legislation passed in 1695 which forbid Catholics from keeping horses over a certain size. As noted above, in 1690, Constance O'Davoren was listed among the 'chief the gentlemen of the county who had horses' that might be used in the wars.⁸⁴

The potential use of the enclosure for livestock is notable in the context of FitzPatrick's recent observations concerning the *páirc* as a feature of Gaelic learned families' estates.⁸⁵ Based on the high incidence of the *páirc* placename element on the former estates of Gaelic learned families, she suggests that it may constitute a common feature, a livestock park connected with the provision of hospitality and the demand for skins for manuscript production. It is unclear as yet whether the Gaelic *páirc* as identified by FitzPatrick is an unenclosed landscape feature. At Cahermacnaghten, a feature called *páirc na leacht* or the field or park of the memorials/cairns was noted by Frost, Westropp and Macnamara. The extent of the *páirc* was sketched by Macnamara, and it comprises

[83] O'Neill, Blathnaid, 'Soils and sediments: palaeoenvironmental investigations at Earlsparck, Co. Galway and Lislarheenmore, Co. Clare.', Unpublished B.Sc. thesis, Sligo Institute of Technology, 2010, 69, 70.

[84] Frost, *History and topography*, 564.

[85] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'The *páirc* as a feature of Gaelic learned family holdings' (2011). Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Ollamh, biatach, comharba: lifeways of Gaelic learned families in medieval and early modern Ireland. In L. Breathnach (ed.) *Proceedings of the XIV International Celtic congress* (forthcoming).

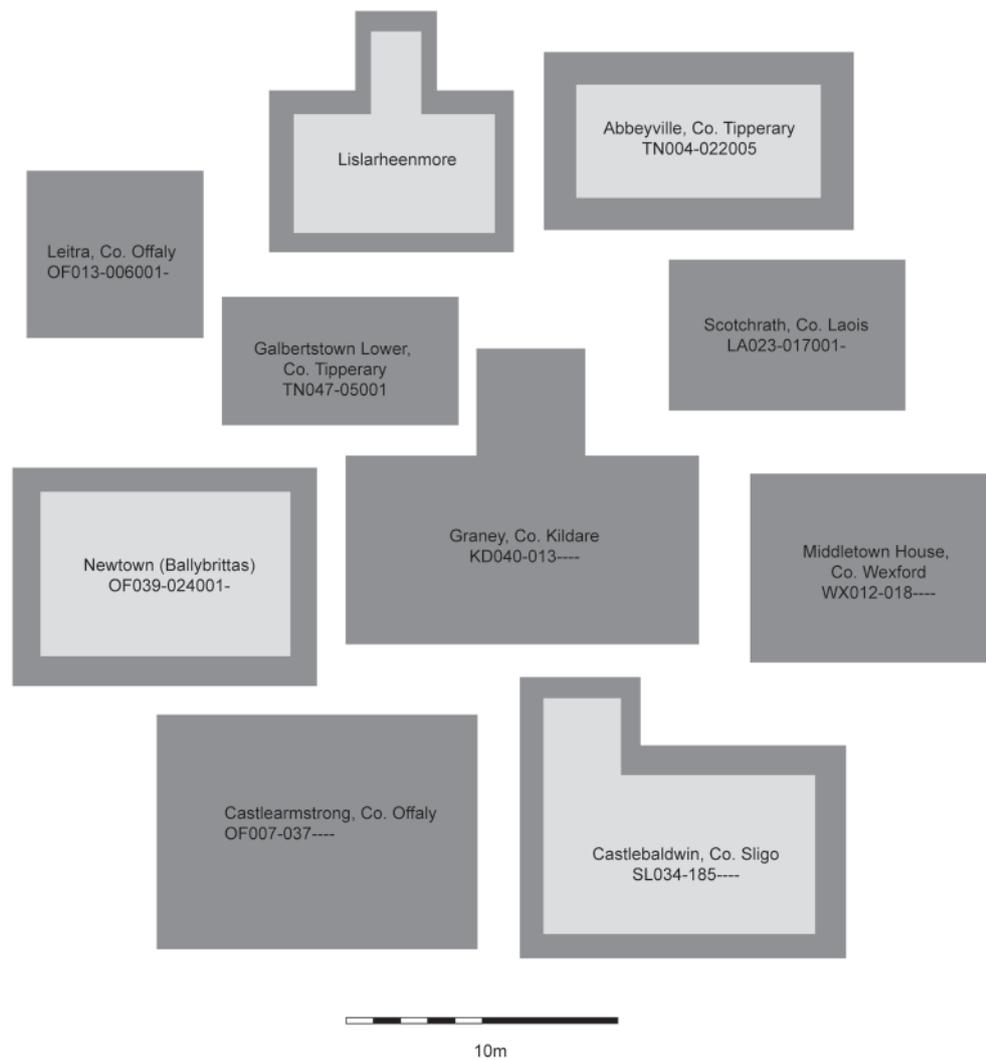


Fig. 7.17: Thumb nail sketches of the floor plans of early modern houses similar in scale to Lislarheen House. Based on the ASI.

a large enclosure (470m N-S by 230m E-W) bounded by a ‘very thick and tall dry stone wall’.⁸⁶

7.4.3 The ‘thatched mansion’

The seventeenth century witnessed an increase in house building in Ireland as newcomers and natives constructed residences on newly allotted lands. The bulk of the published material on these buildings concerns the larger, more ostentatious elite residences.⁸⁷ This is in part due to the higher visibility of these houses on the landscape,

[86] FitzPatrick, ‘The Uí Dhábhoireann brehon law school and its estate landscape’, (2005.), 32; Frost, *History and topography*, pp. 17-21; Thomas Johnson Westropp, *Archaeology of the Burren, prehistoric forts and dolmens in North Clare* (Ennis, 2004), 155; Macnamara, ‘The O’Davorens’, 67.

[87] For example: D. M. Waterman, ‘Some Irish 17th century houses and their architectural ancestry’, in E. M. Jope (ed), *Studies in Building History* (London, 1961); Rolf Loeber, ‘Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period: an unremembered past recaptured?’, *Quarterly bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*

their rich and datable architectural features, and frequent association with well known historical figures. In contrast, the smaller stone houses like Lislarheen, often lack clearly diagnostic features, and as such can be difficult to date and identify. Unlike the grander buildings, they may lack overt formal planning and belong more to a vernacular tradition. A number of structures comparable to Lislarheen House have, however, been recorded by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (ASI).⁸⁸ These smaller buildings, sometimes called stronghouses, served as the domiciles of smaller land holders constructed in the context of plantations such as in Laois and Offaly for example.⁸⁹

Lislarheen House, and perhaps Lisdoonvarna House, can be connected to a group of houses that have been identified in the study of vernacular dwellings; what Ó Danachair has termed the 'thatched mansions... the dwelling[s] of prosperous farmers and lesser gentry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.⁹⁰ These were 'substantial, two-storied buildings of simple form'; they frequently had five or six bays, and were often the biggest houses in their townlands. According to O'Reilly a number of them can

16:1 & 2 (1973); Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to privacy : late Tudor and Jacobean manorial architecture in Ireland, 1560-1640' in Audrey J. Horning (ed), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Wordwell, 2007).

[88] The bulk of these are in the counties of Laois, Offaly and Tipperary. At Abbeyville, Co. Tipperary the remains of a rectangular two storey gable ended house measures 9m by 4.2m internally with walls of 1.2 thick. At Galbertstown Lower (TN047-052001-) in the same county, a small stone house was recorded measuring 8.7m by 4.76m and was originally surrounded by a bawn. Grange House, Co. Laois (LA022-014----) comprises a rectangular house of two stories and an attic, measuring 9.9m NW-SE, by 6.3m NE-SE. Derrin (LA022-003001-) in the same county built in the first part of the seventeenth century is a T plan building with a length of 11.2m. At Scothraath Co. Laois (LA023-017001-) a house built of limestone rubble and enclosed within a bawn measures 8.7m by 5.6m At Leitra in Co. Offaly (OF013-006001-) a small square two story house measuring 6.5m by 6.2m with walls of 0.9m thick was built inside a now destroyed bawn. At Newtown, Ballybrittas barony (OF039-024001-), a two storey strong house was built in the first half of the seventeenth century 11.2m by 8.1m externally with walls measuring 1m thick. The house was surrounded by a bawn wall measuring 25.5m by 23m. Graney House near Castledermot, Co. Kildare (KD040-013----) is an early seventeenth-century T-plan house the main block of which measures 8m by 4.5m David P. Sweetman, Olive Alcock and Bernie Moran, *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Laois* (Dublin, 1995), 125, 127; Caimin O'Brien and David P. Sweetman, *Archaeological Inventory of County Offaly* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 158-9; Caimin O'Brien and Jean Farrelly, *Archaeological Inventory of Tipperary* (Dublin, 2002), 385-6, 391, 394, 396; . David Sweetman, Olive Alcock, and Bernie Moran, *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Laois* (Dublin, 1995), 127; David Sweetman, et al., *Archaeological inventory of County Laois* (Dublin, 1995), 125; Caimin O'Brien and P. David Sweetman, *Archaeological Inventory of County Offaly* (1997), 158-9; Craig, *Houses of the Middle Size*, 64-71.

[89] David Sweetman, et al., *Archaeological inventory of County Laois* (Dublin, 1995), 124; Caimin O'Brien and David Sweetman, and Archaeological Survey of Ireland., *Archaeological inventory of County Offaly* (Dublin, 1997), 154.

[90] Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Some notes on traditional house types in County Kildare', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, XIV (1966-7), 243; Buchanan, Ronald H., 'Rural settlement in Ireland', in Nicholas Stephens and Robin. E. Glasscock (eds.), *Irish geographical studies in honuor of E. Estyn Evans* (Belfast, 1970), 154.

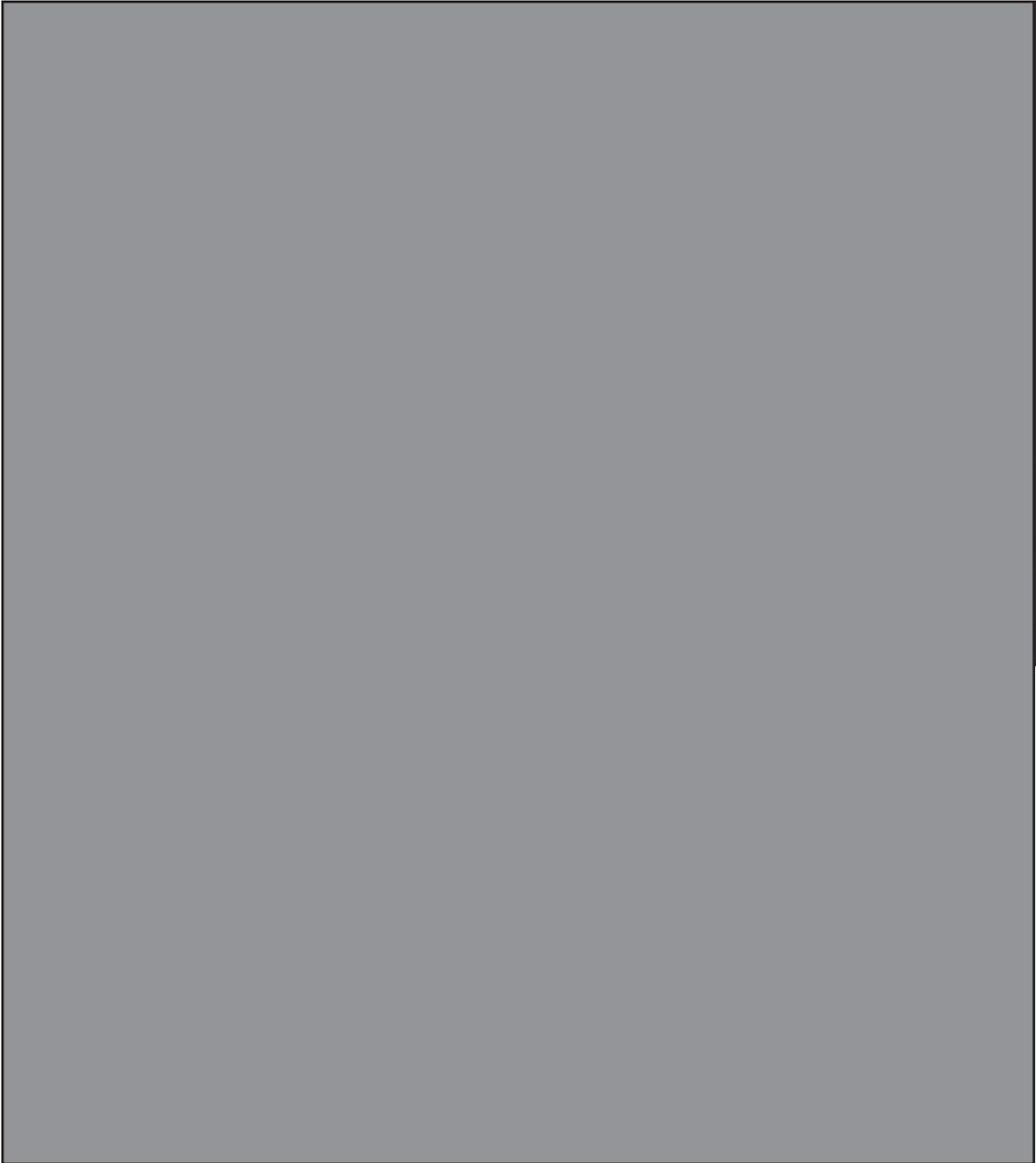


Fig. 7.18 (top): House at Dunblaney, Co. Galway built for Archbishop Boetius Egans *c.*1787 (Costello 1940, 93).

Fig. 7.19 (middle): Two storey thatched house at Lisnacloskey, Co. Antrim *c.*1717, with unit added at left end 1800-1825 (Gailey 1984, 192).

Fig. 7.20 (bottom): Plan of the house at Greatrath, Co. Kildare (Ó Danachair 1966-7, 244).

be dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.⁹¹ Ó Danachair provides a useful description of such a house that he surveyed in Co. Kildare (Fig. 7.20):

It consisted of two large rooms on the ground floor and two large rooms in the upper storey, each storey being simply divided by partition. Access to the upper storey was provided by a moveable ladder through a trap door in the floor. The two upper rooms were bedrooms, each of them had a fireplace in the gable wall. Each of the groundfloor rooms also had a fireplace; on the left was the kitchen with its great open hearth and built-in oven, and on the right the other room, used for general purposes, part store, part sitting-room part sleeping accommodation.⁹²

Whelan discusses some of these buildings in his study of the 'underground gentry'.⁹³ While this stratum of post-Cromwellian Ireland resided in houses that were substantial in comparison to those of ordinary tenants or labours, they had an idiom distinct from the 'big house'. The difference was in part reflective of the very substantial disparity in wealth between the landed gentry and 'underground gentry'; nevertheless, Whelan's study underlines the fact that that for many families ostentation in architecture was not a priority. Much like the medieval Gaelic lords, they preferred to articulate their social position through lavish hospitality and patronage of popular culture.⁹⁴ Their homes echoed their position as brokers between the world of 'the village' and 'the big house'. For Whelan, the late seventeenth-century house built by the Sweetmans at Newbawn, Co. Wexford is a prime example of this. The house, which comprised a two storey, cob building, with a thatched roof and a symmetrical façade, is an 'architectural expression' of the 'polyvalent world' in which the Sweetmans resided. It is a 'blend of traditional and formal in architectural styles' ...the house embodying 'exactly the social position of the Sweetmans, partaking of both the gentry and common traditions'.⁹⁵

In the context of what we know of Burren dwellings, Lislarheen House is of innovative architectural form. Its thick, mortared walls speak of a solidity and permanency, and indeed it was a prominent enough landmark to be noted on the first edition map. The poor survival of the site means that it is not possible to assess the extent to which Lislarheen House, like Newbawn, might have drawn on formal architectural traditions. It is a strong possibility that the house was influenced by the dwellings of improving tenants on the Earl of Thomond's estates in the south of the county, who were enjoined to build in stone. The careful siting of the house, in relation to the prevailing

[91] O'Reilly, 'Heath and home', 197; Ó Danachair, 'The dwelling house in Ireland', 91-3.

[92] Ó Danachair, 'Traditional house types in County Kildare', 243.

[93] Kevin Whelan, 'Underground gentry', 7.

[94] Kieran D, O'Connor, 'Gaelic lordly settlement in 13th - and 14th - century Ireland.', in S. Innselet In I. Holm, and I. Øye (eds.), (ed.), *'Utmark' - The Outfield as Industry and Ideology in the Iron Age and the Middle Ages* (Bergen, 2005).

[95] Whelan, 'Underground gentry', 24.

winds and immediate topography, belies an intimate knowledge of the landscape, and is evocative of observations on later vernacular dwellings. This solidity of the house was in contrast to the less durable structures constructed from perishable organic materials that were the dwellings of Hugh and Constance's dependants. It is significant that the, albeit scant, evidence suggests that their homes were constructed in relative proximity to the principal O'Davoren house. This closeness speaks to the endurance of vertical social relationships.

This close knowledge of the landscape is echoed in the character of the fields that cluster about the house. The bulk of these fields and enclosures follow and respond to the immediate topography, of limestone crags, shelf and dips. The rectangular enclosure is the only feature that has a regular (formal?) plan. As discussed above, it may have served as a walled garden or an enclosed paddock. The feature is ambiguous in character. It is difficult to determine to what idiom it speaks. It certainly bears similarities with the formal walled gardens laid out at Leamaneh and Lisdoonvarna, both constructed within discourses of civility. However, we cannot dismiss as a point of reference, the native traditions of landscape organisation, in particular the *páirc*, imbued with its own connotations of nobility. The enclosure of course, need not be characterised as either one or the other. Like Whelan's interpretations of the thatched mansions, we might consider it as embodying an array of associations derived from different sources, and reflective of the social position of men and women like Hugh, Constance and Evelin, which was based on both their Gaelic nobility and their positions and roles within the new regime.

7.5 Power and piety: James Davoren's funeral chapel at Noughaval

These themes of ancestry, legitimacy and authority are embodied in James Davoren's chapel at Noughaval, built about 1725. While as outlined above, nothing remains of James Davoren's house at Lisdoonvarna, his chapel at Noughaval is largely intact. In early modern Ireland, those who wished to be commemorated in death often arranged or built their funerary monuments during their lifetime.⁹⁶ This would appear to be the case with James Davoren. In his will made in May 1725, he left £30 for a 'decent burying place, if not built by me in my life time'.⁹⁷ He chose to be buried not in the parish of his residence, but in his family's ancestral burial ground at Noughaval. The monument served to commemorate James Davoren and to 'continue the memory of [his] personal and social identities'.⁹⁸ In its form and positioning it sought to both underpin and reproduce his prominent position in the parish community, and to serve as a locus

[96] Tait, *Death and burial*, 101.

[97] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158.

[98] Tait, *Death and burial*, 104-5.



Fig. 7.21 (top): St. Catherine's Church, Corrofin, Co. Clare.

Fig. 7.22 (middle left): Sir Donough O'Brien's funerary monument, Kilnasoolagh, Co. Clare (detail).

Fig. 7.23 (right): Sir Donough O'Brien's funerary monument, Kilnasoolagh, Co. Clare. The monument is on the north wall of the church, beside the altar.

of intercession, easing his passage through purgatory. The monument also speaks to O'Davoren's relationships with his patrons, the Leamaneh O'Briens. We can consider it to be in dialogue with two monuments in particular, Sir Donogh O'Brien's funerary monument in Kilnasoolagh parish church and Catherine O'Brien's chapel in Corrofin.

As noted above, James Davorens worked as a land agent for the Leamaneh (and later, Dromoland) O'Briens. While his patrons had deep Thomond roots, by the end of the seventeenth century they were thoroughly Anglicised. Sir Donogh O'Brien was the son of Máire Rua and Conor O'Brien of Leamaneh.⁹⁹ When his father died in 1651, Máire Rua married John Cooper, a coronet in the Cromwellian army. After the Restoration, Donogh was restored to his father's lands and emerged as one of the most successful landowners in Clare, reputed in the latter years of his life to be 'the richest commoner in Ireland'. Sir Donogh's son, Lucius O'Brien (1674-1717), had been partly educated in London where he attended a finishing school, before entering Gray's Inn to study law. In 1701, he married Catherine Knightly, a first cousin of Queen Mary and her sister Anne. Catherine and Lucius initially resided at Leamaneh, before building a house and gardens at Corrofin. Lucius spent much of the early 1710s at Court unsuccessfully attempting to gain the favor of Queen Anne. Both Donogh and his son Lucius died in 1717.¹⁰⁰

In his will of 1689, Sir Donogh directed that he be buried 'on the N side of the communion table in the chancel' of Kilnasoolagh church, near Dromoland, and left £150 for a vault with a 'monument or figure' to be erected within two years of his death.¹⁰¹ In a later will he communicated his wish that 'my body be decently buried in my parish church of Kileenesula ... in such a manner as to my son Henry O'Brien shall seem decent and agreeable'.¹⁰² The monument which Henry had made was carved by the English sculptor William Kidwell (1662-1736). It comprises a reclining figure of Sir Donogh flanked by Corinthian columns. Two cherubs hold back a drape revealing the Latin inscription, to which another cherub, on Sir Donogh's left, points. A large armorial is placed on the base of the memorial.

A series of letters in the Inchiquin papers between James Davoren and his O'Brien patrons shed much light on his career as an agent. The correspondence date between 1696 and 1724; the bulk of the letters are to Lucius' wife Catherine O'Brien née Knightly, and post-date Sir Donogh and Lucius' deaths in 1717. The letters reveal Davoren's role as O'Brien's agent, collecting rents, managing tenants and in some

[99] Grania R. O'Brien and Hugh Weir, *These my friends and forebears: the O'Briens of Dromoland* (Whitegate, County Clare, 1991), 14.

[100] M. Mc Mahon, 'Lucius and Catherine O'Brien of Corofin', *The Other Clare* 25 (2001), 51-2.

[101] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 515.

[102] Thomas Johnson Westropp, 'Kilnasoola, or Killnasoolagh Church', *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*, 6/3 (1906).

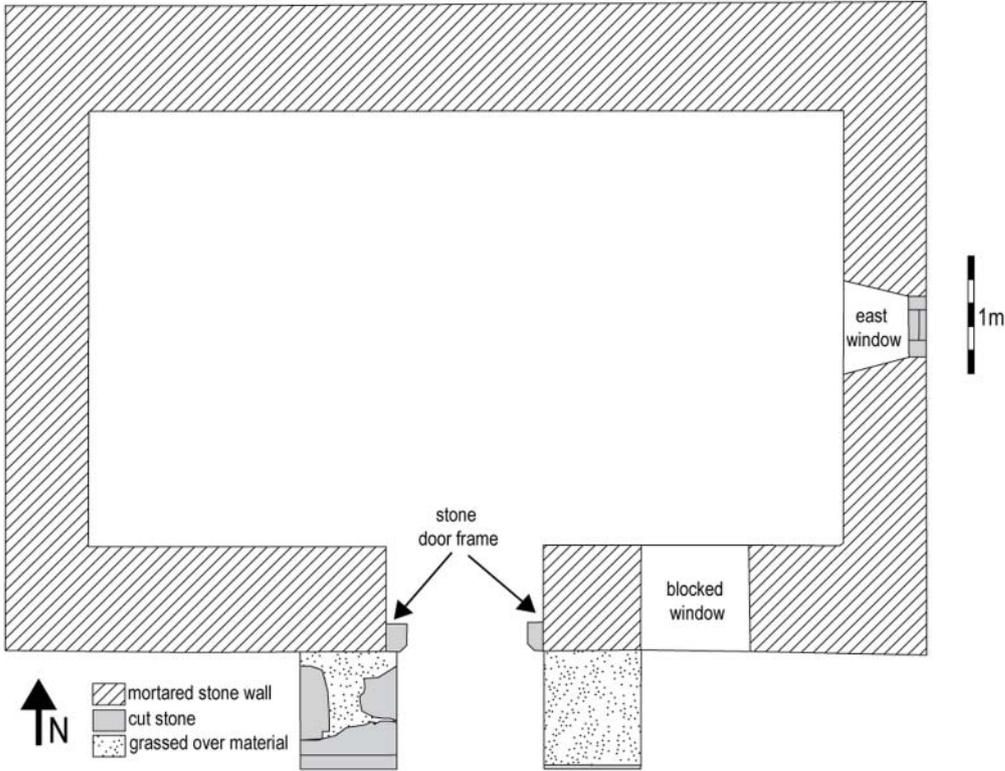


Fig. 7.24 (top): Photograph of the O'Davoren chapel at Noughaval c.1910 (Macnamara Collection, Courtesy of Clare County Library).

Fig. 7.25 (bottom): Plan of the Davoren chapel.

instances attending legal proceedings on behalf of his patrons. His letters to Catherine leave us in no doubt that he was willing to utilize physical coercion to exact rent from reluctant tenants.¹⁰³ Two ledgers surviving in the Inchiquin manuscripts dated to 1720 and 1722 show James Davoren to have been paying workmen on behalf of Catherine.¹⁰⁴ The relationship between Davoren and Catherine broke down sometime in 1724, when Catherine became suspicious that Davoren was being 'dishonest' with her.¹⁰⁵ Without close analysis of the primary documents, a task beyond the scope of this project, it is difficult to meaningfully penetrate the relationship between the two, riven as it was by distinctions of class, nationality, religion and gender.

In the context of a discussion of James Davoren's chapel, it is significant that one of the tensions that emerged between Catherine and James Davoren concerned her construction of a protestant chapel in Corrofin.¹⁰⁶ Davoren reminded Catherine of local opposition to the building. In September of 1718 he wrote 'the church is in good order and I do believe it will be consecrated notwithstanding the industry used against it on which subject I heard so much as made me fret and despair'. Later he attempted to dissuade her from pursuing the church project on the basis that her eldest son Edward was still a minor 'I won't pretend to judge whether it will look well that a guardian and a bishop should prevail on a minor of 13 years to make any promises of granting and continuing any endowment to the church...I wish with all my heart it could be deferred til Sir Edward came of age'.¹⁰⁷ James's reticence about the construction must be viewed in the context of his own persecuted faith. In 1717 he had written to Catherine possibly from Galway: 'I design to leave town next Sunday after hearing mass publicly at any of the known chapels not knowing whether I should be allowed any such liberty in the county of Clare'.¹⁰⁸

7.5.1 'A decent burying place': the chapel

The O'Davoren chapel is rectangular in plan (7.78 x 5.58m). It was originally covered by a stone roof and the remains of a barrel vault are visible in the rounded gables and in the curvature of the N wall. The N and S walls are both 0.90m thick, while the E and W gables measure 0.70m. The E gable wall has an internal height of 4.08m. The chapel is constructed from roughly hewn blocks of limestone built in random courses. Larger well cut and dressed stones were used for the quoins of the chapel and one of which

[103] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 144; 'I don't find any of your principal tents. Disposed to pay a farthing if they do not, I must let my Ld. Thomonds my Ld. Inchiqns and Me. Ivers drivers see what they can do with them?'

[104] National Library of Ireland, GO MS 14480, Inchiquin Manuscripts; NLI, GO MS 14481, Inchiquin Manuscripts.

[105] O'Brien, *These my friends and forebears*, 46; Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 149.

[106] O'Brien, *These my friends and forebears*, 45.

[107] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 137.

[108] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 140.

exhibits a chamfer, indicating that it was recycled from an earlier building. The chapel has one existing window in the E wall comprising an oblong slit (1.15m x 0.26m), with a flat head and a flat chamfer running around the exterior of the ope. The outline of another blocked up window is visible in the S wall and it is 0.94m wide and 1.15m tall. Fragments of cut and chamfered stone, reused as grave-markers adjacent to the chapel, are likely to have originated in this window. The entrance of the chapel is located midway along the S wall. It is 0.90m wide. The base courses of a cut stone doorframe survive, exhibiting a flat chamfer along its inner, external edge. The chamfer is similar to that on the medieval church doorway. Two rectangular stone projections either side of the doorway may have supported a small porch.

The door was originally surmounted by a pointed, inscribed tympanum. The inscription on the tympanum is executed in Roman script and reads: THIS CHAPPLE WAS BVILT BY JAMES DAVOREN OF LISDOONVARNA WHO DIED THE 31 JULY 1725 AGED 59 YEARS.¹⁰⁹ Above the lettering in the apex of the arch, the IHS monogram is carved under an equal cross with expanding terminals. The tympanum stone now rests in a secondary position, cemented into the W wall of the building. A photograph of the inscription taken in 1974 by family history enthusiast Michael Davoren shows that it originally featured a carved hood moulding with a plain chamfer.

Additional details as to the original construction of the building can be gleaned from accounts by both Westropp and Frost who visited the site in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Westropp noted that the roof and side wall were on the point of falling and that the 'pointed door' still stood in 1839. When Frost visited the site, he described the structure as being much ruined and, significantly, he also noted that it contained 'a broken stone altar'.¹¹⁰ A black and white photograph accompanying McNamara's article on the O'Davorens in the 1911-13 issue of the *North Munster Archaeology Society Journal* clearly depicts the building as having pointed gables rising above the barrel-vaulted roof. The S wall of the chapel was much collapsed in the photograph and has since been rebuilt.¹¹¹

As Lyttleton has observed, 'the practice of building mortuary chapels on or close to parish churches by the Catholic elite was growing increasingly popular through the seventeenth century'.¹¹² Since the Reformation, the creation of mortuary chapels had been one strategy employed by elite Catholics faced with the reform of their ancestral places of burial. Based on the medieval chantry chapel, these later mortuary

[109] Westropp, 'Kilnasoola, or Killnasoolagh Church'.

[110] Frost, *History and Topography*, 29.

[111] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158.

[112] James Lyttleton, 'The Gaelic aristocracy in Co. Offaly and the Counter Reformation', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture c.1550-1700* (2009), 193.

chapels sought both to express the status and social position of their patrons and to differentiate the sacred space from that of the main body of the church designated for Protestant service.¹¹³ In most cases these mortuary chapels were attached to the main body of the church, sometimes taking over or developing from earlier chantry chapels. Similarly in Paris, the period witnessed the proliferation of private chapels assigned to individual families and used for burial.¹¹⁴

It is quite likely that the parish church at Noughaval was already in a state of disrepair by the opening of the eighteenth century and as such unsuitable for the addition of a mortuary chapel. By 1622 the Royal Commission reported that all the churches of Clare, except Ennis and Killaloe were 'either wholly unroofed, or partially repaired by means of the fines levied upon the recusant Catholics'.¹¹⁵ If the locus of devotion had shifted from the parish church, then it is unsurprising that the chapel was not appended to it. The trend towards freestanding chapels may be understood as part of a longer tradition, remarked upon by Ó Carragáin.¹¹⁶ The 1731 report concerning the 'state of popery' in the kingdom of Ireland noted that there were thirteen 'mass-houses or places where Mass is publicly celebrated' in Kilfenora Diocese, most of them noted to be 'of old standing', but with 'one of them built and another rebuilt since the Reign of King George the first'.¹¹⁷

James Davoren's chapel was rich in symbolism expressed in the form of the monument, the iconography and the inscription. One of the most glaringly political symbols on the chapel was the, explicitly Catholic, IHS monogram carved on the tympanum (Fig. 7.27; Fig. 7.28). The invocation of Christ's name was practised in the earliest years of the Church, and the use of the abbreviated Greek rendering of Jesus' name, IHC and IHS, has been dated to at least the second century.¹¹⁸ The cult of the holy name of Jesus enjoyed resurgence in the later medieval period and took on distinctive Counter Reformation connotations when Ignatius Loyola chose it as the seal and emblem of the

[113] Tait, *Death and Burial*, 81.

[114] Vanessa Harding, *The dead and the living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Oxford & New York, 2002), pp. 149.

[115] Frost, *History and topography*, 551.

[116] Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in early medieval Ireland : architecture, ritual and memory* (New Haven , 2011), 223.

[117] Anonymous, 'Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731: Diocese of Tuam', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 3 (1914), 127

[118] Hugo Blake *et al.*, 'From popular devotion to resistance and revival in England: The cult of the holy name of Jesus and the Reformation', in David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003).



Fig 7.26 (top): The late Romanesque doorway on the medieval parish church at Noughaval.

Fig 7.27 (middle): Conjectural reconstruction drawing of the tympanum on the O'Davoren chapel.

Fig 7.28 (bottom): The tympanum of the O'Davoren chapel with its now lost hood moulding. Courtesy of Michael Davoren c.1970.

Society of Jesus. It is found in a variety of secular and ecclesiastical contexts associated with the public display of Catholicism in post-Reformation Britain and Ireland.

In the northeast of Scotland, Bryce and Roberts have documented how the IHS device and/or the *Arma Christi* were displayed on and in the houses of landed Catholics from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹⁹ Colm Donnelly has discussed the presence of the IHS monogram in a mid seventeenth-century context in a number of buildings in Limerick city and at Gortnetubbrid Castle, in the same county. In the case of Gortnetubbrid, Donnelly argues that the IHS monogram carved into a second floor window jamb can be read a symbol of Catholic resistance made either by the castle's Catholic occupants in the early years of the seventeenth century or by the Jacobite garrison who occupied the castle in the 1690s.¹²⁰ More recently, James Lyttleton has discussed the use of the symbol by members of the Coghlan family who were granted land in the plantation of Delvin Eathra in the 1620s, arguing that it represents 'an

[119] Lan B. D. Bryce and Alasdair Roberts, 'Post-Reformation Catholic Houses of North-East Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 123 (1993), 363-72., Lan B. D. Bryce and Alasdair Roberts, 'Post-Reformation Catholic Symbolism: Further and Different Examples', *Proc Soc Antic Scot.*, 126 (1996), 899-909.

[120] Colm J. Donnelly, 'The I.H.S. Monogram as a Symbol of Catholic Resistance in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 9/1 (2005), 40.

explicit assertion of a faith influenced by Tridentine doctrine, a display that could have drawn protest from...Protestant neighbours as well as sanctions from official quarters'.¹²¹

Catholic iconography was not restricted to secular contexts during the period. Clodagh Tait has illustrated how the IHS monogram and other potentially idolatrous Catholic symbols like the figure of Christ and the tools of the passion were frequently displayed on elite Catholic funerary monuments in reformed churches during the first part of the seventeenth century.¹²² Towards the end of the century, as the use of commemorative funerary monuments percolated down the social scale, the IHS monogram became a very popular motif on Catholic headstones, and Mytum has noted the 'extremely widespread' use of the device on early eighteenth-century headstones.¹²³ The use of explicitly Catholic iconography took on added significance in the context of the penal or 'popery laws' promulgated between the 1690s and 1720s and designed to secure the Protestant interest in Ireland.¹²⁴

The Catholic iconography on the tympanum of the Davoren chapel is accompanied by an English language inscription executed in Roman script recording the name, place of residence, date and age of death of the chapel's patron. Both James Davoren's name and his place of residence are given in anglicised form; his name has dropped the 'O' and his place of residence is given in phonetic versions of the Gaelic placename. The choice to use the English language and anglicised personal and placenames on the monument is intriguing, but not unusual. Indeed between 1550 and 1650, there are only a handful of examples of Irish funerary monuments incorporating Irish language inscriptions; the bulk of inscriptions are in English or Latin.¹²⁵ The choice of language begs questions about audience and highlights the multivalency of these monuments. Who did James Davoren intend to read the inscription above his chapel? Why did he write it in English?

Following Jonathan Finch, Tait has sought an answer to this question of language in its symbolic qualities. Finch argues that Latin was used on early modern funerary monuments in England because the written language itself, with its clear associations with Classical learning, was emblematic of elite status. Donogh O'Brien's monument in Kilnasoolagh is a good example of this. Tait contends that in Ireland the use of

[121] James Lyttleton, 'The Gaelic aristocracy in Co. Offaly', 184.

[122] Clodagh Tait, *Death and Burial*, 79. The mural funerary monuments at Kilnaboy for example.

[123] Harold Mytum, 'Local Traditions in Early Eighteenth-Century Commemoration: The Headstone Memorials from Balrothery, Co. Dublin and Their Place in the Evolution of Irish and British Commemorative Practice', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 104C (2004), 11. See also Robert M. Chapple, 'A Statistical Analysis and Preliminary Classification of Gravestones from Craughwell, Co. Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 52 (2000), 160.

[124] Ian McBride, *Eighteenth century Ireland, island of slaves* (Dublin, 2009), 199.

[125] Tait, *Death and burial*, 109.

English on such monuments operated in a similar manner.¹²⁶ In early eighteenth-century Clare, English was the language of state authority and the top tier of the landed gentry. It was the language of judges, constables, land deeds, and the language in which he corresponded with his O'Brien patrons. In contrast, Gaelic endured as the spoken language of the bulk of the population in County Clare until the nineteenth century. By using English, James Davoren underscored his position within the new English order, and perhaps the basis of his authority as a land agent to the anglicised O'Briens. We must bear in mind that it was one facet of a multifaceted identity. It is interesting that in Muircheartach O Bhriain's 1754 O'Davoren pedigree, James Davoren is styled 'Seamus [Ó Dábhoireann] of Liosduinbhearna'.¹²⁷

The form of the architecture too, is imbued with symbolism, particularly the semi-pointed arched doorway. The use of a gothic arch on the doorway distinguishes it from the formal Classical style of architecture that dominated elite buildings in the period.¹²⁸ The model for the pointed doorway with its chamfered hood-moulding and inscribed tympanum, would appear to be the fine Romanesque entrance on the medieval parish church (Fig. 7.26). This was perhaps an attempt by James Davoren to link the two buildings thus underlining his ancestry, and thus legitimating the authority that he wielded over his tenants, and those on the Leamaneh estate.

Davoren could have (if he wished) created a monument of classical inspiration, while not of the calibre of Sir Donogh O'Brien's monument, then certainly a scaled down version, calling on some of its elements. But, he chose not to. Both men desired 'decent' places of burial, but their conceptions of decency was not the same. This difference was based on their divergences in education, wealth, religion and values.

7.5.2 *Securing the afterlife the Noughaval pattern*

The chapel not only served as an expression of James Davoren's social identity, but as a locus of intercession to ease his passage through purgatory. The presence of a stone altar in the chapel would indicate that it was intended to be used for the celebration of mass. We might surmise that it served much like a chantry. While the small internal floor space of the chapel (c.20m²) militated against the use of the chapel for more communal services, its siting indicates that James Davoren intentionally inserted the chapel into the

[126] Tait, *Death and burial*, 110.

[127] Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens', 158.

[128] See Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (Dublin 1982), chapter 12.



Fig 7.29 (top): Photograph of the Davoren chapel at Noughaval and *leacht* at Noughaval. Looking southeast.



Fig 7.30 (bottom): Photograph of the Davoren chapel and the *leacht* at Noughaval c.1910. From the Macnamara Collection, Clare County Library.

existing *turas* or pattern circuit in the Noughaval church yard, probably in an attempt to garner more prayers for his soul.

Patterns were held at Noughaval into the nineteenth century and were focused on the holy well named ‘Tobermogua’. The Martyrology of Donegal records the feast of St. Mogua ‘virgin of Cluain Boireann’ as 15 December.¹²⁹ In 1839, O Curry and O Donovan reported that “a pattern” was annually held on the 10th of February, as well as the natives can now remember.¹³⁰ In 1911 Westropp noted that stations, focused on Tobermogua, were held ‘till late years’ at Noughaval on the 10 February.¹³¹ The pattern, or patron saint’s day, was an enduring expression of popular culture and devotion in Ireland. The phenomenon attracted great interest from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writers, who, fascinated and appalled in equal measure, left vivid

[129] Thomas J. Westropp, ‘The Churches of County Clare and the Origin of the Ecclesiastical Divisions in That County’, *PRLA* 22 (1900-1902), 110.

[130] Maureen Comber (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis 1997), 61.

[131] Thomas J. Westropp, ‘A folklore survey of County Clare (continued)’, *Folklore*, 22, 3 (1911), 335.

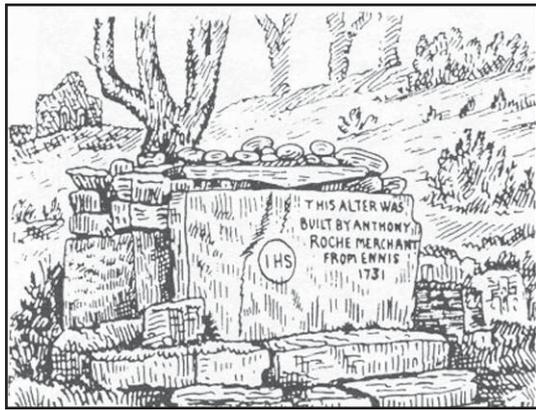


Fig. 7.31: St. John's holy well, near Killoe Abbey. Anthony Roch of Ennis built an altar at the site in 1731. Sketch by Westropp (1911).

descriptions.¹³² The post-medieval pattern typically comprised circumambulatory rituals at stations, which in addition to the well, could include *leachta*, sacred stones, older ecclesiastical ruins or other foci.¹³³ The devotional rituals were usually followed by dancing, music, the consumption of alcohol and/ or faction fighting.¹³⁴

While there is good evidence that many pilgrimage sites had their genesis in the early medieval period, and potentially earlier, the monuments at such sites

and the attendant rituals developed over time. The early modern period witnessed an increase in pilgrimage activity. In 1611 the Bishop of Ossory noted the 'favour with which the faithful had begun of late years to visit the sanctuaries and hallowed pilgrimages frequented of old by their fathers'.¹³⁵ Indeed, some scholars, notably Michael Carroll, have argued that patterns and popular pilgrimages can be traced to the 'devotional revolution' of the seventeenth century, issuing from the merging of 'a number of general Tridentine emphases imported from Continent Europe with local communitarian traditions'. According to Carroll, this merger resulted in a form of popular Catholicism in which 'holy wells, rounding rituals, and patterns became central to the experience of "being Catholic"'.¹³⁶ Nevertheless the Catholic hierarchy frowned on patterns and condemnations were vigorously issued from the mid-seventeenth century onwards (Fig. 7.31).¹³⁷

Origins aside, it would appear that the pattern day's marriage of penance and more boisterous cultural expressions was well established by the seventeenth century.¹³⁸ Clare

[132] Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, 'Revisiting the holy well', *Éire-Ireland* 40, 1 & 2 (2005), 12; See for example Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the south of Ireland illustrative of the scenery, architectural remains, and the manners and superstitions of the peasantry* (London, 1825).

[133] Jerry O Sullivan and Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurry, monks and pilgrims in an Atlantic landscape* (Cork, 2008), 317; Ó Giolláin, 'The holy well', 13.

[134] Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'The holy wells of Limerick', *JRSAL*, 85, 2 (1955), 195.

[135] Cited in O Sullivan and Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurry, monks*, 317.

[136] Michael P. Carroll, *Irish pilgrimage: holy wells and popular Catholic devotion* (Maryland, 1999), 135.

[137] Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, 'The pattern', in James S. Donnelly and Kerby A. Miller (eds.), *Irish popular culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998), 214.

[138] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people*, 87; Raymond Gillespie, 'Popular and unpopular religion: a view from early modern Ireland', in James S. Donnelly and Kerby A. Miller (eds.), *Irish popular culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998), 38; Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, 'The pattern', in James S. Donnelly and Kerby A. Miller (eds.), *Irish popular culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998), 214; See for example Sir Henry Pier's account of the pilgrimage to the chapel of St. Keyon in Westmeath in 1682 Here events began with barefoot rounds 'all



Fig. 7.32: Tobermogua holy well at Nougaval with its ‘ancient and uncount ash tree’ noted by Westropp in 1896.

Fig. 7.33: View of James Davoren’s chapel from the well.

was no exception. In 1669, Fr. Anthony Mac Brody related that Thomond was blessed with ‘several wells made holy by saints’ and related that up to 6,000 people gathered at one well site on its patron day.¹³⁹ In addition to accounts of patterns, there is evidence for renewed patronage of these sites by Catholic elites in the form of new well houses, altars and in the restoration of older monuments. At Toberfoughtna, Kilfenora, a small

along to the chapel’ and finished in ‘lewd and obscene dancing and carousing’. The gathering was attended by ‘merry bag-pipers’ and ale sellers ‘in great numbers ...as in a fair’: Sir Henry Piers, *A Chorographical description of the county Westmeath* (1682), 14.

[139] Ó Dálaigh, *The strangers gaze*, 42-3.

well house, set with an armorial plaque and a Latin inscription attributing construction to 'Donaldus Mac Donogh', was built c.1687.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, at Dysart O Dea an English inscription on St. Tola's cross records that the monument was 'newly repaired by Michael O Dea, son of Connor Crone O Dea, in the year 1683'.¹⁴¹ At Saint John's holy well, near Killoe Abbey, a site was noted for its summer patterns, 'Anthony Roch of Ennis' built an altar in 1731.¹⁴²

A number of monuments associated with pattern day devotions can be identified at Noughaval. These include Tobermogua, a drystone *leacht* with a slab cross and the medieval church itself. Tobermogua is little more than a spring at the base of the limestone shelf that runs along the east side of the settlement. The *leacht*¹⁴³ comprises a low rectangular platform (c.0.65m high and 3.15 by 3.5m E-W); its western part is capped by a thin limestone slab, extending across the width of the monument. A slot in the southern part of the slab holds a limestone, ringed cross (0.78m tall; 0.66m wide) exhibiting faint traces of incised decoration. Harbison dates it to 'not earlier than the twelfth century'.¹⁴⁴ The body of the monument is made from dry-stone walling, and includes several pieces of punch-dressed stone. Mac Namara's photographs of the *leacht* at Noughaval c.1910 show the monument in a state of disrepair. The limestone slab with its cross appear to rest upon a cairn of cut-stone blocks. Its current form is largely a result of post-1910 restoration.

The location of the Davoren chapel is significant in the context of ongoing eighteenth-century pilgrimage at Noughaval. The chapel lies immediately (c.2.2m) to the west of the *leacht*, between the monument and Tobermogua (Fig. 7.29; Fig. 7.30). Pilgrims making rounds at the site would be compelled to pass close by the chapel on their way from the well to the *leacht*. The chapel blocked the line of site between the two monuments (Fig. 7.32; Fig. 7.33). The position of the chapel thus disrupted established pilgrimage rituals at the site. It would seem that its location was an attempt by Davoren to incorporate his new monument into the rounds, ensuring a constant stream of prayers for his soul. This incorporation also served to reproduce deferential relationships between James Davoren and elements of the parish community, even in death.

In life, James Davoren's authority was not unquestionably accepted by his tenants and/or servants. The one notable incident that surfaces in the letters between him

[140] Comber, *Antiquities*, 88.

[141] Comber, *Antiquities*, 48.

[142] Westropp, 'Folkore survey', 335.

[143] *Leachta* are diverse monuments ranging in from 'large platforms underlying gable shrines to amorphous penitential stations' of more recent date. Some of the monuments have their origin as grave markers or outdoor alters; during the post-medieval period they usually served as pilgrimage stations; O Sullivan and Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurry*, 321, 316.

[144] Peter Harbison, *The high crosses of Ireland: an iconographical and photographic survey*, (3 vols, Dublin, 1992), vol. 1, 384

and Catherine O'Brien concerned the theft, in 1718, of the substantial sum of £100 by five servants he had employed.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, the attempt by James Davoren to reproduce deferential relationships even after his death did not go uncontested. While, as Scott has discussed, the hidden transcript of many historical subordinate groups is irrecoverable for practical purposes, one small fragment of 'tradition' collected by John O'Donovan in Kilmoon parish in 1839 offers insight into popular attitudes to James Davoren. Of the Lisdoonvarna O'Davorens, O'Donovan wrote, 'the only tradition remembered in connection with the family is that they were very haughty, aristocratical and tyrannical'.¹⁴⁶ The memory, recorded over one hundred years after James Davoren's death speaks to the oral strategies of resistance employed by subaltern groups. Gossip, 'the most familiar and elementary form of disguised popular aggression' served to damage the reputation of its target, and to contrast their undesirable behaviour against accepted norms.¹⁴⁷

7.6 Summary and Conclusion

The settlement patterns and material culture generated by the O'Davoren family post-transplantation presents the twin themes of continuity, the fostering of the traditional with accommodation to the new order. The transplantation and its attendant land settlements had a profound impact on the way in which the sept held land. It swept away the customary tenurial regimes, by which the O'Davorens held land from the O'Loughlins and erenaghs of Noughaval, and instead instituted freehold tenure. *Circa* 1637, ten members of the sept were land holders. This had reduced to just two by 1660. The two parcels of land which members of the O'Davoren sept held in freehold both saw the construction of dwellings in the second half of the seventeenth century. At Lislarheen a small stone dwelling was constructed. The building drew on new and traditional architectural forms. Similarly the organisation of the broader holding at Lislarheen embodied a mix of new and traditional elements. The post-Cromwellian position of the landed members of the family was based on both the reinforcing and reframing of their traditional gentry status. Members of the sept were active in new local institutions such as the manor court at Finavarra, and they were fully aware and engaged with the broader national and international politics as witnessed by their participation in the Williamite-Jacobite war. As an agent for the Leamanah and Dromoland O'Briens, James Davoren was continuing the sept's role as social arbitrators. His chapel at Noughaval underscores his multilayered identity. It was both a statement of Catholic identity and resistance in a Protestant state, a mechanism for securing prayers in the afterlife and an assertion of status within the local parish community. It

[145] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 139.

[146] Comber, *Antiquities*, 70.

[147] James C. Scott, *Domination and the arts of resistance, hidden transcripts* (Michigan, 1990), 142.

drew on vernacular architectural traditions and spoke to O'Davoren's deep roots in the parish but used an English language inscription.

Chapter 8: The O'Callaghans in Clare

8.0 Introduction

In 1657, Donogh O'Callaghan, his wife Ellen and his cousin Conor were granted final settlements of land in the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty, Co. Clare. Donogh and Ellen received a little over a quarter of the acreage they had held in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* in 1641. The first years of their residence in Clare were marked by uncertainty over the duration of their stay, but by the second generation, the family had begun to make a more permanent mark on the Clare landscape, building a new house, carving out a demesne and developing their broader estate. This chapter aims to explore the settlement archaeology of the O'Callaghan transplantation holding in Co. Clare. It begins by briefly sketching the political geography of East Clare in the first half of the seventeenth century. The early phase of O'Callaghan settlement is assessed using the 1660 poll tax. The development of the estate is then explored with reference to the creation of a primary residence, a demesne and a demesne village. Landscapes of burial are also considered. Finally, themes of identity and place are explored with specific reference to an elegiac poem written c.1724 for a senior member of the O'Callaghan sept.

8.1 Tulla and Bunratty, Political Geography c.1637

The baronies of Tulla and Bunratty comprise the entire portion of County Clare east of the River Fergus. The Fergus and its estuary delimit the western extent of the region. It is bound to the north by the Slieve Aughty Mountains and to the east and south by Lough Derg, the River Shannon and the Shannon estuary. Topographically, the region is characterised by a glaciated lowland corridor, underlain by Carboniferous limestone, stretching from Scariff in the northeast to Ennis and Shannon in the southwest, flanked by the Slieve Aughty Mountains to the north, and the Slieve Bearnagh Mountains to the southeast.¹

The baronies of Tulla and Bunratty were the patrimony of the Mac Namaras. In the late medieval period, the lordship of *Clann Chuileáin* split into east and west portions that became the respective baronies of Tulla and Bunratty. Tulla was the patrimony of the MacNamara Reagh and Bunratty that of the MacNamara Finn.² By the time of the Strafford Survey in 1637, Thomond had experienced almost 100 years of anglicisation. The relationships and impetuses that had structured the late medieval Gaelic lordships

[1] Finch, *Soils of Clare*, 172-4.

[2] McInerney, Luke, 'The west Clann Chuilein Lordship in 1586: evidence from a forgotten inquisition', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 48 (2008), 33.

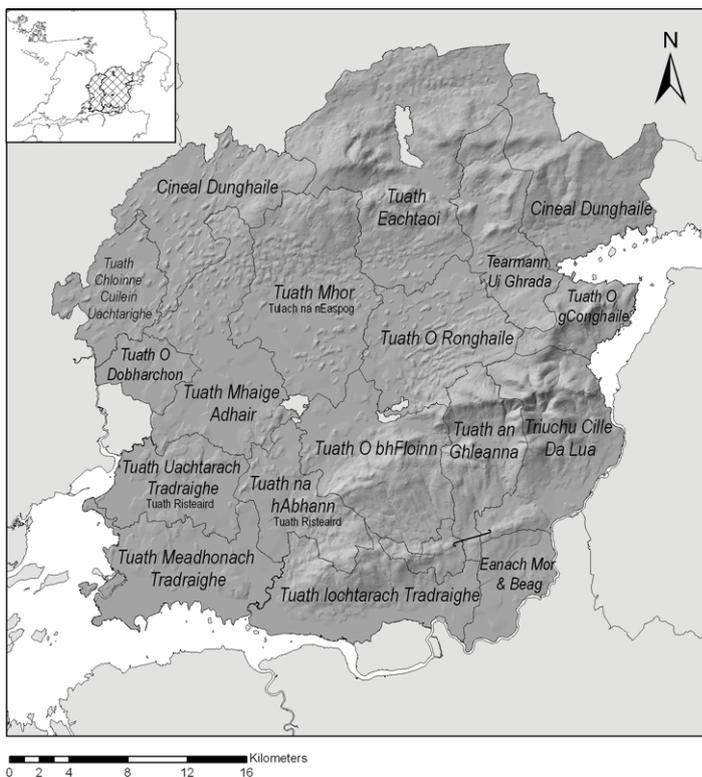
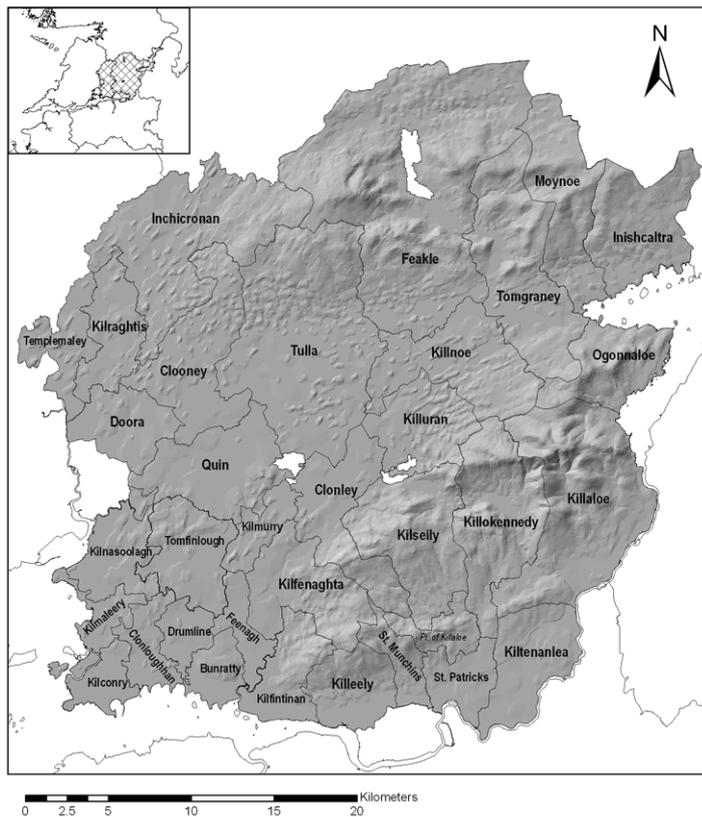


Fig. 8.1: The civil parishes and *tuatha* of *Clann Chuireáin* (after Nugent 2007).

had substantially unravelled or were reconfigured as the institutions of the centralising state expanded into the territory with the support of the O'Brien earls of Thomond. As Nugent has demonstrated, divergent landholding strategies were employed by different sectors of Thomond society during the period, in part reflective of their 'adaptability' to the new order. This resulted in a variegated pattern of land holding, characterised by the dual processes of estate division and consolidation as practised by 'adapting' and 'tradition bound' septs (4.2; 4.2.1).³

At the forefront of the modernising landholders was Henry O'Brien, the fifth Earl of Thomond whose substantial consolidated-holding focused on the rich alluvial flats and limestone lowlands flanking the Fergus and Shannon estuaries in the barony of Bunratty. Henry's large estate was largely the work of his father Donnachadh O'Brien

[3] Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of County Clare and their territories c.1100-1700 A.D.* (Dublin, 2007), 192.

(d.1624), whose anglicising tendencies extended to the importation of English and Dutch tenants to his developing English-style estate.⁴ Echoing formal state plantation, the fourth earl developed a nucleated settlement at Sixmilebridge, Kilfenaghta parish, and he issued leases to his new tenantry stipulating that they improve their holdings.⁵ The principal aim of the fourth and fifth earls' territorial strategy was 'the control and protection of the emerging nucleated settlements and maintenance of peaceful conditions for commercial agricultural production in their hinterlands'.⁶ Henry's brother, Sir Barnabas O'Brien, who succeeded him to the Earldom in 1639, held almost half of the parish of Killaloe. Barnabas was one of the three Clare members of the 1634 parliament.⁷ Murrrough O'Brien, first Earl of Inchiquin, held over a third of the parish of Killaloe. Sir Daniel O'Brien, first Viscount Clare, also held parcels of land in the area.⁸

In 1637, the Mac Namaras were still large landholders in Tulla. The core of their landholding remained in the *Clann Chuileáin* heartland of the parishes of Feakle, Tulla, Kilnoe, Kilseily, Clonley and Kilmurry. The largest landholder among the Mac Namara Reaghs at this time was Teige Mac Daniel Reagh, who held fifteen and one-third quarters of land, chiefly within the adjacent parishes of Feakle (*Tuath Eachtaoi*) and Tulla (*Tuath Mbór* and *Tullach na nEaspog*), with additional parcels in the parish of Quin.⁹ Teige's father, Donnell Reagh Mac Cumeadha Mac Donogh, had taken the title of Mac Namara Reagh in 1570 upon the death of John Mac Sheeda of Mountallon. *Tuath O bhFloinn* coterminous with the parishes of Clonlea and Kilsily was the patrimony of the Mountallon Mac Namaras, who in 1637 were represented by Daniel Mac Teige Mac Namara and Lady Jenette Mac Namara, grandnephew and widow of Sir John Mac Namara Knight of Mountallon (d. 1632).¹⁰ In 1637, Daniel Mac Teige held land in Clonley, Killaloe, Killokennedy, Kilseily, Tulla, Killuran and Ogonnaloe. Lady Jeanette MacNamara held land in Killuran, Killseily, Tulla and Ogonnaloe. The lands of the Mac Namara Finn, lords of west *Clan Chuileáin*, were slowly appropriated by the expanding

[4] Bernadette Cunningham, 'Continuity and change: Donnchadh O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond (d.1624)', in Matthew Lynch & Patrick Nugent (eds) *Clare history and society* (Dublin, 2008), 73.

[5] Ciarán Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society in seventeenth century Clare', unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Galway, 1982, 12.

[6] Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 214.

[7] Frost, *History and topography*, 623.

[8] Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'O'Brien, Sir Daniel 1st Viscount Clare', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), [<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6457>] Accessed 2 May 2012, 13:00.

[9] Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 194-5, 224.

[10] Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 226; Frost, *History and topography*, 318.

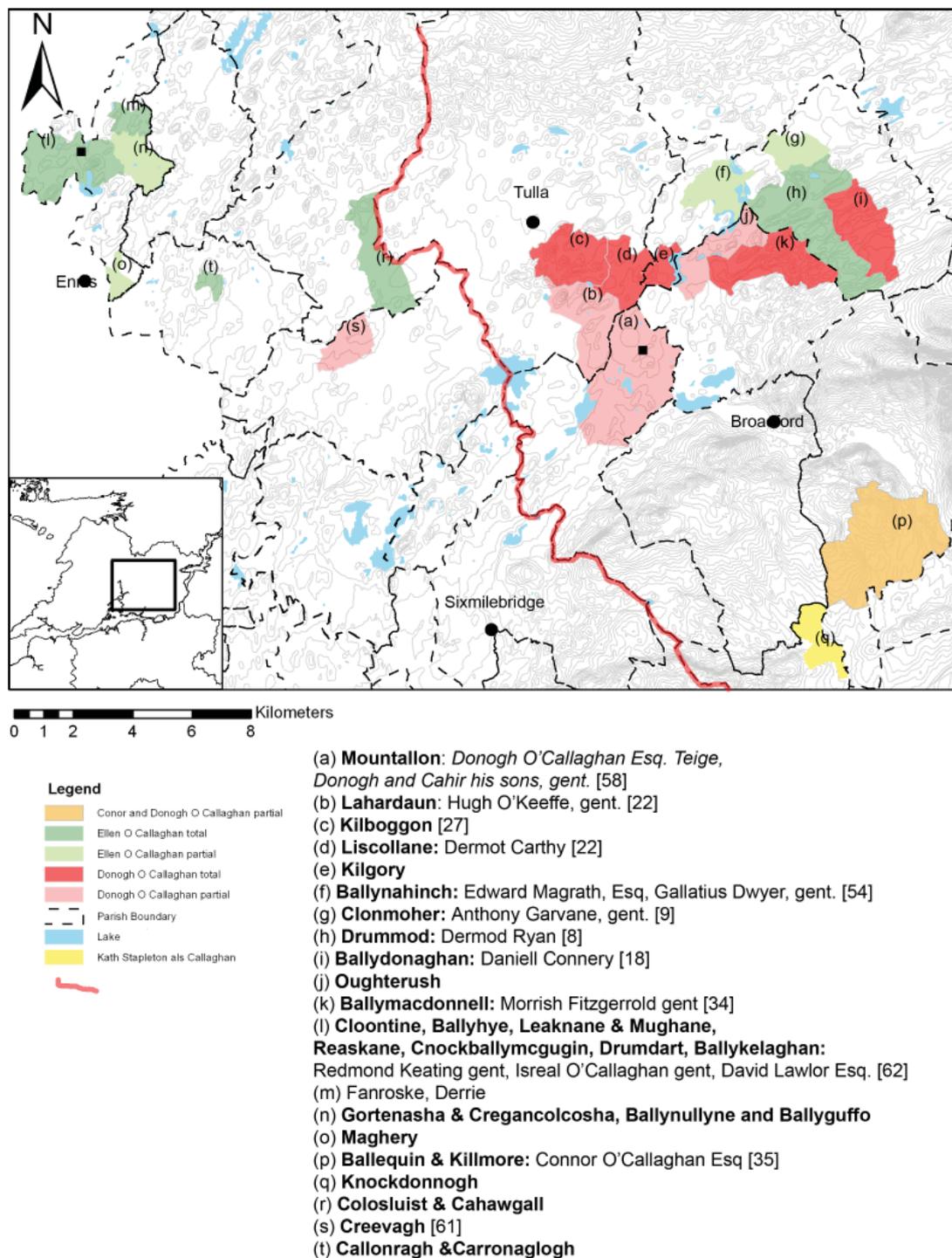


Fig. 8.2: The O'Callaghan holding in Clare circa 1659.

holding of the earls of Thomond, so that by 1637 they held only 22% of Bunnratty barony.¹¹

While the native elites dominated landholding, land was also held by men from outside the county. Merchants from the city of Limerick and Galway were a notable presence in the area as indicated by the names Strich, Bourke, Arthur, Blake, Lynch and Woulf

[11] Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 227.

among the landholder in the Strafford Survey.¹² A major avenue by which this group acquired land in the region was through unredeemed mortgages.¹³ Landed interests from further afield are also in evidence. Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, held most of the parish of Tomgraney and a parcel of land in Inishcaltra, including 'Iniskalto' island itself.¹⁴ Luke Brady Esq., held most of the parish of Tomgraney. His father Hugh Brady, protestant bishop of Meath had been granted the lands by Elizabeth in 1582.¹⁵ The parish had been the patrimony of the O'Grady sept, who held the coarbship of St. Cronan since at least the twelfth century.¹⁶

Collective land ownership and partible inheritance were still in evidence among the members of certain septs within *Clann Chuireáin*, reflected by the fragmentation of holdings into minute parcels and co-ownership of land. This pattern is most prevalent in the upland Aughty region. The pattern was also prevalent on the lands of the smaller vassal and service septs of the Mac Namaras, namely the O'Moloneys of Tulla,¹⁷ the O'Hollerans of Killnoe and Feakle,¹⁸ the Mac Cusacks of Killokennedy,¹⁹ as well as among lesser members of the Mac Namaras at Inishcaltra.²⁰ In 1587, for example, John Mac Namara of Ballymulrony died leaving his lands to be divided 'according to the custom of gavelkind' among five sons.²¹ In Bunratty the pattern was evident among the O'Gradys and Mac Quinns and among traditional learned families such as the O'Brody historians in Inchicronan parish and the O'Hicky medical family in Cloney parish.²²

[12] Ó Murchadha, 'Land and society', 20, 187; Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 233; David Fleming, 'Limerick's eighteenth-century economy', In Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, Liam Irwin, Matthew Potter (eds.), *Limerick: history and society* (Dublin, 2009), 171; Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick: Its History and Antiquities* (Cork, 1967), 139, 366. Daniel oge Reagh Mac Namara was recorded as mortgaging certain lands to one Nicholas Stritch of Limerick. Frost, *History and topography*, 283, 298.

[13] Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 193.

[14] Robert C. Simington, *Books of survey and distribution, being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of title, 1636-1703 Vol. IV County of Clare reproduced from the manuscript in the Public Record Office with maps* (Dublin, 1967), 1-2, 7-12.

[15] Helen Coburn-Walsh, 'Enforcing the Elizabethan Settlement: The Vicissitudes of Hugh Brady, Bishop of Meath, 1563-84', *Irish Historical Studies*, 26/104 (1989), 335; Frost, *History and topography*, 312.

[16] St. John D. Seymour, 'The Coarb in the Medieval Irish Church (Circa 1200-1550)', *PRLA Section C*, 41 (1932 - 1934), 226; Frost *History and topography*, 125.

[17] The quarter of Glandree for example, was shared among eight kinsmen; the third of a quarter of Uggons was shared among four kinsmen, who held one twelfth of a quarter each, and whose name form indicates they may have been brothers. Simington, *BSD Clare*, 20-1.

[18] Simington, *Clare BSD*, 13,36.

[19] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 66.

[20] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 3; Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 225.

[21] Frost, *History and topography*, 306.

[22] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 96-118; K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 92; Nugent *Gaelic clans*, 77.



Fig. 8.3: *Hiberniae Delineatio* map (1685) showing the area of O'Callaghan settlement.

More generally, Nugent has noted the tendency of minor freeholders with holdings to share denominations with those of similar status.²³

8.2. Occupying the Clare lands: O'Callaghan settlement c.1659

Co. Clare was assigned to the inhabitants of the counties of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King's and Tipperary.²⁴ Decrees were also issued to transplanters from Cork, Galway, Limerick, Mayo, Queen's County and Waterford.²⁵ Some ten individuals from Cork were allocated land in the baronies of Tulla and Bunnary. In addition to three members of the O'Callaghan sept, one Richard Barry, Daniel MacCarthy, Thomas FitzMorris, John Magner, Donogh Magrath, David Stapleton, Katherine Stapleton and Ellen Roch, Dowager Lady Muskerry, were all allotted land in Tulla and Bunnary.

Three members of the O'Callaghan sept were granted certificates of transplantation: Ellen O'Callaghan, her husband Donogh O'Callaghan and Donogh's brother Connor O'Callaghan.²⁶ 'Donogh Callaghan, late of Cloonmeene in Co. Cork, [and] Ellen his wife' received their final settlements of 2,497 and 2,503 acres respectively on the 29 August 1657.²⁷ Together, this represented just over a quarter of the 19,888 acres that

[23] Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 226.

[24] Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), 2.

[25] Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, 6-9; Dunlop, *Ireland under the commonwealth*, Vol. 2, 567.

[26] Kin relationships based on Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, *Burke's Irish family records* (London & New York, 1976), 888.

[27] Gilbert, John Thomas and Rosa M. Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny*, (2 vols, London, 1895), Vol. 2, 127

Donogh held in 1641. On the same date Donogh's brother, Connor, received 400 acres.²⁸ Ellen's land was in the parishes of Templemaley, Kilraghtis, Cloney and Doonry in Bunratty and Kilnoe in Tulla, while Donogh's was in the parishes of Tulla, Killnoe, Killuran, Clonley, and Killaloe in Tulla and Quin in Bunratty. Connor's grant was in Killokennedy, Tulla barony.

Together Donogh and Ellen's grants comprised two continuous blocks of land, one in Templemaley (the Templemaley block) and one in Tulla/Killnoe/Killuran/Clonley (the Tulla block) with additional outlying parcels. Ellen's Templemaley block lay on the Fergus River, just 5km to the north of Ennis. The Tulla block lay in the lowland corridor between the settlements of Tulla, Broadford and Kilkishen. It was a glaciated landscape of drumlins and lakes, covered by grey-brown podzolics and gleys, with patches of peat between the hillocks.²⁹ The region is drained by a number of minor rivers spilling into the string of glacially carved lakes that cross it.

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges for transplantees, like the O'Callaghans, was navigating the unfamiliar, peopled landscape in which they had been allotted lands. The commissioners for setting out lands doled out abstract acres of land assessed for its 'profitability', anatomised into the generic categories 'arable', 'pasture' and 'bog'.³⁰ Filtered through the eye of English surveyors, the landscape was stripped of its texture and particularity. The land surveys did, however, make partial use of the existing Gaelic territorial framework, the smaller land assessment units of which were ossified into townlands with flat English renditions of their Gaelic names.³¹ It was perhaps through these placenames, at once foreign and familiar, that Donogh and Ellen first glimpsed their holding.

While transplantees were *au fait* with the broad outlines of the political institutions in Connacht and Clare, they needed to familiarise themselves with the local constellations of power. The enduring and weighty resonance that place held in the native tradition, both grounded resistance to the transplantation among transplantees, and readied them for a hostile welcome in Connacht. Even Richard Lawrence, in his pamphlet supporting the scheme, recognised the unwillingness of transplanter 'to quit the possession of their ancient inheritances and to be settled upon other men's land in Connaught, who it's like they may foresee will bid them such welcome as they will bid soldiers and adventures upon their lands', noting 'such niceties as these are, may trouble them'.³² Indeed, in 1655, it was reported that 'many of the Irish nation have

[28] Gilbert and Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde*, Vol. 2, 127.

[29] Finch, *Soils of Clare*, 77-8.

[30] Dunlop, *Ireland under the commonwealth*, Vol. 2, 387; Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, ix.

[31] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, C.1530-1750* (Cork, 2006), 86.

[32] Richard Lawrence, *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated* (London, 1655), 19.

offered several affronts and abuses to divers of the transplanted persons', and the authorities recommended that the offending parties be banished to 'some remote parts of Connacht'.³³ The guilt at taking other people's land certainly weighted on some consciences, and Lord Clare (Daniel O'Brien) went as far as leaving land he had acquired through the transplantation 'which of right belonged to and was the estate of other proprietors in the year 1641' to its original proprietors in his will.³⁴

It was these considerations that shaped O'Callaghan settlement of their new lands. The very process of finding their lands and identifying the paper grants on the ground would have required local assistance. Did they recruit Clare natives to walk the bounds of their allocated townlands with them, to tell them the names of the hills circling the horizon, or the past occupants of this or that townland? Donogh O'Callaghan was among a national community of elite Catholics, forged through twenty years of conflict. He could call other members of this community in Clare to assist him in orientating himself. Daniel O'Brien, Viscount Clare, like O'Callaghan, had served on the supreme council of the confederated Catholics, and both were part of the same 'peace' faction within the organisation.³⁵

How did the O'Callaghans and their tenants and followers settle the new Clare lands? The 1659 poll tax serves as a useful index of their settlement in Clare, two years after the grant of final settlement (Fig. 8.2). The tax return names seven members of the O'Callaghan sept as *titulados*, most of who were settled on Donogh and Ellen's holding. Donogh O'Callaghan Esq., 'chief of his name', and his sons Teig, Donogh and Cahir (gents), were listed as residing at Mountallon, Clonlea parish. One Isreal O'Callaghan (gent) was settled at Ballyallia, Templemaley³⁶ on the western outlying portion of Ellen's holding. Connor O'Callaghan Esq. was on his lands in Killokenndy, Tulla. Finally, a Callaghan O'Callaghan (gent) was listed at Dromanure, Kilmaley parish, allotted to one Garrett Ffox and ultimately to the protestant adventurer Lord Massarene.³⁷

The 1659 tax return indicates that most of the O'Callaghan settlement was on the Tulla block of land. This decision was in large part shaped by local politics. While the Templemaley block of lands was in many respects more suitable for settlement, it was on rich arable land flanking the river Fergus, near the town and administrative centre of Ennis, the parish was dominated by powerful political interests, namely the Earl of Thomond and Sir Valentine Blake. The land which Ellen was granted had been held by

[33] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement*, 98.

[34] Frost, *History and topography*, 609-10.

[35] Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland 1642-1649, a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 2008), 246.

[36] Seamus Pender, *A census of Ireland, circa 1659. With supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances, 1660-1661* (Dublin, 1939), 165.

[37] Headfort BSD, 23; See John Cunningham, *Conquest and land in Ireland: the transplantation to Connacht, 1649-1680* (Suffolk, 2011), 113.

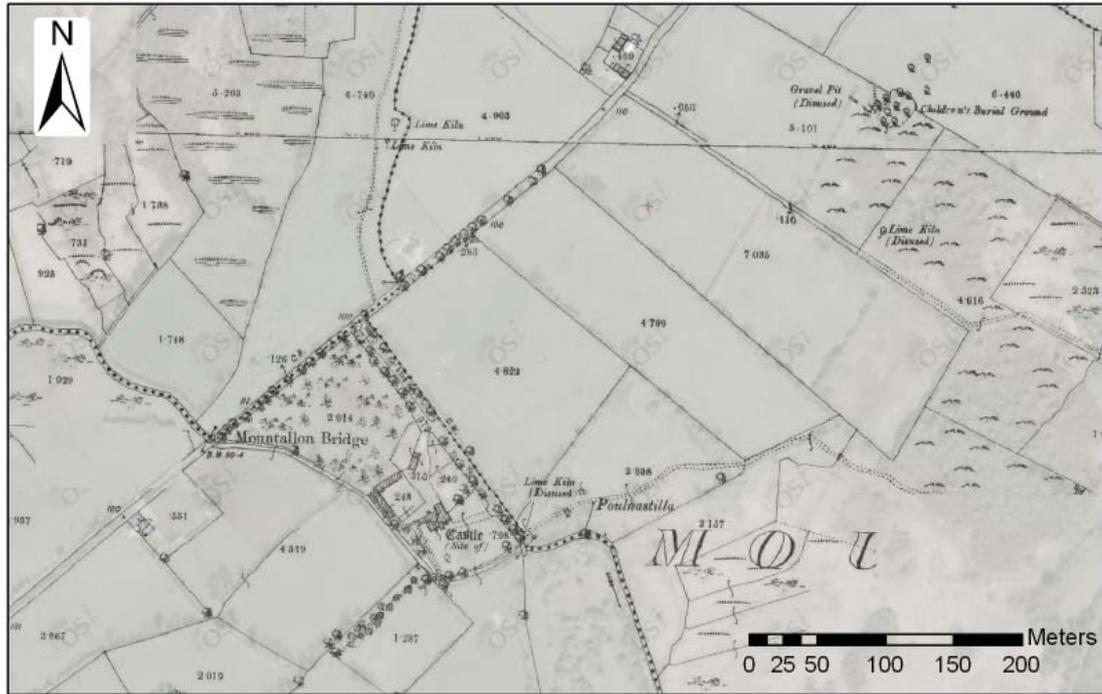


Fig. 8.4 (above): Site of Mountallon castle as depicted on the 25-inch OS map (1893), overlaid on OS aerial photography. Note the childrens' burial ground in the top right corner.



Fig. 8.5 (left): The site of Mountallon castle.



Fig. 8.6 (below): Site of Mountallon castle as depicted on the 1840 OS map.

the Galway alderman Sir Valentine Blake in 1641. His widow and son John successfully claimed the land under the Restoration land settlement. The single case recorded in the court of settlement in 1663 was between Lady Blake and 'O'Callaghan', with the land being confirmed to Lady Blake.³⁸ The block of land in Tulla was held by less powerful interests.

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The immediate needs for shelter pushed transplantees towards the occupation of existing buildings on their new holdings. Indeed, two of the denominations that were settled by members of the O'Callaghan sept in 1659, Ballyallia and Mountallon, contained towerhouses. Ballyallia had been

[38] Geraldine Tallon, *Court of Claims: submissions and evidence, 1663* (Dublin, 2006), 373.

held by James Neylan,³⁹ and later by Sir Valentine Blake.⁴⁰ During the unrest of 1641, the tower served as a place of refuge for protestant settlers and was laid siege to by the confederates.⁴¹ Mountallon was the former *caput* of East *Clann Chuileáin*. In the upheaval that characterised the 1650s, the surviving stone towers offered readymade fortified accommodation for newcomers, uncertain of their futures or the duration of their stay. Clare was one of the most castellated counties in Ireland and the Mac Namaras in particular were prolific builders. It is unsurprising that in 1659 a strong correlation existed between those denominations that returned higher populations and those with towerhouses.

8.3 The initial settlement Mountallon

While Ballyallia, a sub-denomination of the now extinct quarter of Ballykelaghan, was initially granted to Ellen O'Callaghan, and was occupied by one of her kinsmen in 1659, by 1703, the land had passed to Lady Blake and John Blake.⁴² Mountallon, in contrast, became an important focus in the nascent O'Callaghan estate. It would seem to have been the first place settled by Donogh and Ellen and their followers upon their removal to Clare.

In the mid-to-late sixteenth century, Mountallon was the *caput* of the Mac Namara Reagh lordship of East *Clann Chuileáin*. In 1542, Sioda, son of Mac-con son of Sioda, son of Teige son of Lochlain Mac-con Macnamra of Mountallon...Chief Captain of his name and sept called Clancuilein [*Clann Chuileáin*] entered into an agreement with Anthony St. Leger, whereby his lands were granted to him under English tenure and he was given a knighthood.⁴³ In 1570, his successor to the office of East *Clann Chuileáin*, John Mac Sida Mac Namara, held the castles of Mountallon, Doon, Caherhurly, Castlelough.⁴⁴ John Mac Sida Mac Namara died in January 1570, and the lordship passed to Donnell Reagh Mac Cumeadha Mac Donogh (d.1592) whose holding was focused in the parish of Tulla.⁴⁵ The Mountallon holding passed via primogeniture to John Mac Sida's son John Óg, who was six years old at the time of his father's death.⁴⁶ In 1577, Mountallon was held by John Mac Sida's widow, Finola O'Mulryan, 'as her jointure', the rest of the estate was held by a relative named Sida Maccon Mac Namara, and out of

[39] The Neylans were the hereditary physicians to the O'Briens of Thomond.

[40] Robert Armstrong, 'Blake, Sir Valentine', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds) Dictionary of Irish Biography (Cambridge, 2009), (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0718>)

[41] Frost, *History and topography*, 338.

[42] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 128.

[43] Frost, *History and topography*, 237.

[44] Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 36 (1995).

[45] John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland: from the earliest times to the year 1616* (7 vols, Dublin, 1990), Vol 5, 1637 Nugent, *Gaelic clans*, 224.

[46] Frost, *History and topography*, 268.

which it appears the Earl of Thomond and 'Captain Mac Namara' claimed certain rents, possibly as lords and overlords of the territory.⁴⁷ Upon his majority, John Óg gained title to his father's lands. He was named as party to the indenture of Thomond in 1580 and was granted a knighthood.⁴⁸ After he died in 1632, an inquisition held at Ennis determined the extent of his holding.⁴⁹ Mountallon had been erected into a manor with the right of Courts Leet and Baron, and twice annual fairs and a market at Broadford.⁵⁰ Sir John Mac Namara died in May 1632 without an heir. He willed his estate to his nephew Teige of Ardcloney (near Killaloe).⁵¹ In 1637, Mountallon was held by Adam Cusack Esq.⁵² The Cusacks were a minor Gaelic sept, whose lands lay in the parishes of Kilsely and Killokenedy. Nugent has characterised their landholding strategy as 'mixed' incorporating both traditional and modernising elements.⁵³

The denomination of Mountallon comprised three and a half quarters with an allied 'parcel of mountain' making approximately four quarters or a *baile*.⁵⁴ No sub-denominations of this large unit are given in the BSD. The denomination was assessed as comprising 772 acres of arable, 39 acres, 20 perches of pastruable bog (deemed to be 1/8 profitable), 39 acres of timberwood, 500 acres of waste bog and 30 acres of lough. The attendant parcel of mountain was assessed as containing 492 acres of pasturable mountain being 1/6 profitable. In the absence of Down Survey maps, the extent of the denomination must be reconstructed from the nineteenth-century townland matrix with the aid of additional maps, namely Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio* (1685) and Henry Pelham's Grand Jury Map (1787) (Fig. 8.3). These maps indicate that Mountallon comprised the northern part of Clonley parish, bordered by Clonley Lough to the southwest and the denomination of Gortadroma to the south. This would suggest that it was roughly coextensive with the nineteenth-century townlands of Mountallon, Cloonloun More, Cloonloun Beg, Knockatloe, Cappalaheen, Coolistoonan, Lakyle, Clashduff and possibly Knockatinty. It is bordered to the west by Clonley Lough and Cloonloun bog, to the north by the bog of 'Creevosheeda', to the east by the Mill River, Doon Lough and the Ahaclare River. Its boundary to the south is less certain, and appears not have been defined by a topographical feature, but the current Broadford- Kilmurry road possibly hints at the route of the former boundary.

Mountallon castle lay at the centre of this denomination on the boundary of the nineteenth-century townlands of Mountallon and Coolistoonan. It was situated on a

[47] Frost, *History and topography*, 286.

[48] A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The Composition Booke of Conought* (Dublin, 1936), 11.

[49] Frost, *History and topography*, 318.

[50] Frost, *History and topography*, 318.

[51] Frost, *History and topography*, 319; Frost, *History and topography*, 237.

[52] Simington, *BSD Clare* 83.

[53] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 64-8, 73-8.

[54] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 79,83.

gently sloping, west-facing hill overlooking Lough Avoher. The castle was situated in the crook of a small stream fed by a well marked 'Poulnastilla', adjacent to the castle (Fig. 8.4; Fig. 8.6). All structures at the site have been totally demolished and it is now a green field. The castle was standing in 1787, when it was depicted on the Grand Jury map. By 1839, O'Donovan and Curry reported that it was 'nearly all down'.⁵⁵ Westropp assessed the remains and placed it among 'a group [of towerhouses] which dates from about 1410 or 1420, containing Lecarrow, Lismehane, Mountallon, Doon, and Trough ...nearly perished, probably from want of experience in the builders; the masonry of the remaining, though prostrate, angle of Lismehane being very coarse'.⁵⁶ The castle was depicted on the first edition OS map, where it formed the focus of a cluster of vernacular buildings and was noted as being 'in ruins' (Fig. 8.6). On the 25-inch OS map (1893) a house was shown on the site of the castle (Fig. 8.4). Westropp's assessment of the merits of the architecture of the castle aside, it must be acknowledged that the site was of some importance, particularly during the sixteenth century when it was the *caput* of East *Clann Chuileáin*. It was deemed a suitable residence by Ellen and Donogh O'Callaghan and their immediate family when they settled in Clare.

Other elements of the Mac Namara estate can be gleaned from cartographic sources. A *cillín*, or children's burial ground, called Parknakilla, meaning the field or park of the church, is located c.400m to the northeast of the castle site (Fig. 8.4). The monument is depicted on the 1840 OS map as a sub-circular enclosure with a rectangular footprint in its interior. Over half of the monument was destroyed by post-1840 gravel quarrying and agricultural clearance, and the remains of the site are now heavily overgrown with hawthorn scrub. The name Parknakilla is indicative of the historic presence of a church and, indeed, *cillíní* are frequently associated with ecclesiastical sites.⁵⁷ In light of its relation to the castle it probably served as a private chapel of ease for the tower's residents.

Donogh and Ellen's approach to their Clare estate was largely shaped by the uncertainty of the duration of their stay. It did not make sense for them to invest in new buildings when they could utilise an existing structure. It was not until their son, Donogh Óg inherited the estate, that the O'Callaghans began to make a more permanent mark on the Clare landscape. Donogh, 'the transplanted', died about 1679⁵⁸ intestate, and his lands passed to Donogh Óg, who by that time had already begun to carve out a new

[55] Comber, Maureen (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis 1997), 232.

[56] T. J. Westropp, 'Notes on the Lesser Castles or "Peel Towers" of the County Clare', *PRLA Section C*, 5 (1898 - 1900), 352.

[57] Eileen M. Murphy, 'Children's burial grounds in Ireland (cillíní) and parental emotions towards infant death', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15 (2011), 417.

[58] The actual date of his death is not recorded but 1700 John Mac Namara reckoned that he had died 'about twenty years ago'. Frost, *History and topography*, 602.

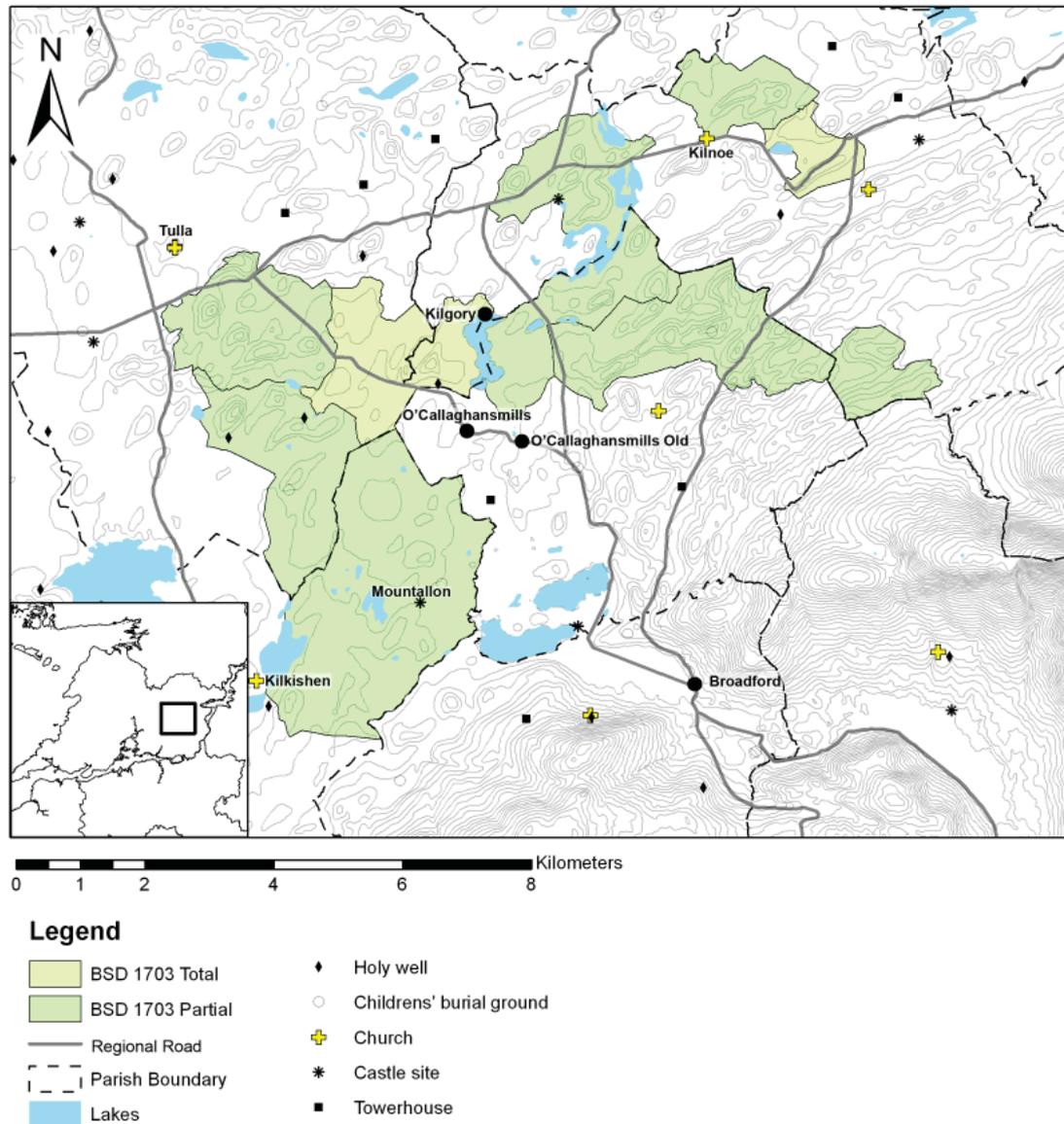


Fig. 7.7: The O'Callaghan holding *circa* 1704.

holding at Kilgory.⁵⁹ In 1679, shortly after his father's death, Donogh Óg had leased 'the lands of Mountallon, Cappalaheen, Coolistoonan, and Cunninagh for a term of forty-one years' to his uncle Conor 'at the yearly rent of £26'.⁶⁰ The centre of gravity of the estate had moved from the medieval Mac Namara tower to Donogh Óg O'Callaghan's new house at Kilgory.

As Duffy has observed, the ultimate map of the Cromwellian settlement was shaped by Commonwealth, and to a lesser extent by Restoration speculation.⁶¹ In addition to the Connacht purchasers who sought to buy up and sell on unwanted grants, transplinters bought and sold lands with the aim of consolidating their sometimes

[59] Frost, *History and topography*, 601-2.

[60] Frost, *History and topography*, 602.

[61] Patrick Duffy, 'The evolution of estate properties in south Ulster 1600-1900', In W.J. Smith and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), 100.

disparate allocations, into more workable compact holdings. The petitions presented to the Williamite Court of Claims in 1700, and transcribed by Frost illustrates the high degree to which land was sold, mortgaged and rented among the different sectors of Clare society after the Restoration.⁶² The Restoration and later Williamite settlements further adjusted the pattern of landholding. This process of reshuffling is visible in the O'Callaghan lands. By 1703, the O'Callaghan estate had been reduced to a smaller, more compact holding of 3035 acres (see 7.1). This was largely a result of the loss of much of Ellen's land in Templemaley to their original Blake holders in the Restoration settlement.⁶³

Donogh the transplanted's belief that he would be reinstated to his patrimonial estates in Co. Cork, shaped his approach to managing the new Clare lands. This is visible, not just in the decision to occupy an existing structure but also in the kinds of legal agreements that he entered into with other Clare landowners. In 1666 for example, Daniel O'Brien, first Viscount Clare, leased lands in Inchicronan and Tulla parish to Donogh O'Callaghan 'for a term of one thousand years at a pepper corn rent, with a proviso that when the said Donogh or his heirs shall be restored to the possession of Clonmeen, Dromaneen and the rest of his estate in the territory of Pubbleocallaghan, barony of Duhallow, county of Cork, previously possessed by him till he was transplanted by the late usurped powers, then the said lease to be void'.⁶⁴ Donogh mortgaged these lands to John Mac Namara of Creevagh for £60 in 1670.⁶⁵

8.4 Followers and tenants

The transplantation certificates issues to Donogh, Ellen and Connor O'Callaghan by the court of Claims in Athlone perished in the Four Courts fire of 1922. We do not have a list of kin and followers who accompanied elite members of the family to Clare. The state did not compel landless kin and followers to go west with their lords, but enduring vertical bonds ensured that many did (3.3). In the absence of the comprehensive lists that survive for a mere handful of families,⁶⁶ the 1660 poll tax can shed partial light on the question.

In 1660, the biggest settlement in the O'Callaghan holding was at Mountallon. The former Mac Namara towerhouse was, by then, inhabited by Donogh and Ellen, their seven children, three of who were listed in the poll tax.⁶⁷ The denomination returned

[62] Frost, *History and topography*, 570-603.

[63] Siminton, *BSD Clare*, 125-30.

[64] Frost, *History and topography*, 337, 601-2.

[65] Frost, *History and topography*, 601-2.

[66] See John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (London, 1870), 249.

[67] Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

fifty-eight taxable inhabitants, giving an estimated total population of 145 people.⁶⁸ Were these inhabitants all kin, tenants and followers of Donogh and Ellen or were some of them prior inhabitants? It is not possible to say for definite, but the figure of 145 women, children and men was certainly in line with the number of dependants who accompanied other transplanted landowners. The poll tax includes a list of the 'principal Irish names and their number' for each barony. While the scale of this assessment is too large to correlate people with places in detail, it does hint at the presence of O'Callaghan kin and followers in the vicinity of their lands. Nineteen O'Callaghans, sixteen Mac Carthys and 21 O'Sullivan were listed as residing in Tulla barony.⁶⁹ Eight Mac Carthys were listed in Bunratty. Seven O'Callaghans were listed as residing in Clonderalaw barony.⁷⁰

It would appear that by 1659, Donogh and Ellen O'Callaghan had distributed parcels of their Clare lands among their senior followers. This is suggested by the surnames of *titulados* returned for parts on their holding (Fig. 8.2). Of particular note in this regard are 'Hugh O'Kief, gent', 'Dermott Carthy' and 'Anthony Garvane, gent' returned as *titulados* in the townlands of Lahardaun, Liscullane and Clonmoher in the parishes of Tulla and Killnoe.⁷¹ These names are of Cork origin and are all of septs that had relationships with the O'Callaghans prior to their transplantation. As noted above, men with the name Garvane were recorded as residing at the O'Callaghan castles of Clonmeen and Dromore in the late sixteenth century.⁷² In the 1641 depositions, one 'Donnogh Garvane of Roskeen, gentleman', was twice listed as a debtor and rebel.⁷³ Roskeen comprised part of the demesne lands of the O'Callaghan in 1594, and in 1641 it had been the property of Donogh O'Callaghan, making Donogh Garvane O'Callaghan's tenant prior to transplantation.⁷⁴

The pattern of settlement on Clare lands mirrors that practised by the O'Callaghans prior to transplantation, whereby lands flanking the demesne were leased to a small number of freeholders. Like Mountallon, these townlands returned significant numbers

[68] Pender, *Census*, 172.

[69] Pender, *Census*, 174

[70] Pender, *Census*, 180

[71] Pender, *Census*, 169.

[72] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 822161r136?>>] accessed Thursday 14 June 2012 09:09 PM

[73] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 825167r151?>>] accessed Thursday 14 June 2012 09:10 PM

[74] James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland* (3 Vols, Dublin, 1861-2), Vol. 2, 260-2; Kenneth W. Nicholls (ed.), *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I* (3 vols, Dublin, 1994), Vol. 3, 245; *Books of survey and distribution: being abstracts from various surveys and instruments of title, 1636-1703* (1962) (microform, Stationary Office for the Irish Manuscript Commission,) 10 microfilm reels, Cork, ?.

of inhabitants in the poll tax. Nine were returned for Anthony Garvane's holding at Clonmoher, 22 at Charles Carthy's holding at Liscollane and 22 at Hugh O'Kief's holding at Lahardaun, with overall estimated populations of 23, 55 and 55 respectively. Garvane, Carthy and O'Kief, then, were probably head tenants on these holdings. The other inhabitants in their respective townlands could have been their own kinsmen and dependants.

Both Lahardaun and Liscollane were recorded as possessing woodlands in the Strafford Survey. Lahardaun had just over nineteen plantation acres of timberwood, deemed to be three-quarters profitable, and Liscollane had sixteen acres of half profitable dwarf wood. It may well be that the senior tenants were given lands with timber resources to enable them to construct dwellings. Where no suitable habitable structures existed, more expedient dwellings could be made. Indeed, in July 1655, the administration made an order allowing for the provision of licences to 'the Irish to cut down timber for building houses'.⁷⁵ Among the Gaelic transplanted, at least, there was a long tradition of temporary architecture that could be called upon. Post-and-wattle or cruck buildings, the usual residences of the tenantry were also habitually built by Gaelic elites in the context of transhumance, hunting or military campaigns and may well have served as initial dwellings.

8.5. Kilgory: Carving out a new demesne

'What is past, cannot be recall'd: therefore tis for the future our solicitude must be' Nicholas Plunkett, *The improvement of Ireland* (c.1693).⁷⁶

The towerhouse at Mountallon provided an initial place of settlement for the transplanted O'Callaghans, but in the 1670s there is evidence for the creation of a new residence and demesne some 4.5km to the north of Mountallon, in the half quarter of Kilgory. The new residence was built by Donogh Óg,⁷⁷ second son of Donogh the transplanted and Ellen O'Callaghan. Kilgory was not returned in the 1659 poll tax, but by 1679 Donogh Óg O'Callaghan was described as 'of Kilgory', indicating he had settled the townland.⁷⁸ Donogh Óg, his son, Callaghan, and another kinsman Dermot

[75] Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (2 vols, Manchester, 1913), vol. 2, 532.

[76] Kelly, 'The improvement of Ireland', 56.

[77] For the purposes of clarity Donogh son of Donogh the transplanted will be referred to as Donogh Óg throughout the chapter.

[78] Frost, *History and topography*, 602.

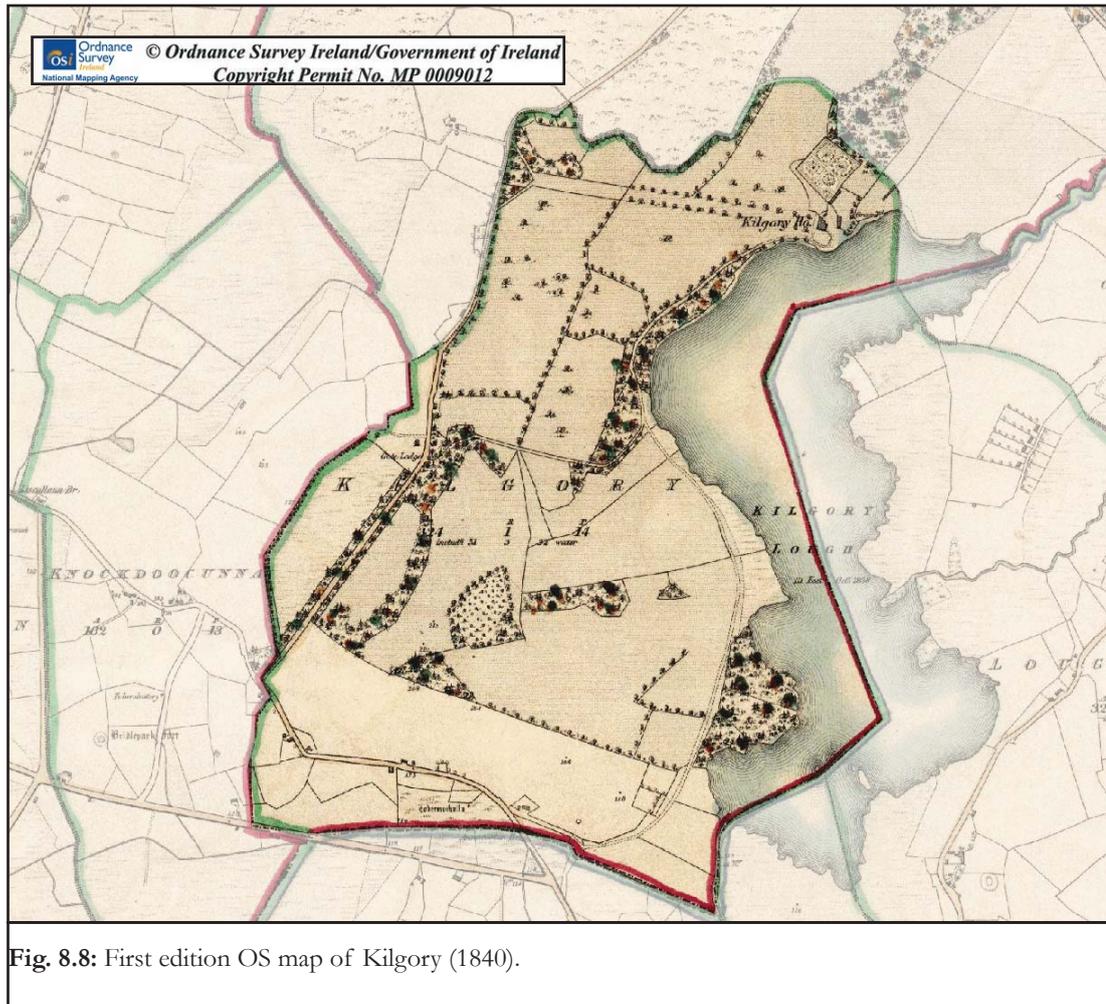


Fig. 8.8: First edition OS map of Kilgory (1840).

were recorded as residing at Kilgory again in 1688, c.1690 and finally in 1694, when Donogh Óg was pardon under the articles of Limerick and Galway.⁷⁹

Donogh Óg was probably born at Clonmeen or Dromaneen in the 1630s or 1640s and was in his twenties at the time of the transplantation.⁸⁰ He married Máire Mac Carthy, the daughter of Charles Mac Carthy of Thresherstown, Co. Cork, and they had seven recorded male children.⁸¹ In 1686 he was appointed justice of the peace for Co. Clare.⁸² Donogh was heavily involved in the Jacobite cause and both he and his wife Máire had links to the émigré community on the continent. Their two eldest sons, Callaghan and Charles were educated in France.⁸³ In the aftermath of the war of the 1690s both sons were ‘indicted and outlawed for ‘high treason... in parts beyond the seas against his majesty and her majesty’.⁸⁴ To remove the risk this posed to his estate, their father,

[79] Simms, ‘Jacobites’, 92; Frost, *History and topography*, 601-2.

[80] His parents were married c.1631; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[81] Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[82] Frost, *History and topography*, 615.

[83] Frost, *History and topography*, 602; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[84] Simms, ‘Jacobites’, 75; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 888.

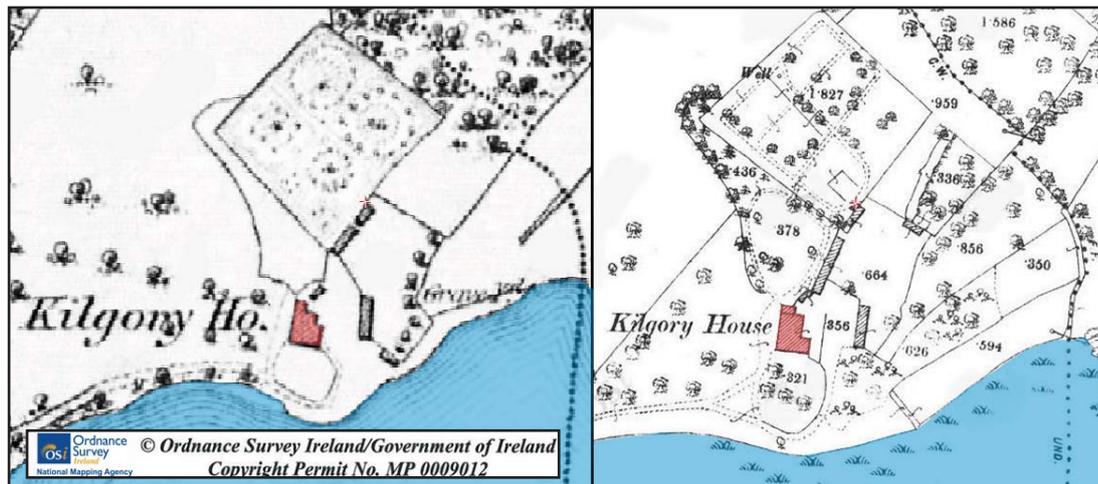


Fig. 8.9: First edition (1840) and 25-inch (1893) OS maps of Kilgory House

Donogh Óg, made a will stipulating that the lands would pass ‘in tail male to his youngest sons’.⁸⁵ Donogh Óg died c.1698.⁸⁶

After Donogh’s death c.1698, his widow Máire remarried his cousin Thady O’Callaghan.⁸⁷ Máire and Donogh’s fifth son, Daniel (also known as Domhnall), inherited the Kilgory estate.⁸⁸ He married Catherine Purcell of Loughmoe.⁸⁹ Their eldest son, Donogh, married Hanna O’Brien of Newhall, both of whom converted to the established church in 1743.⁹⁰ Donogh and Hanna’s eldest son and heir Edward was killed in a duel at Spencilhill, Co. Clare in 1791. He had five daughters, and in the absence of a male heir, the holding would seem to have been inherited by a cadet branch of the family descendant from Connor the brother of Donogh the transplanted. Edward’s eldest daughter, Brigid O’Reilly, contested the claim, bringing a case against George O’Callaghan of Maryfort to the court of chancery in 1821. The outcome of the case is unclear. But by 1855, Kilgory was owned by the O’Connell family, who still held it in 1901.⁹¹ Kilgory had been the chief seat of the O’Callaghans in Clare for over 150 years from c.1670 to c.1820.

Kilgory townland lies in the southwest of the civil parish of Kilnoe, on the western shore of Kilgory Lough. The earliest references to the denomination are in the

[85] Frost, *History and topography*, 602.

[86] Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889; P. Beryl Eustace, ‘Index of Will Abstracts in the Genealogical Office, Dublin’, *Analecta Hibernica*, 17 (1949), 303.

[87] Frost, *History and topography*, 602; Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[88] Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[89] Catherine’s will is dated 1731. Eustace, ‘Wills’, 302.

[90] Frost, *History and topography*, 634.

[91] [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/search/results.jsp?census_year=1901&surname=&firstname=&county=Clare&townland=kilgorey&ded=&age=&sex=&search=Search&relationToHead=&religion=&education=&occupation=&marriageStatus=&birthplace=&language=&deaf&dumb=&marriageYear s=&childrenBorn=&childrenLiving=] Accessed 14 June 2012; [<http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith->



Fig. 8.10: Kilgory House

Caitbréim Thoirdealbhagh, where the ‘marches of Kilgory’ ‘*coigcrích cille Ghuaire*’ were the site of a battle.⁹² The name *Cill Ghuaire* and the presence of a holy well dedicated to St. Mochulla in the townland possibly indicates early medieval ecclesiastical activity in the denomination.⁹³ There is some evidence for Kilgory being inhabited in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. In 1591, a ‘Donogh m’Hugh O’Muldony of Kilghery, husbandman’ was pardoned by the crown.⁹⁴ An inquisition, taken in the 6th year of James I, mentions ‘Evelenn Moloney of Kilgorey, daughter and heiress of William O’Molony, late of Limerick’.⁹⁵ At the time of the Strafford Survey in 1638 the half quarter of ‘Kilgoore’ was divided between Donogh O’Moloney and Connor O’Moloney who held 2/3 and 1/2 of the half quarter each respectively.⁹⁶ The denomination lay outside the main block of O’Moloney land, which at the time of the Strafford Survey was in the parish of Tulla. Kilgory was described as ‘arable’ land in the BSD, suggesting that in 1637 at least some of the townland was under cultivation.⁹⁷

There is scant archaeological evidence for the pre-Cromwellian phase of occupation at Kilgory. The sole recorded archaeological monuments in the townland are the holy

valuation/index.xml?action=doNameSearch&PlaceID=272510&county=Clare&barony=Tulla,%20upper &parish=Kilnoe&townland=%3Cb%3EKilgory%3C/b%3E] Accessed 14 June 2012.

[92] Comber, Maureen (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis 1997), 236.

[93] Thomas Johnson Westropp, ‘St. Mochulla of Tulla, County Clare: His Legend and the Entrenchments and Remains of His Monastery’, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (Sixth Series)*, 1/1 (1911), 7.

[94] Nicholls, *Irish Fiants*, Vol. 3, 137.

[95] Frost, *History and topography*, 283.

[96] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 40.

[97] Simington, *BSD Clare*, 40.

well, a burial ground and a multi-period house with a seventeenth-century core called 'Kilgory House'.⁹⁸ Elusive too, is the archaeological imprint of the initial transplantation settlement of the townland. The first dwelling built by Donogh Óg at the site could well have been timber or wattle constructions. He may have reoccupied the O'Moloney buildings at the site, if any still stood. Simpler masonry structures built by transplanteders could be incorporated into later formally designed edifices, as in the case of the transplanted Cheevers of Killian, Co. Galway. When their historic residence at Killian, Co. Galway was demolished by the Land Commission in the 1930s, the core of the building was found to contain a 'crude dwelling occupied by the family, following their relocation from Co. Meath in the 1650s'. The walls of the seventeenth-century house 'were formed of huge boulders of uncut stone, the spaces in between them being filled with sods of turf'.⁹⁹ There is no such evidence at Kilgory.

Kilgory House is a badly-ruined multiphase building situated on the northern shores of Kilgory Lough (Fig. 8.10; Fig. 8.11). Much of the original seventeenth-century part of the building was demolished to provide stone for fishing piers on the lake c.1980.¹⁰⁰ The building now stands in two disconnected parts: the semi-demolished ruined gables of the earliest phases to the north, and a self contained, roofed section to the south. This latter roofed portion of the building was inhabited until c.1960.¹⁰¹ The house was built sometime after 1660, probably following the Restoration land settlement, and the realisation that the Cork land would not be restored in the immediate future. There is some evidence to suggest that the house was built in the 1680s. In 1688, Donogh Óg is recorded as mortgaging parcels of his estate to John Mac Namara and Ambrose Perry of Clonmoher for the respective sums of £400 and £130.¹⁰² This money derived from the mortgages could have been used to part finance the construction of the house.

The decision by Donogh Óg to settle Kilgory, rather than to elaborate Mountallon is notable. Perhaps its history as a former Mac Namara *caput* disinclined him to build there. As an adherent of the Jacobite cause, keen for the reversal of the Cromwellian settlement, building on a site of such importance could have been impolitic. Kilgory offered more neutral ground. The watery topography of the new demesne might also be significant. Dromaneen and Clonmeen had both been on the banks of the Blackwater, and the proximity to water may have had more than just a practical significance for the O'Callaghans. In addition to a plentiful supply of fresh water and fish, the lake allowed for the habitual activities of swimming and bathing. Proximity to the water might also have been for more than pragmatic reasons. In his discussion of maritime towerhouses

[98] CL035-078----

[99] Cunningham, *Conquest and land*, 151.

[100] Brian Culloe, *pers comms*

[101] Jack Murphy *pers comms*

[102] Frost, *History and topography*, 601.

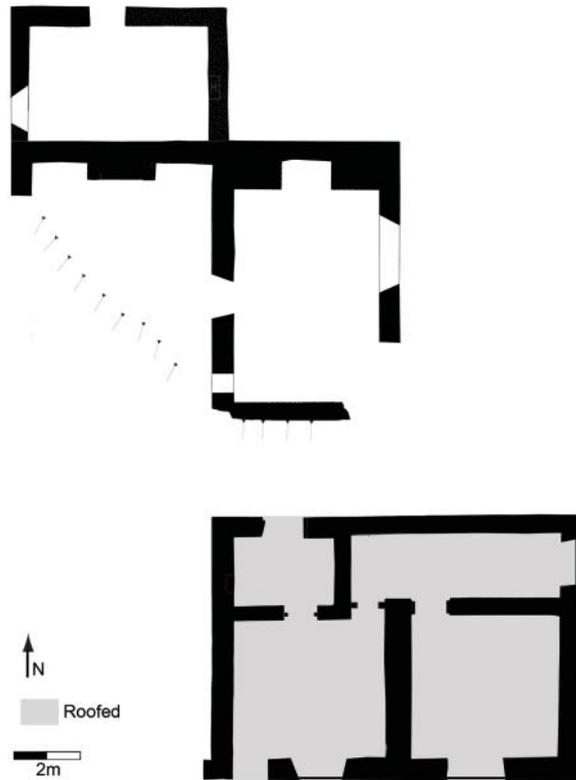


Fig. 8.11: Plan of Kilgory House.

in south Connamara, Naessens for example, has pointed to the poetic descriptions of lordly Gaelic dwellings in watery places, suggesting that ‘water and its presence had more than a purely practical role for Gaelic maritime lords’.¹⁰³

Four main phases have been identified in the building (Fig. 8.12). Phase I of Kilgory House is a single-pile, gabled rectangular building, aligned N-S, with a projecting ‘T’ to the east. The N gable (c.6.65m long), and parts of the E and W walls survive (7.7m and 1m long respectively). The walls are constructed from randomly coursed limestone rubble and are 0.65m thick. The upper parts of the walls are heavily overgrown with ivy.

The N gable wall survives to first floor level and contains a central rectangular chimney breast (2m wide; 0.5m deep) with a collapsed breach indicating a hearth on the ground floor (1.20m by 0.75m). A smaller opening at first floor level containing some handmade brick around its base indicates an additional fireplace. To the east of the chimney breast, a collapsed hollow in the masonry indicates a wall cupboard (1m wide). Another wall cupboard (1.25m wide by 0.4m deep) is located in the E wall of the building. To the S of this second wall cupboard, a doorway leads E into Phase II of the building. A line of collapsed beam holes in the E wall (c.40cm wide, c.1.4m apart) indicate the level of the first floor. There are three narrow rectangular windows in the E wall (1m wide), two at first floor level and one at ground floor level. The N wall of an eastern ‘T’ projection survives for c.3m and is c.0.5m in height. It would appear that this projection was originally 3m N-S by c.4m E-W and probably contained a stair.

Although this part of the building only partially survives, it would seem from the depiction of the house on the first edition 6-inch OS map that it originally extended south to meet Phase III of the building. If this was the case the earliest phase had overall dimensions of 19m N-S by 6.65m E-W, and a width-length ratio of 1:2.86. This

[103] Paul Naessens, ‘Gaelic lords of the sea: the coastal tower houses of south Connemara’, in Linda Doran and James Lyttleton (eds.), *Lordship in medieval Ireland image and reality* (Dublin, 2007), 227.



Fig. 8.13: Hearth and brick ovens in N wall of Phase II of Kilgory House.

long narrow plan was not uncommon in the latter part of the seventeenth century. As Loeber has observed, long rectangular structures predominated in the latter part of the century, and Kilgory has a number of contemporary parallels in terms of scale both locally and nationally.¹⁰⁴

In Phase II of the building, the ground floor of which was a kitchen, an eastern extension was built parallel to Phase I, creating a double-pile edifice. Only its N gable and parts of its E wall survive. The structure is *c.*4.95m wide and is constructed from randomly coursed limestone rubble and handmade brick. The N gable wall contains a large central hearth flanked by brick ovens (1m x 0.6m x 0.8m). At either side of the hearth, above the ovens, in an almost symmetrical arrangement, there is a set of rectangular mural cupboards (1m by 0.90m). The cupboards originally had timber lintels, which are now rotted out. They are plastered and painted and the imprint of timber shelves is visible in the plaster. The back of the hearth is very heat damaged. As in Phase I, a smaller fireplace is present at first floor level in the gable wall.

The E wall of Phase II survives for a length of 5.5m. It contains two large windows at ground and first floor level. The ground floor window is 1.8m wide externally. The opening has a well rotted timber lintel and a relieving arch made of brick (internally)

[104] Rolf Loeber, 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period: an unremembered past recaptured?', *Quarterly bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 16/1 & 2 (1973), 32.

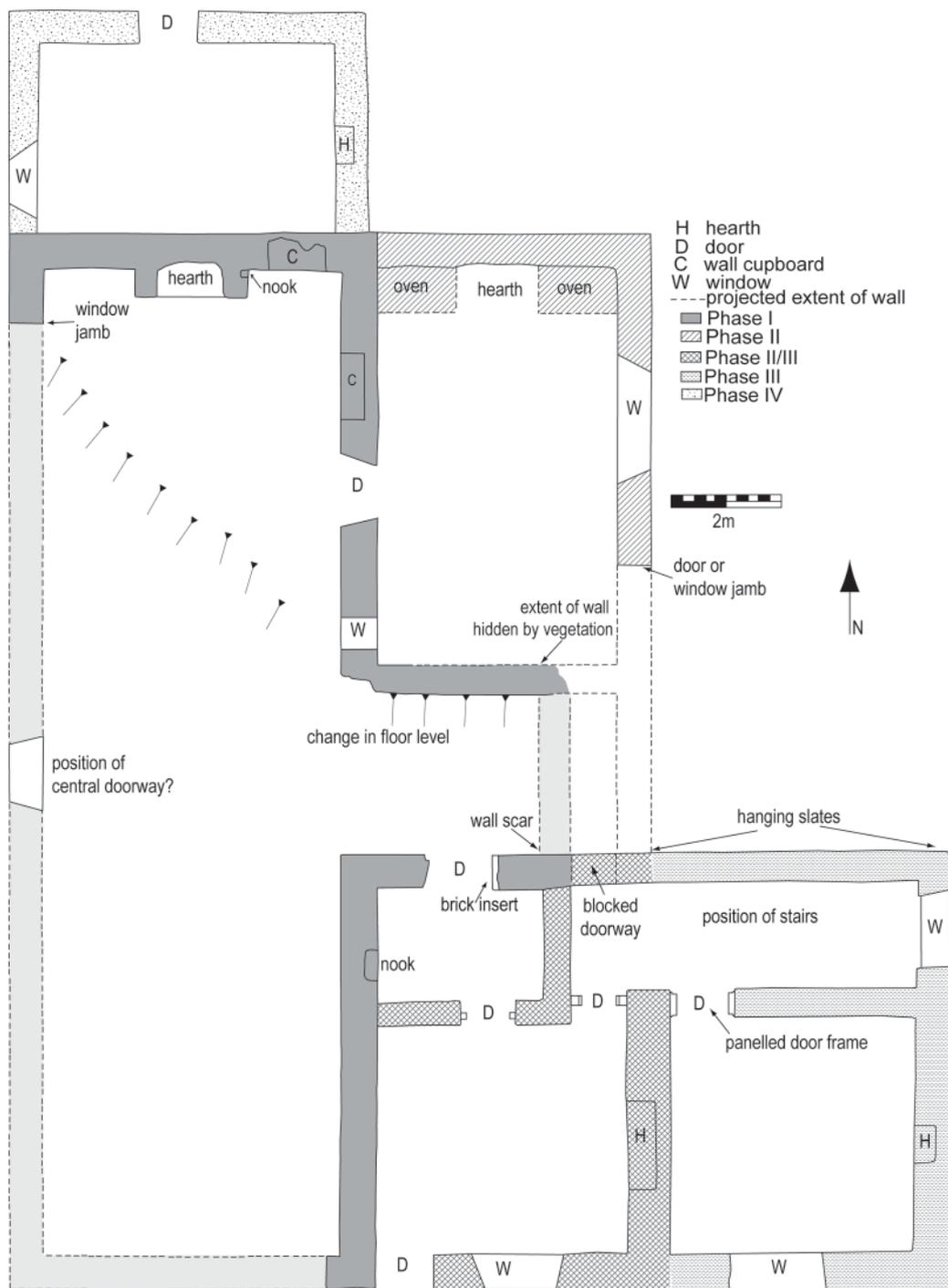


Fig. 8.12: Phased plan of Kilgory House.

and cut and dressed stone (externally). The wall terminates in a door or window jamb capped by a similar brick and stone relieving arch.

The method of constructing the first floor differed from Phase I. Instead of squared beams at wide intervals, narrow, rectangular planks, with a closer spacing, were built into the walls to hold the first floor. The brick used in Phase II of the building is rough and is of irregular size. It displays a mottled colouration and the imprint of vegetation characteristic of local clamp firing.¹⁰⁵

In Phase III of the building an extension was added to its SE corner. Most of this part of the building is roofed and the internal walls are covered in thick layers of plaster, making phasing more difficult. The roofed portion of the building has four rooms on the ground and first floor, with two large rooms to the S (4.4m x 4m; 4.5m x 4.5m) and two smaller rooms to the N (2m x 3m; 2m x 6.5m), one of which contains the remains of a stair. The two larger rooms contained hearths in their eastern walls. The SE room has fine wooden panelling on its doorway and a moulded wooden cornice. Similarly, its first-floor counterpart exhibits a panelled doorway and a moulded plaster cornice.

Phase IV of the building is characterised by a single room extension onto the NW end of the house. This single storey room contained a single hearth and window with a separate entrance to the rest of the house. It probably provided servants' accommodation.

The ruinous state of the building makes reconstruction of the architectural character of its façade difficult. There are some clues however. The 1901 census 'house and building return form' recorded 11 windows in the front of the house, the 1911 census 'noted 13'.¹⁰⁶ In light of the setting of the house only the S or W walls could be considered its 'front' as defined by the 1911 census return. The S wall, facing the lake contains four windows and a door. While a c.6m stretch of the S end of this side of the building is missing, it is highly unlikely that 9 windows could be fitted into such an area. The W wall is almost totally demolished, apart from a short stretch (1m) at its NW corner. This was the longest wall of the house and faced onto its formal avenue. It measured c.19m N-S. Thirteen windows and one door could have been feasibly arranged into seven bays across the façade of the house (Fig. 8.15).

Thomas Dineley's sketches offer some contemporary architectural parallels (Fig. 8.14). Ballyclogh Castle built by Henry Hickman,¹⁰⁷ and reported by Dineley to be 'adorned with some modern building', is depicted as a towerhouse with an extension of two-

[105] Gerard Lynch et al, *Bricks, a guide to the repair of historic brickwork* (Dublin, 2009), 5.

[106] [<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai001800941/>] Accessed 1 July 2011.

[107] Stonehall townland; Loeber, 'Late Caroline period', 29.

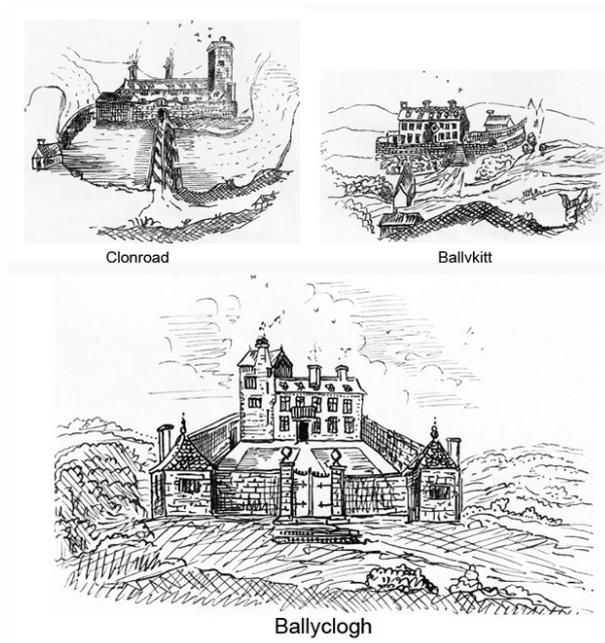


Fig. 8.14 (left): Thomas Dineley's sketches of Clonroad, Ballykit and Ballyclogh houses.

Fig. 8.15 (above): Conjectural sketch of Kilgory House.

and-a-half stories with a five-bay façade.¹⁰⁸ The windows are evenly and symmetrically spaced in the façade. They are long and narrow with a width-length ratio of $\approx 1:2$. A matching set of smaller windows in the roof indicates a garret level. Two chimneys are indicated in the building midway along the roof. Ballykett, 'anciently a castle, but reduc'd to what it is by Henry Hickman, Esq'¹⁰⁹ was depicted by Dineley as similar in structure to Ballyclogh. The building comprised a rectangular building of two-and-a-half stories, with a single storey porch projecting from its façade. The façade of the building contained seven bays and thirteen windows, with an additional six smaller examples at garret level. Three chimneys are depicted along the roof. Clonroad Castle belonging to Henry, Earl of Thomond, at the time of Dineley's visit was depicted by him as a long rectangular six-bay addition to a towerhouse with two chimneys.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately none of those buildings survive to allow comparison with Dineley's sketches.¹¹¹

However, several comparable buildings do survive in Co. Clare. Inchiquin Castle (CL017-05701) is a rectangular, gabled house, 27m N-S by 8.3m E-W. The structure has seven bays with six 'high' windows and a door at ground floor level and seven dormer windows at first floor level. There is an additional window in the W gable, which features a cut-stone frame. There are four 'small fireplaces' at ground floor level and

[108] Evelyn Philips Shirley *et al* 'Extracts from the journal of Thomas Dineley, esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II (continued)', 6, 1 *The journal of the Kilkenny and south-east of Ireland archaeological society* (1867), 81.

[109] Shirley *et al*, 'Extracts from the journal of Thomas Dineley', 193.

[110] Shirley *et al*, 'Extracts from the journal of Thomas Dineley', 182.

[111] As Loeber has commented, the survival rate of building from this period is poor. Loeber, 'Late Caroline period', 25.

another four at first floor level.¹¹² A seventeenth-century house at Dromore, Inchiquin barony (CL025-254) is 16.5m by 7.5m with walls 0.8m thick. 'Coulcloha' House, Ballymulqueeney, Templemaley, comprises a five-bay two storey house (16m by 6m) that has been dated to the late seventeenth century.¹¹³ Ballysallagh West, Kilnasoolagh contains a seventeenth-century fortified house that is 32m by 8.4m.

What then of the internal arrangement of space at Kilgory? We know relatively little about the internal arrangement of Caroline era houses.¹¹⁴ Assuming the house did have a symmetrically arranged facade, we would expect the door to be at its centre, perhaps opening onto a hall and the stair with separate rooms at either side. With the construction of Phase II, a kitchen was added to the back of the house. The 1901 census noted that the house had 22 rooms, suggesting that it had a garret level.¹¹⁵

In summary, Kilgory house in its earliest phase was a single-pile T-plan edifice, of two-and-a-half stories. Phase I of Kilgory (c.6.65m by c.19m) is almost as long, but somewhat narrower than Phase I of Dromaneen. Like the older building it is one room deep, although it is not clear how this space was divided up. It elaborated tendencies visible in Dromaneen but was on a smaller scale and eschewed the height of the earlier building. The diminished scale must in part be seen as part of the reduced income of the O'Callaghans, but perhaps also, the inability to rely on the customary labour dues from their followers that had been available in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. It echoed the tendencies at play in the N façade of Dromaneen.

8.5.1 *Gentle and wise economy: the designed landscape at Kilgory*

'It tastes of the savage, to see an antient estated family continue to live in the country of their lands; yet with a tolerable habitation: without the decorum of garden and pomaryes: without meadows and inclosed pastures: without any coverture and embellishment of quicks and trees: without any thing, that may speak a gentile and wise economy'.

Nicholas Plunkett, *The improvement of Ireland c.1693*.¹¹⁶

Kilgory House was conceived as part of a broader design scheme extending into its demesne landscape. The house was built in a sheltered spot c.50m north of the northern shore of Kilgory Lake (30m OD). It is overlooked to the north and west by a drumlin ridge (55m OD). The house was set at right angles to the lake shore, facing west. In

[112] Archive of the archaeological survey of Ireland, CL017-05701; George U. MacNamara, 'Inchiquin, Co. Clare', *JRS* IV, XXXI (1901), 343.

[113] Archive of the archaeological survey of Ireland, CL026-075

[114] Loeber, 'Late Caroline period', 38.

[115] [<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000488109/>] Accessed 14 June 2012.

[116] Kelly, 'Improvement', 70.



Fig. 8.18: The walled garden at Kilgory.

Fig. 8.19: Detail of the wall.

addition to the house, a number of other elements of the demesne landscape can be identified. Within 100m of the building there is a walled garden with a well, a farmyard with several agricultural buildings arranged around it, and a graveyard. Extending into the broader demesne landscape there are avenues, fields, belts of trees, *bosquets* and a gate lodge. At least two clear phases of landscape design are evident in the demesne landscape. The earlier phase is geometric in character and the latter bears the inspiration of the 'naturalised' landscape park, *en vogue* among the landed classes from the mid eighteenth century.¹¹⁷

The two most important components of the earlier geometric phase were the house itself and an avenue travelling the half kilometre from the building to the nearest public road. The avenue survives as an earthwork in pasture fields west of the house. It is of earth construction and comprises a central roadway (20m wide), flanked by a bank and two fosses at either side (7.5m wide). It is \approx 550m long. The avenue is depicted on the OS 6-inch map (1840) and 25-inch map (1893) as two parallel lines of trees. Mature

[117] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', in F.H.A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout (eds.), *The making of the Irish landscape* (Dublin, 1997), 201; Tom Williamson, 'Estate Landscapes in England: interpretive archaeologies', in James Symonds and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *Interpreting the Modern World: transatlantic perspectives* (New York, 2011), 273.



Fig. 8.16: OS aerial photography of the Kilgory avenue. Overlaid with the first edition OS map (above).

hawthorn trees survive along parts of the earthen banks. The avenue splays into a ‘V’ shape where it meets the public road and there may have been a gate here.¹¹⁸

The unified axial plan of the house and avenue is indicative of Renaissance, and ultimately classical, inspiration, a theme that had been at play in elite Irish landscape design since at least the reign of Elizabeth.¹¹⁹ Avenues were ubiquitous features of the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century demesne landscape. They served to

[118] This part of the avenue was under coniferous forestry so it was not possible to inspect it.

[119] Patrick Bowe ‘The Renaissance garden in Ireland’, *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 11 (1995), 74; Denis Cosgrove, ‘The geometry of landscape: practical and speculative arts in sixteenth-century Venetian land

emphasise the centrality of the house and to demonstrate the ownership of the land over which they passed.¹²⁰ In grander designs, such as at Stradbally, Co. Laois, or, more locally, Mountievers, Co. Clare, the garden could contain a myriad of avenues, gardens, courts and *bosquets* extending into the landscape surrounding the house.¹²¹ In these geometrical gardens 'abstract concepts jumped from ideological texts into concrete reality'.¹²² Even the layout and morphology of a site as small-scale as Kilgory could be influenced by the literature of improvement. The proportions of the house and the avenue, for example, are in line with John Mortimer's advice in his *Whole art of Husbandry*. Regarding avenues, he counselled, 'whatever the length of the walk is, it ought to be as wide as the whole breath of the front [of the house]'.¹²³

As seen in chapter five, elite members of the O'Callaghan sept were already employing Renaissance elements in the architecture of their dwellings by at least the first half of the seventeenth century. This influence was partial and married with vernacular tendencies that were more concerned with the immediate landscape setting. The avenue approaching Dromaneen, for example, while straight, is not aligned on any particular feature, but rather leads to the corner of the outer bawn, linking the castle site with the parish church. It follows the line of the contours, running parallel to Darling Hill, and almost certainly represents a formalisation of a pre-existing routeway rather than an early modern construction. This contrasts with Kilgory's axial plan and disregard for the topography.

The unified axial arrangement of the house and avenue at Kilgory was possible because of the 'green field' nature of the site prior to O'Callaghan occupation. Unlike the early modern castles in their patrimony, the site did not possess a long pedigree that needed to be considered in the construction of a new residence. Rather, it served as a canvas on which Donogh Óg O'Callaghan could impose his designs. But imposing a geometric design on a drumlin landscape was not without its challenges. One of the most marked

territories', in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (Cambridge, 1988), 259.

[120] Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', 200-1; Williamson, 'Estate Landscapes', 28; Loeber, 'Late Caroline period', 46-7. The avenue is similar to that recorded at Annaghmore House, Co. Sligo, the patrimonial seat of the O'Hara family, which is approached by a long linear avenue, comprising 'a central earthen platform (width c.6m) flanked by a wide drain (d. 4m) with an outer earthen bank (width c.3m; ext. H c.1m)'. A similar avenue survives at Ballindoon House, Kingsborough, Co. Sligo. Here the tree-lined, linear avenue is 'cambered and flanked on either side by a drain (W 2.5m; int. D 0.2m; ext. D 0.5m to the top of the external bank) with a low broad external earthen bank (W 2m; ext. H 0.6m)'. Ursula Egan, *Archaeological inventory of County Sligo*. Volume 1, South Sligo (Dublin, 2005), 481-2.

[121] Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', 199; L.J. Proudfoot, 'Spatial transformation and social agency: property, society and improvement, c.1700 to 1900', in L.J. Proudfoot and B.J. Graham (eds.), *An historical geography of Ireland* (London, 1997), 248.

[122] Eamonn Slater, 'Reconstructing 'nature' as a picturesque theme park: the colonial case of Ireland', *NIRSA Working Paper Series* 32 (2007), 5.

[123] J. Mortimer, *The whole art of husbandry, or the way of managing and improving of land* (2 vols, London, 1716), Vol. 2, 75.

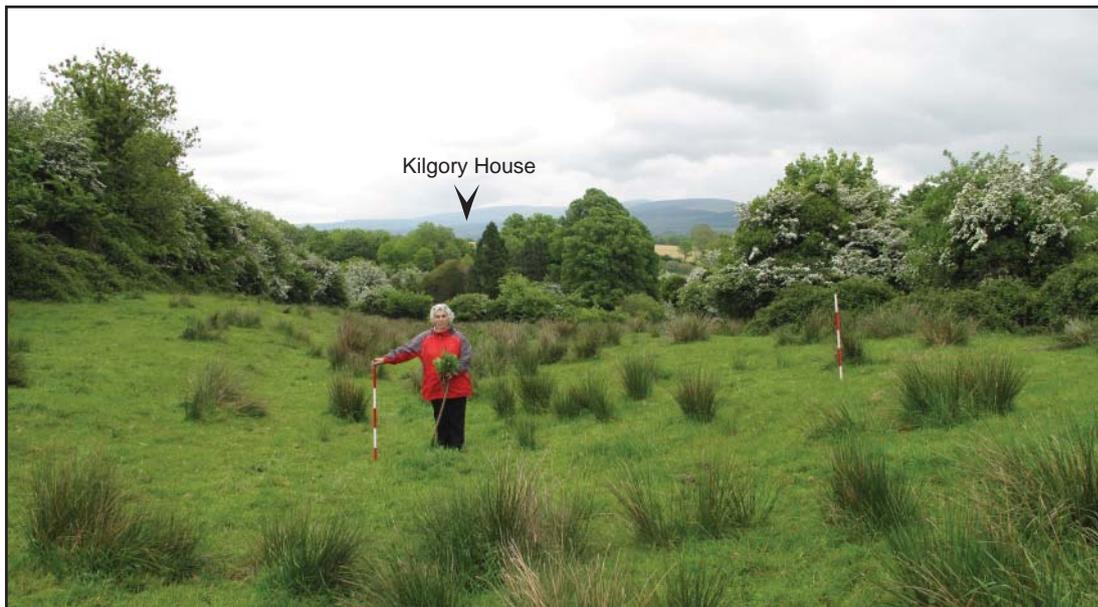


Fig. 8.17: The Kilgory avenue looking east.

characteristics of the avenue is the extent to which it disregards the topography over which it traverses. The avenue ascends a drumlin ridge immediately west of Kilgory house, descending into an area of very wet marshy ground before ascending another drumlin to meet the main road. The damp nature of the intervening ground spurred the later construction of drainage channels, depicted on the first edition 6-inch OS map, cutting the original line of the avenue. Geophysical survey conducted on part of the avenue indicates that it lacked a made surface of stone or gravel (11R0111). The evidence from the geophysical survey is corroborated by the presence of the hollow-way along the centre of the avenue. The hollow-way (c.3-5m wide) runs along the centre of the avenue and is consistent with use by pedestrians or travellers on horseback. The avenue for all its symmetry and attempted grandeur must have been quite damp and muddy. Allied with the steep inclines on the sides of the drumlin, these conditions would make travel by carriage along this avenue difficult if not impossible.

The avenue is a testament to the uneasy conjunction of abstract mapped space and the recalcitrant landscape. The chosen route of the avenue suggests that its designers and patron (Donogh Óg and Máire, or perhaps their son Daniel) were not very familiar with the landscape on which they chose to impose their plan. It indicates that they prioritised a unified designed scheme on their demesne, regardless of the suitability of the local topography.

The shift in landscape aesthetics and the demands of wheeled transport spurred the redesign of the demesne landscape at Kilgory.¹²⁴ From the middle of the eighteenth

[124] Proudfoot, 'Spatial transformation', 248; Slater, 'Nature' as a picturesque theme park'; Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes'; Williamson, Tom, *Polite Landscapes* (Sutton, 1995).



Fig. 8.20: The later avenue at Kilgory.



Fig. 8.21: The W townland boundary of Kilgory townland.

century, the fashion for geometrically designed estate landscapes began to give way to the contrived ‘naturalism’ of the picturesque landscape park.¹²⁵ While the most accomplished gardens in this idiom necessitated the removal of large areas of land from cultivation, making them the preserve of the richest of the landed elite, elements filtered down into smaller demesnes, and the picturesque aesthetic is even evident in late eighteenth-century Gaelic poetry.¹²⁶

At Kilgory, the original avenue was abandoned and a longer, more circuitous approach was constructed, this time carefully following the contours, and reaching the house from the south, rather than the west (Fig. 8.8; Fig. 8.20). The avenue branched east from the public road and was terraced into the side of hill flanking the west shore of Kilgory

Lough. It may well have been made at the same time that as Phase III/ Phase IV of the house. The new route bears the influence of the natural aesthetic that dominated landscape design from the latter part of the eighteenth century. While the compact size of the demesne restricted the scope of the design, certain elements such as the creation of picturesque vistas, the eschewing of straight lines and the planning of groves of trees were incorporated into its design. Belts of trees were planted along the avenue to control the view, creating composed vistas of the house across the lake.

The land between the house and the public road would initially seem to have been largely unenclosed. It is difficult to determine if and how the townland was enclosed in the seventeenth century, largely because many of the boundaries have been reconstituted. The townland boundary, for example, follows a minor road to the

[125] Reeves-Smyth, ‘Demesnes’; Terence Reeves-Smyth, ‘The natural history of demesnes’, in John Wilson Foster and Helena C.G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland: A scientific and cultural history* (Dublin, 2007); Proudfoot, ‘Spatial transformation’; Slater, ‘Nature’ as a picturesque theme park’; Williamson, ‘Estate Landscapes’; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*.

[126] Breandán Ó Madagáin, ‘The picturesque in the Gaelic tradition’, in Timothy Collins (ed.), *Decoding the landscape* (Galway, 2003).

northwest. Here, the boundary is a stout earthen bank (c.2m in height above road level), planted with a thick hedge (Fig. 8.21). While this could easily be early in date, it equally may be related to the later surfacing of the road. There is no trace of a demesne wall in the townland and the property boundaries were instead marked by banks and hedges.

Like many smaller demesnes, Kilgory contains a significant proportion of enclosed agricultural land (Fig. 8.8).¹²⁷ The 1840 map depicts a number of regular fields and an allied series of drains in the area, but they cut the avenue indicating that they post-date its use. These boundaries pre-date 1840, but post-date the first avenue. They may be broadly contemporary with the construction of the new avenue, probably in the mid-eighteenth century. The boundaries are typically constructed from earth and stone banks planted with trees or hawthorn hedges and they are between one and 1.5m tall.

The use of quicksets, and in particular hawthorn hedges,¹²⁸ was widely advised in contemporary husbandry manuals addressed to improving gentlemen and yeomen farmers. Hawthorn, John Worlidge noted, 'is esteemed the best for fencing...for thickness and closeness it may compare to a wall or a pale, to defend your enclosure from winds or the eyes of ill neighbours; and for strength against man or beast is impregnable'.¹²⁹ The ideology of improvement was strongly connected with the process of colonisation and concepts of the superiority and civility of English/Scots or British culture. The discourse of improvement, articulated in a genre of husbandry manuals deriving their inspiration from Classical sources, gained increasing prominence from the turn of the sixteenth century. In England, rising prices and population spurred the re-engagement of many landed gentlemen in the farming of their demesnes and the allied emergence of an advisory literature framed in legal, moral and economic terms.¹³⁰

In Ireland, the link between Protestants and improvement was in part propagated by the Protestant landed settler class, keen to claim the practice for themselves. It was also in part reflective of the diminished number of substantial Catholic landholders. Where Catholic landowners did survive, they were often equally as enthusiastic in the improvement of their holdings.¹³¹ Indeed, improvement could be and was incorporated

[127] Proudfoot, 'Spatial transformation', 249.

[128] Also known as whitethorn (*Crataegus monogyna*)

[129] John Worlidge, *Systema agriculturae; the mystery of husbandry discovered* (London, 1697), 101

[130] Joan Thirsk, 'Making a fresh start: sixteenth century agriculture and the classical inspiration', in Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (eds.), *Culture and cultivation in early modern England writing and the land* (Leicester and London, 1992); Andrew McRae, 'Husbandry manuals and the language of agrarian improvement', in Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (eds.), *Culture and cultivation in early modern England writing and the land* (Leicester and London, 1992).

[131] Toby Barnard, 'Gardening, diet and improvement in later seventeenth century Ireland', *Irish Protestants ascendants and descents, 1641-1770* (Dublin, 2004), pp.208; Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, prophets and profiteers 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008), 16; Cronin, Denis A., *A Galway gentleman in the Age of Improvement: Robert French of Monivea, 1716-79* (Dublin, 1995); John J. MacFadden, 'The evolution of an estate in East Galway, 1734-1969', unpublished M.A. thesis, University College Galway, 1971.

into a broader Jacobite worldview. The text *The Improvement of Ireland*, for example, thought to have been written by Nicholas Plunkett, son of the second Earl of Fingal, c.1698, argued that a stronger, improved Ireland, would guarantee the stability of a restored Stuart monarchy.¹³² The text, which took the form of a series of proposals addressed to the future Jacobite government, married mercantilist concerns with the balance of trade and with practical suggestions for the improvement of agriculture and social and administrative reform, including the enclosure of fields.¹³³

The creation of demesne landscapes, even on a small scale, was a reflection of the social relationship of private property. Its distinguishing feature was individual control over the exploitation of and physical appearance of an extensive tract of countryside.¹³⁴ It created a new spatiality of exclusivity. 'Property', previously imagined as a bundle of rights and obligations was recast and reified as a 'bounded thing' and the physical remoulding of the landscape was only possible in this context.¹³⁵

8.6 Landscapes of faith and memory

The desire to be buried in ancestral burial plots and their hopes for restoration to their old lands posed the question of place of burial for transplantees. Preoccupation with interment in ancestral burial grounds was particularly strong among Gaelic families and sept identities were often intimately linked with sites they had founded or patronised.¹³⁶ Burial grounds at parish churches were largely controlled by the established church, which, continued to claim fees for burial from Catholics.¹³⁷ These demands were often circumvented, as the Bishop of Killaloe complained in 1622: 'So many burials are used in abbeys, monasteries, old chapels and places where rectories and vicarages are both improper whereby they are defrauded of their duties due to them'.¹³⁸

There is no record of where Donogh the transplanted or his son Donogh Óg were buried. Domhnall his grandson was buried at Kilcrea Franciscan friary, Co. Cork, having died at the nearby Thrasherstown, in 1727. The friary was established and patronised by the Muskerry MacCarthys, and after the dissolution it was leased back to a member of that sept, who were kin of Domhnall's mother.¹³⁹ There is no evidence of a stone

[132] Kelly, 'Improvement', 47.

[133] Kelly, 'Improvement', 51-2.

[134] Williamson, 'Estate landscapes', 26.

[135] Blomley, 'Making private property', 5.

[136] Clodagh Tait, *Death, burial, and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002), 66, 69.

[137] Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic parish chapel and village development in Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 16 (1983), 2; Patrick Corish, *The Catholic community in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. (Dublin, 1981), 85.

[138] Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1878), 145-6; Tait, *Death, burial and commemoration*, 78.

[139] Clodagh Tait, *Death, burial, and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002), 78; Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, *Burke's Irish family records* (London & New York, 1976), 889.



Fig. 8.23: The vicinity of Kilgory graveyard.

memorial being erected for Domhnall at Kilcrea, although the elegy written for him by Aodagain Uí Rataille describes a stone monument with a coat of arms.¹⁴⁰ It is not clear where Domhnall's patents and grandparents were interred. The transportation of corpses to ancestral burial grounds was not unheard of in the seventeenth century, but while it may have been feasible for certain individuals, it was ultimately not a sustainable practice.¹⁴¹ It

was not just 'the O'Callaghan' and his immediate family who needed a place of burial. Their Cork tenants and followers did too.

The main block of the O'Callaghan holding lay at the junction of the parishes of Tulla, Clonley, Kilnoe and Killuran, offering four potential, but protestant controlled, burial places within a 7km radius. The nearest religious house was at Quin, where a community of friars remained under lay patronage well into the eighteenth century.¹⁴² Both Mountallon and Kilgory townlands had small burial grounds. As noted above, there is a burial ground called 'Parknakilla' some 400m to the northeast of the site of Mountallon castle (Fig. 8.4). The site was marked as a 'graveyard for children' on the 1840 map and noted as such by O'Donovan and O'Curry.¹⁴³ Murphy and Donnelly argue that children's burial grounds (*cillíní*) originated in the early modern period, stemming from a counter-reformation zeal for enforcing canon law relating to burial.¹⁴⁴ The sites used as *cillíní* were diverse, often including deserted churches or other ecclesiastical sites.¹⁴⁵ As noted above, Parknakilla may well have an origin as a proprietary chapel for Mountallon, later being reused as a *cillín*.

Kilgory also contains a small graveyard. The graveyard is marked on the 1840 map and is remembered locally (Fig. 8.8).¹⁴⁶ In 1839, O'Donovan and Curry noted 'a small deserted burial place' in the townland.¹⁴⁷ Frost too recorded the 'ancient burial-place

[140] Denis Power, et al., *Archaeological inventory of County Cork*, 5 vols. (Dublin, 1992), Vol. 3, 372-3; Thomas Johnson Westropp, 'The monastery of St. Brigid, Kilcrea, and the castle of the Mac Carthys', *J.C.H.A.S.*, 14 (1908); R. Henchion, 'The gravestone inscriptions of Co. Cork- II Kilcrea burial ground', *J.C.H.A.S.*, 73 (1968).

[141] Clodagh Tait, *Death, burial, and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002), 34, 66.

[142] Patrick Conlan, *Franciscan Ennis* (1984), 62-3.

[143] Comber, Maureen (ed.), *The antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis 1997), 229.

[144] Eileen M. Murphy, 'Children's burial grounds in Ireland (*cillíní*) and parental emotions towards infant death', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15 (2011), 410-11.

[145] Murphy, 'Children's burial grounds in Ireland', 409.

[146] Jack Murphy, *Tulla pers comms*.

[147] Comber, *Antiquities*, 147.

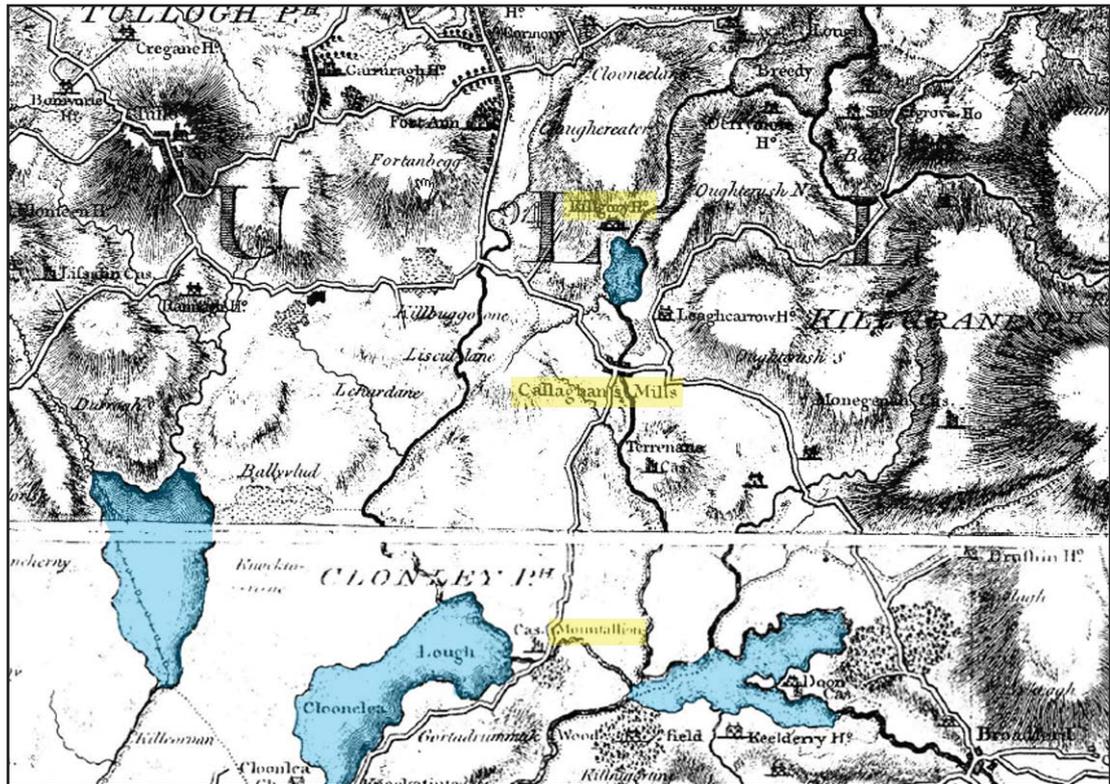


Fig. 7.24: Detail of Henry Pelham's 1787 grand jury map showing Kilgory, O'Callaghansmills and Moun-tallon.

no longer used by the people'.¹⁴⁸ The graveyard was not marked on the 25-inch map (1893). Was this a new graveyard created by the O'Callaghans on their Kilgory estate? The name of the townland means that we cannot rule out the presence of pre-existing ecclesiastical remains that were re-used by the O'Callaghans, but it is equally possible that they created a new burial place. The landscape setting of the graveyard is notable in this context (Fig. 8.23). It is located about 70m to the northeast of Kilgory House, between the farmyard and the lake. No traces of the graveyard remain at Kilgory. The graveyard's location, behind the house and farmyard, means that it would have been totally hidden from view from visitors to the house. Its secluded location was perhaps a response to its unofficial nature.

8.7. O'Callaghansmills: An estate village?

The new demesne at Kilgory was not the only mark that the O'Callaghans left on the landscape. One of their most enduring legacies was the placing of their name on the landscape and the creation of the settlement of O'Callaghansmills.

The village of O'Callaghansmills is situated just over half a kilometre from the southern shores of Lough Kilgory in Killuran parish. It is 2km south of Kilgory and 3km north

[148] Frost, *History and topography*, 155

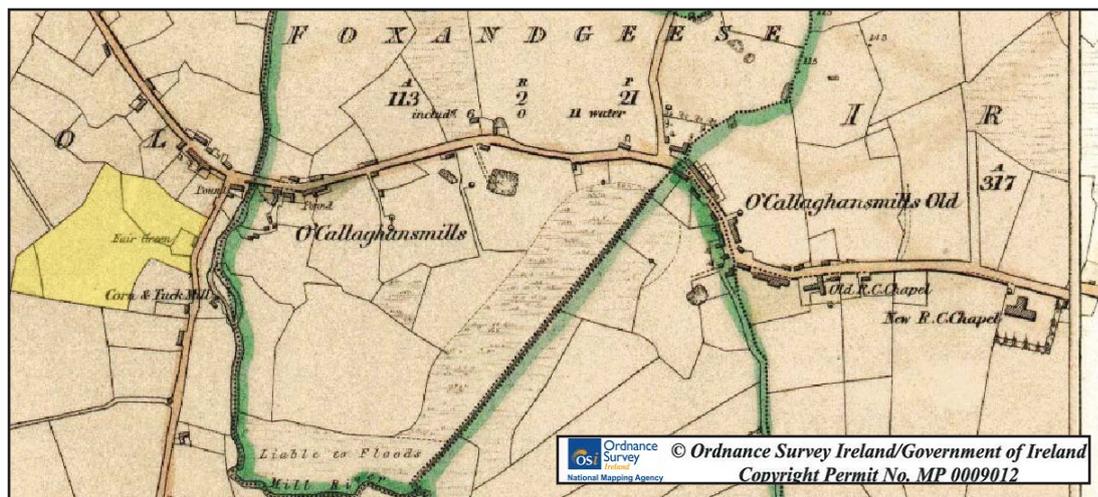


Fig. 8.25: First edition OS map (1840) of O'Callaghansmills and O'Callaghansmills Old. The fair ground is marked yellow. Note the 'R.C. chapel in O'Callaghansmills Old.



Fig. 8.26: O'Callaghansmills marked on Cary's new universal atlas by John Carey (1799).

of Mountallon. The village straddles the Mill River, which flows south from Kilgory Lough, through Clooncoole and Teerovannan, forming the western boundary of Killuran parish and flowing into Doon Lough, at the parish's southern extent. The village is on the junction of a minor road, which in 1787 connected the village to the Broadford-Kilmurry road. Lewis described it in 1837 as 'situated on the high road from Six-mile-bridge to Scariff, and about midway on the road from Tulla to Broadford'.¹⁴⁹

From at least the mid-nineteenth century, the name O'Callaghansmills was given to two settlements, located *c.*1km apart. The villages were called 'O'Callaghansmills' and 'O'Callaghansmills Old' on the 1840 OS map, and O'Callaghansmills 'upper' and 'lower' in the 1845 Parliamentary Gazetteer. The names are somewhat misleading. Cartographic evidence would suggest that O'Callaghansmills Old is the more recent of the two villages. It is not depicted on the Taylor and Skinner maps (1777) or on the Grand Jury map of Co. Clare (1787). The older status of O'Callaghansmills is also indicated by the presence of a watermill at the village and the lack of any mill at O'Callaghansmills

[149] Lewis, Samuel, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, (2 vols, London, 183), Vol. 2, 157.



Fig. 8.27: Contemporary OSI map of O'Callaghansmills showing the building depicted on the 1840 OS map.

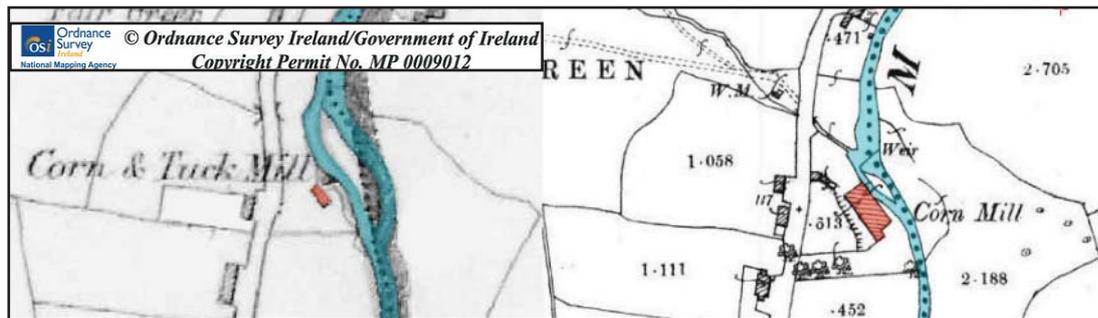


Fig. 8.28 (above): Detail of the mills as depicted on the first edition OS map (1840) and the 25-inch OS map (1893).

Fig. 8.29 (left): Taylor and Skinner map (1783) showing Kilgory and O'Callaghansmills.

Old. The genesis of O'Callaghansmills Old most likely lies in the presence of a Roman Catholic chapel at the village. The first edition 6-inch OS map depicts an 'old R.C. chapel' and a 'new R.C. chapel' adjacent to each other in the village.¹⁵⁰

O'Callaghansmills was in the seventeenth-century denomination of 'Oughterush als Knockoughterush' which comprised 'the south quarter of the half towne of Oughterish' (Fig. 8.3). It contained the sub-denominations of Knockoughtrush (1 cartron), Iragh (1 cartron), Cregoughterush (½ cartron) and Clooncoole (1 ½ cartrons), and was roughly coextensive with the nineteenth-century townlands of Clooncool, Fox-and-Geese, Iragh, Rosneillan and Elmhill.¹⁵¹ In 1659, the denomination of 'Clonecowle' was returned as having a population of 24 people and lacked a *titulado*.¹⁵² The first recorded mention of the placename 'O'Callaghansmills' is in a will dated 1717, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the mills.¹⁵³ It was described as a 'village' in 1744,¹⁵⁴ and is depicted on both the Taylor and Skinner maps (1777) (Fig. 8.29) and on the Grand Jury map of Co. Clare (1787) (Fig. 8.24).

It would thus appear that the mills were constructed between c.1659 and 1717. The earliest reference to the settlement in 1717 is the will of one 'Anthony O'Callaghan of

[150] See Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic parish chapel and village development in Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 16 (1983), 1-15.

[151] Simington, *Clare BSD*, 72.

[152] Pender, *Census*, 170.

[153] National Archives, Thrift Abstracts, 2807, p. 168.

[154] Reg. Deeds 159/33/1059

O'Callaghansmills'.¹⁵⁵ Strangely, there is no documentary evidence of the O'Callaghans holding either Clooncool or Iragh. The denominations were held by John Ryan, Dermot O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond in 1703.¹⁵⁶ In 1744, 'Richard Harrison...of Kilgory afterwards O'Callaghansmills, gent' assigned his lease of 'the town and land of Cloncoole commonly called O'Callaghansmills' from Francis Gore to John Hartney of Dromaghan, Co. Limerick gent'.¹⁵⁷ The denomination was still held by the Gores at the time of Griffiths Valuation. Harrison's identity is uncertain, but the fact that he gave his residence as Kilgory for the purposes of the deed indicates that he had some connection with the O'Callaghans.

Extreme care is required when attempting to untangle the fraught webs of landownership under the penal laws. The 1704 'act to prevent the further growth of popery' debarred Catholics from buying land and restricted the duration of leases which they could acquire.¹⁵⁸ There were methods by which Catholics with the money to hire a good lawyer could evade the legislation, often involving the collaboration of friendly Protestants or crypto-Catholics.¹⁵⁹ These arrangements were designed to elude officialdom and consequently they can be difficult for the historical researcher to penetrate. The Kilgory O'Callaghans did not convert to the established church until the 1743.¹⁶⁰ So, although the documentary evidence suggests that they did not hold Clooncoole or O'Callaghansmills between 1705 and 1744, the toponymic and archaeological evidence would suggest otherwise.

The very presence of the placenames underscores that fact that the family had some interest in the mills. Significant too, is the residence of Anthony O'Callaghan at the site in 1717. In the late eighteenth century the settlement was explicitly connected with the initial seventeenth-century settlement of the O'Callaghans in Clare. Writing in 1780, the travel writer John Lloyd noted that the village 'takes its Name from Daniel O'Callaghan Esq; who was ... Transplanted from his Original and Extensive Estate in Duhallow, in the County of Cork, to this Country'.¹⁶¹ Daniel (d.1731) was the grandson of Donogh

[155] National Archives, Thrift Abstracts, 2807, p. 168.

[156] Simington, *Clare BSD*, 72.

[157] Registry of Deeds 159/33/1059

[158] W. N. Osborough, 'Catholics, land and the popery acts of Anne', in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Endurance and emergence Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), 25; Ian McBride, *Eighteenth century Ireland, island of slaves* (Dublin, 2009), 198-9; J. G. Simms, 'The establishment of the protestant ascendancy, 1691-1714', in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds.), *Eighteenth-century Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), 19.

[159] Thomas P. Power, 'Converts', in Thomas P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Endurance and emergence Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1990), 108; Kevin Whelan, 'An Underground Gentry? Catholic Middlemen in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 10 (1995), 11.

[160] Frost, *History and Topography*, 634.

[161] John Lloyd, *A short tour; or, an impartial and accurate description of the county of Clare with some particular and historical observations*. (Ennis, 1780).

the transplanted, and the father of Edmond O'Callaghan, with whom Lloyd may have stayed.

Can O'Callaghansmills be described as an estate village dependant on Kilgory House? As Cullen has discussed, identifying 'estate' or 'landlord villages' is not always a straightforward task. This is largely because of the vagueness of the concept itself: the irregular huddle of houses dependant on the patronage of the big house shades into the formally planned settlement. Matters can be further complicated by the destruction of the earliest phases of these settlements by later activity.¹⁶² At O'Callaghansmills, for example, of the 26 buildings depicted on the 1840 OS map, only five survive on the ground (Fig. 8.27). O'Callaghansmills does possess some of the features outlined by Cullen.¹⁶³ It is in close proximity to the demesne of its patrons, lying less than 2km from Kilgory House, and c.500m from the perimeter of the demesne. The presence of a fair green too is characteristic of the estate village, as is the mill. In 1744, the settlement was significant enough as a population centre to give its name to the Catholic parish that had developed in place of the medieval parishes of Killuran and Clonley.¹⁶⁴

From at least the late eighteenth century, the settlement's role as a fair place was more important than its role as a milling centre. In 1780, Lloyd described it as 'a small, clean, Village and Fair-Place'.¹⁶⁵ Dutton's Statistical Survey of 1808 did not list O'Callaghan's Mills among the nine flour-mills, eighteen grist-mills and fifteen tuck-mills in the county.¹⁶⁶ Nor did Samuel Lewis mention mills in the village in 1837. In 1845, the Parliamentary Gazetteer similarly omitted reference to mills at the village, although it did mention its three annual fairs in May, June and November, These fairs were again noted by the 1853 Fairs and Markets commission report, but it did not record when the patents to hold the fairs were issued.¹⁶⁷

Mill-villages were widely constructed in the eighteenth century and were most commonly connected with the linen industry.¹⁶⁸ These establishments were usually

[162] L. M. Cullen, *The emergence of modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981), 62.

[163] Cullen, *Emergence*, 67.

[164] Ignatius Murphy, *The diocese of Killaloe in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1991), 409.

[165] Lloyd, *A short tour*.

[166] Hely Dutton, *Statistical survey of the county of Clare: with observations on the means of improvement: drawn up for the consideration, and by the direction of the Dublin society* (Dublin, 1808), 266-7.

[167] Anonymous, *The Parliamentary gazetteer of Ireland : adapted to the new poor-law, franchise, municipal and ecclesiastical arrangements, and compiled with a special reference to the lines of railroad and canal communication as existing in 1843-44 ; illustrated by a series of maps, and other plates ; and presenting the results, in detail, of the census of 1841, compared with that of 1831* (Dublin, 1846); Hercules George Robert Robinson, Sir and John Macbeth, 'Fairs and Markets' Commission, Ireland. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the fairs and markets in Ireland. Part II. Minutes of evidence. ', (1852-53), 66.

[168] At Newmarket-on-Fergus, near Ennis for example, Sir Donogh O'Brien, established a spinning school c.1715. Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 647.

populated with skilled craftspeople under the patronage of the landlord.¹⁶⁹ In the first half of the eighteenth century flour milling remained a largely small-scale local affair with most output aimed at local markets.¹⁷⁰ The diminutive character of early eighteenth-century mills is borne out by excavated evidence.¹⁷¹

There is no evidence that O'Callaghansmills served as a mill-village in this sense and only a handful of settlements in Clare, like Scarriff or Newmarket-on-Fergus, can be classified as planned mill villages. The bulk of mill sites noted on the 1840 OS map were in rural locations associated with 'big houses'. There are 59 mill sites marked on the first edition map, ten of which were noted as being 'in ruins'.¹⁷² Of the 40 mills whose type was noted on the map, tuck or fulling mills, used to knit the fibres of woollen cloth, predominated.¹⁷³ Mills used in the processing of grains followed, and both 'flour' and 'corn' or grist mills are in evidence.¹⁷⁴ The 1840 OS map depicts a tuck and corn mill in O'Callaghansmills. The mill is shown as a rectangular building orientated NW-SE parallel to the Mill River and fed by a millrace. The 25-inch map (1896) clearly depicts a mill-weir damming the river to create the mill race. By 1896, the mill had been substantially augmented and was used solely for milling corn.¹⁷⁵

In contrast to both early medieval and later medieval Anglo-Norman milling, later medieval Gaelic milling is obfuscated by a relative lack of surviving archaeological and historical material.¹⁷⁶ Most research about milling in later medieval Ireland has thus confined itself to the Anglo-Norman lordship, where the incorporation of the mill into the manorial economy and monopolisation of milling rights by feudal lords saw the

[169] Cullen, *Emergence*, 74.

[170] Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling', 39-40.

[171] The eighteenth century Mullycovet Mill at Belcoo in Co. Fermanagh was used to mill corn and comprised a two-storey building measuring 6.5m N-S by 7.75m E-W. Ballylee corn and tuck mill, Co. Galway (excavated in 1991) had a first phase dating to the early-mid eighteenth century, whose mill building had a gable measuring 5m in width. A seventeenth-century water mill excavated in 1998 at Ballysimon, Co. Limerick measured 5m by 7m.

<http://www.excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County=Fermanagh&id=1815> Accessed 29 June 2011; <http://www.excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County=Galway&id=3218> Accessed 29 June 2011; <http://www.excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County=Limerick&id=1317> Accessed 29 June 2011.

[172] William Hogg, *Mills of Ireland a list dated about 1850* (Dublin, 2008), 46; Ballintlea, Ballykilty, Ballyslattery, Carrowkeelmore, Castlequarter (Kilkeedy), Curragh, Derrygarraff, Sixmilebridge and Sooreen.

[173] For Fulling mills see: Reynolds, *Vertical water wheel*, 82, 136; A.T. Lucas 'Cloth finishing in Ireland', *Folk Life: Journal of the society for folk life studies*, 11 (1968); Murphy & Potterton, *The Dublin region*, 436-8.

[174] Reynolds, *Vertical water wheel*, 138-9; Cullen, 'Eighteenth-century flour milling', 43; Bowie, 'Corn drying kilns', 9, 11.

[175] The remains of this later enlarged mill survive on the ground, and have been partially refurbished as apartments.

[176] But see Katharine Simms, 'References to landscape and economy in Irish bardic poetry', in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty, and Mark Hennessy (eds.), *Surveying Ireland's past: Multidisciplinary essays in honour of Annagret Simms* (Dublin, 2004), 155-6.

mill become a prominent landscape feature.¹⁷⁷ Vertical wheel water mills, windmills and more rarely horse-mills were predominantly used to process cereal crops, but were also used in textile processing and metalworking.¹⁷⁸ In the context of the manorial economy feudal tenants were compelled to grind their corn at the lord's manorial mill for certain dues, an obligation known as 'suit of mill'. It is this social relationship, that Reynolds among others has deemed as accounting for the replacement of the horizontal water wheel with the vertical wheel.

Evidence from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Clare suggests that mills, particularly watermills, were an important feature of the early modern landscape and there is good evidence that they formed part of elite Gaelic landscapes associated with towerhouses. The inquisitions *post mortem* published by Frost abound with references to mills in this context.¹⁷⁹ This association is corroborated by the Down Survey barony maps, which survive for the baronies of Corcomroe and Bunratty. Some ten water mills are depicted on the maps, three of which were on land held by the Earl of Thomond in 1637.¹⁸⁰ There were two mills on the lands of Thomond's kinsman Donogh O'Brien,¹⁸¹ and

[177] Terry S. Reynolds, *Stronger than a hundred men: a history of the vertical water wheel* (Baltimore, 1983), 107; Kieran O'Connor, *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), 33, O'Connor discusses milling only in relation to Anglo Norman settlement; Niall Brady, 'Mills in medieval Ireland: looking beyond design', Steven A. Walton (ed.) *Wind & water in the middle ages: fluid technologies from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Arizona, 2006); L.M. Cullen, 'Eighteenth century flour milling in Ireland', Andy Bielenberg (ed.) *Irish flour milling: a history 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003), 40; Colin Rynne, 'The development of milling technology in Ireland c.600-1875' in Andy Bielenberg (ed.) *Irish flour milling: a history 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003), 19-26. Note Rynne's comparatively short treatment of late medieval Gaelic milling.

[178] Rynne, 'Milling technology in Ireland', 21; Michael Potterton and Margaret Murphy, *The Dublin region in the middle ages: settlement, land-use and economy* (Dublin, 2010), 416, 436; Colin Rynne, 'The archaeology of milling in late medieval Ireland', *Mills and millers of Ireland*, 1, (2002), 19.

[179] In 1578, an inquisition noted that Teige O'Brian, late of Smithtown had been owner of 'the castle and town of Smithstown [and] of a water mill adjoining'. There was a mill at Ballinahinch castle in the early seventeenth century powered by a mill dam. In 1635, Turlough O'Brien, who held the wardship of Daniel MacNamara of Ballinahinch was noted to 'hath suffered to fall down the mill of Ballinahinch and its dam to be broken'. Toponymic evidence would also suggest the presence of a mill at Milltown townland and castle in Tulla, rendered 'Ballymullin' in the BSD. The Placenames Database of Ireland translates the names as '*Baile Uí Mhaoilín*' but it is equally possible that the name derives from '*Baile an Mhuilinn*' the town of the mill, and this is supported by the depiction of a ruined corn mill on the townland boundary of Milltown and Ballyslattery on the first edition OS map (1842). In 1621, Lord Inchiquin made a grant of Ballyharaghan (Ruan parish, Inchiquin) 'with its water mill'. The denomination is adjacent to Portlecka townland, the site of a towerhouse and Ruan medieval parish church and both townlands adjoin Dromore Lough. Frost, *History and topography*, 268, 322, 326; Simington, *Clare BSD*, 24; <http://www.logainm.ie/8036.aspx> Accessed 27 June 2011; after O Donovan and Curry, *Antiquities of Clare*, 198.

[180] At Ratty or Owenogarney River at Ballyliddan, at Ballycar on Ballycar Lough and Bearnafunshin on Inchicronan Lake.

[181] At Ballygaddy on the River Dealagh and Castlequarter on the River Inagh.

one-a-piece on the lands of John Neilan,¹⁸² John Mac Enirhiny,¹⁸³ John Mac Namara,¹⁸⁴ Moyin Mac Bradie¹⁸⁵ and the Bishop of Kilfenora.¹⁸⁶

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Earl of Thomond's manors were furnished with mills for grinding corn and malt and the Earl's tenants had rental contracts obligating them to patronise the manor mills. These manorial obligations were a point of occasional conflict and the subject of litigation at Thomond's manor courts. Reminiscent of medieval England 'suit to mill' was a common source of contention.¹⁸⁷ The English and Dutch settlers patronised by the earls of Thomond also engaged in milling and mill construction on their new holdings. The 1641 depositions contain several references to tenants being 'dispossessed' of holdings containing mills, at least one of which was 'newly built'.¹⁸⁸

Perhaps one of the most significant attributes of O'Callaghansmills was its role in decentring the elite residence as a place of clustered settlement. As noted above, in

[182] At Ballyclancahill on the River Fergus.

[183] At Ballykilty on the River Rine.

[184] On the Ratty or Owenogarney River at Ballintlea.

[185] At Drumbaniv.

[186] At Lickeen West on Lickeen Lake.

[187] John Casey, an Ennis merchant was repeatedly fined for grinding his corn and malt at 'the mill of Clonerone' and refusing to 'do suit to the manor mills' of Ennis. In 1683, Mary White of Sixmilebridge 'caused one barrell of barley malt to be ground at the mill of one Connor O Quirke [of Gortboy], though bound by custom of the said manor and her covenant of her lease to grind her corn at the manor mill [at Cappagh]'. At the same hearing Nicholas Harold and Philip Hurley of Sixmilebridge were similarly chastised for patronising Connor O Quirke's mill and shirking their manorial duties. The unauthorised construction of a mill dam was also dealt with by the court when in 1675 Lawrence Lillis was chastised for erecting 'one weir or mill dam in the river Fergus to the nuisance of the inhabitants...and contrary to the custom of the manor'. Janet S. Lonegard, 'Lords' rights and neighbours nuisances: mills and medieval English law' in Steve A. Walton *Wind and water in the middle ages, fluid technologies from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Arizona, 2006), 135; S. C., O'Mahony, 'The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond 1666-1686', *Analecta Hibernica*, 38 (2004), 178, 180, 210. For Ulster comparison see W. A. McCutcheon 'The corn mill in Ulster', *Ulster Folklife* (1970), 73.

[188] John Rinders of Ballywallis, Killaloe parish reported being 'disposs[essed] of a Tucking mill newly built vpon the land of Artagall ... hauing a lease therein for twelue years to come or thereabouts'. James Vandelure of Sixmilebridge similarly reported being 'expelled and driuen away from his dwelling house in sixmilebridg afforesaide twoe watter mills and A mill for Barke A maulte house and tan yards and many other tenements there'. Ann Webster related how 'she lost the benefit of a mill at Clonra w de in the said County to her losse and damadg of thirtie pounds'. Among those killed in the siege of Ballyallia Castle were 'Enish miller Thomas White of Leffard' and 'Ambrose Webster late of Ennish ... miller'. TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970 [<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 829056r041?>>] accessed Monday 20 June 2011 03:05 PM; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 829061r045?>>] accessed Monday 20 June 2011 03:08 PM; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 829077r054?>>] accessed Monday 20 June 2011 03:11 PM; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 829017r014?>>] accessed Monday 20 June 2011 03:00 PM; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970

[<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 829028r022?>>] accessed Monday 20 June 2011 03:02 PM.

the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the *capita* of *Pubul Uí Cheallacháin* were important foci of settlement within the lordship. In the first phase of settlement in Clare, the towerhouse at Mountallon too was a centre of a settlement. By the early eighteenth century, and perhaps with the construction of Kilgory House, there was an attempt to move the tenants away from the main residence.

8.8 Nobility and place: the 'O'Callaghan' in Clare

The archaeology of the O'Callaghans' settlement in Clare shows their adoption of broader trends in elite architecture and landscape design, underpinned by the relationship of private property, and the espousal –in part at least- of geometrical conceptions of space. These developments were synchronous with the cultivation of alternate discourse hinging on older Gaelic concepts of nobility and notions of place. This is exemplified in the *marbhna* or elegy written by the Muster poet Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille for Domhnall O'Callaghan, who died in 1724.

The poem, '*Ar bhás Uí Cheallacháin*', is a lengthy 68 verses long. A shorter ode, '*Ar bhás an fhir chéadhbna*' also by Uí Rathaille, was probably written up to a year after his death.¹⁸⁹ The elegy or *marbhna* was an ancient form that achieved particular prominence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when its sober tone was used to express distress at the passing of the old order. Traditionally, the lord's kin were obliged to commission and pay for an elegy to immortalise his virtues and exploits,¹⁹⁰ and it was probably these motivations that spurred Domhnall's kin to engage Uí Rathaille to write the poem. Domhnall died in 1724 at Thrasherstown, Co. Cork, the home place of his mother Máire Mac Carthy.¹⁹¹ According to Dinneen, Domhnall had gone to Thrasherstown to take up the executorship of the property of his kinsman Melchoir Lavallín.¹⁹² He was buried at the nearby Franciscan friary at Kilcrea, Co. Cork.¹⁹³ The choice of burial

[189] Katherine Simms, 'The Poet as Chieftain's Widow: Bardic Elegies', in D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach, and K. McCone (eds.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 401.

[190] Simms, 'The Poet as Chieftain's Widow'.

[191] In Farranastig townland, Whitechurch civil parish, Co. Cork. The name is given to a house on the 1841 OS map. Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889.

[192] Patrick S. Dinneen and Tadhg O'Donoghue, *Danta Aodagáin Uí Rataille; the poems of Egan O'Rabilly* (London, 1911), 71.

[193] Power, Denis, *Archaeological inventory of County Cork*, 5 vols. (Dublin, 1997), 372-3; Henchion, R., 'The gravestone inscriptions of Co. Cork- II Kilcrea burial ground', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.*, 73 (1968); Westropp, Thomas Johnson, 'The monastery of St. Brigid, Kilcrea, and the castle of the Mac Carthys', *J.C.H.A.S.*, 14 (1908).

location was probably a combination of practicality and the desirability of being buried in an ancestral graveyard.

The poem's author, Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille (c.1670-1729) was born in Co. Kerry of a Cavan father and a Kerry mother. He learned his craft in the homes of his O'Donoghue and Mac Carthy patrons that remained centres of patronage of the native literary tradition in the late seventeenth century. Uí Rathaille spent much of his career in the pay of the west Munster nobility, both native and newcomer, where he performed the traditional social functions of the hereditary Irish poet.¹⁹⁴ While he is noted for his satires and political *aisling* or vision poems, about half of his compositions are praise poems and elegies. The bulk of his patrons were drawn from his native Kerry and Cork, but a number are also for Clare families, including the O'Hickies and the Mac Inerys.¹⁹⁵

'*Ar bhás Uí Cheallacháin*' begins with an account of the distress of Fódla¹⁹⁶ at Domhnall's death. Clíodhna, the otherworldly woman who narrates much of the poem, is then introduced. Clíodhna was a figure connected with the sovereignty of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*, and in the poem she appears as Domhnall's chief mourner (5.3.6). She recounts his virtues, describing his residence and court, lamenting his dispossession from his patrimony and finally, at the request of the 'majestic Jupiter', reciting his genealogy.¹⁹⁷ In the later, shorter ode, Uí Rathaille expresses his personal grief at O'Callaghans death. The poem invokes the sorrow and anguish of the land itself, personified by Clíona and Aoibhill, and closes with an address to Domhnall's grave stone at Kilcrea.¹⁹⁸

The poem employs the archaic language of medieval lordship: Domhnall is '*a gceann tíre, a rí, a ró-fhlaithe*' (the head of their [the Gaels of Ireland] country, their king, their high lord).¹⁹⁹ His virtues too are cast in terms of his military prowess and the protection that he provided his followers. '*Brat díona ar Eallaibh lá an chruadbtain/ Dá gcarnamh le cruas nirt is claidbimh*' (The protecting robe of Ealla in the day of distress/ to defend them with

[194] Sean O Tuama, *Repossessions: selected essays on the Irish literary heritage* (Cork, 1995), 103, 106.

[195] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, iii, iv. Among patrons of Uí Rathaille were the Browns, the O'Donoghues, the O'Cronins, the O'Mahonys, the O'Learys, the Goulds, the O'Hickies, the Knight of Glin, the Mac Inernys, Lord Kenmare, the Mac Carthys and the Blennerhassetts.

[196] Fódla was among the otherworldly Tuatha Dé Danann women. Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *The lore of Ireland, an encyclopaedia of myth, legend and romance* (Woodbridge, 2006), 258.

[197] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 71-91

[198] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 93-5.

[199] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 74-5.

the vigour of his strength and sword).²⁰⁰ The notion of the *rí* was already redundant by the later middle ages and its presence in the poem is owed to literary convention.²⁰¹

Accompanying the anachronistic conventions of kingship were newer elements. Domhnall's gravestone is described as being decorated with a coloured (painted?) coat of arms: '[He] Lies in Kilcrea beneath a great grey stone/ his coat of arms (*a armus*) drawn in goldern colours/ a wolf, fierce, violent, impetuous/ issuing from the wood's border in rapid race'.²⁰² Domhnall's nobility is set in a European context. He was 'a stone of the purest crystal in Europe', compared favourably with the nobility of Britain, Flanders, France, England and the city of Rome.²⁰³ In Clíona's poetic evocation of his court the learned historians are depicted reading accounts of 'each great family that arose in Europe' (*gach sloinneadh dar geineadh san Eoruip*).²⁰⁴

In the poem, the role of the O'Callaghan was one knit to the landscape of the Blackwater valley. The poet conjures a landscape of memory, evoking important places in the lordship of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*.²⁰⁵ Domhnall is described as the 'noble warrior of bright Clonmeen' and the 'protecting robe of Ealla'.²⁰⁶ Recalling the notion of the chief as the spouse of the territorial goddess, Clíona 'from the fair rock of amber hue' has a prominent role in the poem. Her grief is echoed by the land itself:

Thomond entire, to Burren of the bounder/ and Dromaneen pouring out tears/ Weak is
Palice, envious and sorrowful/ And Banteer, where high festival was wont to reign/ Culroe
is in sadness at eventide/ And at Dromrastil the torches blaze not.²⁰⁷

The poem includes a vivid description of Domhnall's 'princely mansion' (*'a síogh-bbrogh*) narrated by Clíodhna. The mansion is a bustling centre of hospitality and learning, staffed with warriors, young maidens, foot soldiers and ollamhs.²⁰⁸ There is music, drinking, hunting and the recitation of histories. The location of Domhnall's mansion is not given. It has a timeless, almost otherworldly quality, looking back nostalgically to an idealised pre-Cromwellian past. In placing the transplanted Domhnall at the centre of the court, Uí Rathaille seeks to create an alternate past, as if the transplantation had not happened, but the poet's soothing imagery is abruptly broken by the harsh realisation that the lands have been confiscated: 'Oh pain without relief! A great evil do I deed it/

[200] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 94-5.

[201] Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structures of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Dover, 1987), 31.

[202] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 72-3.

[203] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 78-9.

[204] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 76-7.

[205] O Tuama, *Repossessions*, 250.

[206] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 94-5.

[207] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 82-5.

[208] (*'laochra'*, *'bairrfhionnaibh óga'*, *'troightheacha'*, *'ollamhnaibh'*)

That the vale is given over to the ceaseless screams of the jackdaws/ Loud is the voice of the foreigners in the golden mansion'.²⁰⁹

The experience of displacement in the transplantation was instrumental in forging identities. The person returned in the 1659 poll tax called 'Israel O'Callaghan' is interesting in this regard. Israel's identity is unclear. He does not appear in the family pedigree,²¹⁰ however as Marc Caball has illustrated, the Gaelic nobility used the metaphor of the exiled Israelites to make sense of their own dispossession. 'Isreal' could well be a deliberately politically charged pseudonym taken by one of Ellen's and Donogh's kinsmen. In this context giving the name Israel to the administrators of the poll tax could be conceived as a powerful statement and an act of resistance.

Politically motivated too was the continued use of the Gaelic title O'Callaghan', which carried with it an implicit claim to the confiscated land of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. Domhnall's role as the 'O'Callaghan' is central to Uí Rathaille's poem. His identification as such is spelled out in the epitaph at the end of the short ode:

O grey marble stone, beneath which the beloved of the land of the Gael lies low/ Should someone inquire what chieftain is this who is treasured beneath thy side/ Reply readily, .../ The true O'Callaghan and the son of the O'Callaghan is he'.²¹¹

The main branch of the family used the title 'throughout the eighteenth century. John Llyod noted that Domhnall's son Edward was 'in a Paternal Line, descended from the renown'd Callaghan Cashill—and Lineal Predecessor to the present Edmond O'Callaghan Esq; a respectable Young Gentleman, Senior and Chief of that Heroic, Eugenian Sept'.²¹² When Edmond was killed in a duel in 1791, contemporary newspaper reports identified him as such. His obituary in the Ennis Chronicle described him as:

O'Callaghan...was the lineal descendant of Callaghan Cashell, a heroic Irish prince, who, with his brother Kennedy vanquished the Danes in a bloody sea fight, on the coast of this kingdom, in the tenth century. To the most refined manners and accomplishments, he

[209] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 78-9.

[210] As outlined by Montgomery-Massingberd; Marc Caball, 'Providence and Exile in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 114 (Nov., 1994), pp. 174-188, 29/114 (1994).

[211] Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, 94-5.

[212] Lloyd, *A short tour*.

united the most exalted ideas of honour and probity, which will render his memory ever dear to all those who had the honour of his acquaintance.²¹³

The followers and tenants maintained a distinct identity and their Cork origins were recognised in the broader community. In 1761, reference was made in the Inchiquin manuscripts to 'the old people in the parish of Tulla transplanted out of the Co. Cork at the time of Mr. O'Callaghan's family came to Kilgory'.²¹⁴ Given the date, 'old people' in question must have been the grandchildren of those transplanted by the O'Callaghans. As late as 1901, Westropp reported that in Tulla 'the Virlins, Connells, Mahonys, Keefes and Barrys are said to have come with the O'Callaghans from Duhallow'.²¹⁵ The common experience of transplantation was instrumental in forming this group identity, so too was their difference from the population of *Clann Chuireáin* in terms of accents, idioms, names and kin relationships.

8.9 Conclusion

When Ellen and Donogh O'Callaghan initially settled their Clare estates, they occupied a Mac Namara towerhouse. It was not until the next generation that their son, Donogh Óg, elected to build a new house and carve out an estate landscape around it. The house and the landscape were designed as part of a unified scheme exhibiting the influence of formal architecture, ultimately derived from Renaissance ideas, on the settlement. The attempt to impose this geometric scheme on the drumlin landscape of east Clare had mixed success. The formal avenue leading to the house had to be abandoned because of its lack of consideration of local drainage.

The earliest extant funerary monument for the O'Callaghans in Co. Clare dates to the early nineteenth century, and is in the protestant church at Tulla. Prior to this is there is no conclusive evidence for a place of burial. The depiction of a graveyard on the first edition OS map of Kilgory suggests that there may have been an estate graveyard at the site.

In addition to the construction of a new dwelling at Kilgory, the O'Callaghans sought to develop their estate by the construction of a mill, which by the late eighteenth century had become a village and a fair place, providing a focus of settlement on their estate. The physical development of the estate along these lines was concurrent with the fostering of an identity based on the senior member of the sept's role as

[213] R. O Donovan, 'To hell or to Clare, Donal O'Callaghan chief of his name, a transplanter', *The Other Clare*, 9 (1985), 73. Upon Edmond's death the title reverted to his cousin Ramon O'Callaghan, then living in Spain Montgomery-Massingberd, *Irish family records*, 889

[214] Ainsworth, *Inchiquin MS*, 173-4.

[215] Thomas Johnson Westropp, 'Tulla Churches, Co. Clare', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, 1/2 (1911), 188.

the 'O'Callaghan'. This role rooted in the landscape of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. The transplantation thus resulted in the creation of both a new estate landscape in Clare, and the creation of landscapes of memory of their old estate in Co. Cork.

Chapter 9: Thomas Nugent and Pallas Castle

9.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to chart the experience of the Nugents of Delvin during their transplantation to Connacht, and specifically, to Pallas, Co. Galway. The Nugents of Pallas are representative of a group of well connected Old English families for whom the transplantation resulted not in dispossession but ultimately in the acquisition of additional land. The Nugent Earl of Westmeath was not only repossessed of his patrimonial estates in Co. Westmeath in the Restoration land settlement, but maintained title to the lands he was allotted during the Cromwellian settlement in Co. Galway. He gave these lands to one of his younger sons, Thomas, who took up occupancy and developed an estate that was in the possession of the family until 1933. The chapter traces the material evidence connected with Thomas Nugent's occupancy of the Galway lands, the subsequent development of the estate by his heirs.

The chapter begins by exploring the cultural landscape to which the Nugents were transplanted, in a bid to contextualize their transplantation settlements. The Nugent residence at Pallas, Co. Galway is then discussed with reference to the character of the architecture at the site. The broader demesne at Pallas is treated with consideration of how its development was influenced by both the Nugent patrimonial demesne at Clonyn, and the preexisting medieval landscape. The theme of continuity of settlement is addressed with reference to the broader estate landscape. Finally the burial places of the Nugents are treated (Fig. 9.4).

9.1 Transplantation

Richard Nugent, the second earl of Westmeath was personally named in the 1652 Act for the Settling of Ireland among those to be 'excluded from pardon for life and estate' by the Act for the Settling of Ireland of August 1652.¹ In 1652, Westmeath petitioned the Lord Deputy for his lands. He prayed 'that he may be ordered the enjoyment of his estate, or of a portion of, on account of his loyalty so different from all other Catholics of this Nation', arguing that he 'did hazard his life & fortune in interests of England'.² He received his final settlement of 11,574 acres on 23 August 1656.³ His allocated lands

[1] Pádraig Lenihan, 'Nugent, Richard, second earl of Westmeath (1626–1684)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20398>, accessed 18 June 2012]

[2] Ainsworth, John F. and Mac Lysaght, Edward, 'Survey of documents in private keeping, second series', *Analecta Hibernica*, 20 (1958), 148.

[3] John Thomas Gilbert and Rosa M. Gilbert, *The manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny*, (2 vols, London, 1895), Vol. 2, 176.



Fig. 9.1: Taylor and Skinner road map showing the Portumna - Loughrea road. Note Pallas Castle.

were in Co. Galway in the baronies of Ballynahinch, Leitrim and Longford.⁴ In 1660, Westmeath was restored to his estates.⁵ In addition to his patrimonial lands he maintained title to the lands he had been granted in Co. Galway. He gave these lands to his second son Thomas.⁶ In February 1677 Thomas received a confirmation of 2,007 plantation acres of his father's Galway lands in Leitrim and Longford.⁷

The grant allowed Thomas to establish a country seat for himself and ultimately to form a cadet branch of the family with a substantial holding to their name. Like many younger sons, Thomas Nugent entered the legal profession. He was admitted to the Inner Temple of the Inns of Court in London in 1669, and the King's Inn, Dublin in 1674. In 1680 he married Marianna, daughter of Viscount Barnwall of Kingsland.⁸ It is not clear when Thomas and Marianna assumed occupancy of Pallas. Thomas' legal career was firmly rooted in the Irish capital and it is apparent that he was, at least in part, resident in Dublin throughout much of the 1680s. He was listed as of Dublin and Pallas in 1692

[4] Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), 78, 147, 156.

[5] Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht*, 149.

[6] Hazel Maynard, 'Nugent, Thomas 1st Baron Nugent of Riverston', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009). [<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6262>]; Ball, F. Elrington, *The judges in Ireland, 1221-1921* (Dublin, 1993), 361.

[7] J.P. Dalton, 'The Annual excursion, 1908 Pallas Castle and Kilmalahan Abbey', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 5 (1908), 226.

[8] Charles Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage* (2 vols, London, 1999), vol. 2, 2983; Maynard, 'Nugent, Thomas'; Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, 361; Richard Bagwell, 'Nugent, Thomas, first Baron Nugent of Riverston (d. 1715)'. Rev. James McGuire. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. Online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20400>] accessed June 17, 2012.



Fig. 9.2: Larkin's map of Galway (1818). Note Pallas demesne surrounded by trees. Note also Garraun clustered settlement to the north of the demesne.

in his pardon under the articles of Limerick, while his son, Hyacinth, then about ten, was described as of Pallas.⁹

[9] J. G. Simms, 'Irish Jacobites', *Analectica Hibernica* 22 (1960), 100, 71; Ainsworth & Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 164.

Simms 'Jacobites', 71.

From inauspicious beginnings, Nugent's legal and political career took off under the reign of James II, and he was appointed to high office in the Irish administration. Nugent was appointed justice of the King's Bench and a member of the Privy Council in 1686. In 1687 he was made chief justice of the King's Bench and in 1689 he was appointed a commissioner of the treasury. He was closely associated with the earl of Tyrconnell's policy of Catholicisation of the Irish administration and had a role in attempts to renegotiate the Restoration land settlement, with the aim of strengthening the Catholic landed interest. In April 1689, he was created Baron Nugent of Riverston by James II, and sat in the House of Lords in James' Irish parliament. After the Jacobite defeat, Nugent retired from public life.¹⁰ In 1704, he was licensed to keep a sword, a case of pistols and a gun.¹¹ He died in 1715.

Thomas was succeeded by his eldest son and heir Hyacinth Richard, who maintained the title Baron of Riverston, although it was not officially recognized by the Crown. He conformed to the established church in 1704.¹² Having been outlawed as a minor, he was compelled to obtain an act of parliament for the recovery of his estate, which he did in 1727/8, finally gaining legal title to the Galway lands some ten years later.¹³ He married Susanna-Catherina Beresford, sister of the Earl of Tyrone, about 1703.¹⁴ Hyacinth died in March 1737/8. His death elicited conflict between his younger brother, William, and his widow Susanna-Catherina, over the title of the estate. Owing to conflict between himself and his brother, Hyacinth had willed the Pallas estate to his widow and afterwards, her brother –in-law, Lord Howth. This was contested by William, ensuing in a protracted legal case. By this time, Susanna-Catherina would appear to have relocated to Dublin, where she was noted as residing when she conformed to Protestantism in 1732.¹⁵ According to Sir Bernard Burke, William Nugent's men stormed and occupied the castle in her absence. The matter was brought before the court of King's Bench, which found against William and his men. William died in 1756, and the position of his son, fourth Baron Riverston, was finally regularized by the payment of a sum of money to the aggrieved party. The title of Earl of Westmeath passed to the Pallas Nugents in

[10] Bagwell, 'Nugent, Thomas, first Baron Nugent of Riverston (d. 1715)'; Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, Vol. 2, 362; James L. J. Hughes, *Patentee officers in Ireland, 1173-1826, : including high sheriffs, 1661-1684 and 1761-1816* (Dublin, 1960), 97; Marquis of Raineval, *The Jacobite peerage, baronetage, knightage and grants of honour extracted, by permission, from the Stuart papers now in possession of his majesty the king at Windsor castle, and supplemented by biographical and genealogical notes* (London, 1904), 132-3; Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest : Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow & New York, 2008), 176.

[11] Anonymous, 'Irish Catholics Licensed to Keep Arms (1704)', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 4 (1915), 61.

[12] Eileen O'Byrne, Anne Chamney, and Wallace Clare, *The convert rolls : the calendar of the convert rolls, 1703-1838* (Dublin, 2005), 216.

[13] Ruvigny, *The Jacobite peerage, baronetage*; Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage*, Vol. 2, 2982.

[14] Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage*, vol. 2, 2982; Sir Bernard Burke, 'Pallas Castle Co. Galway the seat of Anthony Francis Nugent, Esq.', *Tynagh Millennium Review* (2000), 61.

[15] O'Byrne et al, *The convert rolls*, 217



Fig. 9.3: The barony of Leitrim on Petty's *Hib. Del.* Places held by the Thomas Nugent are shaded yellow.

the early nineteenth century.¹⁶ They remained in possession and occupancy of the estate until the 1933, when it was sold by the twelfth earl of Westmeath.¹⁷

9.2 The physical landscape

Thomas Nugent was allocated some 2067¹⁸ Irish plantation acres of land in Co. Galway. His allotted lands were in the half barony of Leitrim and the barony of Longford in the gently undulating glaciated landscape of southeast Galway, bordered to the south and west by the Sliabh Aughty Mountains, with the Shannon to the east. The bedrock of the region is dominated by Carboniferous limestone. It has a cover of grey-brown podzols, derived from the parent material of limestone and glacial till, with poorly drained

[16] Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage*, Vol. 2, 2983.

[17] Derek Betts, 'Pallas mansion and 14th century castle, Tynagh, Loughrea, Co. Galway', *Tynagh millennium review* (2000), 45; Dalton, 'Pallas Castle', 223.

[18] Breandán Mac Giolla Choille, *Books of Survey and Distribution being abstracts of various surveys and instruments to title 1636–1703 vol. iii county of Galway with map of the county from Petty's Atlas 1683*, (4 vols; Dublin, 1962), Vol. 3, X.



Fig. 9.4: Brown's map of Connacht showing the barony of Leitrim (1591).

gleys covering the sandstone bedrock underlying the Slieve Aughty region.¹⁹ Most of 'Thomas' allotted lands were in the parish of Tynagh, lying between the Cappagh/Duniry and the Kilcrow Rivers as they drain into Lough Derg to the south.

The holding lay on the border of the two baronies straddling their dividing line: the Kilcrow River. Nugent's allotted acres lay in 17 parcels located in named denominations, some of which are preserved in the modern townland matrix and others whose names have since been forgotten. The allocated holding comprised a central block of land in the parish of Tynagh, with several outlying parcels of land in the parishes of Leitrim, Kilcooley Abbeygormican and Killymor. The central block of the holding consisted of the denominations of Pallas, Gortesillagh, Cappacur, Kilcorban, Lissanard East, Lissanard West, Garrane and Ballinsmall. Ballymerit lies some 8km to the west at the foot of Cashlaundrumlahan, in the eastern reaches of the Sliabh Aughty Mountains. Sunnaghbegg now called Little Foxhall is situated 10km north of Pallas.

[19] T. Radford, *Soil associations of Ireland and their land use potential : explanatory bulletin to Soil map of Ireland 1980* (Soil survey bulletin no. 36; Dublin, 1980), 78, 99.

9.3 Leitrim and Longford on the eve of transplantation

Nugent's holding doled out by administrators sitting at Loughrea and Athlone was situated in an already lived in, inscribed landscape. The early modern cultural landscape owed much to the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman settlement headed by Richard de Burgh, and the subsequent Gaelicisation of the Burke lordship of *Clann Uillian Uachtair* (Clanricarde).

The land which Nugent acquired was on the border of the lordships of the Clanrickard Burkes and the O'Maddens, shired along with the lordships of the O'Flahertys, the O'Kellys and the Berminghams into County Galway in 1570.²⁰ The Clanrickard Burkes were by far the most dominant kin group in the region that was to become Galway in the mid sixteenth century. In 1543, Ulick na gCeann Burke surrendered his land to the Crown and was named the first Earl of Clanrickard. In 1585, at the time of the Composition of Connacht, the country of Clanrickard comprised the baronies of Clare, Athenry, Dunkellin, Kiltartan, Loughreagh and Leitrim.²¹ Leitrim was the western-most barony in the lordship. It stretched from the Kilcrow River in the east to the Sliabh Aughty Mountains in the west. It was bordered to the south by Lough Derg. The barony contained nine parishes.

The barony of Leitrim was broadly coterminous with the cantred of *Muintermailfinnain*. In the thirteenth century it was mainly held by the de Colgan family, with Richard de Burgh retaining certain portions of the territory for his own use.²² The *caput* of the cantred was at Portumna. In the Composition of Connacht the barony was divided into 26 sub-denominations, ranging in size from 12 to two quarters.²³ The barony of Longford has been identified with the territory of *Sil Anmchadha*, the thirteenth-century manorial *caput* of which was the borough of Meelick where a castle was built by William de Burgh in 1203.²⁴ In the later medieval period the O'Maddens regained control of the territory. In a castle list drawn up for Sir Henry Sidney in 1574 the barony was listed as being divided into two counties, the 'County of Syllanchy' and 'Clonvic knyone' of which 'Omadin Owen Omadin', 'Cogh Omadin' and 'Shane ny Moye' were the chiefs.²⁵ By 1585, Donell O'Madden of Longford held the title O'Madden, and his

[20] Bernadette Cunningham, 'From Warlords to Landlords: Political and Social Change in Galway, 1540-1640', in Gerard P. Moran and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Galway History & Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*

(Dublin, 1996), 97.

[21] A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought* (Dublin 1936), 31.

[22] Patrick Holland, 'The Anglo Norman landscape in county Galway; landholdings, castles and settlements', *J.G.A.H.S.*, 49 (1997), 178.

[23] A Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 35.

[24] Holland, 'The Anglo Norman landscape in county Galway', 161.

[25] J.P. Nolan, 'Galway castles and owners in 1574', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological History Society* 1 (1900-1901), 110.

lordships contained some 333 quarters of land divided into parcels of between one and 41 quarters.²⁶

9.3.1 *Crannóg Mэг Cnaimhín*

Mapping these units is a task outside the scope of this project, but some cursory correlations and comments can be made. The parish of Tynagh contained the eponymous denomination of Tynagh (2qrs) and the *baile* (or four quarters) of ‘Crannagh mc knauyne’ in the south of the parish.²⁷ In 1601, *Crannóg Mэг Cnaimhín* was described in the AFM as defining the northern extent of *Túaithe Chenél Fheichín*, a territory in the south of the barony of Leitrim centered on *Mainistir Chenél Fheichín*, the Franciscan Friary at Abbey.²⁸ The *baile* derived its name from the Mac Cnamhín sept, who in late thirteenth century, were one of the *oirrighi* or sub-chiefs of *Ua Maine*.²⁹ The Mac Cnaimhín would appear to have had strong ecclesiastical links and a number of them were listed as priests residing in Tynagh and Kilcorban in the late sixteenth century.³⁰

About 1620, sixteen men of the Mac Cnaimhín sept were granted lands in *Crannóg Mэг Cnaimhín* by James I, at which time their principal settlements within the *baile* were at Ballyglass, Loughanroe, Kilnacrancha and Monge.³¹ The name is preserved in the nineteenth-century townland of Crannagh on the eastern bank of the Cappagh River (Fig. 9.6). *Circa* 1838, the townland was a minor seat of the Nugents with a residence set within a small designed park, which largely erased the earlier landscape. The placename translates as the wooden structure of the Mac Cnaimhín, and was still a place of residence of members of the sept in the late sixteenth century, as testified by a pardon granted to one ‘Dermod m’Donell og M’Knavin of ‘Kranaghe’ in 1585.³² In the 1637-8, when Strafford undertook his survey in preparation for the mooted plantation of

[26] Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 71.

[27] Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 35.

[28] John O’Donovan et al., *Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters : from the earliest period to the year 1171*, (6 vols, Dublin, 1849), vol. 6, 2228.

[29] John O’Donovan, *The tribes and customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O’Kelly’s country. Now first published from the Book of Lecan, a manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a translation and notes, and a map of Hy-Many* (Dublin, 1843), 67; Partick Woulfe, *Irish names and surnames* (1923), 332; For background and dating of Nósa Ua Maine see Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘Nósa Ua Maine: fact or fiction?’, in Thomas Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen, and Paul Russell (eds.), *The Welsh king and his court* (Cardiff, 2000), 367.

[30] In 1585 ‘Murtagh M’Knavin of Kilcarbain, priest, John M’Knavin of same, priest’ and ‘Teige M’Knavin of Tenagh, priest’ were pardoned by the crown. Teige Mac Krawyn of Tynagh, clerk was pardoned in 1585. Kenneth W. Nicholls, *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor sovereigns: during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I: Volume 3 1586-1603*. (4 vols, Dublin, 1994), Vol. 2, 692, 681.

[31] M.C. Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish Record Commission’s calendar* (Dublin 1966), 441-2.

[32] Nicholls, *The Irish Fiants*, Vol. 2, 719; Tom Burnell, *The Anglicized words of Irish placenames* (Dublin, 2006), 106.

Connacht, the sept were still a strong presence in the *baile*, but inroads had been made by the Earl of Clanrickard. Five men with the patronym Mc Knavin held just over a quarter of land.³³

With the exception of the Mac Cnamhín in Tynagh, the rest of Leitrim barony was overwhelmingly dominated by cadet septs of the Clanrickard Burkes, and the Earl of Clanrickard was the dominant land holder.³⁴ The strength of the Burkes prevented the process of infiltration by Galway merchants that had happened elsewhere in Galway and Clare, and apart from of one-and-a-half cartrons held by Dominic Lynch in Duinry and half a cartron held by John Bodkin in Kilreekil, they were absent as landholders in the barony (4.2; 8.1).³⁵

Name	Of	Lands granted
Thomas Burke Mc Shane (gent)	Ballintrohan	½ of the castle and two quarters of Pallas 1/3 of Kilcorban 7/32 of Rosingaine The castle of Ballintrohan with 1 cartron adjoining 1 cartron of Toburvrany ¼ cartron of Knockeile
Thomas Burke Mc Shane (gent) John Mc Jonack Burke (gent)	Ballintrohan Pallas	The castle of Ballindrony The parcels of Ballindronny, Kilbegg, and Ardnegogah 2 quarters 1 quarter of Cloihenroistry 1 quarter Kilbrid ½ quarter Ballinvoredey 1/3 quarter of Ballingowen
Thomas Mc Jonack Burke (gent)	Lissanard	7/8 of Breakery The castle of Lissanard 2/3 of the ½ quarter of Lissanard
Riccard Mc Thomas Burke John Mc Thomas Burke Jonack Mc Thomas Burke (gents)	Pallas	1 cartron of Pallas A moiety of the castle of Pallas Derribegg 1 ½ cartron 1/36 of the half quarter of Rosengany 1 cartron of Ballintrohanbegg

Table 9.1: Towerhouses in the holding of the Pallas Burkes.

[33] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 206-7.

[34] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 206-225.

[35] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 209, 211.

9.3.2 The Pallas Burkes

The ubiquity of the Burke surname in Leitrim makes discerning family patterns of landownership challenging. A sept of the Clanricarde Burkes was dominant in the northern part of Tynagh and Duniry parishes. Their holding seems to have been broadly bounded by the Kilcrow River to the east and by the Cappagh/Duniry Rivers to the west. In the late sixteenth century they were in possession of a number of towerhouses in the area (Fig. 9.5a,b,c,d). The 1574 castle list names Jhonick fitz Thomas as holding the castles of Pallas, Derry and Lissanard, all in Tynagh, while a possible kinsman Thomas fitz Jhonick held Ballintrohan, in Duniry (Fig. 9.5b).³⁶ Pallas would seem to have been the caput of the sept group. In 1585, a ‘Thomas Shonig [Burke] of the Palish’ was among the ‘good and lawful’ men who testified at the inquisition for the Composition of Connacht.³⁷ Circa 1620, James I granted lands and castles to a number of these Burkes to hold from the Earl of Clanricarde for the 40th part of a knight’s fee (Fig. 9.5c).³⁸ Thomas Burke Mc Shane (gent) of Ballintrohan was granted the castle of Ballintrohan and half of the castles of Ballindrumnye and Pallas. His kinsman John Mc Jonack Burke (gent) of Pallas was also given a share of Ballindrumnye. The other half of Pallas castle was granted to Riccard McThomas Bourke, John McThomas Bourke and Jonack McThomas Burke gents ‘of Pallis’.³⁹ Thus, about 1620, Pallas castle was legally held by four men who, based on their patronymics, may have been a father and his three sons. The pattern of co-ownership of towerhouses is something that Sherlock has noted in counties Clare and Mayo, where he explicitly connects it with Gaelic practices of partible inheritance. The presence of the practice in the Burke lordship underlines the extent to which it had become Gaelicised in the later medieval period.⁴⁰

At the time of the Strafford Survey, Pallas castle was held by ‘Thomas Bourke fitz John of Pallis’ alone (Fig. 9.5d). He may be the above Thomas Bourke Mc Shane of Ballintrohan. Thomas Burke fitz John was a prominent local landowner, holding over seven-and-a-half quarters of land in Tynagh, Duniry, Lickmollassy and Killimor parishes. About 1642, a chalice was made for ‘Uninae Egan alias Burk de Pallis’, possibly Thomas’ wife, inscribed with a crucifixion scene and the instruments of the passion and requesting prayers for her soul.⁴¹ His exact family connections are unclear but in the Clanrickard letters, he is referred to as the brother of John Burke, Catholic Bishop

[36] Nolan, ‘Galway castles and owners in 1574’, 110.

[37] Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, 47.

[38] Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I*, 443.

[39] Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I*, 440.

[40] Sherlock, ‘The social environment of the Irish towerhouse’, Unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, Galway, 66-7.

[41] Patrick K. Egan, ‘Clonfert Museum and Its Collections’, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 27 (1956/1957), 46.

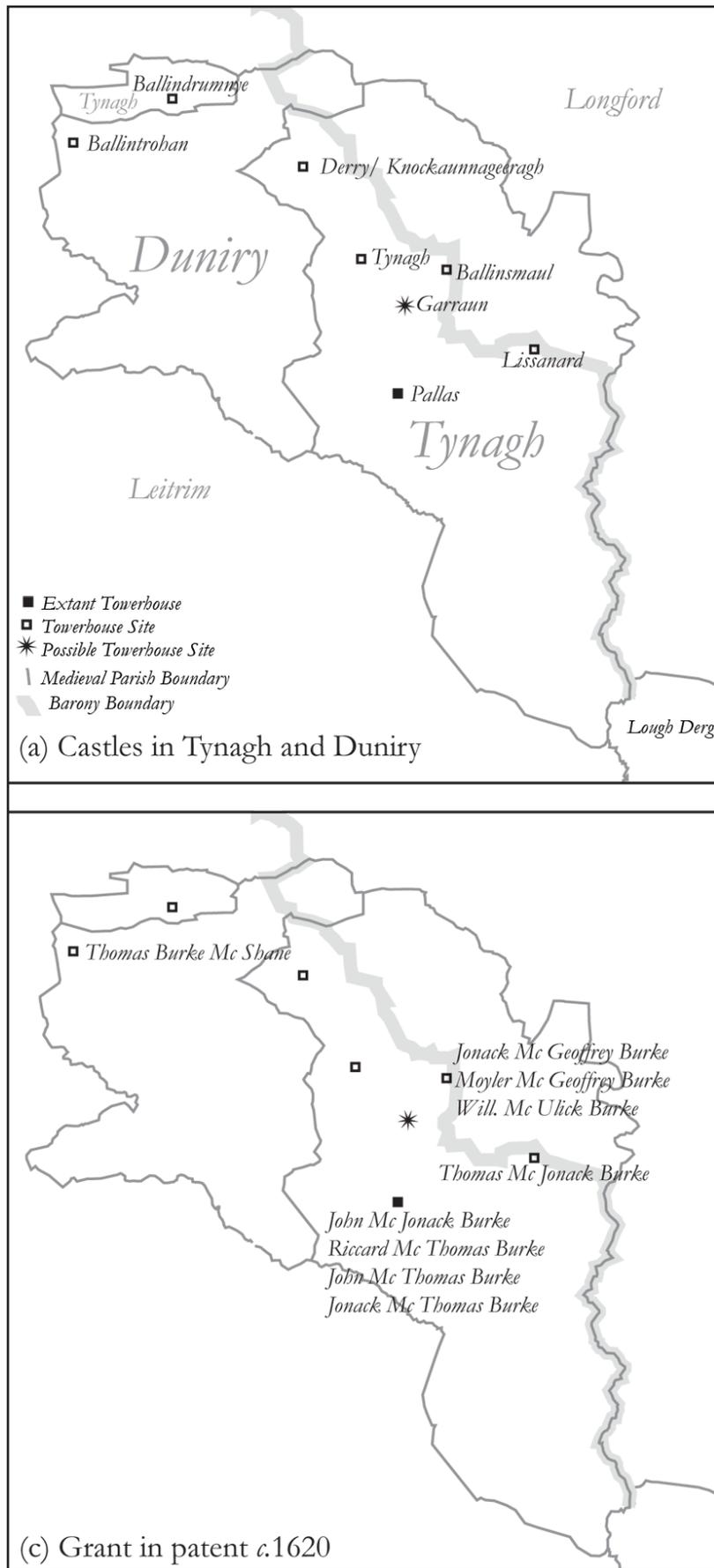
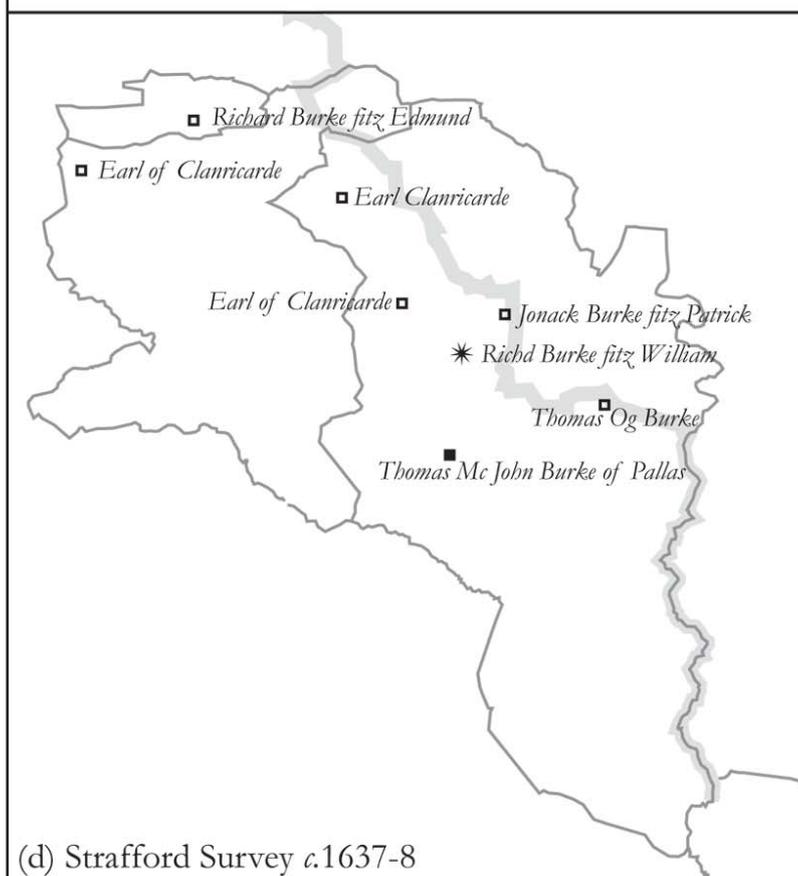


Fig. 9.5: Towerhouses in the holding of the Pallas Burkes.



of Clonfert, later Archbishop of Tuam.⁴² This branch of the De Burgo produced three prominent continentally trained ecclesiastics. In addition to the above John, who studied in Lisbon, Evora and Salamanca, his brothers Oliver and Hugh trained in Burgos and Louvain respectively and both served as Catholic bishops of Kilmacduagh.⁴³ These continental influences are clearly in evidence in the fine classical style altar tomb of Abbey, erected in the Franciscan Friary for Thomas Burke after his death about 1649.

The castle of Lissanard was granted to Thomas Mc Jonack Burke (gent) c.1620, and at the time of the Strafford Survey it was held by one Thomas Oge Burke, possibly a son of Thomas Burke of Pallas.⁴⁴ Garraun and Ballinsmul were held by two FitzMoylers in 1574.⁴⁵ Circa 1620, the quarter of 'Ballinsmally' was granted by James I to Moyler McGeoffrey Bourke and William McUlick Bourke 'gents'.⁴⁶ In 1637-8, Garraun and Ballinsmaul were held by Jonack Burke fitz Patrick and Richard Burke fitz Patrick.⁴⁷

9.3.3 Ecclesiastical sites on the holding of the Pallas Burkes

The holding of this branch of the Burkes was rich in ecclesiastical sites, underlining their role as church patrons.⁴⁸ In addition to the medieval parish church site at Tynagh, there was a Dominican house on their lands at Kilcorban, and a Franciscan Friary at Kilnalahan near their lands (Fig. 9.6). Tynagh lies at the centre of its eponymous parish. The modern village has a graveyard with the scant remains of a medieval church, which was extant during the surveying of the first edition OS maps. The site is depicted in *Hiberniae Delineatio* as a small clustered settlement (Fig. 9.3). In the 1574 castle list it was noted as the site of a castle and a parish church in the possession of the Bishop of Clonfert.⁴⁹ It was noted in the Composition of Connacht as a distinct unit comprising two quarters.⁵⁰ By 1637-8 it was held by the Earl of Clanricarde.⁵¹

Kilcorban is on the eastern boundary of Tynagh parish (also the baronial boundary) on the banks of the Kilcrow River. While much of the upstanding remains at Kilcorban are

[42] Ulick de Burgh Clanricarde, John Lowe, and Irish Manuscripts Commission., *Letter-book of the Earl of Clanricarde, 1643-47* (Dublin, 1983); Robert Armstrong, 'Bourke (Burke, De Burgo), John', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009), [<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1162>].

[43] Armstrong, 'Bourke (Burke, De Burgo), John'; Patrick Egan, 'Post-Reformation parish priests of Tynagh', in Cathal Stanley Thomas Gorman, Marian Lyon-Hynes, Desmond Roche, Seamus McEneaney (ed.), *Clanricarde country* (Galway, 1987), 154.

[44] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 207.

[45] Nolan, 'Galway castles and owners in 1574', 110.

[46] Griffith, *Irish patent rolls of James I*, 440.

[47] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 207.

[48] See Yvonne McDermott

[49] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 111.

[50] Freeman (ed.), *The composition booke of Conought*, 36.

[51] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 208.

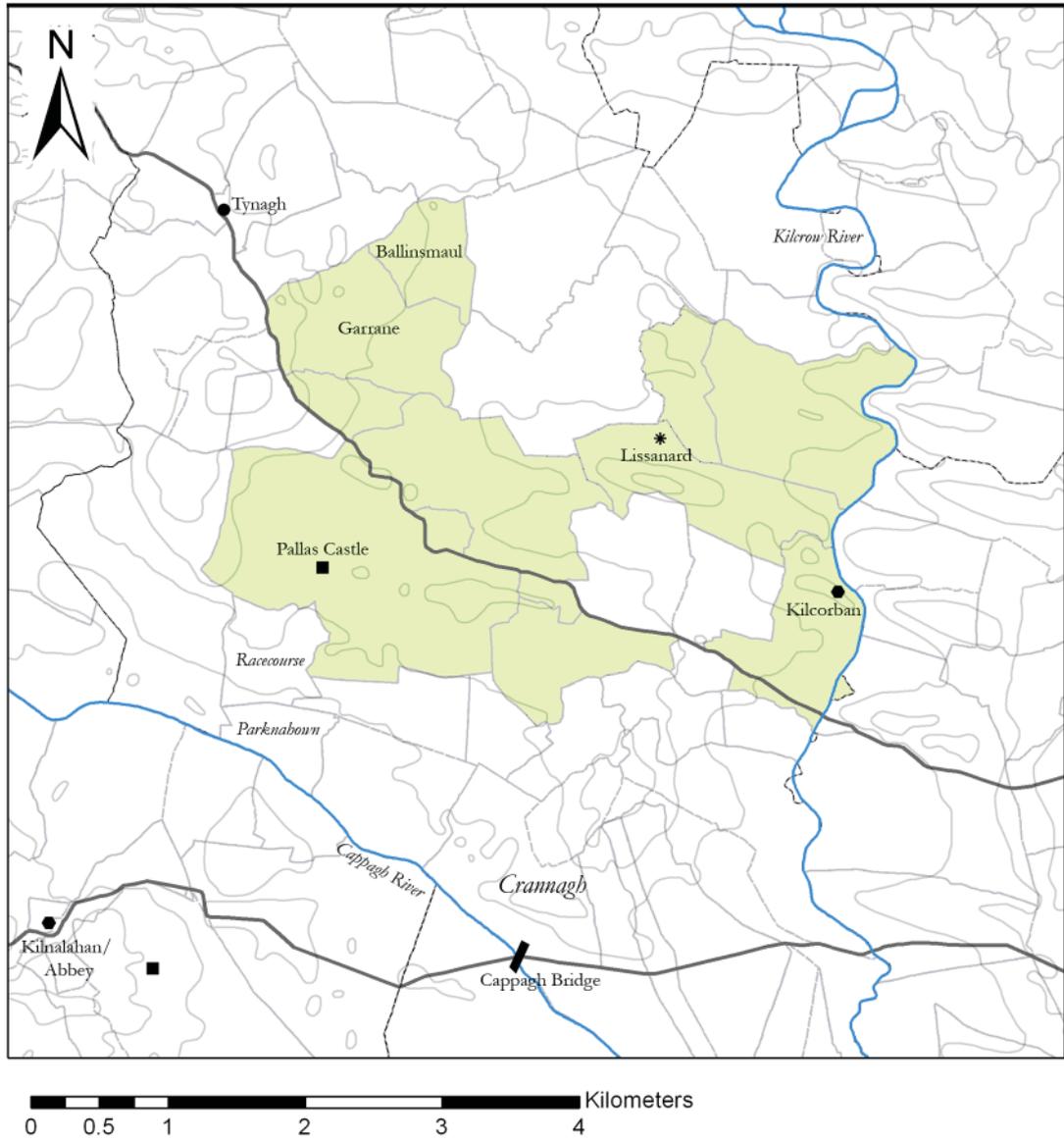


Fig. 9.6: The core of Thomas Nugent's Pallas estate.

fifteenth-century in date, the name *Cill Chorbáin* is suggestive of an early genesis.⁵² This is supported by archaeological evidence, namely the presence of a probable twelfth-century head built into the west gable of the church, the presence of a bullaun stone, a holy well and the recovery of a chi-rho decorated pebble from the site.⁵³ The site was the caput of one of de Cogan's manors in the thirteenth century, and was recorded to have a borough furnished with various buildings and occupied by free tenants and gavillers.⁵⁴ In 1446, the site was granted to the Third Order of St. Dominic by Thomas de Burgo, the Bishop of Clonfert.⁵⁵ Between 1446 and 1577, the house passed to the First Order of St. Dominic.⁵⁶ By 1577, the house was 'waste and yet valued at 10s p. a.'⁵⁷ Kilcorban is noted for a collection of medieval wooden statues, including a late-sixteenth-century St. Catherine and a late-sixteenth-century Calvary group, whose preservation has been in part attributed to the lay patronage of the Pallas Burkes.⁵⁸ O'Heyne noted that a 'statue of the blessed virgin devoutly venerated ...[in Kilcorban] is preserved in the noble family of the Burkes of Pallis'.⁵⁹

Kilnalahan (*Cineál Fhéichín*⁶⁰) or Abbey located some 2km to the SW of Pallas was the site of a Carthusian chapter house founded by John de Cogan c.1252, who was also granted a weekly market and an annual fair at or near the site.⁶¹ By the mid-fourteenth century, the site had been abandoned by the Carthusians and was in the hand of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who retained the rectorship of Kilnalahan until the dissolution of the monasteries.⁶² About 1371, the Franciscans were established in the abandoned Carthusian priory under de Burgo patronage. After the dissolution of the monasteries the friary passed into state hands. In 1606, it was granted by King James to one John King of Dublin who in turn sold it to the Earl of Clanricard, the house conformed to the Observant reform in 1611. Under the patronage of Clanricarde, the

[52] [<http://www.logainm.ie/21197.aspx>] Accessed 31 May 2012.

[53] J. G. Higgins, 'A chi-ro decorated pebble from Kilcorban, county Galway'. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 123 (1993), 165.

[54] Holland, 'The Anglo Norman landscape in county Galway', 178; Patrick Holland, 'The Anglo-Normans in Co. Galway: the process of colonisation', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 41 (1987/8), 78.

[55] Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Harlow, 1970), 225.

[56] Colmán Ó Clabaigh, 'The mendicant friars in the medieval diocese of Clonfert', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 59 (2007), 31.

[57] Kenneth W. Nicholls, 'A List of the Monasteries in Connacht 1577', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 33 (1972/1973), 71.

[58] Catriona MacLeod, 'Mediaeval Wooden Figure Sculptures in Ireland, the Kilcorban St. Catherine and Calvary Figures', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 75/4 (1945); Ó Clabaigh, 'The mendicant friars in the medieval diocese of Clonfert', 34.

[59] John O'Heyne and Ambrose Coleman, *The Irish Dominicans of the seventeenth century* (Dundalk, 1902), 259.

[60] [<http://www.logainm.ie/1165004.aspx>] Accessed 31 May 2012

[61] Holland, 'The Anglo Norman landscape in county Galway', 178; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland*, 145.

[62] Gwynn, & Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland*, 19.

friary, which had been much ruined during the Elizabethan wars, was partially rebuilt.⁶³ The foundation was an important burial place for the Clanricarde Burkes. From at least the mid-seventeenth century a chapel at the site was used as a place of burial by the Burkes (9.7).

9.4 Pallas Castle: establishing a new seat

When Thomas Nugent finally occupied his lands, possibly some time in the 1670s, he chose Pallas as his new residence. Pallas castle is located in the centre of Tynagh parish, on the old Loughrea-Portumna road. As noted above, it was one of the residences, and perhaps the *caput*, of a sept of the Clanricarde Burkes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Pallas is now the only upstanding towerhouse in Tynagh or Duniry parishes, although it is not clear if this was the case in the later part of the seventeenth century. The castle was depicted on Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio*, Tynagh is the only other towerhouse in the parish marked on the map (Fig. 9.3).

As discussed above (5.4) the placename Pallas has been given varying etymologies by scholars, and has been connected with both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic lordly settlement. In the case of Pallas castle, it is quite likely that the name refers to a pre-castle *pailis* or fortified enclosure. It may have been a moated site, of which there are a number in the vicinity, including Cappacur and Ballyhanry, which Holland has connected with the subinfeudation of *Muintermailfinnain*.⁶⁴ However, following FitzPatrick's recent argument, that the grouping of *pailis*, *páirc* and horse-related placenames may be indicators of early medieval dynastic centres, we need not assume that the *pailis* was of Anglo-Norman origin.⁶⁵ Indeed the presence of the *pailis* in conjunction with the adjacent townlands of Racecourse and Parknahowen may indicate that the site was the old centre of the *Cenél Fheichín*.

The castle complex is made up of a compact rectangular tower house enclosed by a large rectangular bawn (Fig. 9.8). Five buildings or fragments of buildings are currently upstanding within the bawn. The oldest and best preserved component is the towerhouse (structure A), located in the northeast part of the bawn. The gable of a seventeenth-century fortified house (structure B) is built into the W bawn wall. The

[63] Gwynn, & Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland*, 253; J.P. Dalton, 'The Abbey of Kilnalahan III', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 6 (1909-10), 66, 195; Ó Clabaigh, 'The mendicant friars in the medieval diocese of Clonfert', 27.

[64] Holland, 'The Anglo Norman landscape in county Galway', 179; A now destroyed monument depicted on the 1838 OS map in the townland of Sawmagh, near Portumna, would also appear to be a moated site. It survives as a rectangular crop mark c.50m square. Significantly, it is adjacent to a townland called Pallas.

[65] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Ollamh, biatach, comharba: lifeways of Gaelic learned families in medieval and early modern Ireland', in L. Bhreathnach (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIV international Celtic congress* (forthcoming), 7.



Fig. 9.7: Pallas castle showing the towerhouse and the surviving gable of the fortified house.

bulk of the house was demolished in the later part of the nineteenth century and the stone was used to build an extension onto the eighteenth-century Palladian mansion.⁶⁶ Another early modern building (structure C) is built into the NW corner of the bawn. The S gable of structure C abuts the NW corner of the towerhouse. It is lit by a two-light squared-headed window set into the bawn wall, and surmounted by square hood-mouldings with L shaped stops. There is another two-light window in its west wall. The bawn is reached through a gatehouse (structure D). The current gatehouse is of eighteenth-century date. The latest extant building within the bawn is a stone and brick malt house (structure E) built into the NW corner of the bawn, in the shell of structure C. The first edition OS map from 1840s depicts several other buildings within the bawn, all of which have been subsequently demolished. Of the sequence of buildings at Pallas Castle, only the tower indisputably predates the Nugent phase of settlement.

9.4.1 *The towerhouse*

The towerhouse (Fig. 9.7) is of probable fifteenth-century date.⁶⁷ It has a rectangular plan and is 9.10m x 10.2m, E-W. It contains four principal floors, with four major chambers, three minor chambers, a garderobe and an oubliette. The hall is at second

[66] Tynagh Millennium review

[67] Sherlock, 'The social environment of the Irish towerhouse', 92.

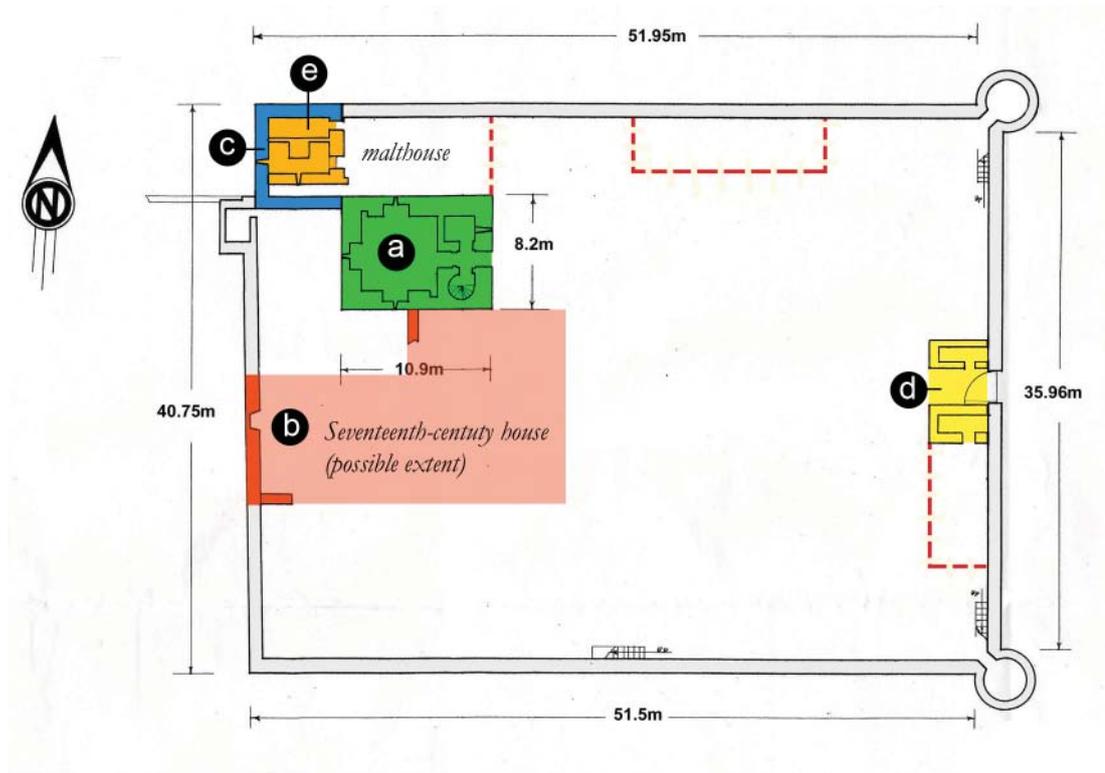


Fig. 9.8: OPW plan of Pallas Castle. Buildings indicated on the first edition OS map are marked in red.

floor level and is separated from the first floor by a stone vault. In the early modern period, the towerhouse was internally remodeled. This work largely consisted of the insertion of two- and three-light square-headed mullioned windows into the principal chambers on the first and second floors, the addition of two new mural fireplaces, and the vertical division of the second floor hall into two separate rooms by the creation of a third floor.

It is perhaps in the second-floor hall, that the most evidence for later amendment is visible. The hall is cruciform in plan with four window recesses framed by semi-circular, punch-dressed arches. Only the west window is in its original state. It comprises a two-light ogee-headed lancet window. Both the south and east window have been replaced with square-headed mullioned windows with a diamond footprint, a three-light and two-light, respectively, making this room the brightest in the tower. The original north window was blocked up and a fireplace was built into its recess, utilizing the existing flue for the first-floor fireplace. The fireplace was constructed by inserting a single mantle stone with a chamfered edge, rebuilding part of the wall to join the flue with the existing flue and making a relieving arch over the fireplace.

The reconfiguration of the fireplace arrangements in the great hall from an open central hearth to a mural fireplace is undoubtedly connected to the insertion of an additional floor above the room. The existence of this room is evident from the fireplace and wall cupboard in the west gable. No corbels or beam slots are evident in the walls but

this may be due to the conservation work undertaken by the OPW at the site in the 1950s when the castle was re-roofed. The fireplace is similar to that in the hall with a simple mantle stone resting on corbels which protrude from the wall. The chimney breast stands proud of the wall ascending towards the roof in three pronounced steps. Immediately to the left of the fireplace is a wall cupboard. The wall cupboard contrasts markedly with the other eight wall cupboards which are a recurring feature in this tower. It is notably shallower and its sides are lined with vertically set stones indicative of the fact that it is a secondary feature.

A secondary intramural stair connects the second-floor hall to the roof. The gabled roof is crowned by three chimneys, one set into the centre of the N wall and one extending from each gable of the pitched roof to the east and west. The chimneys are all similar in style; they are square in plan with bands of moulding around the lip. It is almost certain that the chimneys are a later addition to the tower and are more than likely contemporary with the addition of the two new fireplaces on the second and third floors, which are linked to the north and west chimneys respectively. Curiously, the chimney extending from the E gable not linked to a fireplace. There are two reasons for this: either there was an original fireplace at garret level, all traces of which have been obliterated by the conservation work, or the chimney is 'blind' and may have been built for aesthetic reasons, perhaps to create a more pleasingly symmetrical roofline. The addition of a mural fireplace replacing what was originally a central hearth is characteristic of the changes made to towers in the later period of their use, reflecting shifts in the way the spaces were socially used from a semi-public room lit by a central hearth to a more private space.⁶⁸ The reconfiguration of the space may also be connected to the division of the castle between different members of the kin group in the patent of *c.*1620.

9.4.2 The seventeenth-century house and bawn

At some point in the seventeenth century, a gabled house was appended to the tower (Fig. 9.7; Fig. 9.9). Lamentably, most of the house was demolished in the second half of the nineteenth century for stone to build an extension to the later mansion house. All that now remains is the W gable, and a fragment of the N gable abutting the tower. The ground plan of the seventeenth-century house is uncertain. Electrical resistance survey conducted at the site in an attempt to establish its original footprint was unsuccessful, largely owing to the extensive landscaping that has happened inside the bawn. The upstanding fragments suggest that the building had an L-plan, with an east-facing

[68] Sherlock, 'The social environment of the Irish towerhouse'.

façade. It is not clear if the later house incorporated the tower or was merely built against it.

When Sir Bernard Burke visited Pallas in 1855, he described the then standing structure as ‘that wide-windowed mansion, machicolated ...over the doorway, and strong against surprise’.⁶⁹ The surviving fragment would support his observation that the building was ‘wide windowed’. Five two-light mullioned windows, and one small single-light window are present in the gable wall. The remains of window embrasures are present in the fragment of the south wall of the house, and the section of wall abutting the towerhouse.

The surviving western gable indicates that the house had two principal floors and a garret over a basement. The first floor has a thick cover of plaster on the walls, the window embrasures and parts of the finely carved fireplace. There are pistol loops in the window embrasures. The plaster preserves the imprint of an internal partition dividing the first floor into two rooms. The second floor has a simpler fireplace with a mantle constructed of a rubble arch. This floor also preserves part of its plaster covering but it is not as thick or smooth as that on the second floor. The garret is unplastered and has the smallest windows. The house has fine diagonal Jacobean-style chimneys crowning its W gable. The floors rested not on corbels but on beams built into the walls.

There is evidence of differentiated access to the building. Just as Donegal castle, for example, has two different doors accessing the castle, the richly adorned first floor entrance for the lords of the house and the plain entrance below for the servants, so too Pallas has a basement entrance through the W wall of the bawn and, according to Burkes report, had another doorway within the rampart which was machicolated. The machicolated main entrance within the bawn and the undefended back entrance through the bawn wall bears out O’Keeffe’s comment that ‘defensive’ features of fortified houses such as bartizans, crenellations, and machicolations often were not entirely functionally defensive and may have been symbolic as signifiers of rank, for example. In the case of Pallas, the presence of a machicolation over the principal entrance (which is likely to have been the E wall of house facing the gatehouse) would have contributed to the creation of an impressive façade.

The bawn at Pallas is one of the most distinctive features of the site, and it is among the best surviving examples in the country.⁷⁰ Its walls are almost 4m high and have corner towers on the NE and SE, and bartizans on the NW and SW corners. The bawn wall is crowned with crenellations and has a wall-walk running around most of

[69] Dalton, ‘Pallas Castle’, 217.

[70] Sherlock, ‘The social environment of the Irish towerhouse’, 350.



Fig. 9.9: The western gable of the seventeenth-century house at Pallas.

its perimeter. It is fitted with gun loops throughout. Bawns are an architectural feature with a long currency in Ireland. In their earliest manifestations they are associated with towerhouses, providing an enclosed stockyard perhaps analogous in function to the Irish native enclosed settlement. The etymology of the word bawn- *bó dún* or cattle fort- bears this out. Bawns continued to be built through the late medieval into the early modern period. In the sample of towers studied by Sherlock, he determined that bawns were evenly distributed between the late and early examples he recorded.⁷¹ The bawn was frequently integral to the construction of the original tower house but there are several recorded instances where the bawn is a secondary feature post-dating the tower.⁷² In addition to its other uses and connotations, the bawn was undoubtedly defensive in character. The internecine feuding that characterised late medieval Ireland necessitated the construction of defended residences by the landed classes. The feature was retained in many of the new fortified houses that proliferated on the Irish landscape

[71] Sherlock, 'The social environment of the Irish towerhouse', 152.

[72] David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (2005), 22.

in the first half of the seventeenth century, in some cases allowing for the removal of defensive features from the residence.⁷³ Of the ten fortified houses surviving in Co. Offaly, seven have good evidence for bawns.⁷⁴ In this later context the bawn took on new connotations, shifting from a cattle fort to ‘a built version of the garden wall’ that enclosed the formally laid out garden associated with the Renaissance house.⁷⁵ Portumna castle, 10km to the SW of Pallas, is a prime example. At Pallas the bawn almost certainly post-dates the fifteenth-century towerhouse. Indeed, it may be contemporary with the seventeenth-century houses built into its fabric. The gun loops, that are integral to its fabric also suggest a late date.⁷⁶

The gatehouse post-dates the bawn and is of probable eighteenth-century date. It may have been built to facilitate carriages, replacing a narrower entrance. It is similar in form to gatehouses at other sites such as Fiddaun which has a three-story, gabled example.⁷⁷ The gatehouse at Pallas was built abutting the bawn wall and several fragments within its fabric indicate that it was probably fashioned from fragments taken from an earlier entrance, which judging from the dressing on the stones was probably arched. The later gate house is rectangular in plan with symmetrical gables crowned by chimneys. The northern stack carries the flues for two fireplaces on the first and second floors and the southern stack, being blind, was most likely erected for the purposes of symmetry. The gatehouse has four windows, three of which are composed of reused jambs from an earlier mullioned window.

9.4.3 *‘My Capital and mansion house at Pallas’: Who built the fortified House?*

The archaeological complex at Pallas is the result of some four hundred years of buildings, renovation and reuse. The tower changed from a Burke castle in the late medieval period, to an early modern mansion occupied by the Nugent family, for who it later became a farmyard, a storehouse and a site of antiquarian interest. Within the bawn the standing masonry structures are of varied date. Unravelling the chronology of the structures is key to understanding the manner in which Thomas Nugent settled into his new land in Galway. Determining the builder of the fortified house appended to the towerhouse is of particular importance. Historical evidence would suggest that the house was either constructed by Thomas Bourke of Pallas in the decade or two before the Cromwellian wars or by Thomas Nugent in the decade after the acquisition of his Galway holding. In the second decade of the seventeenth century, the sept of the

[73] Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, 175.

[74] Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, 188.

[75] Niall McCullough and Valerie Mulvin, *A Lost Tradition : The Nature of Architecture in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989) 121, 51.

[76] For discussion of gun loops see O’Callaghan chapter.

[77] Mike Salter, *The Castles of Connacht* (Malvern, 2004), 40; Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, 169.

Burkes holding Pallas practiced partible inheritance, which would tend to rule against the construction of a fortified house by the kin group.

The returns of the Strafford Survey, however, list one ‘Thomas Burke of Pallis’ as holding a sizable estate. In addition, the altar tomb in Kilnalahan Friary suggests that this individual was of certain means and sought to express his position materially. If Thomas Burke did build the fortified house, it would suggest that in the short decade between the patent’s record of partible inheritance and the Strafford Survey, fundamental changes had taken place within the kin group of the Pallas Burkes. Within the context of Co. Galway, fortified houses were built by certain types of families and individuals, and are particularly associated with the process of Anglicisation, and entitlement. Two of the examples, Portumna and Terryland, can be attributed to the Earl of Clanrickard. Glinsk in north Galway was built by Sir Ulick Burke, who was made a baronet in 1628.⁷⁸

Thomas Nugent was very familiar with the form of the fortified house. At his family seat at Clonyn, Co. Westmeath, a mansion house superseded the high medieval castle, probably in the mid- to late-sixteenth century. Nugent was of superior social station to the Pallas Burkes, his father having been the Earl of Westmeath and he himself received a baronage from James II. Thomas Nugent is recorded as borrowing 1000 pounds from the statute staple in 1684.⁷⁹ Other such loans on the staple have been linked with episodes of building or improvement. Ohlmyer has linked the construction of Kanturk Castle, Co. Cork with McDonagh McCarthy’s borrowing, for example. The sum is paltry in comparison to the 10,000 pounds that the Earl of Clanrickard spent at Portumna, but compares favourably with the expenses compiled by Barnard for contemporary episodes of construction.⁸⁰ The evidence is inconclusive but arguably weights towards Thomas Nugent as the builder of the house at Pallas.

9.5 ‘Fine evergreens, and ancient oaks’: the demesne landscape at Pallas

It was not just the built environment that the Nugents manipulated at Pallas, in the 250 years of their occupancy of the site they drastically altered the landscape of their demesne through draining, planting, the creation of gardens and orchards and the construction of formal and informal access routes. The core of the Nugent’s holding in Galway was their demesne which was coterminous with the modern townland of

[78] <http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=1163> [Accessed 18 May 2012]

[79] Jane H. Ohlmyer and Eamonn O Ciardha, *The Irish statute staple books, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1998), 267.

[80] T. C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure : Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven & Yale, 2004), 497.

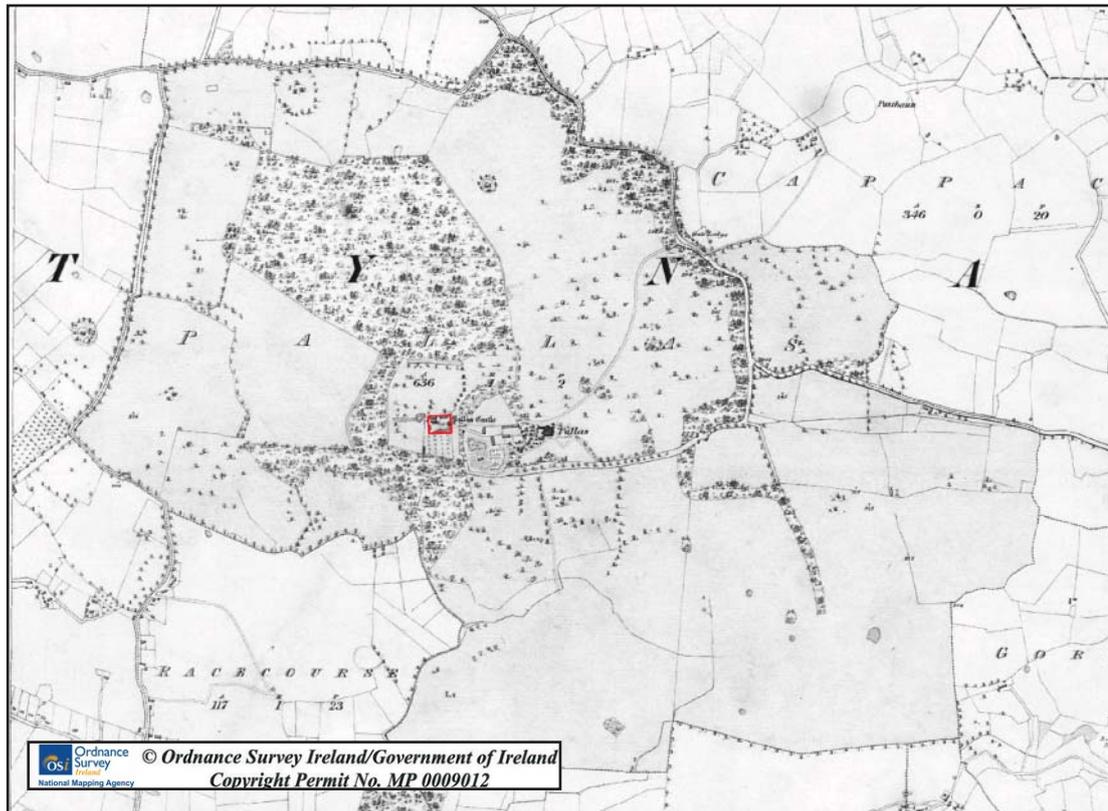


Fig. 9.10: First edition map OS map of Pallas townland.

Pallas (Fig. 9.10). In the Strafford Survey the denomination of ‘Pallis’ was described as comprising 3 cartrons and 2/3 of a cartron made up of 304 acres of arable and pasture; 44 acres of ‘course moorish pasture ground’ 1/12 part profitable; 16 acres of ‘Bogg’ 1/16 part profitable and 14 acres of ‘woody curragh’ 1/14 part profitable.⁸¹

The correlation between the denominations of ‘Pallis’ as described in the BSD and the nineteenth-century townland of ‘Pallas’ is not absolute. The appearance of new placenames in the landscape during the seventeenth and eighteenth, allied with the loss of older place names contributes to the difficulty of mapping earlier land denominations on the ground. The nineteenth-century townland of Pallas, for example, is adjoined by two townlands with English names: Racecourse to the south and Quarry Hill to the north. The two English language placenames provide clear land use descriptions for the parcels of land to which they apply, both functions being connected with the estate landscape.

The demesne depicted on the 1838 OS map is largely a product of the later eighteenth century. It comprises a ‘natural style’ landscape park, a style that was introduced

[81] Mac Giolla Choille, BSD Galway, 207

to Ireland in the 1740s.⁸² Most of the east of the townland is shown as open and unenclosed parkland planted with small clumps of trees, while the centre of the park, to the west of the castle is covered in woodland. There are some traces of geometric landscaping are in evidence around the bawn, but no evidence of formal avenue/s that were central to the late seventeenth-century formal garden style.⁸³ The principal surviving elements of the earlier landscape are a walled orchard, two linear ponds, and (possibly) the grove of trees to the west of the house. The ponds to the W of the castle may well have been *servatoria* for the storage of fish for the table. Most medieval and early post-medieval fish ponds were compact square or rectangular features located near to the residence.⁸⁴ One of these ponds and the, now dried-up, moat were fed by a spring located immediately to the west of the castle.

The manner in which the woodland frames the castle suggests that it too may have been part of the earlier layout, although it was evidently augmented and developed over the life of the demesne. The woodland occupies the same extent as it did on the 1838 OS map, and in the nineteenth century it was lauded as a particularly noteworthy feature of the demesne. Sir Bernard Burke's account of the estate (1858), interpreted through the lens of the picturesque, extolled its ample woodland:

The pleasure grounds are laid out with taste, and possess fine evergreens, and ancient oaks...an old tourist of the last century describes Pallas Castle as standing in a grove of beautiful trees; since then they have reared upwards many a leafy fathom of increased magnificence, and now spread far broader circles of dreamy shadows over the soft green sward.⁸⁵

Woodland was immensely symbolic in early modern Ireland. It held a special place in the imagination of the English colonist as the resort of the wild Irish, and contemporary discourse cast both landscape and people as joined in symbiotic degeneration.⁸⁶

The clearing of woodland was thus bound up with notions of improvement and the Anglicisation of the Irish landscape. In practice the process was led by military and logistical concerns and the rapid exploitation of woodlands as a source of fuel, timber or bark for the tanning industry.⁸⁷ By the close of the seventeenth century,

[82] Reeves-Smyth, Terence, 'The natural history of demesnes', in John Wilson Foster and Helena C. G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland: A scientific and cultural history* (Dublin, 1997), 554.

[83] Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', 550.

[84] Christopher K. Currie, 'Fishponds as garden features, c. 1550-1750', *Garden History*, 18/1 (1990), 26; Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', 550.

[85] Burke, 'Pallas Castle', 58; For discussion of the picturesque see Slater, Eamonn, 'Reconstructing 'nature' as a picturesque theme park: the colonial case of Ireland', *NIRSA Working Paper Series*, 32 (2007), 2.

[86] Keith Plummers, 'Taming the wilderness in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland and Virginia', *Environmental History*, 16/4 (2011), 7; Joep Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56/1 (1995), 30.

[87] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork, 2006), 93-6.

the decimation of Ireland's woodlands was such that the state began to legislate for the planting of trees by the landed classes. The 1698 'Act for planting and preserving timber trees and woods' required those who held or rented land worth £10 per annum to plant ten trees for 31 years, and occupiers of estates of over 500 acres to plant one acre of land for 20 years. The owners of ironworks were to plant 500 trees annually. This legislation was expanded in 1705.⁸⁸ Woodland was increasingly restricted to the demesnes of the landed elite, where it was valued for its aesthetic and commercial value.⁸⁹ Existing woodland was often preserved and managed within early modern park landscapes.⁹⁰ As has been noted above, for example (6.3), by the middle of the seventeenth century most woodland in the barony of Delvin was appended to elite residences.

There was substantial woodland in the south of the barony of Leitrim in the first half of the seventeenth century. John Brown's 1584 map of Connacht and Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio* depicted substantial tree cover in the parishes of Ballynakill, Inishcaltra and Clonrush, between the Slieve Aughty Mountains and Lough Derg (Fig. 9.4).⁹¹ The Strafford Survey indicates the survival of substantial woodland in this area. Numerous parcels of 'great oaken wood profitable for timber' were recorded in Ballynakill. A good deal of this woodland was held in common by several townlands, serving as an important communal resource.⁹² Tynagh parish was depicted as largely devoid of trees by Brown and Petty, but the close descriptions of the Strafford Survey indicate that pockets of woodland were interspersed among the arable and bogland. There was 'wood mixed with spot of arable' in Loughanroe and Ballyglass, 'woody curragh' in Pallas and Kilcorban, 'wood' in Killine and 'woody land' in Crannagh.⁹³

In 1786, William Wilson noted 'Palace-castle-ruins seated in the midst of a fine grove of trees'.⁹⁴ By the second decade of the nineteenth century Larkin's map depicted the parish as devoid of trees, with the notable exceptions of Pallas, and the other, later Nugent houses, Spring Garden and Flower Hill. If some of the woodland in Pallas was a remnant of the trees that had existed in the 1630s, then much of it was clearly much

[88] A. C. Forbes, 'Tree planting in Ireland during four centuries', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 41C (1932 - 1934), 177.

[89] Reeves-Smyth, 'The natural history of demesnes', 552.

[90] Oliver Rackham, 'Pre-existing trees and woods in country house parks', *Landscapes*, 2 (2004), 9; Forbes, 'Tree planting in Ireland during four centuries', 180-1; Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory*, 98.

[91] Philip M. Perrin, and Orla H. Daly, *A provisional inventory of ancient and long-established woodland in Ireland* (Irish Wildlife Manuals, No. 46; Dublin, 2010), 21.

[92] Simington, Robert C., *Books of survey and distribution, being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of title, 1636-1703*, (4 vols, Dublin, 1962), vol. 3, 214-225; Smyth, William J., *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork, 2006), 89.

[93] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 206-8. The return for the portion of Tynagh in the barony of Longford does not include topographical descriptions.

[94] William Wilson, *The post-chaise companion or travellers directory through Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), 523.

later in date. Lord Riverston, for example, was the recipient of a premium from the Dublin society for planting and enclosing some 30 acres on his demesne between 1789 and 1794.⁹⁵ This date is about the same time that the new Palladian house, designed by William Leeson was built at Pallas.

It is perhaps not surprising that there are little remains of a Baroque-style garden on the demesne. The legal wrangling over the ownership of the estate during much of the early eighteenth century may have precluded the substantial investment that such an undertaking would have entailed. It was not until the 1750s that the fourth Baron Nugent of Riverstown managed to acquire secure title to the estate. The suggestion that he was responsible for much of the layout of the landscape park is supported by his receipt of the Dublin Society's planting premiums.

9.5.1 Racecourse

Chapter 6 (6.6.2) noted how horses left a distinct mark on the demesne at Clonyn, discussing how the breeding and racing of horses was bound up with expressions of nobility in early modern Ireland. There is evidence at Pallas for horseracing on the demesne, namely in a townland flanking the south of the perimeter of the demesne which is called Racecourse. Horse racing was among a number of sports (like hurling and prize fighting) that garnered both elite and popular support.⁹⁶ In addition to the larger gatherings at formal race tracks like the Curragh,⁹⁷ smaller towns often held races on commonages, which had frequently a long pedigree as places of assembly, connected to fairs or other seasonal gatherings.⁹⁸ Horse racing had a long connection with assembly places in medieval Ireland, and it was an integral part of the *óenach* gatherings.⁹⁹ Indeed, many attested medieval *óenach* sites hosted horseracing in the historic period.¹⁰⁰ Sporting infrastructure could be incorporated into the designed demesne landscapes.¹⁰¹ At Loughmoe Co. Tipperary, for example, the Purcells had a hurling pitch and viewing

[95] Royal-Dublin-Society, *Transactions of the Dublin Society* (6 vols, Dublin, 1806), Vol. 5, 114-8.

[96] Sean Connolly, 'Ag déanamh commanding': elite responses to popular culture, 1660-1850', in James S. Donnelly and Kerby A. Miller (eds.), *Irish popular culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998), 13.

[97] Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, 228; Michael Viney, 'Wild sports and stone guns', in John Wilson Foster and Helena C. G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland a scientific and cultural history* (Dublin, 1997), 524.

[98] Enda O'Flaherty, 'Archaeological watermarks: settlement, landscape and seasonal flooding in historical Ireland', Unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, Galway, 2012.

[99] Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Joseph Fenwick, 'The Gathering Place of Tír Fhiachrach? Archaeological and Folkloric Investigations at Aughris, Co. Sligo', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 101C/3 (2001), 71.

[100] FitzPatrick & Fenwick, 'Aughris', 72; Máire MacNeill, *The festival of Lughnasa: a study of the survival of the Celtic festival at the beginning of harvest* (London, 1962), 344-5.

[101] Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, 232-3.

mound set out beside the castle.¹⁰² Likewise, some landlords patronised horse races on their own estates.¹⁰³

The primary requirement for a racecourse was a flat stretch of ground and many sites survive solely as placenames.¹⁰⁴ A number of racecourses which were part of demesne landscapes survive as nineteenth-century townlands with names indicative of racing. Headford Castle, Co. Galway and Ballyshannon House, Co. Kildare, Racecourse Hall and Liscahill House Co. Tipperary had townlands called Racepark, Racefield and Racecourse adjacent to their demesnes. The siting of the racecourse in relation to their respective demesnes mirrors that of Pallas (Fig. 9.11).

Racecourse townland is subrectangular in plan and contains 117 statute acres (Fig. 9.12). Its northern and eastern sides abut the landscape park, while its south and west perimeters are formed by minor roads. The racecourse thus occupied a position between the spatial enclave of the landscape park and the broader estate, reflective of the role of the horse race as a place of vertical social interaction. The genesis of the racecourse is not certain, but given the evidence for horse-related activity in Clonyn, it may well have originated in the seventeenth century, or even have been part of the pre-transplantain Burke landscape. By 1840, parts of the townland had been enclosed into fields and there was ribbon settlement along its western perimeter. The 25-inch OS map, in contrast, depicts an unenclosed landscape, the ribbon settlement of the 1840s having been removed, probably indicating a revival or expansion of racing at the site in the period.

9.6 Heraldry

As noted in chapter 6 (6.8), heraldry was widely used in early modern Ireland to proclaim noble status and ancestry. This pattern is also visible on the Pallas estate in domestic and funerary contexts. Just as at Finnea in Co. Westmeath, heraldry is also found on a bridge on the Pallas estate, underscoring Nugent financing of infrastructural projects. Heraldry has been widely associated with elite residences in an early modern context. As noted above there is a Nugent armorial plaque set above the eighteenth-century gatehouse at Pallas castle (Fig. 9.17). The armorial is made up of two limestone slabs. The central panel of the main slab is carved in low relief with the impaled shield of Nugent and Daly. The shield is crowned with a cockatrice, the Nugents' crest. The shield and crest are bordered by panels of low relief scrolling to the right and left, and

[102] John D. Seymour, 'Loughmoe Castle and Its Legends', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 39/1 (1909), 74.

[103] David A. Fleming, 'Divisions of the people: sociability among the orders of early eighteenth-century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 17 (2002), 108.

[104] John Burnett, 'The sites and landscapes of horse racing in Scotland before 1860', *The Sports Historian*, 18/1 (1998), 62.

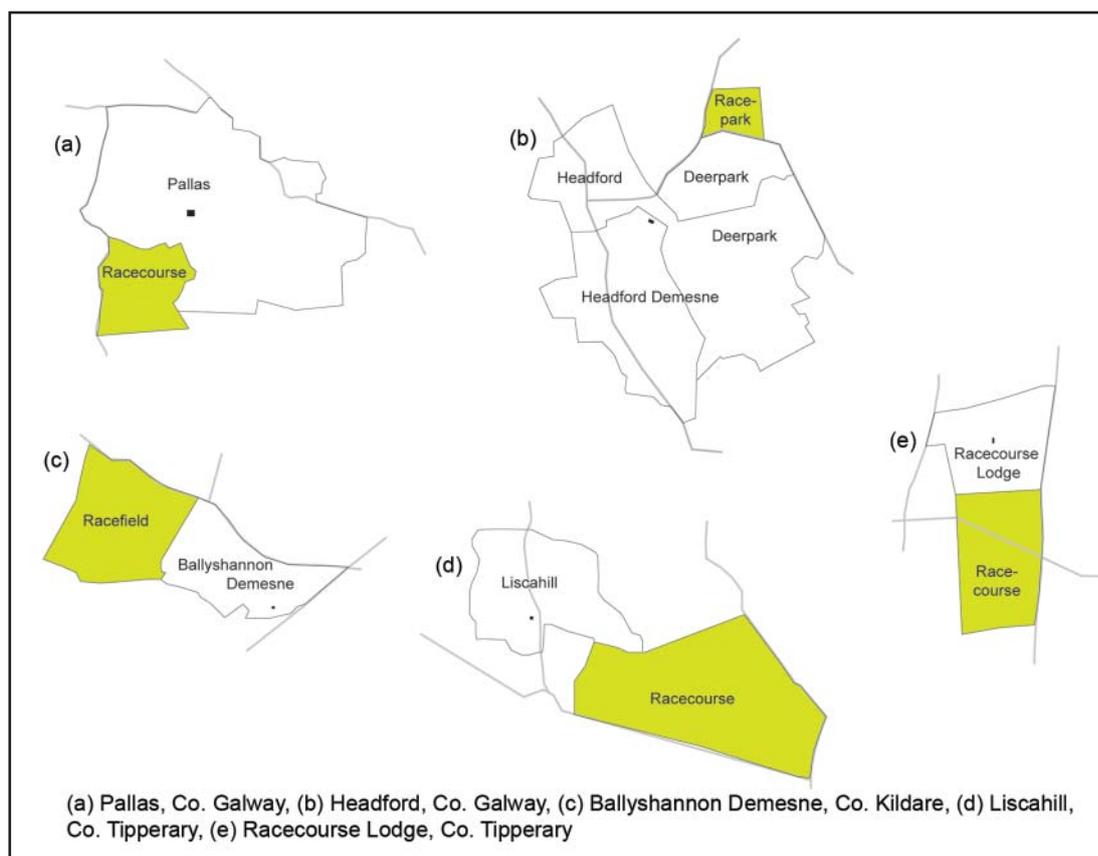


Fig. 9.11: Racecourses and demesnes. Based on the first edition OS map.

the space between the panels and the shield is filled with scroll work with two quarter discs placed in the top corners. Both the scroll work in the panels and that on the main panel is asymmetrical. The main slab is crowned by a smaller finely cut semicircular stone depicting a coronet denoting the rank of baron. The body of the coronet is incised into the stone and an attempt is made to depict the perspective of the raised crown. The coronet is surmounted by four pearls. On the bottom panel of the main plaque the mottos of the Nugent and O'Daly families are given in Latin, *DECREVI* and *DEO & REGI FIDELIS*. The date 1719 is inscribed above the motto on the left-hand side. Another date is inscribed on the upper stone with the word March and the numbers 08 prefixed by the number 1 or the letter J to the left of the plaque.

The execution of the carving on the armorial, bear marked similarity to a number of mid-eighteenth-century funerary monuments from Kilnalahan, particularly that of Edmund Burke of Meelick, dated 1741 and that of 'John Burke of Reaghan Esq' dated 1745 (Fig. 9.16). The similarity suggests that the monuments were carved by the same mason, and underlines the local demand for heraldic devices in stone by the local gentry in both domestic and funerary contexts. Armorial devices constituted part of a broader discourse of nobility, speaking to the contested issues of legitimacy and landownership. John Burke of Reaghan's monument is a case and point.



Fig. 9.12: Racecourse townland as depicted on the first edition OS map (top left), the second edition OS map (top right) and the 25-inch map (bottom).

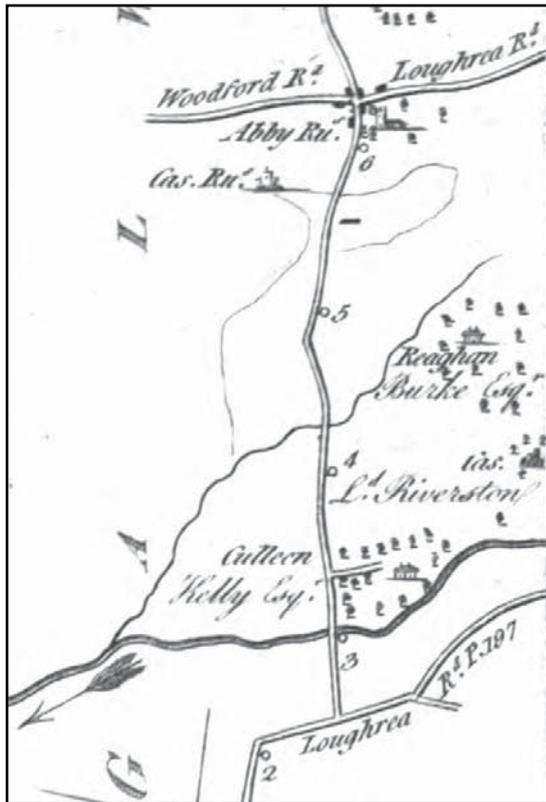


Fig.9.27: Reaghan and Pallas on the Taylor and Skinner map (1777).

The nineteenth-century townland of Reaghan¹⁰⁵ abuts the east of the Pallas demesne (Fig. 9.2). It is not clear what seventeenth-century denomination Reaghan was part of. The somewhat unreliable *Hiberniae Delineatio* (Fig. 9.3) suggests either the half quarter of Bellana and Tomkin or Knockaneniven, the former was held by fourteen men in the BSD and the latter solely by the Earl of Clanricarde.¹⁰⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century it was part of the Nugent estate. The house is marked as that of 'Burke Esq' on Taylor and Skinner's 1777 road map. The Larkin map depicts a single house in the townland approached by an avenue and surrounded by trees. In Griffith's Valuation, the townland was divided into eight properties, two of which were held by six or more people

in partnership. The single house depicted on Larkin's map was held by Charles Kelly, and no one with the name Burke rented land in the townland. John Burke of Reaghan Esq. possibly rented his holding. His name and his burial in the chapel at Kilnalahan, however, suggest that his family were a sept of the Clanricarde Burkes. It underscores his desire to proclaim his nobility and standing in the community.

The Nugent armorial at Pallas marks the marriage of William Nugent, the second eldest son of Thomas Nugent and the third lord Riverston, to Bridget Daly daughter of Charles Daly of Cloghans, Co. Galway in 1719.¹⁰⁷ It can perhaps be connected to the dispute between Hyacinth Richard the second Lord Riverston and his younger brother William over the estate, underlining the legitimacy of William's claim to Pallas, over that of his brother's in-laws. The inclusion of the coronet of the baron over the arms underlines the Nugent's Jacobite affiliations.

A more public display of Nugent heraldry on their Pallas estate is on Cappagh Bridge on the Kilnalahan-Portumna road, which spans the Cappagh River near Crannagh

[105] There are only two townlands in Ireland with the name Reaghan, one in Tynagh, Co. Galway and the other in Cappagh parish, Co. Tyrone. <http://www.logainm.ie/65410.aspx>, <http://www.logainm.ie/21206.aspx> Accessed 2 June 2012, 13:42pm.

[106] Mac Giolla Choille, BSD Galway

[107] National Library of Ireland, GO Ms 174, folio 38.

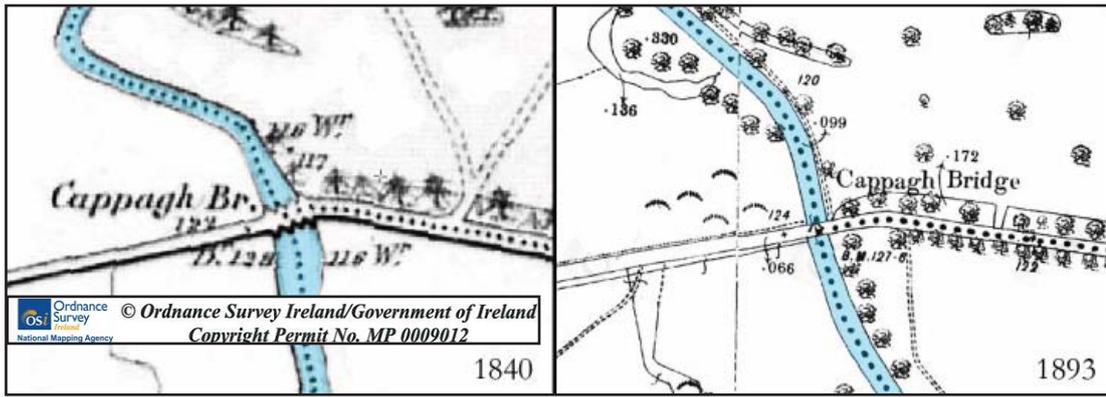


Fig. 9.13: Cappagh bridge on the first edition 6-inch OS map (1840) and the 25-inch OS map (1892).

Fig. 9.14: Position of the armorial on the current bridge.

Fig. 9.15: detail of the Nugent armorial.

(Fig. 9.13; Fig. 9.14; Fig. 9.15). The current bridge is nineteenth century in date. It was constructed by the board of public works drainage commission as part of the draining of the Cappagh River. There is, however, a Nugent heraldic plaque set into the south side of the bridge. The plaque is made from limestone and is 0.42m by 0.38m high. It is badly eroded, but the Nugent shield and motto can be clearly discerned.

9.7 Death and Burial

It is not clear where Thomas Nugent was buried, but Hyacinth Nugent and his wife Susanna were both interred in Howth, Co. Dublin. Her will dated 1761 stated that she was 'to be buried in Howth church where her late husband is buried'.¹⁰⁸ Hyacinth's burial at Howth was probably connected with the rift between himself and his brother. Kilcorban would seem to have been the principal burying place of the Nugents of Pallas from at least the end of the eighteenth century, and probably earlier. The Dominican House was on the lands granted to Thomas Nugent, and the family had a long connection to the Dominican order, having founded the house of Mullingar.¹⁰⁹ Kilcorban was an important burial ground and among those interred within its walls was Teige Mc Keogh Catholic bishop of Clonfert, who died in 1687.¹¹⁰ A number of fine Gaelic revival ledger slabs are known from the site.¹¹¹ The Nugent family reused a chapel on the northern side of the nave as their place of burial (Fig. 9.18). The chapel is one of the best preserved elements of the church building, largely owing to its reuse by the family. The site was heavily rebuilt in the 1980s without archaeological supervision, impeding the interpretation of the architecture.¹¹²

The chapel probably originated as either a chantry or a Lady Chapel.¹¹³ It is separated from the main church by a pointed arch. Its northern gable has a two-light pointed window with switch-line tracery and there is a two-light ogee headed window surmounted by a square hood moulding with L-shaped stops in its eastern wall. This window was subsequently blocked by the insertion of a barrel-vault. The chapel evidently had a roof in 1935, when Charles MacNeill noted the 'roofed building used as the burial vault of the Nugents of Pallas'. At the time of MacNeill's visit, the arch separating the chapel from the nave was 'built up'.¹¹⁴ Both the barrel-vault and the wall built into the arch have since been removed and the chapel is now unroofed.

[108] Ainsworth & Mac Lysaght, 'Survey of documents in private keeping', 200.

[109] Gwynn & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*.

[110] John O'Heyne and Ambrose Coleman, *The Irish Dominicans of the seventeenth century* (Dundalk, 1902), 259.

[111] Charles McNeill, 'Sepulchral slab, Kilcorban church, Co. Galway', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Seventh Series*, 5/2 (1935), 327; McDermott, 'Patronage and Observance', 7.3

[112] Christy Cunniffe *pers comms*.

[113] McDermott, 'Patronage and Observance', 7.5

[114] McNeill, 'Sepulchral slab, Kilcorban church, Co. Galway', 327.



(a) Edmund Burke of Meelick (1741), Burke chapel, Kilnalahan. (b) John Burke of Reaghan Esq. (1745), chapel, Kilnalahan. (c) Undated O'Daly monument from Kilconnell Friary, Co. Galway.



Fig. 9.16 (above): Heraldry in a funerary context from Kilnalahan and Kilconnell.

Fig. 9.17 (below): The armorial from Pallas Castle.

The first earliest surviving monument associating the Nugents with the chapel is a Coade stone armorial plaque (Fig. 9.19). The monument is now ex-situ and has been mounted on the exterior east wall of the chapel. It features the Nugent arms crowned by the baronial coronet and flanked by two basilisks. There is no date on the monument but its fabric- Coade stone – suggests a late-eighteenth century date. Coade stone is a synthetic material made from ball clay, crushed stone, and glass, fired to very high temperature. It was first manufactured in London in the 1760s by a Mrs Eleanor Coade,

who gave her name to the stone. Coade stone was much in demand as a material for fine architectural details in the late eighteenth century, and was widely used in Dublin, including by James Gandon on the Rotunda Lying-In Hospital (1786). Several examples of the stone's use in Galway have been recently documented, including the Birmingham mausoleum in Athenry friary (1790), a Cheevers monument at Killian parish church and an armorial on the facade of the Lawrences' house at Lisreaghan (1792).¹¹⁵ The Nugent

[115] Martin Feely, Jerry Lidwill, and Dominic Monaghan, 'Mrs Coade's stone: a late-18th-century addition to Co. Galway's architectural heritage', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 48 (1996), 92-4.

armorial is not dated, but based on the other Galway examples, it was probably in the later part of the eighteenth century.

The original position of the Coade stone armorial is unclear. It may have been inserted into the wall, alluded to by McNeill, which was built across the arch separating the chapel from the main body of the church. This wall was most likely built by the Nugents to close-off the chapel for burial. The wall may have been constructed contemporaneously with the insertion of the stone vault, only traces of which now survive (Fig. 9.22). The use of vaulted burial chapels has a local parallel at Kilnalahan. The central side chapel on the south wall of the choir is barrel-vaulted and thought to have been constructed as a burial chamber in the post-Reformation period.¹¹⁶ Similarly, James Davoren's chapel at Noughaval, Co. Clare built c.1725 has a barrel-vault (7.5.1).

A second Nugent memorial is placed ex-situ on the internal west wall of the chapel and dated 1920 (Fig. 9.20). It reads:

This ancient chapel of Kilcorban was restored in the year 1920 by Anthony Francis 11th Earl of Westmeath and Baron of Delvin to the glory of God and in pious memory of the members of many generations of the family who lie within its walls

It's not clear what Anthony Francis' restoration entailed. The rebuilding of Kilcorban in the 1980s has made it very difficult to read the building. One aspect of this rebuilding work was the dismantling of the Nugent burial chapel and the rearrangement of the space to approximate its 'original' late medieval lay out. This work entailed the removal of the south wall of the chapel, and probably, the burial vault and the roof that had existed in 1935. A stone altar was also built underneath the northern window (Fig. 9.18). The monumental inscriptions were relocated and mounted on the walls of the chapel. The restoration of the chapel was carried out just a decade before the Pallas was sold by the Nugents and, like many landed gentry families, removed to Britain shortly after the south of Ireland gained independence.¹¹⁷ This restoration carried out in the 1980s says much about contemporary attitudes towards the legacy of the 'big house' in Ireland. The physical erasure of the Nugent burial place and the attempt to reconstruct the medieval chapel constitutes an attempt to create an edited memory of the site's past. This can be viewed as part of a broader process that occurred in the south of Ireland after Independence, characterised by the desire to eradicate the remnants and reminders of the cultural landscapes associated with the big house, which were essentially viewed as colonial entities.¹¹⁸

[116] Canice Mooney, 'Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland (Part II)', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 86/2 (1956), 158.

[117] Nuala C. Johnson, 'Where geography and history meet: heritage tourism and the big house in Ireland', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86/3 (1996), 556.

[118] Johnson, 'Where geography and history meet', 556.

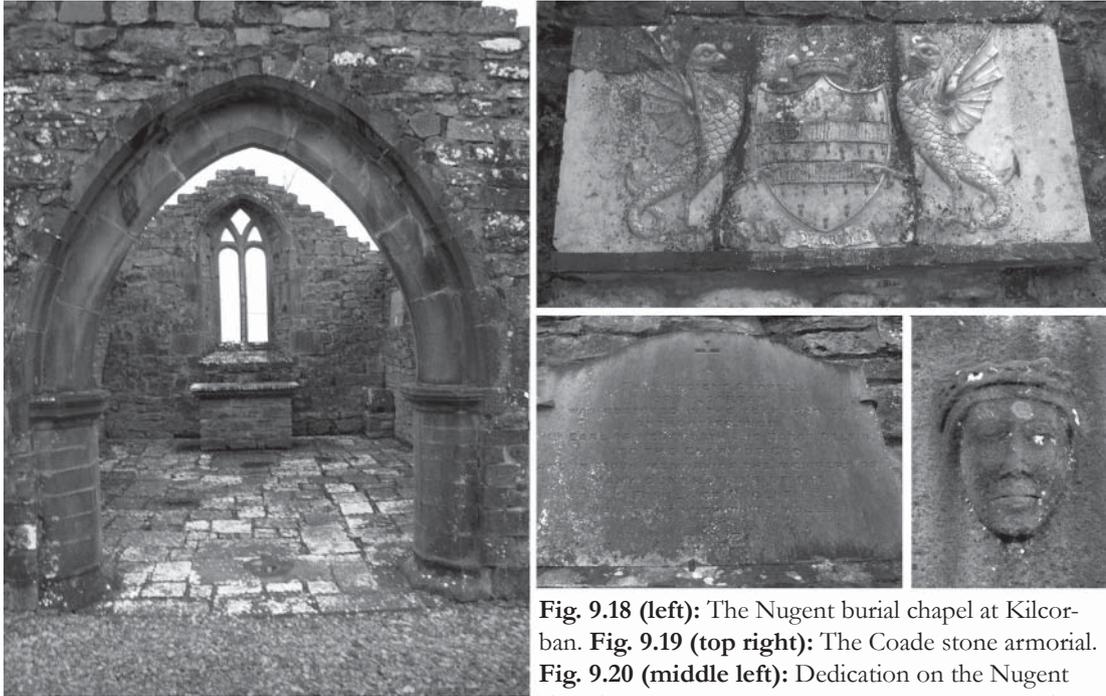


Fig. 9.18 (left): The Nugent burial chapel at Kilcorban. **Fig. 9.19 (top right):** The Coade stone armorial. **Fig. 9.20 (middle left):** Dedication on the Nugent chapel c.1920. **Fig. 9.21 (middle right):** Crowned head carved on the south wall of the chapel.

A second surviving Nugent burying place is at Kilnalahan or Abbey. This monument is nineteenth century in date and was built by the Nugents of Crannagh, a cadet branch of the Pallas family founded by Thomas Nugent's grandson, Arthur Anthony, in the early nineteenth-century.¹¹⁹ The monument consists of a rectangular tomb (c.1.2m high) surrounded by a high perimeter wall (7m square; 3m high) (Fig. 9.23). Dalton refers to the enclosure as an unroofed chapel.¹²⁰ The monument is in the south-west corner of the graveyard at Kilnalahan, near its perimeter wall. The decision of the Nugents of Crannagh to build at Kilnalahan rather than Kilcorban may be related their desire to distinguish themselves from the main branch of the family at Pallas. The monument is in the graveyard, near its entrance gate and flanking the perimeter wall (Fig. 9.25). It is peripheral to the ruins of the monastic building, but is a very visible position from the main road. McDermott has suggested that the peripheral



Fig. 9.22: Blocked up window in the east wall of the Nugent chapel.

[119] Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage*, Vol. 2, 2982.

[120] J.P. Dalton, 'The Abbey of Kilnalahan', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 6 (1909-10).



Fig. 9.23 (top): Burial chapel of the Nugents of Crannagh at Kilnalahan.



Fig. 9.24 (left): Detail of the armorial in the Nugent of Crannagh burial chapel.

location of the Nugent tomb was in part dictated by the ‘degree of influence that the Burkes exercised at this site, excluding all other notable families from burial within the church itself’.¹²¹

Certainly, different members of the Burke family are responsible for the earliest and most ostentatious funerary monuments at the site. The church at Kilnalahan has three chapels projection from its southern side, all three of which have been reused for burial. The eastern-most chapel, which Mooney suggests originated as a sacristy or an additional choir, contains three mural funerary monuments dating to 1649, 1684 and 1741, and a later nineteenth century tomb for the Burkes of Marble Hill.¹²² The central chapel contains no monuments but Mooney has interpreted it as a post-Reformation burial chapel.¹²³ The western most chapel contains a monument to John Burke of Reaghan Esq. discussed above.

[121] Yvonne McDermott, ‘Patronage and observance: the Franciscan and Dominican friaries in the Connacht lordships of Clan Uilliam Uachtair and Clann Uilliam Íochtair 1350-1550, Unpublihsed PhD thesis, NUI, Galway, 2012.

[122] Mooney, ‘Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland (Part II)’, 159.

[123] Mooney, ‘Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland (Part II)’, 159.

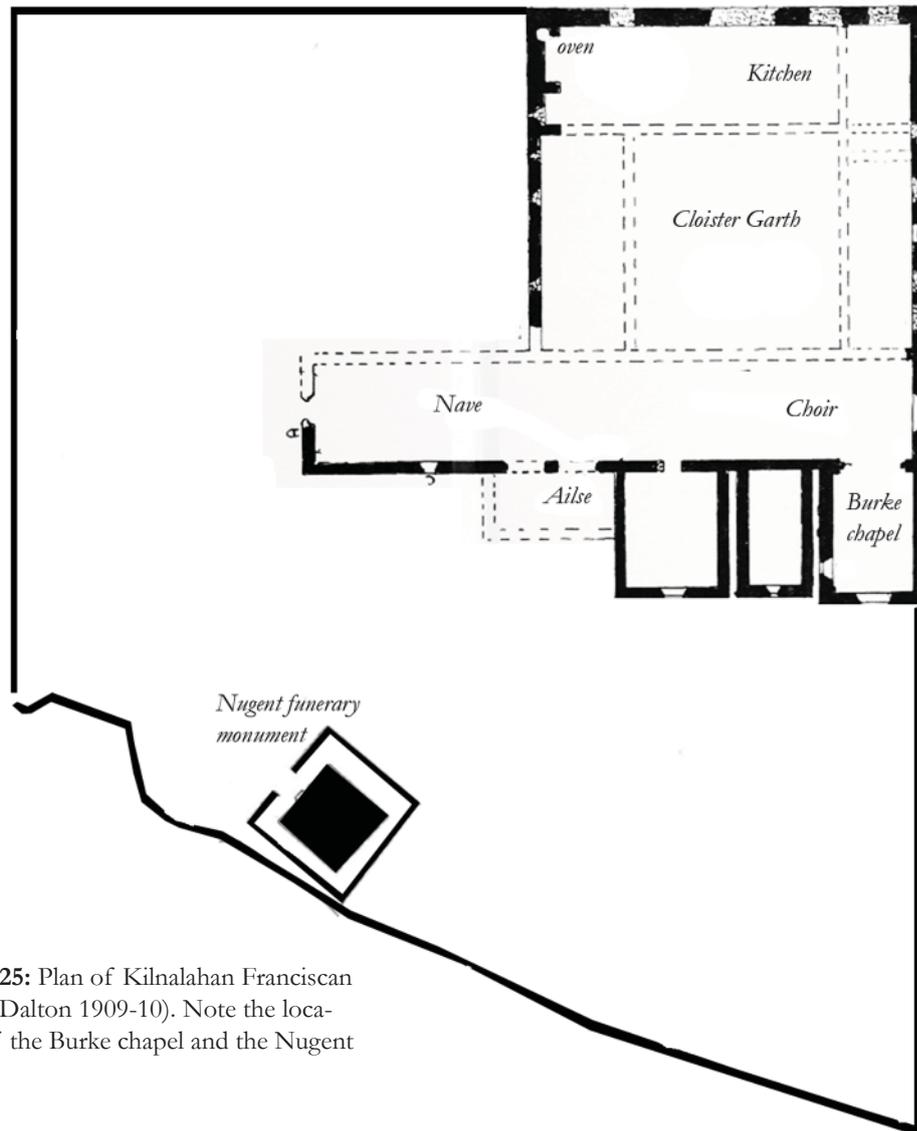


Fig. 9.25: Plan of Kilnalahan Franciscan friary (Dalton 1909-10). Note the location of the Burke chapel and the Nugent chapel.

9.8 Tenants and followers: continuity of settlement?

It is difficult to assess to what extent Thomas Nugent may have brought tenants or followers with him from Westmeath to his Galway holding. The 1659 poll tax does not survive for Co. Galway, debarring analysis of the settlement patterns and names that was possible for the O'Callaghan estate, nor does a certificate of transplantation survive. The restoration of his father's estate in Co. Westmeath, removed much of the impetus for tenants to remove to Connacht, although he was probably accompanied by household staff and servants. In the absence of contemporary material, later, nineteenth-century documentary sources have been consulted with a view to shedding light on the seventeenth century landscape.

Unlike the O'Callaghan holding in Clare, there is no clear evidence of planned settlement on the estate in the form of villages. In addition to isolated, dispersed

dwelling and farmsteads, there are several examples of what have been variously termed ‘clachans’ or ‘farm villages’.¹²⁴ These settlements essentially comprise clusters of dwellings and/or farmyards. They can be regarded as vernacular, that is, ‘laid out and built by the occupants of the settlements’, and are frequently associated with partnership farming and the ‘rundale system’, although this association is not absolute.¹²⁵

Griffiths Valuation records a diversity of rental practices on the Nugent estate with both partnership and individual leases in evidence. Partnership leasing was common in early nineteenth century Galway, and indeed, in 1824, Hely Dutton lamented that ‘too much of the land of this county is let in partnership’.¹²⁶ The physical expression of these collectively rented holdings, as depicted on the early nineteenth-century maps, was usually clustered vernacular settlement. These were of diverse morphology, including row settlements, agglomerations, polyfocal settlements and dispersed groups.¹²⁷ Thorough assessment of the varied forms of vernacular settlements on the Nugent estate in the mid-nineteenth century is beyond the scope of this project, but a number of observations can be made.

Two settlements are of particular relevance in considering the development of settlement on the Nugent estate: Garraun and Ballinsmaul (Fig. 9.26). Garraun is located c.500m to the north of Pallas, and comprises some 251 state acres; Ballinsmaul abuts the north of Garraun and covers 109 state acres. The 1838 OS map shows a polyfocal settlement in Garraun of 40 plus buildings and an agglomerated settlement in Ballinsmaul of about 20 buildings.¹²⁸ Both sites are represented on the first edition OS map as irregular clusters of buildings set into a matrix of irregular fields with tracks emanating from the settlement into the surrounding landscape. Garaun is depicted as interspersed with trees and reminiscent of the meaning of its Gaelic place-name, *garrán*, meaning a clump of trees. In the Strafford Survey, Garrane and Ballinsmaul are listed as a single unit amounting to 1 quarter in total, 358 plantation acres of which comprised

[124] Desmond McCourt, ‘The dynamic quality of Irish rural settlement’, in R. H. Buchanan, Emrys Jones, and Desmond McCourt (eds.), *Man and his habitat essays presented to Emyr Estyn Evans* (London, 1971), 129.

[125] Barry O’Reilly, ‘The vernacular settlements of south Kilkenny: an interim statement’, *Ossory, Laois and Leinster*, 4 (2010), 48.

[126] Hely Dutton, *A statistical and agricultural survey of the county of Galway, with observations on the means of improvement* (Dublin, 1824), 152.

[127] Terminology after O’Reilly, ‘The vernacular settlements of south Kilkenny’.

[128] O’Reilly defines agglomerations as ‘dwellings and farmsteads that are arranged in dense clusters in such a way that it can be difficult to say where one property ends and another begins...settlements of this type tend to be relatively large and complex with a network of usually winding lanes and one or more greens’. He describes polyfocal settlements as ‘the most complex and often the largest settlements, usually comprising one or more rows and agglomerations and frequently having at least one green. They may also have a medieval church and/or towerhouse’. O’Reilly, ‘The vernacular settlements of south Kilkenny’, 62, 65.

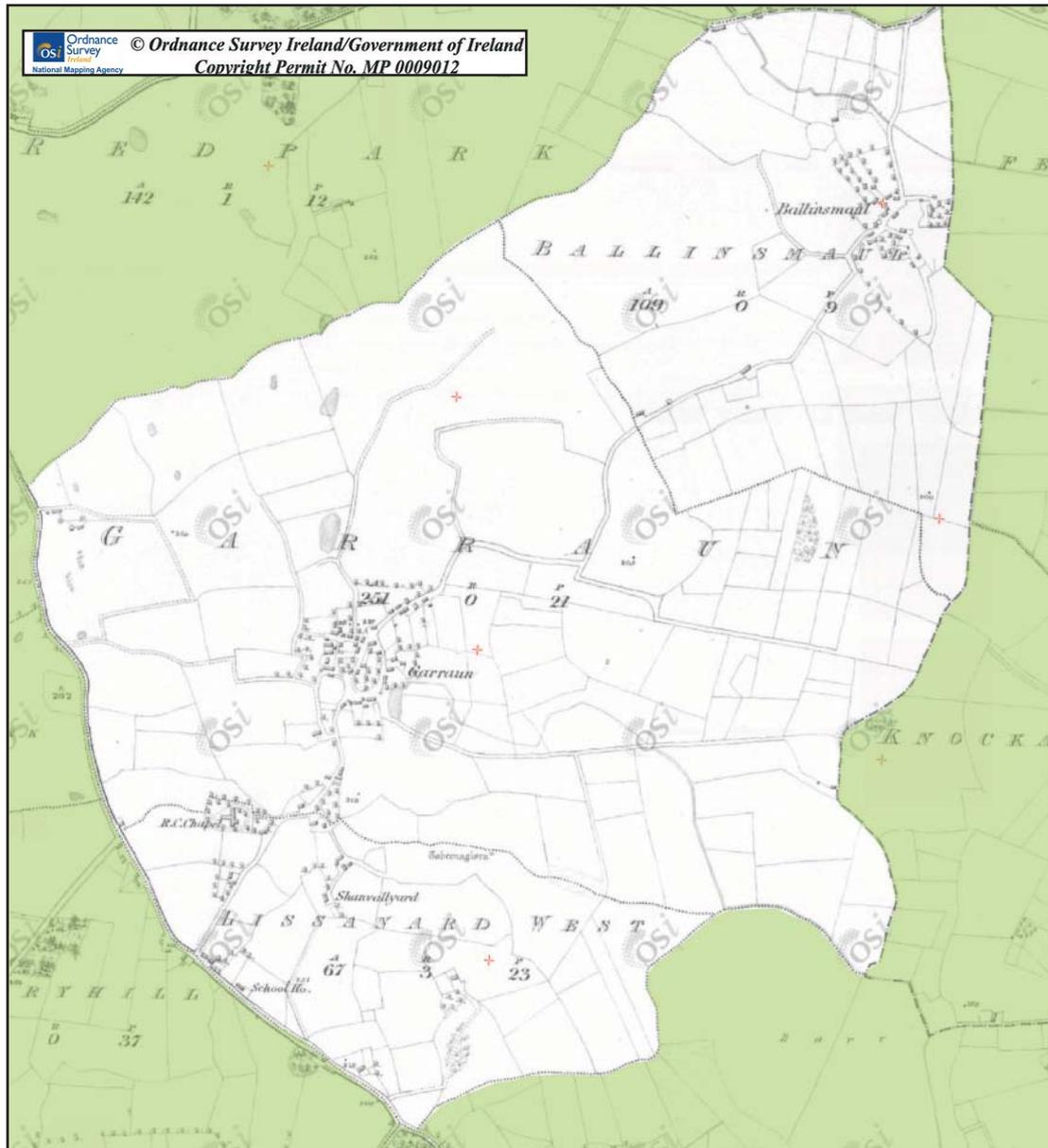


Fig. 9.26: First edition OS map showing Garrane and Ballinsmaul townlands.

arable and pasture and 37 acres of which were described as ‘half profitable’.¹²⁹ In Griffith’s Valuation, Garraun was leased in partnership from Anthony F. Nugent by sixteen men and two women; Ballinsmaul was leased in partnership by seven men and one woman.¹³⁰ Both settlements are depicted on the Larkin map (1818), and Garraun was counted among the chief hamlets of Tynagh in the 1846 *parliamentary gazetteer*.¹³¹

[129] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 207

[130] R., Griffith, 1856. Valuation of Tenements, Pallas Td., Tynagh Parish, Leitrim Barony. In *General Valuation of the Rateable Property in Ireland, Union of Portumna, County of Galway. Acts 15 & 16 Vic., CAP. 63, and 17 Vic., CAP 8*. Dublin: HMSO, 85, 83.

[131] Anonymous, *The Parliamentary gazetteer of Ireland: adapted to the new poor-law, franchise, municipal and ecclesiastical arrangements, and compiled with a special reference to the lines of railroad and canal communication as existing in 1843-44; illustrated by a series of maps, and other plates; and presenting the results, in detail, of the census of 1841, compared with that of 1831* (Dublin, 1846), 433.

The origins of clustered settlement has engendered vigorous debate, much of it hinging on their disputed antiquity.¹³² Evan's argument that they represented the vestiges of pre-Celtic patterns was sharply critiqued by subsequent scholar for its ahistoricism and reliance on ethnicity as an explanatory factor.¹³³ Whelan, for example has argued that rundale villages represent a more recent adaption to marginal land by tenants pushed to the margins by pernicious estate management practices and population explosion.¹³⁴

The 1574 castle list renders the placenames 'Ballynsmale' and 'Ballingarayne' and notes them as being the sites of castles occupied by Ric Oge fitz Ric fitz Moyler and Edmund fitz Ric fitz Moyler respectively. Both Ballinsmaul and Garraun are listed as denominations in the Strafford Survey and Garraun appears on *Hiberniae Delineatio*. There are no recorded traces of a towerhouse in either townland. While the identification of Ballinsmaul with the sixteenth-century castle of the same name is relatively unproblematic, Garraun is not as certain. No denominations with the name 'Ballingarayne' were returned in the Strafford Survey, and no nineteenth-century townlands of that name exist in the barony of Leitrim. There are a number of placenames with the element 'garraun' in both sources. In addition to Garraun in Tynagh parish, the Strafford Survey recorded Carrowgarrane in Duinry parish, and Garranpadine in Ballynakill parish.¹³⁵ The latter two denominations survive as the nineteenth-century townlands of Cartron and Garraunphaudeen, and neither contains a towerhouse. The presence of nineteenth-century vernacular settlement on the site of a (two?) late medieval towerhouse raises the issue of continuity of settlement on the Nugent estate between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries.

9.9 Summary and Conclusions

The Cromwellian land settlement and subsequent Restoration land settlement ultimately provided the Earl of Westmeath with an additional parcel of lands in Co. Galway, enabling him to set up his second son Thomas with an estate. The lands which Thomas acquired lay in the parish of Tynagh in Leitrim barony. In the first half of the seventeenth century they constituted part of the holding of a branch of the Clanricarde Burkes, whose caput was at Pallas castle, a fifteenth-century towerhouse. Thomas Nugent occupied the towerhouse, displacing its former Burke inhabitants. A fortified house, and possibly a bawn, was appended to the towerhouse in the mid seventeenth

[132] Slater, Eamonn and Eoin Flaherty, 'The Ecological Dynamics of the Rundale Agrarian Commune', *NIRSA Working Paper Series* 51 (2009), 3.

[133] Kevin Whelan, 'Settlement patterns in the west of Ireland in the pre-famine period', in Timothy Collins (ed.), *Decoding the landscape* (Galway, 2003).

[134] Whelan, , 'Settlement patterns in the west of Ireland in the pre-famine period'.

[135] Mac Giolla Choille, *BSD Galway*, 207, 209, 219.

century, by either Thomas Burke or Thomas Nugent. It is not possible to definitively identify the builder.

The demesne landscape at Pallas was developed over the course of the next two hundred years. There are some traces of a geometrically organised landscape design, principally in the form of linear ponds (possibly *servatoria* for fish), a walled garden and possibly the arrangement of existing woodland to frame the castle. The main phase of landscape design at the site, however, would appear to have been the late eighteenth century when the open landscape park was probably laid out, and the new Pallas House was built in the 1790s. The demesne was flanked by a racecourse underlining the importance of horse racing as a social pursuit, a feature that was observed at Clonyn (chapter 6). Similarly, heraldry assumed an important role in the visual display of nobility and ancestry. As on the Nugent patrimonial estate at Clonyn, it was found in multiple contexts, including on domestic dwellings and bridges. Heraldry was widely used among landed families in Co. Galway in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in a funerary context. The earliest funerary monument of the Nugents of Pallas is a Coade stone armorial dating from the end of the eighteenth century. The armorial was probably mounted on the walls of a now destroyed mausoleum that the family built into a side chapel at the Dominican house of Kilcorban on their estate.

The destruction the certificates of transplantation coupled with the lack of the 1660 poll tax for Co. Galway makes it difficult to assess if Thomas Nugent was accompanied to his new estate by tenants or followers. Because his acquisition of the estate was as a result of his father's successful negotiation of the Restoration land settlement, there was not the same impetus for Westmeath tenants to move to Connacht, but Nugent probably was accompanied by some household staff. Unlike the O'Callaghan estate there is no evidence of the construction of an estate village on the Nugent holding. There was however, a fair site at Kilcorban, which may have been of some antiquity. The presence of clustered settlements at Garraun and Ballinsmaul, the sites of late medieval towerhouse, is suggestive of a degree of continuity of settlement on the estate.

Chapter 10 Discussion and conclusions

10.0 Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis has been to show the ways in which particular families who were transplanted to Connacht and Clare dealt with the social and economic consequences of their displacement, from sometimes anciently held family seats, and their relocation to new lands. The leading objective has been to investigate how the material culture, and particularly the settlement archaeology, generated by these families, reflects the manner in which they negotiated the changes wrought by the shifting political, social and economic frameworks of early modern Ireland. Several inter-related core questions were addressed. These included an assessment of transplanted families prior to the land settlement, and an investigation of how both inter-county and locally transplanted families established themselves in their new surroundings. The response of transplanted families to the experience of change and how that was expressed through their built environment was examined. Finally, the degree to which cultural and geographical circumstances affected outcomes for transplanted families was addressed. In seeking to answer these questions an interdisciplinary approach has been used to draw together material culture and text in order to create an interpretative narrative. Both material culture and text are understood as forms of discourse created in specific social and historical contexts. Both are understood as being created, manipulated, contested and redefined by groups and individuals as part of those discourses.¹

In attempting to understand the variety of experience among transplanted families, three diverse case studies were chosen. The case studies represented a minor Gaelic service family from the Burren, Co. Clare (the O'Davorens), a Gaelic lordly family from north Co. Cork (the O'Callaghans) and an Old English family from the marches of the Pale, who were members of the titular aristocracy (the Nugents). The first was locally transplanted, and the latter two gained land as inter-county transplanted families. All three families fell under the category of 'Irish papist', yet on the eve of transplantation the worlds that they inhabited were very different. The social and political milieus in which they moved, and the institutions in which they were embedded, differed. So too did the size and character of their holdings, the manner and customs by which land was held and allocated, and the nature of settlement on their estates. These differences were the product of access to resources (namely land), cultural background and geography. They shaped both the

[1] Mary C. Beaudry, Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski, 'Artifacts and active voices: material culture as social discourse', in Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter (eds.), *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford, 1991); Siân Jones, 'Historical categories and the praxis of identity: the interpretation of ethnicity in historical archaeology', in Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Martin Hall, and Siân Jones (eds.), *Historical archaeology: back from the edge* (London, 1999).

manner in which the three case study families were able to negotiate the rigors of the Cromwellian land settlement and the character of the settlement they generated on their transplantation land holdings.

10.1 The transplantation

As O’Flanagan has remarked, ‘the history of seventeenth-century Ireland is largely a tale of land resources being controlled by a progressively diminishing number of people’.² This process was multifaceted, in part a product of the land market (3.7; 3.8; 4.2; 8.1), the internal dynamics of native society (4.2; 5.9; 6.5) and in part through the process of state-implemented plantation.³ Prior to the Cromwellian episode, the shifts that were reshaping Ireland were largely piecemeal and regionalised. The Cromwellian land settlement was far-reaching and ambitious in scope, aspiring to institute a revolution in landholding, and to pacify Ireland by the establishment of a loyal Protestant landowning class and the literal containment of the Catholic threat behind the Shannon and the three-mile coastal strip. The plan to transplant the ‘Irish nation’ to Clare and Connacht did not translate into reality. The scale and logistics of the project were compounded by confusion in its execution. Perhaps the greatest impediment to the scheme was the resistance offered by Catholic landholders to it. Many refused to go to Connacht and, of those who did, substantial numbers returned to their patrimonial lands. By the time the Cromwellian regime collapsed, the transplantation remained incomplete (3.2.3).⁴ However, the bones of Cromwell’s land settlement remained very much intact and were largely secured in the subsequent Restoration and Williamite land settlements.⁵ The Cromwellian land settlement and the subsequent Restoration and Williamite settlements collectively instituted a revolution in landholding. Between 1600 and 1703 the share of land held by Catholic landholders decreased from 80% to 14%.⁶ The land settlements further served to sweep away the multiplicity of regional customary forms of tenure found across Ireland and to replace them with a homogenised form of freehold (3.4).

The process of acquiring title to land required engagement with a bureaucracy of commissions and commissioners. This process was biased towards those who were

[2] Patrick O’ Flanagan, ‘Markets and fairs in Ireland, 1600-1800: index of economic development and regional growth’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11/4 (1985), 372.

[3] Denis Power, ‘The archaeology of the Munster Plantation’, in A. Horning, et al. (eds.), *The post medieval archaeology of Ireland* (Dublin Wordwell, 2007); Colm J. Donnelly, ‘The archaeology of the Ulster plantation’, in A. Horning, et al. (eds.), *The post medieval archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007).

[4] Robert C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), viii, xxv; Ciaran Ó Murchadha, ‘Land and society in seventeenth century Clare’, Unpublished PhD, UCG, 1982, 63.

[5] Padraig Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest : Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow, 2008), 157; Karl, S. Bottigheimer, ‘The Glorious Revolution in Ireland’ in Lois Schwoerer (ed.), *The Revolution of 1688-1689, changing perspectives* (Cambridge, 1992), 242.

[6] William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c.1530-1750* (Cork 2006), 377.

legally literate or who were well connected politically (3.2.2; 3.4). Many smaller landholders lost out in the process or elected to sell their small holdings in Connacht (8.3; 7.1).⁷ The end result was a pattern of landholding whereby fewer individuals held larger blocks of land. For those landed individuals who refused to engage with the apparatus of the various land settlements, the result was a downwards social displacement. Many of these individuals remained as tenant on their former estates, renting back parts of their original holding from its new owners (7.1). They were able to reposition themselves as middlemen or head tenants, brokering a position for themselves based on their noble ancestry and their prominence within their local communities.⁸

In early modern Ireland, landownership was the lynchpin of political and economic power.⁹ The scheme was thus aimed at those who owned land. Those transplanted who successfully negotiated the bureaucratic process were in a privileged position. They were at the head of networks of dependants, kins and tenants. The landless majority of the population were not compelled to transplant, but, as was the case with the O'Callaghans, many of them did (3.3; 8.4).

10.2 Local transplantation: The O'Davorens of Burren

Local transplantation has been investigated through the case study of the O'Davorens, a professional Gaelic service family, in the Burren uplands, Co. Clare. In the later medieval period, the leading representatives of the sept were in the service of the O'Loughlin lords of the Burren, as brehons, and other members were erenaghs of Noughaval. Prior to the Cromwellian land settlement, the Burren lordship of the O'Loughlins had not been subject to formal plantation or confiscations of land. Yet, in the century before 1650, it was reshaped by other pressures. The land market was a powerful force in redrawing the political geography of the lordship in the period. It was partly through this mechanism that the O'Brien sept achieved a new dominance in the lordship, largely supplanting their O'Loughlin clients (4.2).

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the pattern of landholding can be considered to be tradition-bound.¹⁰ The lands which the O'Davoren family held were rooted in their roles as brehons to the O'Loughlins and as erenaghs of Noughaval. Their holding comprised two distinct portions which can be traced to the allocation

[7] John Cunningham, *Conquest and land in Ireland: the transplantation to Connacht, 1649-1680* (Woodbridge & Rochester, 2011), 117.

[8] Kevin Whelan, 'An underground gentry? catholic middlemen in eighteenth-century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 10 (1995).

[9] Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory*, 377.

[10] Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700* (Dublin 2007), 231.

of O'Loughlin mensal land to the family in return for their legal services, and to the church *tearmann* lands which they held as erenaghs of Noughaval. Ten members of the sept were recorded as holding land in the Strafford Survey. This land was organised on a hierarchical basis, with the most senior members of the sept enjoying larger holdings. Distinct patterns of landholding were noted on the two sections of the O'Davoren holding. The section of the holding on the O'Loughlin mensal lands was occupied by the most senior members of the sept. In contrast, the *tearmann* lands were occupied by more junior members of the sept and their respective parcels of land were much smaller, evidencing the practice of partible division (4.3).

The transplantation and its attendant land settlements had a profound impact on the way in which the sept held land. It swept away the customary tenurial regimes by which the O'Davorens held land from the O'Loughlins and as erenaghs of Noughaval, and instead instituted freehold tenure. Whereas c.1637, ten members of the sept held land, this had reduced to just two after the Restoration land settlement. The sept's new land holdings were outside the block of traditional lands. Unlike inter-county transplanters however, their new lands were in an adjacent parish to the patrimonial lands, not in an adjacent province. This level of continuity means that sept groups that were subject to local transplantation did not undergo the same degree of social fracture as inter-county transplanters. They remained within established, albeit changing communities built on longstanding relationships, ties and obligations. Despite the revolution in landholding brought about the Cromwellian and Restoration land settlements, there is good evidence for continuity of occupancy at certain sites. In the case of the O'Davorens, many of the places that had served as important residences within their holding were rented back from their new owners by members of the sept. Documentary evidence shows that Cahermacnaghten and Lissylisheen, two of the sept's principal residences prior to the transplantation, were still occupied by O'Davorens in the 1670s (7.1).

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the principal residences on the O'Davoren's holding at Lissylisheen and Cahermacnaghten were a towerhouse and a *catbair* that had been substantially renovated in the later medieval/early modern period. The reuse of the *catbair* is particularly significant and has been highlighted by FitzPatrick as demonstrating that Gaelic gentry families in the Burren were able to adapt older architectural forms to new demands in the period.¹¹ This ability to blend traditional and innovative forms of architecture is visible on the O'Davoren transplantation holdings. The two parcels of land which members of the O'Davoren sept held in freehold at Lisslarheenmore and Lisdoonvarna both saw the construction of dwellings in the second half of the seventeenth century. At Lisslarheenmore, a small stone house was constructed. The

[11] Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish 'ring-fort' ', *Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2009), 291-3.

house was marked on the first edition OS map as Lislarheen House. The building is similar in scale to later medieval stone buildings known from the Burren, but it marked a departure from local traditions, in terms of its plan and construction method (7.4). Similarly, the organisation of the broader holding at Lislarheen embodied a mix of new and traditional elements. The townland is covered in a web of slab walls emanating from the focus of settlement around Lislarheen House. These walls are multi-period and have been built, repaired and allowed to decay over successive generations. One enclosure on the floor of the valley stands out in contrast to them. It is rectangular in plan and bound by tall thick walls, this enclosure has been interpreted as an enclosure for stock, and probably for horses, the management of which was a long-standing pursuit in the upper levels of Gaelic society and *de rigueur* in elite early modern society on the island (7.4).

The O'Davorens were not passive victims of these social changes. The post-Cromwellian position of the landed members of the family was based on both the reinforcing and reframing of their traditional gentry status. They were cognisant of the broader political sphere and actively engaged in the processes of change. Oliver O'Davoren had given evidence at the Composition of Connacht in 1585 in his capacity as a member of a learned brehon family. The signatures on the 1591 land deed show that different members of the sept may have held divergent attitudes to the processes afoot, and provides an example of subtle protest to English common law, and modes of literacy. By the 1630s, they were keen to reframe their nobility as indicated by the enrolment of Constance O'Davoren's death with the state-appointed arbitrator of nobility, the Ulster King of Arms (4.4). Members of the sept were active in new local institutions such as the manor court at Finavarra, and they were fully aware and engaged with the broader national and international politics as evidence by their participation in the Williamite-Jacobite war (7.2).

Their ability to transform their traditional role as social brokers is exemplified by James Davoren. As an agent for the Leamaneh and Dromoland O'Briens, James Davoren continued the sept's role as social arbitrators. His chapel at Noughaval underscores his multilayered identity. It was both a statement of Catholic identity and resistance in a Protestant state, a mechanism for securing prayers in the afterlife and an assertion of status within the local parish community. It consciously eschewed the Classical-style elements displayed in Sir Donat O'Brien's memorial, and instead drew on vernacular architectural traditions. The choice of location underlined O'Davoren's deep roots in the parish, but used an English language inscription (7.5). The settlement patterns and material culture generated by the O'Davoren family, post-transplantation, presents the twin themes of continuity, the fostering of the traditional with accommodation to the new order.

10.3 Inter-county Gaelic lordly family: The O'Callaghans

In seeking to understand how the transplantation was negotiated by a Gaelic lordly family, the O'Callaghans of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* were investigated. In the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth century, settlement in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* was largely dispersed across the fertile lowlands of the lordship. Settlement was ordered along customary lines, with lands being apportioned on the basis of an individual's relationships to the lord of the territory. The largest focus of settlement was at Clonmeen, one of the lordship's *capita*, consisting of the site of an early modern castle, a parish church and a possible site of Augustinian friars. There is evidence for clusters of settlement at other castle sites and on the lands held by the kinsmen and freeholders of the O'Callaghan (5.2; 5.8).

The early modern period witnessed profound changes in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin* underpinned by the shift from Gaelic to feudal tenure. This shift, engendered by the old pattern of intra-sept rivalry, effectively dispossessed members of the *derbfine* who had held rights in the land under Gaelic customary tenure. A comparison between the pattern of landholding c.1594 and 1641 showed that land had become concentrated in the hands of the senior-most member of the sept, Donogh O'Callaghan, who held 79% of the land in the lordship c.1641 (5.9).

The shifts in landholding structures were allied with broadening political horizons that were engendered by the expansion of the Tudor and Stuart state. The period witnessed the forging of an elite Irish Catholic identity, as the upper tiers of Gaelic and Old English society closed ranks against a hostile Protestant administration. This burgeoning elite Irish Catholic identity drew on older notions of nobility crafted in new circumstances.¹² While Donogh held his land by virtue of feudal tenure, he maintained the title 'O'Callaghan' as a mark of his nobility (5.9). The deployment of this Gaelic title in the context of transformed social relationships and material culture is a theme that is visible in the O'Callaghan transplantation holding in Clare (8.8).

Donogh and Ellen were allocated 5,000 acres of land in the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty, Co. Clare. When Ellen and Donogh O'Callaghan initially settled their Clare estates, they occupied a Mac Namara towerhouse (8.3). The evidence of the 1660 poll tax suggests that they parcelled out their new land in Clare to followers who had accompanied them from Cork (8.4). It was not until the next generation that their son, Donogh Óg, elected to build a new house at Kilgory and to carve out an estate landscape around it. The house and the landscape were designed as part of a unified scheme, ultimately derived from Renaissance ideas of symmetry. A well fenestrated

[12] Brendan Kane, 'Making the Irish European: Gaelic honor politics and its continental contexts', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61/4 (2008).

house was built beside Kilgory Lake. A substantial avenue flanked by earthen banks and fosses was aligned on the house and formed the principal access route from the public road. Enclosed fields and walled gardens were arranged off the avenue. The attempt to impose this geometric scheme on the drumlin landscape of east Clare had mixed success. The abstract designed landscape was not suited to the specific topography of the site. The avenue eventually had to be abandoned, in favour of a route more sympathetic to the local landscape (8.5).

In addition to the construction of a new dwelling at Kilgory, the O'Callaghans sought to develop their estate by the construction of a mill, which by the late eighteenth century had become a village and a fair place, providing a focus of settlement on their estate. The genesis of the milling settlement was obscured by the need for the O'Callaghans (as Catholics) to adopt a covert approach to the transfer of land in the context of the Penal laws. The mill village was in existence in by the second decade of the eighteenth century, and served to decentre the O'Callaghan's residence as a place of clustered settlement (8.7).

The physical development of the estate along these lines was concurrent with the fostering of an identity based on the role of the senior member of the sept as the 'O'Callaghan'. This role was rooted in the landscape of *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. In O'Rathaille's *marbhna* for Domhnall O'Callaghan, Clíodhna, a figure connected with the sovereignty of the territory, was invoked as the chief mourner. Significantly, the names of the medieval *capita* of the lordship and its possible inauguration site at Carrigcleena were reiterated by the poet. While the transplantation had led to the loss of the land that was so integral to the identity and role of the O'Callaghan, an attempt was made, through commissioning the poem from O'Rathaille, to claim and recreate the Cork landscape. The transplantation thus resulted in the creation of both a new estate landscape in Clare and the creation of landscapes of memory of their old estate in Co. Cork (8.8).

10.4 Old English lordly family: The Nugents

As members of the titular nobility, the Nugents of Delvin were near the apex of the pyramidal social hierarchy of the Pale. On the eve of transplantation, the Earl of Westmeath had an extensive patrimony that had been substantially augmented during the dissolution and subsequently by Crown land grants. The principal holding of the Nugents of Delvin was their manor of Delvin. This was their original high medieval land grant and it contained their *caput* of Castletowndelvin, which was a small borough or manorial village settlement with a masonry castle and a parish church. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Nugents moved from their castle to the adjacent townland of

Clonyn, where they were residing in a manor house in the first half of the seventeenth century (6.5). The original house has since been destroyed, but the remains of an extensive geometric designed landscape survive (6.4.1). The landscape was organised around a series of avenues. It is argued that the site of the original house may have been at the core of this geometric grid, aligned on the medieval castle, thus creating a visual link between the family's past and present. The removal of the Barons of Delvin from their medieval castle, and the construction of a new house in a landscape park, echo broader tendencies within Britain and Ireland that reflect widening social cleavages within Irish society.

The large revenues from Nugent's extensive estate were channelled into conspicuous display befitting his elevated status. Materially, this was expressed in a fine house within a designed landscape, filled with sumptuous furniture and plate, but also in the compilation of the family *duanaire*, highlighting the cultural complexity of this Old English family (6.7). Heraldry was cultivated and used in multiple contexts. It was displayed on the house at Clonyn, on the bridge at Finnea and in the heraldic funeral in order to express and underscore the family's nobility (6.7). The breeding and racing of horses was another expression of nobility, and one that had deep roots in the Gaelic lordships and early medieval kingdoms of the island. The townland of Cloonagapple, flanking the north of the estate, has been identified as a possible racecourse or paddock and material evidence of the equine interests of the Nugents (6.4.2).

These material expressions of nobility by the Nugent Barons of Delvin and Earls of Westmeath were back-grounded against their increasing marginalisation as Catholics in a Protestant state. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Nugents, maintained an uneasy relationship with the government in Dublin, attempting to reconcile their Catholicism with loyalty to the Crown. The first Earl of Westmeath was faced with difficult choices after the outbreak of violence in 1641 (6.1). His attempts to negotiate a position between the demands of the Dublin administration and his kinsmen, was ultimately unsuccessful, culminating in his own death and the destruction of his house at Clonyn (6.6).

The Cromwellian land settlement and subsequent Restoration land settlement ultimately provided the Earl of Westmeath with an additional parcel of lands in Co. Galway, enabling him to set up his second son, Thomas, with an estate (9.1). The lands that Thomas acquired lay in the parish of Tynagh in Leitrim barony. In the first half of the seventeenth century they constituted part of the holding of a branch of the Clanricarde Burkes whose *caput* was Pallas castle, a fifteenth-century towerhouse, on the site of an earlier *pailis*. Pallas had a long pedigree. It was probably the core of an earlier medieval royal demesne of the *Túath Chenél Fheichín*, which was later occupied by the Burkes

(9.4). Thomas Nugent occupied the towerhouse, displacing its former Burke inhabitants. A fortified house, and possibly a bawn, was appended to the towerhouse in the mid-seventeenth century, by either Thomas Burke or Thomas Nugent. It is not possible to definitively identify the builder (9.4.3).

The early modern demesne landscape at Pallas was developed over the course of the next two hundred years. There are some traces of a geometrically organised landscape design, principally in the form of linear ponds (possibly *servatoria* for fish), a walled garden and possibly the arrangement of existing woodland to frame the castle. The main phase of landscape design at the site, however would appear to have occurred in the late eighteenth century, when the open landscape park was probably laid out, and the new Pallas House was built in the 1790s. The demesne was flanked by a racecourse underlining the importance of horse racing as a social pursuit and an ancient marker of elite status (9.5; 9.5.1). Similarly, heraldry assumed an important role in the visual display of nobility and ancestry. As on the Nugent patrimonial estate at Clonyn, heraldry was found in multiple contexts, including domestic dwellings and bridges. Heraldry was widely used among landed families in Co. Galway in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in a funerary context. The earliest funerary monument of the Nugents of Pallas is a Coade stone armorial, dating from the end of the eighteenth century. The armorial was probably mounted on the walls of a (now) destroyed mausoleum that the family built into a side chapel at the Dominican house of Kilcorban on their estate (9.6; 9.7).

The destruction of the certificates of transplantation, allied with the lack of the 1660 poll tax for Co. Galway, make it difficult to assess whether Thomas Nugent was accompanied to his new estate by tenants or followers. Because his acquisition of the estate was as a result of his father's successful negotiation of the Restoration land settlement, there was not the same impetus for Westmeath tenants to move to Connacht, but Nugent probably was accompanied by some household staff. Unlike the O'Callaghan estate, there is no evidence of the construction of an estate village on the Nugent holding. There was, however, a fair site at Kilcorban, which may have been of some antiquity. The presence of clustered settlements at Garraun and Ballinsmaul, the sites of late medieval towerhouses, is suggestive of a degree of continuity of settlement on the estate (9.8).

10.5 Recasting relationships

For the three case study families the project of transplantation brought about multiple displacements and relocations. The transplantation was characterised by a diversity of experience, rooted in the divergent places and circumstances from which transplantees came. The scheme had varied outcomes for the O'Davorens, O'Callaghans and Nugents, in part reflective of their respective positions prior to the land settlement. The amount of land they acquired in the settlement was predicated on the size of their estates c.1641. The ability of the families to successfully negotiate the bureaucracy of the Cromwellian and Restoration land settlements was also central to their acquisition of title to land. For all three families investigated, their status as landowners after the Cromwellian settlement, and into the eighteenth century, placed them among privileged elite within Irish society. While the land settlement resulted in the loss of their patrimonial holdings, it allowed them the opportunity to create new forms of settlement.

The study underlined that prior to the transplantation, all three sept groups were engaged in the broader processes of social change reshaping Ireland. These shifts cannot solely be framed as reactions to the colonial process that gathered pace from the mid-sixteenth century. It was a dialectical process, the dynamics of which, emanated both from within the lordships themselves and from their interactions and encounters with the expanding English/British state. For the lordly Nugent and O'Callaghan families this process was bound up with the recasting of social relationships within their territories as the senior members of those septs re-orientated themselves towards a national and international stage, increasingly withdrawing from their local worlds. For both, this entailed a physical withdrawal and the deployment of material culture that both embodied and reproduced deepening social cleavages.

Both the Nugent and O'Callaghan were agents of dispossession prior to the Cromwellian settlement. The pattern is clearest in the investigation into the shifts in landowning pattern in Pobul Uí Cheallachain, where by the mid-seventeenth century the bulk of the lordship was held by Donogh O'Callaghan. The decision by the senior members of the sept to engage in surrender and regrant effectively dispossessed the members of the *derbfine* who had been eligible to hold land under Gaelic tenure. The complex bundle of rights and obligations that bound people to the land under customary Gaelic tenure was distilled into the relationship of private property. In the case of the Nugents, the augmentation of their patrimony from the mid-sixteenth century was largely a result of state grants of monastic lands. The process of 'enclosure' is visible in the both the O'Callaghans and the Nugents, primarily embodied architecturally at Dromaneen and Clonyn.

This shift to private property prior to the transplantation constituted a profound change in the social relationships binding the lordships of the O'Callaghans and the Nugents. For a smaller sept like the O'Davorens, customary tenurial forms endured up until the transplantation. This was against a background of the penetration of the land market into the lordship of the O'Loughlins, and the creation of consolidated holdings by members of the O'Brien sept at the expense of the lordship's traditional rulers.

In the forge of the Cromwellian and subsequent Restoration land settlements, the complex customary relationships that had bound people to land were effectively abolished and the land was reduced to a commodity devoid of specificity (3.4). The land that transplantees were given in the settlement was at first abstract: a certificate with placenames and acreages. This process informed the manner in which transplantees settled and made meaning in their new landscapes. It also allowed for renegotiation of the relationships between transplantees and their followers. For the O'Callaghans, the initial pattern indicated an attempt to replicate the patterns of settlement in *Pobul Uí Cheallacháin*. The broader development of the estate in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century sought to decentre the house as a focus of settlement, creating a very physical separation between the O'Callaghans and their tenants and followers. In the case of the Nugents, the pattern of a dwelling within a landscape park, insulated from the broader community was replicated at Pallas.

10.6 Ambiguous Identities

...to be Anglicised is *emphatically* not to be English.¹³

Bhabha has identified ambivalence as a key outcome of the colonial process. For Bhabha, ambivalence lies at the core of encounters between agents in colonial contexts. This ambivalence is in part engendered by what he terms the 'third space of annunciation',

which represents both the general condition of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious...this unconscious relation introduces...an ambivalence in the act of interpretation

The 'third space' ensures that 'meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity of fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew'.¹⁴ Bhabha's observations are useful for understanding the deployment and meaning of material culture in early modern Ireland. There is a distinct ambivalence embodied in the material culture of the O'Davorens in the post transplantation

[13] Homi Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London, 1994), 87.

[14] Bhabha, *The location of culture*, 36-7.

period. The settlement at Lislarheenmore underscores the ambiguities that arose, in the creation of a landscape and dwelling that are not easily categorised, and, as argued, appears to draw on multiple traditions. Similarly, James Davoren's chapel at Noughaval utilises multiple iconographies from the (appropriated) English word to the (rehistoricised) gothic arch. In the chapel, Davoren combined the different elements to create something new. It was a multivalent monument speaking on different levels to different sectors of the community, both Davoren's social superiors and inferiors. It was not merely reflective of some *bricolage* identity, but an expression of Davoren's power within the community (underpinned by his role as O'Brien's agent), an attempt to reproduce the social relationships after his death and an act of resistance as a Catholic in a Protestant state.

Ambivalence is at the heart of another notion elaborated on by Bhabha, that of mimicry. Bhabha identifies mimicry as 'one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge'.¹⁵ As a mode of colonial discourse, mimicry 'is the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite...the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference'.¹⁶ It is not 'a harmonisation of repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it in part metonymically'.¹⁷ In the context of colonial India, and one might add, Ireland, it is the realisation that 'to be Anglicised is *emphatically* not to be English'.¹⁸

The notion of mimicry touches on a core axis of identity for the families under study, that of nobility. The identities of all three families were undergoing complex shifts within the period under study. While they had distinct origins, they were united in their self-identification as 'noble'. All three families maintained noble identities, underpinned by their title to land, and drawing on their divergent ancestries. As the notion and premises of nobility itself (in its both Gaelic and Old English manifestations) was contested the families were challenged with reframing its meaning and expression. This in part can be understood as part of the broader European phenomenon of the withdrawal of elites from popular culture as outlined by Burke,¹⁹ but in the colonial context of Ireland there was another dimension to the process. Indeed, Burke has noted that 'the separation of upper-class and lower-class culture can be seen most clearly in those parts of Europe where their *imitation* of the court meant that the upper class

[15] Bhabha, *The location of culture*, 85.

[16] Bhabha, *The location of culture*, 86.

[17] Bhabha, *The location of culture*, 90.

[18] Bhabha, *The location of culture*, 87.

[19] Burke, *Popular culture*, 272.

literally spoke a different language from ordinary people' [*italics mine*].²⁰ For native elites, particularly those of a Gaelic background, it meant the espousal, in part, of a new Anglicised elite culture, and the ambivalent process of its reconciliation with their Gaelic nobility. For the O'Callaghans this expressed itself in the synchronous development of an estate landscape along Renaissance lines (underpinned by the new social relationship of private property) with the continued framing of their identity in Gaelic terms, exemplified by their use of the title 'O'Callaghan'. For the O'Davorens it meant the adoption of certain elements or influences of English material culture, married and an active engagement with new institutions and the continuation of traditional noble practices such as the provision of hospitality.

10.7 Further research

The social and cultural worlds that emerged in the wake of the transplantation were riven with tensions, contradictions and ambiguities. They were founded on the transformation of social relationships, and the realigning of old identities. These changes were driven both by the state violence and dispossession that was the transplantation, and by the internal dynamics of native society.

Further work might extend our understanding of the antagonisms internal to native society and the dynamics of change within it, both prior to and following the transplantation. Key to this from an archaeological perspective is the role of material culture in these antagonisms. This might include both an examination of the spatiality of vertical social relationships in the landscape as well as the symbolic deployment of material culture in hegemonic discourse. Of particular interest in this regard are the social group dubbed the 'underground gentry' by Kevin Whelan. In seeking to interrogate vertical social relationships in later seventeenth and early eighteenth century Ireland, sites of popular culture and religion might prove particularly fruitful, as demonstrated in the case of James Davoren's funeral chapel.

Comparative work has much potential in terms of highlighting the differences and similarities in the experiences of early modern social change in Ireland, and further afield. There is much scope for comparative work within the three kingdoms of Ireland, England and Scotland. How did the allied processes of state centralisation and colonialism play out in different parts of the kingdoms? How do the conflicts over enclosure and the abolition of customary rights in Britain compare with those brought about through the colonial process in Ireland? What were the differences and similarities between how different sectors of the 'Celtic fringes' of Scotland, Wales and Ireland reframed their identities during the period? This might include application of

[20] Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994), 272.

broader paradigms used to understand change in early modern Europe such as that of 'enclosure' as elaborated on by Johnson (1996) or Burke's work on the relationships between culture and class (1994).

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Placenames Database of Ireland <<http://www.logainm.ie/>>



Phase I Chimney breast. Note brick around base of first floor fireplace and plaster traces.



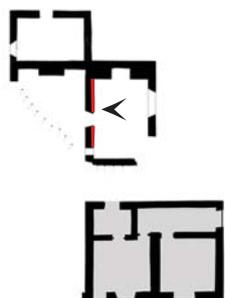
Phase I. Note wall cupboards to right of chimney breast and in E wall. Note also large collapsed beam hole for carrying first floor just above ranging rod.

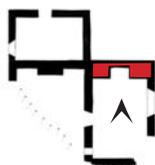


Phase I E wall. Prior to the addition of Phase II this was the back wall of the house. Note the first floor window just above the doorway into Phase II. Both the wall cupboard and door have timber lintels.

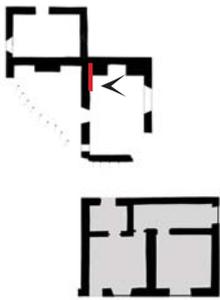


This is both the E wall of Phase I and the W wall of Phase II. Note the line of joist holes for carrying the first floor.

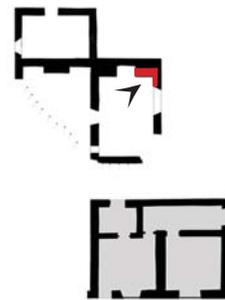




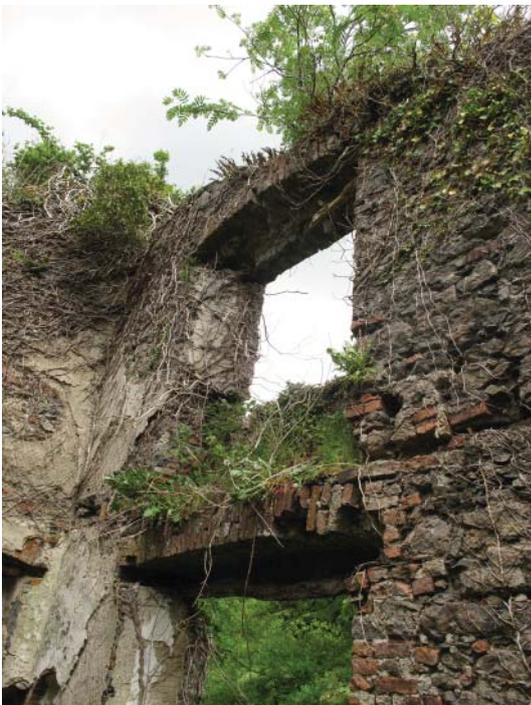
North wall of Phase II. The wall contains a central hearth flanked by brick ovens and wall cupboards. A number of minor flues from the ovens connect to the central chimney. The ovens are built from handmade brick but most of the rest of the wall is made from limestone rubble. The wall is badly head damaged. Note the first floor fireplace with also features brick, and the thick plaster cover on much of the wall.



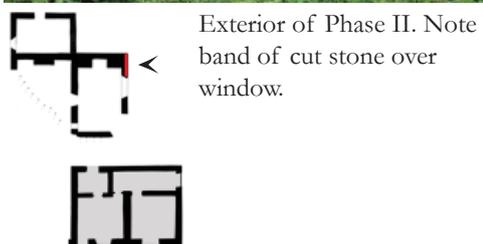
Phase II. Detail of the W oven.



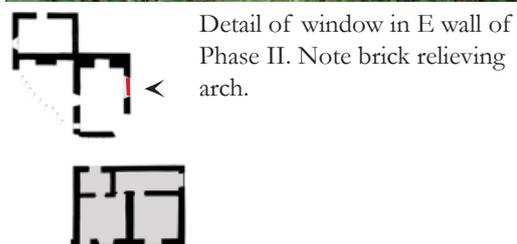
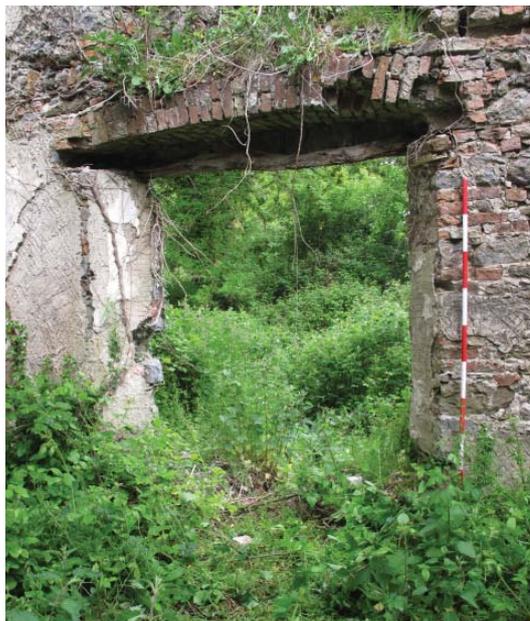
Phase II. Detail of roof of wall cupboard showing rotted wooden lintel, brick relieving arch and thick coat of plaster (above). Detail of E brick oven. Note flue system (below).



Detail of large windows in E wall of Phase II. Note brick relieving arches.



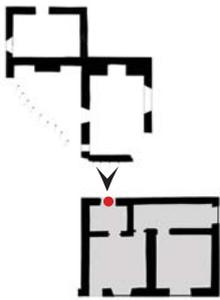
Exterior of Phase II. Note band of cut stone over window.



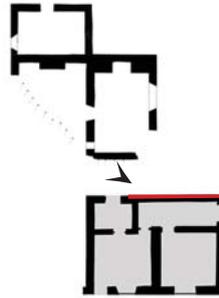
Detail of window in E wall of Phase II. Note brick relieving arch.



South facade of Kilgory House. This part of the building is still roofed. Note return of wall to W where Phase I was originally attached to the building. The facade currently contains a door and four windows.



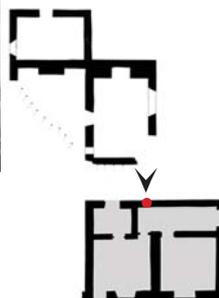
Doorway in N wall of Phase III. Note brick lining on E side of the door.



North wall of Phase III. Note blocked up doorway with wooden lintel (below). The E part of the wall features hanging slates (above).

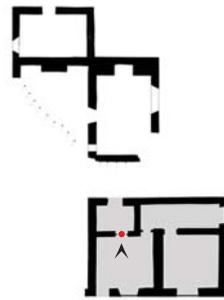


North wall of Phase III showing blocked up doorway. Note break in masonry indicated by a vertical line of bricks.





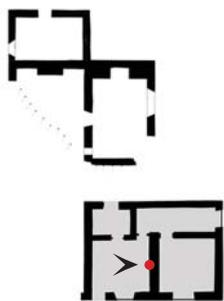
Doorway in N wall of Phase III. Note timber centring.



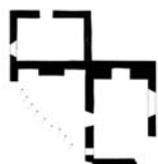
Wooden door frame in Phase III.



Detail of wooden door frame in Phase III. Note wooden dowel in top left corner holding frame together.

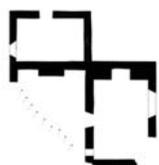


Hearth in E wall of Phase III.

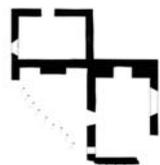


View of SE room on ground floor of Phase III. Note brick fireplace in far wall. The room had a timber cornice (below left). The room above had a plaster cornice (below right).

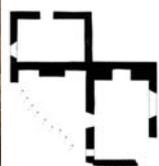
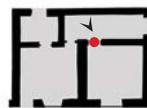




View E along hall in Phase III showing wooden floor and the remains of the stair.

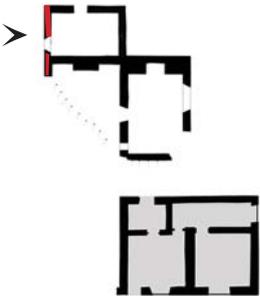


Decorative wooden door frame entering SE room of Phase III. The corresponding room on the first floor has a similar portal.

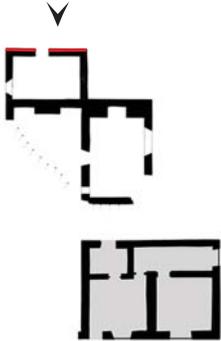


View E along hall in Phase III.

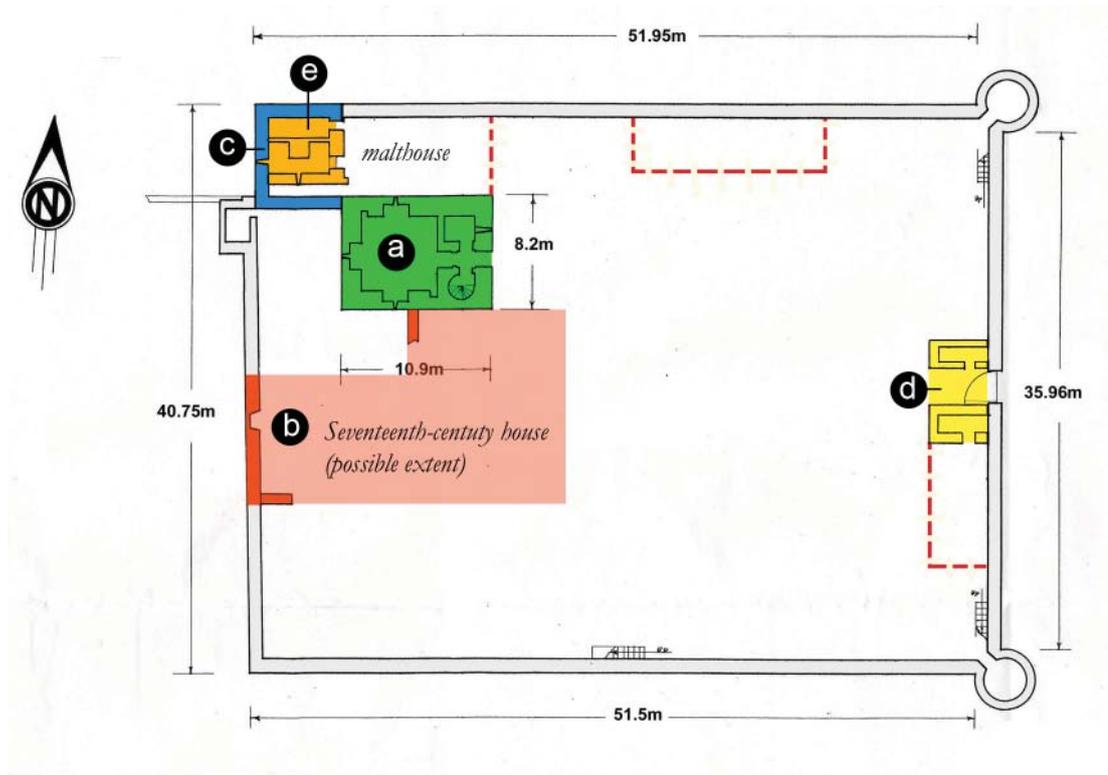




Phase IV. Note window blocked with dry stone rubble. The gable of Phase IV is lower than that of Phase I to which it is appended.



N wall of phase IV.



View of Pallas Castle from the site of the eighteenth-century Pallas house.



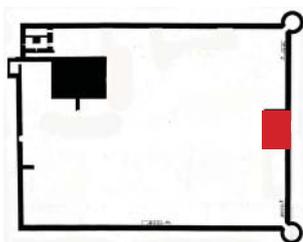
Structure (A) the towerhouse. Looking west (left). Looking north (right). Note the remains of the fortified house (structure B) protruding from the south side of the tower.



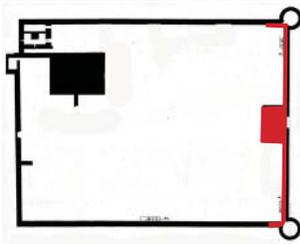
View of the interior of the bawn looking NW. Showing structures A and B.



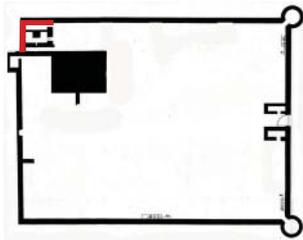
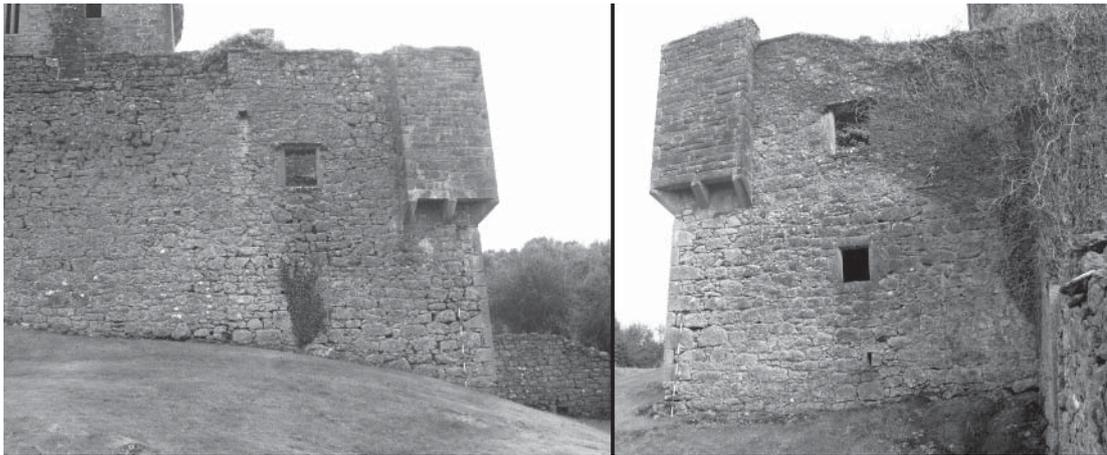
Structure (D) the gatehouse. External east facade (left) and internal west facade (right). Note the armorial plaque and the reused stone window frames marked in yellow.



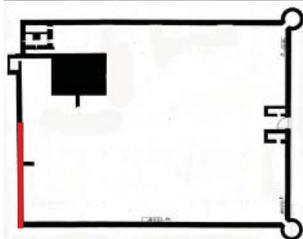
Structure (D) the gatehouse. External north side (left) and right side (right). Detail of the south side of the doorway with reused punch-dressed stones highlighted.



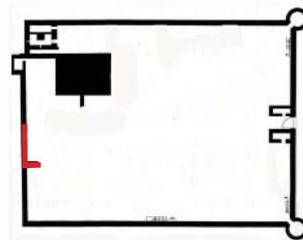
View of the interior of the bawn looking east. Showing the gatehouse (structure D) and the east wall of the bawn. Note the wall walk and the portals to the corner towers.



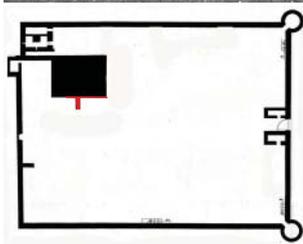
Structure C, an early modern building built into the northwest corner of the bawn. The image on the left shows the north side of the building and the image on the right shows its west face.



Structure (B) the fortified house looking east. Note the semi-pointed door.



Details of structure (B) the fortified house. Showing (clockwise) the western gable, Jacobean chimney stack, semi-pointed punch-dressed doorway, first floor fireplace.



South wall of structure A (towerhouse) showing the abutting west wall of structure B. Note the relationship of the wall to the square-head mullioned window in the towerhouse.