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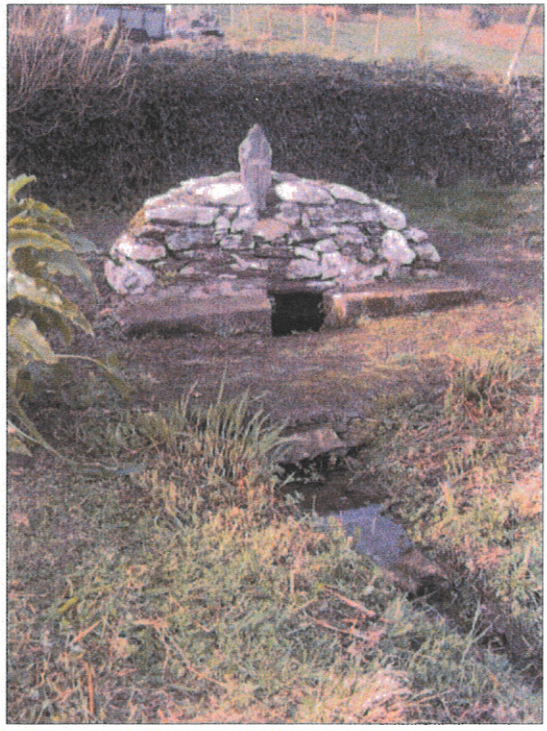
OF THE

KERRY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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Cover Illustration: Tobar Fhíonáin, Caherbarnagh townland, overlooking the north shore of Lough Currane.

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A Consideration of Late Mesolithic Settlement on Ross Island, Killarney National Park

Michael Gibbons, Jim Higgins and Myles Gibbons

A possible Bann flake has been discovered on the southern tip of Ross Island, the largest island on the eastern side of Lough Leane. Lough Leane is the largest of the Killarney lakes and part of a lake-river system drained by the river Laune, 22km from the sea. The Ross Island flake is 79.5mm in maximum height and 45-47mm in maximum width. A tang at the base is 16mm long, and the head narrows to 5mm at the tip that leans away to the left-hand side (Fig. 1, Plate I). The stone itself is grey and slightly flecked in colour. The material from which the Bann flake is made has been identified as grey-green silica, by Professor Martin Feely of the Geology Department, NUI Galway. The silica is either hard chert

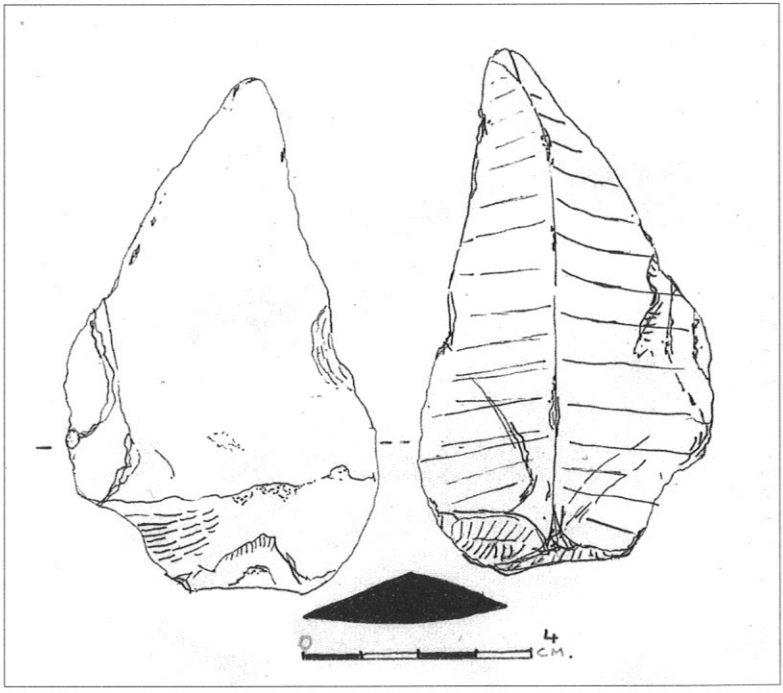

Fig. 1. Possible Ross Island Bann Flake

Plate I. Possible Ross Island Bann Flake.
Image taken by Valerie O'Sullivan, Photographer, 8 New Street, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

or flint, the latter being the likeliest. Dr Feely comments that the maker of the artefact used the natural planes within the structure very well and seems to have a good knowledge of how the stone could be expected to shatter or break. These artefacts were usually detached from a core by striking or percussion. The method of detaching the tool from its parent

rock or core normally left a convex bulb of percussion on the back of the stone. This bulb and the entire base of the tool appear to have been, however, subsequently trimmed down by flaking, resulting in the thinning down of the base of the tool.

The flake is roughly triangular in cross section with a slightly concave "back" and a wide triangular front with slightly concave and angled "facets" with a medial ridge between them. This medial rib or ridge thins out towards the edges of the stone when viewed in cross-section. The sides have been given a somewhat serrated edge, and this trimming has been continued from the tip, along the sides, to the butt or base of the object. This edge tooling may have been eroded by water rolling, and the original sharpness of the edging has been blunted by wear. The majority of the surface has an off-white colouration and coating, which may be a calcium or chalk-like deposit on the surface of the stone. This coating may also be a limey deposit resulting from its long-term deposition in water. The example from Ross Island has many similarities with butt-trimmed flakes and Bann flakes from Newferry, County Antrim (illustrated in Waddell 2000: 20, nos 2 and 4).

Life in the Irish Mesolithic was based on hunter-gatherer groups and is divided into two periods. The Early Mesolithic (*c*. 8000 BC to 7000 BC) is characterised by the use of small geometric microliths, and the Late Mesolithic (*c*. 7000 BC to 4000 BC) is characterised by the use of "broad-blade" macrolith-based technology (Costa *et al*. 2005: 22). The late Mesolithic lithic assemblage is unique to Ireland and the Isle of Man, making it unlikely that the change was introduced from abroad. The faunal assemblages associated with the two periods are similar and show a significant exploitation of marine and riverine resources such as salmon, eel, small fish and shellfish along with a limited exploitation of large mammals such as wild pig (Costa *et al*. 2005: 23). While there is considerable diversity within the lithic assemblages from Irish later Mesolithic, Bann Flakes and/or butt-trimmed forms are found on sites throughout the island (Woodman, Anderson and Finlagh 1999: 76). Seasonal water bodies such as turloughs, which are home to large numbers of migrating fowl, may also have played a role. A Bann flake is known from a turlough at Belclare in County Galway (Gibbons, Higgins and Gibbons 2004-5).

The precise function of many Late Mesolithic artefacts is still disputed, but a variety of uses ranging from the prongs of fish spears, projectile tips, knives, scrapers and woodworking tools have been suggested and morphologically similar flakes may have had various uses

(Waddell 2000: 21). At least some of the later Mesolithic tool kit may have been used for the "production of the means of production", i.e., for making fish-traps, baskets etc., and individual artefacts may have been cached in locations where a return visit might have been expected. This is supported by the discovery of Late Mesolithic dates in the absence of diagnostic lithics (see Valentia Island and Ross Island below). The population density found in the Late Mesolithic is still uncertain, but it has been suggested that the "Low density scatter of late Mesolithic butt-trimmed forms and related implement types found around some of the midland lakes may be an underestimated testament to more extensive activities in these areas" (Costa *et al*. 2005: 30).

The find under discussion was made slightly below the average water level, in the course of an archaeological and historical field trip to the south-west. The discovery was made by David and Hazel Barber of Buckinghamshire while on a field-walking exercise undertaken on the foreshore during a dry spell of weather in summer 2007. Lough Leane has a 2m range in water level, and this area of the foreshore is exposed on an annual basis during periods of low lake levels during the summer. A row of timber posts was visible on the shore close by, although these are doubtless of recent vintage. The find was out of context on a portion of the shoreline made up of spoil from 18th- and 19th-century mining operations, immediately south of the Blue Hole Mine (O'Brien 2004: 139-40), and may have reached its present location either as a result of 19th-century mining operations or as a result of the earlier Bronze Age mining operations (Fig. 2).

The discovery of a Bann Flake is significant given the paucity of evidence for Mesolithic settlement in the south-west. It is one of only three confirmed Late Mesolithic find-spots between Ferriter's Cove (65km to the west-north-west), on the western tip of the Dingle Peninsula, and the Cork Harbour area. Early Mesolithic material is more strongly represented in the general Munster area, though not as yet in the south-west (Fig. 3). Previous discoveries have been coastal in distribution. Large quantities of Mesolithic material including lithic scatters, human bone, shell dumps and stake-holes believed to be associated with fish-drying and windbreaks, were identified during the Ferriter's Cove excavations, and datable material from the site identified two main phases of occupation, one between 4600 BC and 4300 BC and the other *c*. 4000 BC (Woodman *et al*. 1999). Other Late Mesolithic material has been identified on a cliff-top at Dunpower on the south coast of Cork, and at Inch Strand. In addition, a small scatter of possible

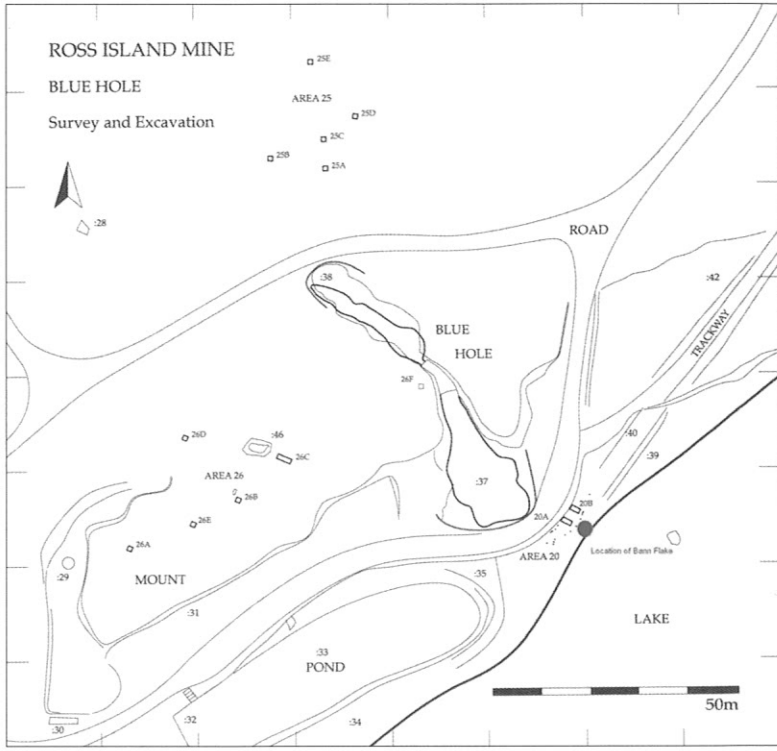

Fig. 2. Map of Blue Hole Mine Location, Ross Island, after O'Brien 2004: 139-40 with addition.

later Mesolithic material has been identified at Ringville to the west of Cork Harbour (Woodman *et al.* 1999: 139). A wooden platform excavated in Clynacartan Bog on Valentia Island produced charcoal samples, which gave a date of 8910 +/- 190 BP (*c.* 6910 BC) (Mitchell, 1989). This may however have been an "old wood" date produced by the re-use of bog-oak, and peat containing a sand layer at the same level produced a date of 6560 +/- 120 BP (*c.* 4560 BC). Further north, a plank discovered at Carrigdirty in County Limerick gave a radiocarbon date of 4789-4551 BC. This has been interpreted as a log boat but may possibly be a natural feature (O'Sullivan 2001: 71-2). Polished stone axes have also been identified in the Killarney area, from Beaufort in the Gap of Dunloe, Dunloe Lower in Knockane and from the shore of the Lower Lake, Killarney (O'Brien 2004: 503). There is a traditional tendency to see these as dating from the Neolithic. This assumption is no longer tenable, and it is possible that some may date to the Mesolithic period,

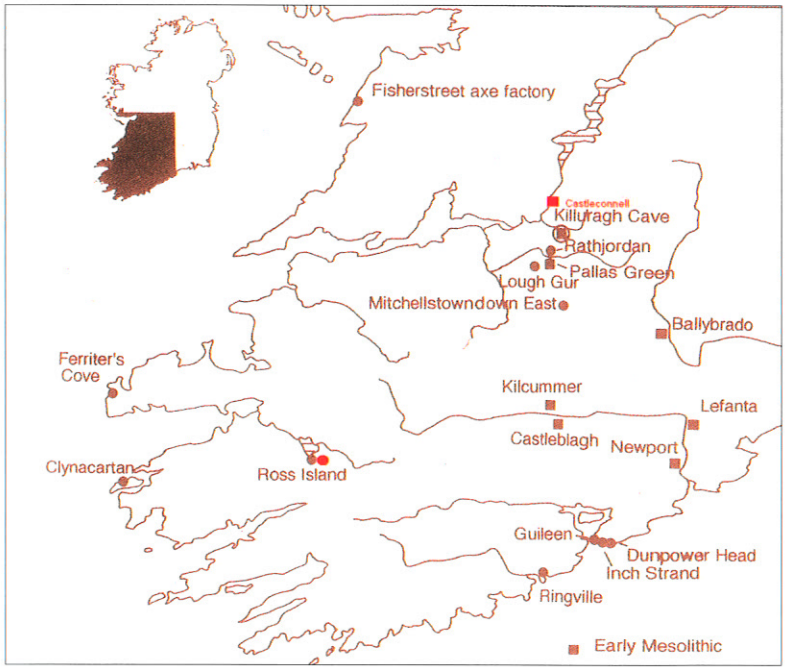

Fig. 3. Map of Mesolithic Sites in Southern Ireland
after Woodman and Anderson 1999: 147, with addition.

particularly when they are encountered in riverine contexts (Woodman *et al*. 1999: 140). This has been further illustrated by Tracy Collins and Frank Coyne's groundbreaking discoveries at Castleconnell, just north of Limerick (Collins and Coyne, 2003), where polished stone axes were found in an Early Mesolithic context.

During the Ross Island excavations charcoal giving radiocarbon dates of 5500-5000BC was discovered, in areas 7 and 8 roughly 200m west of the Bann Flake find spot, in three cuts underlying the later Bronze Age layers (O'Brien 2004: 394). These are among the earliest dates from the south-west and represent settlement from the middle of the later Mesolithic. The cuts were discrete hearths, were associated with a trench of uncertain date and were interpreted by the excavators as possibly indicating a short-lived Mesolithic camp. A series of post-holes were also identified which were initially suggested as possibly the remains of a trapezoidal Mesolithic hut, although this was rejected as the majority were associated with the Period 2 (Beaker/Bronze Age)

occupation (O'Brien 2004: 167-8). A fragment of a stone axe was also discovered in a spoil heap, *c.* 20-30m to the south-west of the suspected hut feature, and two of the stone hammers discovered may represent a re-use of stone axeheads (O'Brien, 2004, 359). It is possible that these may also date to the Mesolithic, a scenario not discussed by O'Brien.

The excavators noted that the evidence available meant that the presence of a Late Mesolithic settlement was conjectural, but the discovery of the Bann flake represents confirmation of a later Mesolithic presence on the Lakes of Killarney. In light of this, a more detailed reassessment of the significance of the Mesolithic material identified during the Ross Island excavations is called for. The Late Mesolithic is of course one of the longest (*c.* 3,000 years) periods in Irish prehistory, and it is possible that the flake may be unrelated to the charcoal hearths and may be the result of a single visit by hunter-gatherers or of another settlement site in the vicinity. Given the massive disruption in the immediate surrounding area as a result of 19th-century (and earlier) mining operations and post-mining rehabilitation, it is likely that other Late Mesolithic material may be identified out of context, in areas of spoil.

The Ferriter's Cove Excavations have set the template for Mesolithic studies in the south-west of Ireland with the identification of a key coastal Late Mesolithic site. The confirmation of a Mesolithic presence on Ross Island, given its strategic location and its potential date of roughly a millennium earlier than Ferriter's Cove, could potentially be equally important for our understanding of Late Mesolithic settlement in a lakeland environment. Ross Island is *c.* 64ha in area and would have provided access to a broad range of environments via the lake and river system. This is similar to the pattern found associated with Late Mesolithic material in other parts of the country, such as that on the river Corrib (Gibbons, Higgins and Gibbons 2005) or at Lough Gara (O'Sullivan 1998: 24). Late Mesolithic material has been identified on natural lake islands at Lough Derravaragh and Lough Kinale, County Westmeath, along with artificial islands at Moynagh Lough, County Meath and possibly Lough Kinale and Lough Gara as well. These island sites were isolated and defensible and sometimes a local supply of valuable raw materials, and the artificial islands may be viewed as short-term specialised sites used to exploit specific resources (McCartan 2000: 15-7). Ross Island is an ideal environment for exploring Mesolithic settlement patterns in the Killarney area and Late Mesolithic island settlement in general. The local environment in the Mesolithic consisted

of mixed woodland: oak, birch, and with pine as a minor component but dominating the uplands. Mesolithic populations are thought to have had no impact on the surrounding woodlands; however, their presence on the lake may provide an explanation for the microscopic charcoal fragments found at Glaisín na Marbh (Mitchell and Cooney 2004: 487).

A Mesolithic camp on the island would have had access to both the important salmon fishery and the marshland to the north, and to fish from the river Flesk in its immediate vicinity as well as to the diverse resources of the wider liminal environment. It would have been in easy reach of the rich coastal resources of Dingle Bay and to the uplands and the Black Valley via Muckross and the upper lake as part of a larger seasonal cycle of nomadic hunter-gatherers operating from a camp site on the island, possibly travelling as far as Ferriter's Cove in the west to exploit its marine and geological resources.

Another likely location for a Mesolithic presence would have been on the high ground on or close to the present site of Ross Castle and of the later mansion and barracks. The island is divided from the mainland by a marshy area of alder carr and by a canalised waterway, possibly of medieval date, which formed part of the defences of Ross Castle. The castle occupies the higher ground overlooking the narrows (presumably these were wider in the Mesolithic), an obvious choke point to hunt and trap fish and fowl. Migrating fish passing through the narrows would have been a valuable resource and, more importantly, would have been relatively easily trapped. Lough Leane's promising environment and the fact that the Bann flake was identified during the second of only two visits by the author to the shore suggest that further studies by experienced field archaeologists along with investigations below the high water mark may identify a larger array of Mesolithic material, and possibly a Late Mesolithic base camp, somewhere on the shores of Lough Leane or its adjoining tributaries.

Ross Island has been the subject of a pioneering programme of research into early mining headed by William O'Brien, whose multi-disciplinary approach has resulted in a landmark publication on the island (O'Brien 2004), which is a model of best practice. His work contrasts with that of the state bodies responsible for Ross Castle where a recently completed multi-million euro reconstruction and remodelling programme on the castle and the adjoining 17th-century mansion was carried out without commissioning a programme of archaeological

excavation and research, almost certainly resulting in a loss of archaeological and historically significant material. The discovery of Mesolithic material on the island highlights just one of the opportunities that was missed here, as the castle and its environs are in a pivotal location for Mesolithic settlement. Sadly, knowledge capture does not appear to have been one of the elements driving the project. Once again the architectural drive to aid "visualisation" has taken priority over a scientific research brief and a raft of ICOMOS (International Commission on Monuments and Sites) guidelines have been simply ignored.

Note about authors

Michael Gibbons is based in Clifden, Connemara, and is a member of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, the Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee and a former co-director of the Sites and Monuments Record Office. The subjects of his recent publications range from the Mesolithic in western Connacht to the contribution of Lord Charlemont to classical archaeology. He is now an archaeologist in private practice.

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Fíonán in Kerry place-names

Paul Tempan

The personal name *Fíonán* (or sometimes *Fionán* with a short *i*) occurs in the names of a small but significant group of places in Kerry, including holy wells, early ecclesiastical sites and townlands. The place-names are typically associated with a saint bearing the name. In some cases, such as *Bá Fhíonáin* / St Finan's Bay, the name is transparent, while in others it is only evident in the original Irish form, e.g. *Doire Fhíonáin* / Derrynane. In yet others it is uncertain whether the name in question is Fíonán at all, e.g. the parish of Killinane or the townland of Rahinnane in the parish of Ventry. The names are primarily concentrated in the barony of Iveragh (*Uíbh Ráthach*), with a few examples on the Dingle Peninsula and in the Killarney / Castlemaine area and isolated instances in Kenmare.

The aim of this article is to identify those places in Kerry which are named after Fíonán, to draw attention to their number and to highlight their historical and archaeological significance. A brief description will be given of the saint's connection with each place, as well as some aspects of the archaeology. I will also attempt to clarify, where possible, which saint the name refers to, although it would be unrealistic to pretend to provide definitive answers to this and many other issues raised by these place-names.

Fíonán Cam

Fíonán (Old Irish form: *Fínán*) is recorded as the name of eleven early Irish saints.[1] Of these saints, the one most strongly associated with Kerry is Fíonán Cam of *Cionn Eitigh*, i.e. Kinnitty in County Offaly. The word *cam* simply means "crooked", but the *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* makes it clear that he was given the epithet due to his squint.[2] Fíonán's precise dates are not known, though Barrington is of the opinion that "he seems to have lived from the late 6th to the mid-7th century".[3] His feast-day is consistently given as 7th April in four of the Irish martyrologies. His genealogy is given as follows in the *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*:

> *Finan Cam Cind Ettig – Becnat nomen matris eius – m. Moenaig m. Ardda m. Fidaig m. Corcain m. Nudin m. Irchuind m. Cormaic m. Corpre Músc m. Conaire Chaem.*[4]

His mother is named here as Becnat, meaning "little lady".[5] Elsewhere in the same text, her father is named as Cian.[6] A note added to *The Martyrology of Oengus* calls Becnat "*ingen Idgna atbail*", which Stokes translates as "daughter of vast Idgna".[7] This suggests that Idgna is the name of a territory. If so, it is otherwise unattested to my knowledge, and it is therefore more likely to be a personal name referring to Becnat's father (and thus offering an alternative lineage). The phrase can therefore be translated as "daughter of mighty Idgna".

In contrast to the *Corpus,* which names Fíonán's father as Móenach, *The Martyrology of Oengus* gives us a quite different version of his birth: Becnat, who was of the *Ciarraighe Luachra*, conceived Fíonán after swimming at night-time in Lough Leane (*Loch Léin*) and becoming impregnated by a salmon. The symbolism of the salmon, representing wisdom, is familiar from Irish mythology and is reinforced by the location: *Loch Léin,* "lake of learning".

Oengus goes on to tell us that Fíonán Cam was a fosterling of none other than Brénaind mac Finnloga, i.e. St Brendan. He also credits Fíonán with introducing wheat into Ireland from the country of *Letha,*[8] a name which often refers to Brittany in Irish texts, though it may have its origin in Latium, the region around Rome. Another story relating to crops tells how he prayed that the rain falling elsewhere might not fall on his field of ripening corn, and that this was granted.[9]

References to Fíonán Cam frequently associate him with the monastery at Kinnitty, his most important foundation, situated at the foot of Slieve Bloom in County Offaly. Of this establishment there is, unfortunately, no trace today.[10] However, written accounts of his life make it clear that he was originally of the *Corcu Duibne* (a people whose territory comprised not only the Dingle Peninsula, but also part of Iveragh at the time). His decision to leave his home area arose from an arrangement between himself and Brendan, so that he might have a following and a church of own. He is reputed to have founded other religious houses in his native area, notably the monasteries on *Sceilg Mhichíl* and on Church Island (*Oileán an Teampaill* or, anciently, *Inis Uasal*) in Lough Currane (*Loch Luíoch*), near Waterville. Fíonán's association with Church Island is confirmed by *Vita Finani*, where it is referred to as *Hynis Ussailli*.[11] The connection with *Sceilg Mhichíl* is

only supported by oral tradition. Two entries in the *Annals of Inisfallen* for the years 1033 and 1108 record the death of an abbot, named in each case as *comarba Fináin Chaim,* i.e. "co-arb of Fíonán Cam", presumably the abbot in charge of one of these houses founded by Fíonán in each case.[12]

Sources for Fíonán Cam

Written accounts of the life of Fíonán Cam (hereafter "Lives") are extant in Latin and Irish versions. The version of *Vita Finani* from the *Codex Kilkenniensis* is included in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* edited by Charles Plummer, 2 vols., 1910. The version from the *Codex Salmanticensis* was edited by W.W. Heist in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* 1965. Similarly *Acta Sancti Finani* form part of *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited by the Jesuit fathers de Smedt and de Backer, 1888. An Irish version of the life is preserved in a manuscript fragment. R.A.S. Macalister assigns this text, *Beatha Naomh Fionáin Locha Laoi,*[13] to the late 17th century. Macalister's edition, with introduction and English translation, is one of the most accessible (especially for those without Latin or Early Modern Irish) and gives a useful summary of the incidents in Fíonán's life recorded in this and other texts, but he points out that this text is a mere abstract of an earlier version, no longer extant. He believed that a fuller and much earlier life of Fíonán on vellum was in the possession of Edward O'Reilly, the lexicographer. Macalister also stresses that some pagan aspects of the life have been watered down as they have become christianised: "the text opens with the miraculous birth of Finan [Becnat's impregnation by the salmon]. This story has however been refined into a dream... The tale of Finan's birth was originally much more savage..."[14]

In addition to these Lives, some key details on Fíonán are given in the Irish martyrologies, mostly repeating information available in the Lives.

An account of the life of Fíonán Cam and his significance in Kerry history is to be found in *Discovering Kerry* by T. J. Barrington, pp. 33-4. This article draws on Barrington's book for information on the sites founded by Fíonán Cam and those dedicated to him. Further archaeological detail is furnished by *An Archaeological Survey of South Kerry* by Ann O'Sullivan and John Sheehan, while most of the place-names in question are dealt with by An Seabhac (pen-name of Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha) in his two books on the baronies of Corkaguiney and Iveragh: *Uí Ráthach – Ainmneacha na mBailte Fearainn sa Bharúntacht*

and *Tríocha Céad Chorca Dhuibhne*. We are fortunate to have such excellent sources for all the sites in question.

Other saints named Fíonán

Among the other saints named *Fíonán*, the best known is Fíonán Lobhar ("leper") of Swords and *Cluain Mhór* in Leinster (possibly Clonmore (Mogue) in County Carlow). In addition to the two Leinster sites, *The Martyrology of Gorman* also links him with Inisfallen (*Inis Faithleann*) on Lough Leane, while *The Martyrology of Donegal* associates him with Ardfinnan(e) (*Ard Fhíonáin*) in County Tipperary. It is noteworthy that the early sources cited here link both Fíonán Cam and Fíonán Lobhar with Lough Leane.

There is evidence for the confusion of Fíonán Cam with other saints bearing similar names in the dates of patterns held at sites dedicated to him.

The name *Fíonán* is sometimes anglicised as Finan, particularly in Kerry, e.g. in St Finan's Bay. However, it is also frequently rendered less accurately as Finian, which causes considerable confusion, since this form is also used to anglicise the names *Finnén, Finnán* and *Fíngin*, all of which also occur as the names of Irish saints. The two most notable bearers of the name *Finnén* are St Finnén, bishop of *Maigh Bhile* (Movilla near Newtownards, County Down), whose feast-day is 10th September, and St Finnén, abbot of Clonard, whose feast-day is 12th December. This name is usually anglicised Finnian or Finian.[15] The name *Fíngin* is particularly common in Cork and Kerry among the O'Sullivans, MacCarthys, O'Mahoneys and O'Driscolls. This name can be anglicised as Finneen, but is often replaced by Florence, a name which has come to be regarded as synonymous.[16]

Form and origin of the name Fíonán

Fíonán (or *Fínán* in earlier stages of the Irish language) has a long vowel in its first syllable and a single *-n-* internally. Therefore it does not seem to be derived, as might be imagined, from *fionn* meaning "white, fair". It is possible that the first element is *fíon,* "wine" (which element occurs in Fíngin, meaning "wine-birth"[17]), followed by the diminutive suffix *-án*, but at present it is safer to say that its true etymology is uncertain. The long *í* is prone to being shortened in the modern version of place-names. However, the name consistently retains the single internal *-n-*, preserving a distinction between this name and Fionnán. The spelling *Fíonán*, used by the scribe of *Beatha Naomh*

Fionáin Locha Laoi and by An Seabhac, has been adopted in this article, except occasionally when quoting other authors.

Gazetteer

In the following the Irish forms of place-names are taken from An Seabhac, *Uí Ráthach* and *Tríocha Céad Chorca Dhuibhne,* unless otherwise attributed. Archaeological details of the sites are from *An Archaeological Survey of South Kerry* by O'Sullivan and Sheehan unless otherwise attributed. Six-figure grid references are given where possible, preceded by a letter denoting the particular 100km square. Four-figure references are given for extensive places.

Abbreviations used:

ASDP – Judith Cuppage, *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula – Suirbhé Seandálaíochta Chorca Dhuibhne*, 1986, Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne, Ballyferriter;

ASSK - Ann O'Sullivan and John Sheehan, *The Iveragh Peninsula – An Archaeological Survey of South Kerry*, 1996, Cork University Press, Cork;

DK – T. J. Barrington, *Discovering Kerry,* 2nd edition, 1979, Cork; 1st edition published 1976;

OSNB – *Ordnance Survey Name Book, Co. Kerry*, 1841, with Irish forms of place-names, usually provided by John O'Donovan;

TCCD - An Seabhac, *Tríocha Céad Chorca Dhuibhne,* 1938;

UR - An Seabhac, *Uí Ráthach – Ainmneacha na mBailte Fearainn sa Bharúntacht,* 1954.

1) ***Doire Fhíonáin***[18] – Derrynane[19]

Grid reference: V52_58_

ASSK: Derrynane Beg ogam stone = p. 242, site 913.

There is a tradition that Fíonán founded Aghavore Abbey (*Mainistir Achaidh Mhóir*) on Abbey Island at Derrynane. Smith notes that this was an Augustinian establishment founded by monks of St Finbarr of Cork.[20] Barrington suggests that it was actually founded in the 9th century by Flann Mac Ceallach, abbot of *Sceilg Mhichíl*.[21] There is an ogam stone on the mainland in the townland of Derrynane Beg, near Derrynane House. Before being set in its current position in the 1940s, it lay partly buried on the strand.

2) ***Doire Fhíonáin***[22]

Grid reference: V52_63_

This is a second occurrence of the same name, not far from the better-known place dealt with above. It is a subdivision of Shanaknock townland, parish of Kilcrohane. It lies in the hills south of Lough Currane. There is a standing stone and a cross-inscribed slab in the townland.[23] It is possible that this name referred to the same large oak-wood in Sites 1 and 2 as they are only separated by a single ridge and tree-cover was much more extensive in the Middle Ages. Deforestation may have left the appearance of two separate names.

3) ***Leacht Fhíonáin*** – Laghtfinnan

Grid reference: V598881

ASSK: p. 114, site 389; UR: p. 51.

Penitential station situated on a shoulder of Drung Hill, near the boundary of the townlands of Gleensk and Kilkeehagh, west of Glenbeigh. Barrington's description places it incorrectly on the summit of Drung Hill. The correct location is given by An Seabhac and by O'Sullivan and Sheehan. The site consists of a cairn and a small ogam stone on a knoll (though the ogam stone is not mentioned on the current OSi Discovery map, no. 70). The cairn is traditionally regarded as the burial place of Fíonán and appears to have marked the boundary of an ancient territory named Drung. It is a Lughnasa site, being visited on *Domhnach na dTuras,* the last Sunday of July.[24] A nearby well called *Tobar Fhíonáin* was dedicated to the saint, but its exact location is now unknown.

4a) ***Bá Fhíonáin***[25] – St Finan's Bay (Plate I)

Grid reference: V36_67_

ASSK: Killemlagh church = p. 358, site 1096; UR: p. 26.

Bay located between Portmagee and Ballinskelligs, so named from the tradition that Fíonán founded the church of Killemlagh, now in ruins. This church, situated in the townland of Rathkieran, gives its name to the surrounding civil parish. It is possible that an earlier church on the same site was dedicated to St Fíonán, with a subsequent rededication to St Ciarán. A stone in the church's west gable may be an ogam stone. Near Killemlagh church is a group of standing stones known as the Pagan's Grave. According to local folklore, "the pagan Maolmorna tried to have St Fionan murdered, but himself was killed in error".[26] Nearby are the remains of another church at Killabuonia, dedicated to St Buaine.[27] St

Finan's Bay faces the Skelligs, where according to tradition Fíonán founded the monastery of *Sceilg Mhichíl*.

4b) ***Tobar Fhíonáin*** (Plate I)
Grid reference: V389685
ASSK: p. 342, site 1080; UR: p. 26

This well, in Rathkieran townland, was visited on 16th March,[28] the feast day of Fíonán Lobhar.[29] It was also one of the four wells visited on 29th September as part of a *turas* from Dungeagan to Coomanaspig. It is on the north shore of St Finan's Bay, a short distance west of Killemlagh medieval church.

5a) ***Mainistir Fhíonáin*** - St Fíonán's church and St Fíonán's Cell
Grid reference: V532668
ASSK: pp. 316-22, site 974; UR: p. 37

Located on Church Island (*Inis Uasal*[30] or *Oileán an Teampaill*) in Lough Currane (*Loch Luíoch*), this site is associated with Fíonán Cam, who is said to have founded a monastery here in the 6th century.[30] One of the three *leachta* near the church reputedly marks the grave of *Fíonán*. The present church is dated to the late 12th century. In and around the church are eleven cross-inscribed slabs. There in another stone structure on the island known as St Fíonán's Cell.[31]

Plate I. St Finan's Bay (4a) seen from Rathkieran, Tobar Fhíonáin (4b) in foreground.

5b) ***Tobar Fhíonáin***[32] (Plate II)
Grid reference: V533687
ASSK: p. 337, site 1056.

Well situated in Caherbarnagh townland on a slope overlooking the north shore of Lough Currane. Church Island is clearly visible from here. "A pattern was formerly held here on St Finan's day, the 16th of March."[33] Above the well opening is a cross-incised slab. An ogam stone is located just over 1km away at Dromkeare.

6) ***Tobar Fhíonáin*** – Toberfinnan – and ***Cillín Fhíonáin***
Grid reference: V400770
ASSK: p. 340, site 1069; UR: p. 23.

Well and *ceallúnach* (children's burial ground) in Glanleam townland, Valentia Island. Situated on the lower east slopes of Feaghmaan Mountain. The area has been planted with conifers in recent years, making access difficult. Both the well and *ceallúnach* were formerly visited on 16th March. The well reputedly provided a cure for rheumatism.

7) **The Abbey of St Finian,**[34] i.e. *Sceilg Mhichíl*
Grid reference: V248607
ASSK: p. 278-90, site 948; UR: pp. 31-32.

The legend of Fíonán founding the monastery of *Sceilg Mhichíl* is recorded by Charles Smith.[35]

Plate II. Tobar Fhíonáin (5b), Caherbarnagh.

8a) ***Tearmon Fhíonáin***[36]

Grid reference: V495995

DPAS: 863, p. 328; TCCD: p. 150.

An area centred on the graveyard at Kinard East (*Teampall Chinnáird*), within which two ogam stones and a bullaun are to be found. The graveyard boundary wall is said to include part of the wall of an early church.

8b) ***Tobar Fíonáin***

Grid reference: V493989

DPAS: 948, p. 356; TCCD: p. 151.

One of three adjacent wells situated in the townland and parish of Kinard, erroneously named Tober Fintan on the Ordnance Survey map. It is visited on 12th February, which, as An Seabhac points out, is the feast of Fíonán mac Earannáin.[37] However, it was clearly the same Fíonán who was venerated at the site as at the sites in Iveragh, since a folktale which An Seabhac records has Fíonán accompanying St Michael as they sail from the Skellig to the Dingle Peninsula. The other two wells are *Tobar Muire* and *Tobar Micíl*. All three are located within 1km of *Teampall Chinnáird*.

9) ***Com Fhíonáin*** and ***Loch Chom Fhíonáin*** - Cumminan Lough

Grid reference: Q611068

TCCD: p. 191.

Loch Com Fhíonáin is a small mountain lake in Ballynahunt townland. However, it lies on the Glanteenassig (north) side of the watershed and its waters flow down to Lough Slat, thus feeding the Owencashla River. An Seabhac mentions no lore connecting Fíonán with this locality. Nor are there any surviving archaeological monuments in the immediate vicinty of *Com Fhíonáin,* unless one counts the megalithic cairn known as *Tigh Chúchulainn,* which stands above the hollow on the summit ridge. One might therefore question whether this name really refers to Fíonán. However, to the south and much lower down in the townland of Ballynahunt is a cross-inscribed ogam stone. Windele recorded the tradition that its original position was at a well "up the mountain east of Ballynahunt".[38] The description is rather vague, but may correspond to *Loch Com Fhíonáin*. In fact, *Loch Com Fhíonáin* is situated north of Ballynahunt, rather than east, but there remains a strong possibility that the holy well in question was somewhere nearby in the hills above Ballynahunt. Furthermore, An Seabhac did not express any

doubt about the origin of this name, as he did in the case of Sites 11 or 18 (see below), perhaps because he was persuaded by the pronunciation or some other information provided to him locally.

10) ***Baile Fhíonáin*** – Ballynane
Grid reference: Q61_02_
TCCD: p. 193.

Townland in the parish of Ballinvoher. As at the previous site, An Seabhac mentions no lore connecting Fíonán with Ballynane. However, the historical forms cited are persuasive. It is noteworthy that the neighbouring townland of Ballintermon (in Ballynacourty parish) clearly contains the element *tearmann,* "sanctuary", suggesting the presence of an ecclesiastical site, but it is not recorded to whom it was dedicated.

11) ***Cnoc Mhaoilionáin*** - Knockmulanane[39]
Grid reference: Q568049
TCCD: p. 178.

An Seabhac received a number of suggestions regarding the origin of this name: **Cnoc Mhaoil an Fháin, *Cnoc Phuill an Fháin* and *Cnoc Mhaoil Fhíonáin*. He was not convinced by any of them and opted for a transliteration. However, *fán,* "slope" does not appear frequently in place-names and usually occurs as a generic, e.g. *Fán Óir* (Fanore, County Clare) or *Fán an Iarainn* (Fananierin, County Wicklow). I am not aware of parallels for its use as a specific element. Furthermore, *Cnoc Mhaoil an Fháin* seems particularly unlikely since all three of its elements would designate some kind of "hill" or "slope". **Cnoc Mhaoil Fhíonáin* therefore seems the most plausible suggestion, despite the absence of any recorded association with Fíonán. This is not a surprise, since we have already seen that there is no memory of Fíonán at Sites 9 and 10. If this argument is correct, this place-name would provide evidence for an otherwise unrecorded personal name: *Maol Fhíonáin,* "devotee of St Fíonán". However, due to the shortage of evidence, this interpretation must be regarded as tentative for the present.

12a) **St Finian's Church**
Grid reference: V922703

Medieval church located in Kenmare old townland on the south side of the Sound, opposite the modern town of Kenmare. According to Sr

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* Denotes a hypothetical or incorrect form of a name under discussion.

Philomena MacCarthy and an old sign on the site, it was plundered by the Vikings in 838 AD.[40]

12b) ***Tobar Fionáin***[41] – St Finan's Well

Grid reference: V923703

Also located in Kenmare Old on the shore of the Sound, north-east of the above church. According to O'Donovan, patterns were held at the well on 3rd May and 14th September, but had been abolished 20 years earlier, i.e. 1821.[42]

13) ***Ospidéal Naomh Fhionnáin***[43] (*sic*) – St Finan's Hospital

Grid reference: V96_91_

Psychiatric hospital in Killarney, apparently so named due to the tradition that Fíonán founded the monastery of Inisfallen (*Inis Faithleann*). Barrington considers this unlikely, but accepts that Inisfallen and Aghadoe are both dedicated to him. He considers it more likely that Inisfallen was founded by Faithliu of the *Eóganacht Locha Léin*, who may have been a disciple of Fíonán.[44] Aghadoe also has an ogam stone, which reads: BRRUANANN.[45] This does not correspond exactly to any known personal name, but is highly suggestive of a form of the name Bréanann (Brendan). We have already seen that Fíonán Cam was reputedly fostered by St Brendan. Joyce, however, identifies the saint who founded Inisfallen as Fíonán Lobhar, following the tradition mentioned in *The Martyrology of Gorman*.[46] Barrington proposes an economical solution, attributing all the Kerry monastic and ecclesiastical sites to Fíonán Cam: "The confusion of the celebration of feast days must have occurred after one of the periods of decline in the church when such practices had fallen into disuse and records were not available. I opt, therefore, for one St Fionan, a local, in operation in south and west Kerry about this time."[47]

Incidentally, Barrington expresses some doubt about whether Aghadoe was a bishopric in the Middle Ages due to the shortage of direct documentary evidence.[48] However, in addition to the indirect evidence cited by Barrington, which is provided by the name of the Church of Ireland Diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe (later incorporated into Limerick), it is worth noting the townland name Farranaspig, clearly from **Fearann Easpaig,* "bishop's land". This townland of seventy acres, located in Aghadoe parish, strongly suggests the existence of a bishop's see in the vicinity.

14) ***Lios Mhic Fhíonáin*** – Lismacfinnin (Plate III)

Grid reference: V80_96_

Townland in the parish of Killorglin. The name translates as "ring-fort of the son of Fíonán". As such, it appears to be a genuine occurrence of the personal name *Fíonán,* but without any connection to the saint. It implies a surname **Mac F(h)íonáin*, otherwise unattested. I have found no evidence in the usual sources for the survival of this surname in Kerry or elsewhere in Ireland. However, many surnames common in the Middle Ages are known to have died out.[49] place-names constitute vital evidence for their former existence. **Mac F(h)íonáin* appears to be such a lost surname. If so, the place-name would date from a later period, since surnames do not come into being until the 10th century.[50]

Plate III. Road sign for Lismacfinnan (14) near Killorglin.

15) ***Cill Fhíonáin*** *(?)*[51] or ***Cill Lonáin*** *(??)*[52]
Grid reference: V531795
ASSK: pp. 355-6, site 1092; UR: p. 49.

Killinane parish in the barony of Iveragh, centred on a medieval church in the townland of Glebe. The church site is also known as Srugreana (*Sruth Gréine*). A well near by is dedicated to St Gobnat.[53] An Seabhac suggests *Cill Fhíonáin* and Barrington states that the parish was dedicated to Fíonán.[54] On the other hand, O'Donovan linked the site with St Lonán, in whose honour a pattern was formerly held here on 3rd March.[55] Lonán may also be remembered in the townland of *Lios Lionáin* / Lislonane, parish of Dromid.[56] In fact, there is a connection between Lonán and Fíonán: a nobleman named Lonán appears in the life of Fíonán, saving the saint from a band of robbers who intended to slay him.[57] Nevertheless, one could argue that the association of Killinane with Lonán may only have arisen at a later date. The OSNB records the name as *Cill Fhlannáin*, but there is no supporting evidence for this.

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In the following place-names the presence of the personal name *Fíonán* is doubtful:

16) ? ***Béal Átha Fhionnáin***[58] – Ballyfinnane
Grid reference: Q885062

Townland and village in the parish of Molahiffe. Note that the name is spelt with a double -nn- internally. I am not aware of any associations with a saint, although it is interpreted as *Béal atha Fíonáin,* "mouth of Finan's ford" in the *OSNB*. There are no ecclesiastical sites listed for the townland in the *Record of Monuments and Places* (Office of Public Works, 1997). It may contain the personal name *Fionnán*. Alternatively it may refer to purple mountain grass, known in Irish as *fionnán* because it turns white in winter.

17) ?? ***Cillín na Fionáin***[59] *(sic)* or ***Cillíneach Fíonáin***[60] – Killeenafinnane
Grid reference: Q829056

Townland in the parish of Kiltallagh, between Castlemaine and Tralee. An Seabhac explains the first element as *cillíneach* or its locative form *cillínigh,* which a local informant connected with an old graveyard in the townland. However, the associations with Fíonán do not seem

strong, and it seems more likely that the first element is simply *cillín,* followed either by an epenthetic vowel or the definite article. The presence of an article would suggest that the name refers to the local vegetation (*fionnán*).

18) ?? ***Ráth Sheanáin***[61] or ***Ráthanáin***[62] - Rahinnane
Grid reference: Q369017
DPAS: 518, pp. 175-7; TCCD: p. 55-56.
Ringfort and townland in the parish of Ventry. Joyce connects this name with Fíonán Cam,[63] and this is supported by a reference to *Ráth Fhionnáin* in the Egerton 149 manuscript version of *Cath Finntrágha*.[64] However, this single form from the storytelling tradition is at odds with the other historical forms for the townland from legal documents. An Seabhac therefore considered this name obscure and merely provided a transliteration. The form on the Discovery map links it with the personal name *Seanán* (e.g. St Senan, associated with Scattery Island (*Inis Cathaig*).

19) ?? ***Cill Bonáin*** – Killabonane
Grid reference: V93_65_
Sr Philomena MacCarthy proposes the derivation *Cill Both Fhionain* for this name.[65] However, there is no church site in the townland to my knowledge, so it is more likely to have *coill* as the first element. There is no tradition of Fíonán in and around Bonane (*Bunán*). The parish of Kilbonane in east Kerry is associated with St Benén, the disciple of St Patrick.

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Other place-names featuring the name *Fíonán* elsewhere in Ireland include:

Cill Fhionáin[66] – Kilfinnane, County Limerick
Ard Fhíonáin[67] – Ardfinnan, County Tipperary
Móin Fhíonáin[68] – Moneenaun, County Kilkenny
Eas Fionáin,[69] parish of Raymunterdoney, County Donegal

The first two of these have definite associations with Fíonán Lobhar. Joyce mentions the holy well at Kilfinnane, at which site the saint's festival was celebrated, "but all memory of the exact day is lost".[70]

There are then several other places which include the distinct element *Fionnán,* where it may be a personal name or may refer to purple mountain grass, e.g.

Carraig Fhionnáin[71] – Carrickinnane, County Kilkenny
Dún Fhionnáin[72] – Doornane, County Kilkenny
Baile an Fhionnáin[73] – Ballynennan, County Tipperary
Tobar Fionnáin[74] – Achill Island, County Mayo

Discussion

Sites 1-8 have strong associations with Fíonán Cam. Nos. 9-10 clearly contain the name Fíonán, though they may be dedicated to Fíonán Lobhar rather than Fíonán Cam. Nos. 11-13 appear to contain the name (no. 13 being particularly subject to doubt), but without any memory of a saint. No. 14 is a more secure example, but is probably a secular site. No. 15 may contain the name Fíonán or that of another saint.

Place-name evidence confirms that the cult of St Fíonán is strongest at the seaward extremity of the Iveragh Peninsula, as might be expected. More surprisingly, Sites 8-10 also show the presence of his cult along the south shore of the Dingle Peninsula, and, while rather more doubtful, it is possible that one or more of sites 16-18 may also belong to this set. There would be no hint of this fact but for the evidence of place-names collected by An Seabhac. The presence of a St Fíonán in mid-Kerry is also undisputed, but whether the association of Inisfallen with Fíonán Lobhar is original or the result of later adjustments, in line with Barrington's argument, remains uncertain.

There is a strong connection between the cult of Fíonán and water. Six out of these fifteen sites have holy wells dedicated to Fíonán. A seventh is a high mountain lough constituting the source of a river, with a tradition of a lost holy well in the vicinity. At seven of them there is also an ogam stone on the site or in the immediate vicinity (only a possible ogam in one case), confirming the importance of these sites during the transition from paganism to Christianity. None of the ogam inscriptions make specific reference to Fíonán, however.

The association of Fíonán with springs is illustrated by the folktale connected with the three wells at Kinard East, including *Tobar Fhíonáin*. The tale is recorded by An Seabhac:

Tá scéal ann ar na trí tobair sin Michíl agus Muire agus Fíonáin. Bhí

> *Naomh Mícheál agus Fíonán lá ag teacht ón Sceilg agus chuir ceo amugha ar na bhfairrge iad agus ní raibh 'fhios aca cá rabhadar nuair a thángadar i dtír i dTráig Chathail. Bhí an tart ag goilleaimhaint go mór ortha nuair a bhuailedar suas ón dtráigh. Ghuidheadar chun Dé agus ghluais tobar fíor-uisce aníos fé chosaibh gach duine aca. Thugadar buidheachas do Dhia agus chuir Fíonán an ceanntar, ón abhainn go cnoc agus ó Ghleann Shiobháinín Eoin (nó Eoghain) go fairrge, fé n-a thearmon féin – **Tearmon Fhíonáin**. Tháinig an Mhaighdean Muire ós a gcomhair agus mhol sí a gcráibhtheacht, agus ghluais tobar eile as an áit 'nar sheasaimh sise. Tugtar Turas Tobair Michíl an 29adh lá de Mhí Meádhon Foghmhair.*[75]

A similar story is told in north-west Donegal about *Fionán Rátha,* i.e. Fíonán of Ray (or Raymunterdoney). In this case he is a pupil of Colmcille rather than Michael.

> Once when Colmcille was saying his offices and prayers beside the sea at Port Toraighe in the north of the terrritory of Cinéal Conaill a great thirst came over a young cleric who was a fosterling of his, that is Fionán Rátha (Fionán of Ráith). There was no water near them at that time. When Colmcille noticed that Fionán was near death with thirst, he struck three blows with his crozier on a rock which was near him and three streams of water leapt out of it so that Fionán satisfied his thirst with that water. And those streams still come out of that rock today as they did on the first day and that water performs great miracles every day since; and God's name and Colmcille's are magnified thereby. And Colmcille granted an honour to Fionán that that place should be named after him so that its name today is Eas Fionáin (the waterfall of Fionán).[76]

Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig has suggested that this Fionán Rátha is the same saint who is venerated in Kerry and the Midlands, despite the fact that he is given a Donegal genealogy. An annual pilgrimage to the waterfall was held until recently. Noting that Church Island, the principal church of Fíonán in Kerry, is situated in Lough Currane or, in Irish, *Loch Luighdheach,*[77] Mac Giolla Easpaig puts forward the possibility that "the pagan cult of Lugh was replaced by the Christian cult of Fionán in both north-west Donegal and south-west Kerry".[78]

There is also evidence for the confusion of Fíonán mac Earannáin with Fíonán Cam in the pattern at Tobar Fíonáin at Kinard, held on 12th February. Similarly the patterns at Rathkieran, Caherbarnagh and Glanleam were held on 16th March, the feast day of Fíonán Lobhar. None of the sites listed here have ceremonies on 7th April, the day which

is recorded as the feast of Fíonán Cam in the Irish martyrologies. Clearly then, this day was not significant in the Kerry cult of Fíonán.

Another incident illustrating the power of holy water is recorded in *Beatha Naomh Fionáin Locha Laoi*. The territory of Corca Dhuibhne is threatened with devastation by an invading force under Nechtan (whom Macalister regards as an echo of the biblical Nebuchadnezzar). Fíonán attempts to intercede and negotiate with Nechtan. Unable to make peace or win a month's respite from the invader, Fíonán makes holy water for his countrymen and gives it to them to drink, exhorting them to rise against Nechtan and defend the land. Nechtan is eventually defeated and repents for his wrongdoing.[79]

Fíonán is by no means the only Irish saint whose cult appears to have preserved aspects of a pagan water deity. Plummer noted in his introduction to *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* that this was particularly evident in the cases of Abban, Ailbe, Bairre (i.e. Finbarr of Cork) and Declan.[80] He makes the following remarks on the integration of sacred springs and wells into the Christian tradition:

> In Adamnan, and in the lives of Patrick, we have express mention of fountains which were worshipped by the heathen. We have what looks like the libation to a fountain; in another case the manacles of a criminal are loosed by the hands of the saint beneath the fountain, where, clearly, the saint has taken the place of a water-nymph. Sometimes the christianization of the spot was effected by building a church or chapel over or near it. But the commonest way of effecting this was by ascribing the origin of the fountain itself to the miraculous intervention of the saint. The most frequent mode of production was by the saint smiting the ground with his bachall or pastoral staff, generally with the butt end of it.[81]

It is clear from the folktales cited above that Fíonán also fits straight into this scheme.

On the basis of this strong assoication with water and wells, it would be tempting to revisit the etymology of the name *Fíonán* and to make a connection with the Welsh word *ffynnon,* "spring, fountain, well; source, origin", which is a borrowing of the Latin *fontana*. In some early place-names, the similarity is even more striking, such as *Finnaun Guur Helic*, mentioned by pseudo-Nennius in the 9th-century *Historia Brittonum,* a miraculous lake in Britain with no stream flowing into it or out of it.[82] *Ffynnon* also occurs in the names of high mountain lakes. For instance, in the Carneddau range in Gwynedd, there are lakes named *Ffynnon*

Caseg ("spring of the mare") and *Ffynnon Lloer* ("spring of the moon"). There are also hollows named *Cwmffynnon* (above Llanberis Pass) and *Cwmyffynnon* (north of the Nantlle Ridge), which are strikingly close to *Com Fhíonáin* above Glanteenassig in terms of their names and not dissimilar in their topography.[83] However, a direct link with Welsh *ffynnon* or Latin *fontana* is phonologically problematic, particularly as *Fíonán* usually has a long vowel in both syllables and a single *-n-* internally, so for the present the suggestion of such a link remains speculative.

The evidence for the cult of Fíonán replacing a pagan water deity would tend to cast some doubt on Fíonán as a historical figure. This impression is made all the stronger when one considers the shortage of solid historical evidence tying him to Kerry and the distinctly mythological nature of his birth-tale (although the life of Fíonán is, of course, by no means unique among Irish saints in having supernatural aspects). On the other hand, Fíonán Cam, founder of Kinnitty, noted for his squint, is fleshed out with rather more human detail in the Lives.

The difficulties involved in resolving the identity of early Irish saints are enormous, and I would prefer to leave this task to those who have far more expertise in this field than myself, hoping that the material presented here will help in some measure with this task. These difficulties are highlighted by the case of St Finbarr of Cork. The distinguished hagiologist Prof. Pádraig Ó Riain has recently suggested that he has no separate existence but is identical with Finnén of *Magh Bhile* (St Finnian of Movilla, County Down).[84] Similarly, Prof. Thomas Owen Clancy of Glasgow University has argued that St Ninian, an important British saint, is a Northumbrian development of Finnén.[85] When one recalls Smith's association of Finbarr with Aghavore at Derrynane, it is clear that this may have implications for Fíonán too.

However, whether he is a historical figure or a legendary one, or indeed a conflation of the two, it is clear that Fíonán is strongly associated in Kerry with wells, water supply and crops – aspects which would have made him very important to the farming communities of the Iveragh and Dingle Peninsulas, the core area in which he was venerated.

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Note about author

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Notes

1 Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Fidelma Maguire, *Irish Names* (1990), p. 99.
2 Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae,* §722.81.
3 T.J. Barrington, *Discovering Kerry*, 2nd edition (Cork: 1976), p. 33.
4 Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1985), §211. "Finan Cam of Cind Ettig – Becnat was his mother's name – son of Móenach, son of Ardda, son of Fidach, son of Corcán, son of Nuiden, son of Irchonn, son of Cormac, son of Cairpre Músc, son of Conaire Cóem."
5 Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Irish Names*, p. 30.
6 Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae,* §722.81.
7 Whitley Stokes (ed.), *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (1905), pp. 112-3.
8 *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.
9 Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* 2 vols. (Oxford: 1910), *Vita Finani,* vol. ii, p. 92.
10 In the Ordnance Survey Letters, King's County, letter no. 38, Thomas O'Conor records the local belief that the current Church of Ireland at Kinnitty stands on the site of the former monastery, a suggestion which seems quite likely.
11 Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, Vita Finani,* vol. ii, p. 95.
12 Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen (*1951), pp. 266, 300.
13 Note that *Loch Laoi* refers in this text to Lough Currane near Waterville (*Loch Luíoch* in modern Irish), not to Belfast Lough.
14 R.A.S. Macalister, "The Life of Saint Finan", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, band. 2 (1899), p. 546.
15 Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Irish Names* (1990), pp. 102-3.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

17 *Ibid.*
18 Deirdre Flanagan and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish place-names* (1994), p. 200.
19 The official anglicised spelling of this name is Darrynane, e.g. the townlands of Darrynane More and Darrynane Beg.
20 Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (1756), p. 94.
21 *DK*, p. 286.
22 Breandán Ó Cíobháin, *Toponomia Hiberniae* vol. ii, p. 150.
23 Anne Sullivan and John Sheehan, *The Iveragh Peninsula – An Archaeological Survey of South Kerry* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), site 205, p. 67 and site 968, p. 312. Hereinafter *ASSK*.
24 Máire Mac Néill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 134-7.
25 An tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis, *Gasaitéar na hÉireann*, 1989, p. 10.
26 *DK*, p. 278.
27 An Seabhac, *Uí Ráthach – Ainmneacha na mBailte Fearrain sa Bharúntacht* (1954), p. 29. Hereinafter *UR*.
28 *UR*, p. 26.
29 David Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edition (2003), p. 195.
30 The death of Anmchad Ua Dúnchada, an anchorite of God, on this island is recorded in the *Annals of Inisfallen* in the year 1058: *"Anmchad Hua Dunch*[ad]*a, ánchara Dé, quievit i nInis Ausail"* (Seán Mac Airt [ed.] 1951), p. 218. The place-name appears in the dative form in this entry. The modern Irish form, nominative, is *Inis Uasal*.
31 Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1970), p. 31.
32 *ASSK*, p. 337. Oddly An Seabhac only mentions a children's burial ground in Caherbarnagh. He makes no mention of a well or any association with Fíonán.
33 *Ordnance Survey Name Book, Co. Kerry* (1981), Drummod parish, 9. Hereinafter *OSNB*. In fact, 16th March is the feast day not of Fíonán Cam, but of Fíonán Lobhar according to the four best-known Irish martyrologies.
34 Patrick Foley, *The Ancient and Present State of the Skelligs, Blasket Islands, Dunquin and the West of Dingle* (Dublin, 1903), p. 17.
35 Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, 1756, p. 113.
36 An Seabhac, *Tríocha Chéad Chorca Dhuibhne* (1938), p. 150. Hereinafter *TCCD*.
37 *Ibid.* Fiontan is yet another similar name which is also common among Irish saints. The confusion with Fíonán here is not surprising, especially as Fiontan is remembered near by at *Cill Fhiontain* / Kilfountain (OSi Discovery map sheet 70. *Cill Fhionntain* according to An Seabhac, *TCCD*, p. 46).
38 Judith Cuppage, *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula – Suirbhé*

Seandálaíochta Chorca Dhuibhne (Ballyferriter: Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne, 1984), site no. 797, pp. 253-4. Hereinafter *ASDP.*

39 Ordnance Survey ½ inch to 1 mile map – Dingle Bay.

40 Sr Philomena MacCarthy, *Kenmare and Its Storied Glen,* (Kenmare: 1993). I have been unable to trace the source on which this statement is based.

41 *OSNB.*

42 John O'Donovan, *The Antiquities of the County of Kerry* (1841), p. 233.

43 Sign at hospital gates. The internal double *-nn-* on this sign appears to be an error.

44 *DK,* p. 30.

45 *Ibid.,* p. 202.

46 P. W. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places,* vol. i (1869), p. 154.

47 *DK,* p. 33.

48 *Ibid.,* p. 202.

49 M. A. O'Brien, "Old Irish Personal Names: M. A. O'Brien's 'Rhys Lecture'-notes, 1957", Rolf Baumgarten (ed.), *Celtica* 10 (1973), p. 216.

50 John [Eoin] MacNeill, "Early Irish Population-Groups: Their Nomenclature, Classification, and Chronology", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 29C (1911), p. 82.

51 *UR*, p. 49.

52 *ASSK*, site 1092, pp. 355-6.

53 *Ibid.*, site 1070, p. 340.

54 *DK,* p. 270.

55 John O'Donovan, *The Antiquities of the County of Kerry*, p. 145.

56 *UR*, p. 44.

57 R.A.S. Macalister, "The Life of Saint Finan", pp. 554-5.

58 Road sign at edge of village, March 2007.

59 *OSNB, Co. Kerry.*

60 An Seabhac, *"Ainmneacha Bailte Fearainn i dTrí Paróistí i dTriúch an Aicme i gCiarraighe"*, *Béaloideas* xx, vol. 1 (1950), p. 126.

61 OSi Discovery map, sheet 70.

62 *TCCD*, p. 55.

63 P. W. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places,* vol. i, p. 155.

64 Quoted in *TCCD*, p. 55.

65 Sr Philomena MacCarthy, *Kenmare and Its Storied Glen.*

66 *Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis, Liostaí Logainmneacha – Contae Luimnigh* (1991), p. 25.

67 *Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis, Liostaí Logainmneacha – Contae Thiobraid Árann* (2004), p. 14.

68 *Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireacht Ordanáis, Liostaí Logainmneacha – Contae Cill Chainnigh* (1993), p. 37.

69 Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, "Place-Names and Early Settlement in County Donegal", in *Donegal – History and Society,* pp. 149-82; see pp. 167-8 regarding Fionán Rátha.

70 P. W. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places,* vol. i, pp. 154-5.
71 *Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis, Liostaí Logainmneacha – Contae Cill Chainnigh,* 1993, p. 19.
72 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
73 *Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis, Liostaí Logainmneacha – Contae Thiobraid Árann* (2004), p. 17.
74 Fiachra Mac Gabhann, lecture to the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, Drumcondra, 1st March 2007.
75 *TCCD,* pp. 151-2. "There is a tale told there about the three wells of St Michael, Our Lady and St Fíonán. One day St Michael and St Fíonán were coming from the Skellig and a sea-fog disorientated them, so that they didn't know where they were when they made landfall at *Tráigh Chathail.* A terrible thirst was troubling them when they made it up from the strand. They prayed to God and a spring came up at the feet of each of them. They gave thanks to God and Fíonán turned the area into his own sanctuary, *Tearmon Fhíonáin,* from the river to the hill and from *Gleann Shiobháinín Eoin* (or *Eoghain*) to the sea. The Virgin Mary appeared above them and she praised their piety and another well sprang up on the spot where she was standing. The pilgrimage of St Michael is performed on 29th September."
76 A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (eds.), *Betha Colaim Cille; Life of Columcille compiled by Manus O Donnell in 1532* (1918), p. 114.
77 Modern form: *Loch Luíoch.*
78 Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, "Place-Names and Early Settlement in County Donegal", p. 168.
79 R.A.S. Macalister, "The Life of Saint Finan", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie,* band 2 (1899), pp. 556-9.
80 Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1910), vol. i, p. 147.
81 *Ibid.,* pp. 149-50.
82 Theodor Mommsen (ed.), *Nennius: The Historia Brittonum* (1894-98), §70.
83 All these Welsh place-names are taken from OS 1:25,000 maps of Snowdonia.
84 Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Bharra : the Complete Life : Saint Finbarr of Cork* (1994).
85 Thomas Owen Clancy, "The Real St Ninian", *The Innes Review: The Journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association,* vol. 52 (2001), pp. 1-28.

Properties in Dingle Granted to the Duke of Ormond in 1668

Conleth Manning

The following properties in the town of Dingle, which were confiscated under the Cromwellians, were granted to the Duke of Ormond in 1668. The bare descriptions of these properties, without the names of the former owners, were published in 1829.[1] The original twelve-page grant to the Duke of Ormond of properties in Kilkenny city, Clonmel, Callan, Inistioge, Carrick-on-Suir and Dingle was discovered with other grants and charters in Kilkenny Castle in the 1960s by Hubert Butler. They were loaned to Rothe House, from where they were stolen in 1969 and never recovered. Luckily, Hubert Butler had had them photographed in the National Library, and excellent photographic copies can be consulted there as MS 19,696. The lists for Kilkenny City and Clonmel were published in the *Journal of the Butler Society*,[2] while those for Inistioge and Callan have been published more recently.[3]

As part of the Cromwellian settlement, confiscated properties in certain counties and towns were to be rented out to defray the arrears of the "49 Officers". During the Commonwealth, this term referred to officers who had served in the Parliamentary army of Munster up to 1649. The matter was not resolved before the Restoration, and thereafter the term came to refer to the officers who had served in the Royalist army under the duke of Ormond up to 1649. In 1662 the amount of rent to be paid on these properties was laid down and documented, and the rent thus collected was to be paid to the earl of Orrery and other trustees so that the arrears owed could be paid. Under the terms of this rent roll Major John Love was to act as tenant for "all the forfeited houses and tenements in the towns of Dingledecoutch, Tralee and Ardfert in the County of Kerry", for which he was to pay £3 to Orrery and 4s.6d king's rent.[4] A few years later, under the terms of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, these properties were granted outright to servitors and others. Ormond was given quite a large grant of property because he was owed arrears of pay for serving as commander of the Royalist army in Ireland during the 1640s.

In the list of properties for Dingle, the town is divided into three

areas: what is called "the town of Dingle" presumably the area enclosed by the town wall; the Northern Suburbs, the continuation of Main Street beyond the town wall to the north-west; and the Southern Suburbs, the continuation of Main Street beyond the town wall to the south-east. It is different from the lists of properties granted to the duke of Ormond in the other towns in that it gives only the former proprietors and not the possessors or tenants as of 1668. In using this list, it is important to remember that this is not a complete list of properties in Dingle and not even a complete list of confiscated properties. It should also not be used as a simple measure of the wealth of the people named. While clearly those in the list with a significant number of properties were wealthy individuals, those with only one or two properties may have owned other properties in the town which were granted to others or were not confiscated. Others may have had more landed than urban property, and even those declared innocent lost a percentage of their property.[5]

Letters Patent to the Duke of Ormond 1668

(NLI MS 19,696 - photographic copy)[6]
(The numbers and the index of names have been added by the editor)

P. 10.

Also in the town of Dingle:

1. A tenement returned formerly the property of Edward Trant ffitz James.
2. A tenement and small cabin – Edward Nagle ffz Nicholas.
3. A house slated – Nicholas Nagle.
4. A tenement – Patrick Rice.
5. A tenement and garden – Nicholas Nagle.
6. A garden, tenement and house slated – James Nagle.
7. A tenement, garden and house slated – John Trannte.
8. A house slated and two tenements – Moris Trannt.
9. A house, tenement and garden – Dominick Rice.
10. A tenement – the said Dominick Rice.
11. A tenement and garden – Dominick Rice ffz Peirce.
12. Two houses with a tenement and garden – Peter Nangle.
13. A house slated, tenement and garden – Richard Nagle.
14. A tenement and garden – James Trannt ffz Patrick.
15. One tenement and garden – Richard Goulding.
16. A tenement and garden – Patrick Rice.
17. A thatched house, tenement and garden – John Trasseyd?
18. Two thatched houses, a tenement and garden – Morris Trannt ffz Richard.

19. A tenement and garden – Maurice Moore.
20. A tenement and garden – Edward Rice ffz Edmund.
21. A tenement and garden – Dominick Rice ffz James.
22. A tenement and garden – Garrett Oge Trannt.
23. A tenement and garden – Nicholas Nagle.
24. A house and garden – Owen Mc Teige Ryan.
25. A house slated with two thatched houses with a tenement and garden – Rowland Rice.
26. A tenement and garden – Maurice Trannt ffitz James.
27. A tenement and garden – Andrew Rice.
28. A tenement and garden – Edward Rice ffz James.
29. A tenement – John Trassyed?
30. A tenement and garden – Edward Barry.
31. A tenement – Dominick Rice ffz Peirce.
32. A tenement – Dominick Rice ffz Richard.
33. A tenement – William Daniell.
34. A tenement and garden – John Walsh.
35. A tenement and garden – Donogh Hallan?
36. A tenement and a shop – Garrett Trannt ffitz Thomas.
37. A tenement and garden – Dominick Rice ffitz Stephen.
38. A tenement, thatched house and garden – Joan Skiddy.
39. A house slated with a castle and garden – Garrett Trannt.
40. A tenement and garden – David Trannt.
41. A tenement and garden – Patrick Rice ffz Richard.
42. A tenement and garden – Henry Rice ffitz Dominick.
43. A tenement and garden – Dominick ffz Richard.
44. Desmonds Court – Patrick Rice.
45. A tenement – Thomas Trannt.
46. A tenement and garden – William Trannt.
47. A tenement and garden – **[p. 11]** Nicholas Trannt ffitz Phillip.

All which said last mentioned premises are situate, lying and being in the town of Dingle.

Also:

48. A tenement and garden – James Oge Trannte.
49. A tenement and garden – James Oge Trannte.
50. A tenement, cabin and garden – John Nagle.
51. A tenement, garden and cabin – Charles Nagle.
52. A tenement and garden – Rowland Rice.
53. A tenement, cabin and garden – Dominick Rice ffitz Ste.
54. A tenement, garden and cabin – Patrick Rice.
55. A tenement, garden and cabin – James Mc Garrett.
56. A tenement and garden – John Mc Williams.
57. A tenement, garden and cabin – Patrick Rice.

58. Three tenements, three gardens and two cabins – Maurice Trannt fitz James.
59. A tenement, garden and cabin – Dominick Rice.
60. A tenement, cabin and garden – Thomas fferrer.
61. A tenement, cabin and garden – Murrogh O Shea.
62. A house slated, tenement and garden – John Kennedy.
63. A tenement – Nicholas fferretar.
64. A tenement, cabin and garden – Dominick Rice ffitz Stephen.
65. A tenement and garden – James Barry.
66. A tenement, garden and cabin – James Rice ffitz Peirce.
67. A tenement and garden – Andrew Scuddy and also ffarran Walter.

All which last mentioned premises are situate, lying and being in the North Suburbs of Dingle aforesaid.

Also:

68. A tenement – Richard Goulding.
69. A house slated and garden – John Goulding.
70. A tenement – Robert Goulding.
71. A tenement and garden – Garrett Mawe.
72. A tenement and garden – Nicholas Mawe.
73. A tenement and garden – Thomas Currane.
74. Two tenements and garden – Patrick Rice.
75. A tenement and garden – John Skiddy.
76. Several houses – the Knight of Kerry.
77. A tenement and garden – William Trannt ffz James.
78. A tenement and garden – Edward Barry.
79. A tenement – Patrick Rice.
80. A tenement and garden – Ellen Goulding.
81. A tenement – Peirce Rice.
82. A tenement and garden – John Mc Auliffe.
83. A tenement – Richard Goulding.

All which said last mentioned premises are situate, lying and being in the South Suburbs of the said town of Dingle.

And also all such benefit and advantage of commoning in the commons of the said town of Dingle as the inhabitants of the several houses aforesaid had thereon on the three and twentieth day of October which was in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred forty one other than what was set out to adventurers and soldiers and by them their heirs and assigns possessed upon the seventh day of May which was in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty nine.

Alphabetical index of the individual owners with the numbered properties in brackets:

Discussion

Medieval Dingle and its town wall

There are a number of modern secondary sources on the history, topography and layout of medieval Dingle. The first of these to be published was the section on the town of Dingle in the *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula*, where a map showing the suggested line of the town wall was included (Fig. 1).[7] An exactly similar suggested line of town wall is shown in a map accompanying the account of Dingle in the Urban Archaeology Survey for Kerry.[8] Both maps show the walled area as a long roughly rectangular area extending for some 400 metres along Main Street and continuing to the south of the stream that flows through the town for about 130 metres on John Street. In width it varies

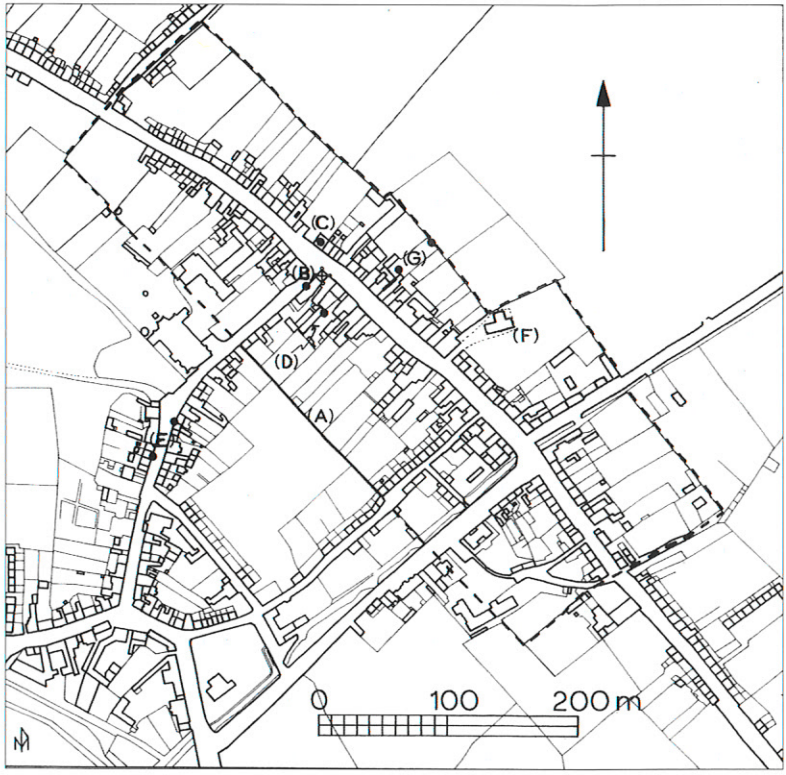


Fig. 1. The map of Dingle published in the Dingle Archaeological Survey (Cuppage 1986: original drawing by Phelim Manning), showing the possible line of the town wall as suggested by John Bradley (by permission of Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne).

between 150 and 200 metres and was basically one long street with burgage plots at each side. A more recent book on Irish walled towns suggests a more compact walled area, 360m by 200m, which partly follows the same lines but does not extend as far to the north along the main street.[9]

The Anglo-Norman conquest of County Kerry occurred in the years 1201-7, and the town of Dingle is likely to have been founded by Geoffrey de Nareis, the lord of the cantred, in the decades that followed.[10] An early reference relates to customs returns of £12 in 1278-9, where the town is referred to as Dengyn.[11] The town was again referred to in 1299.[12] It was burned by Diarmait Mac Carthaig in 1316 and was plundered by the same family in 1398.[13] In 1401 certain people from the town of Dengell[14] seized and imprisoned an English merchant called John William and demanded a ransom of £106.13s.4d.[15]

There is contradictory evidence relating to the existence of a town wall, which has been fully discussed by Thomas.[16] Wright's description of 1589 refers to remains of a town wall surviving, and a description of Ireland in 1598 refers to it as a walled town.[17] The walling of the town envisaged in the queen's letter and draft charter of 1585 (see below) is likely to refer to a rebuilding of the wall. In the 18th century, Smith referred to the town walls as having been built with clay mortar,[18] and this may explain how they were so easily removed.

Inhabitants of and properties in Dingle in the 16th century

What must be one of the earliest surviving property deeds relating to the town documents the fee farm lease of Caselan Nyviech (Caisleán na bhFiach, the castle of the ravens) by John, Knight of Kerry, to Richard Trant in 1565 for 408? milch cows. The property is described as being "near the outside cross between the holding of John Ygallyn on the northern side and the holding of John Mc Crayth on the southern side". Nicholas G'aldi Trant and Peter Rys, the Knight of Kerry's "faithful ballies and attorneys", were to put Richard Trant in complete possession, and the witnesses included the bishop of Ardfert, Nicholas son of Gerald [Trant], Philip Trant, burgess of Dingle and Edmund Keny, the vicar of Annagh.[19]

Some properties in Dingle belonged to monastic houses in medieval times, as is clear from later grants after the monasteries were dissolved. The rectory and "a piece of land in the Dingill" belonged to the Augustinian priory of Killaha, County Kerry, which, with its other

former possessions, were leased to Thomas Springe in 1588.[20] The knights Hospitallers at Any (Hospital), County Limerick also had property in the town prior to the dissolution.[21]

James Trant, a merchant of Dingle, was examined before Sir John Perrott, president of Munster, in the early 1570s in relation to negotiations James Fitzmaurice and his messengers had with the kings of Spain and France. Trant accompanied one of Fitzmaurice's messengers, called Gilladuffe, to Paris specifically to translate Gilladuffe's Irish into French.[22]

References to the town increase in number in the late 16th century, and royal pardons in particular give the names and occupations of individuals in the town.[23] The earliest of these dates from 1571 and lists two merchants of Dingle: Peter Ryse[24] and Nicholas fitz Gerrot Trant.[25] Dingle was badly damaged during the Desmond rebellion in the early 1580s, and this led to efforts to rebuild the town wall and set up the town administration on a firmer footing. A letter from Queen Elizabeth to the lord deputy, Sir John Perrott, in December 1585 approved and specified the terms of a charter that was to be granted to Dingle. She appears to have been petitioned by the citizens of Dingle for such a charter, and two of them, John Walsh and William Trant, are mentioned in the letter. A house formerly belonging to John Hussey, recently attainted, was to be granted to them for use as a gaol and common court-house. The head of the corporation was to be called a sovereign, and they were to be granted liberties similar to those enjoyed by Drogheda. They were also to be granted £300 towards the walling of the town at a rate of £20 a year out of the taxes on the imports of wine at the port.[26] A slightly different version of the charter, dated February 1585-6, is recorded in the Fiants, where Richard Traunt is given as provost and the franchises of the town were to extend for a mile in every direction, but there is no mention of money for the town wall. This charter does not seem to have been formally granted at this time.[27] It is likely that Dingle had earlier charters but no information survives on them – possibly they were destroyed in the Desmond rebellion. A charter was eventually granted to Dingle by James I in 1606-7 along much the same lines as the earlier draft charters of 1585-6.[28]

Pardons dating from the late 1580s were presumably granted as a result of the Desmond rebellion. That of May 1586 lists the following merchants from "Dingleycushe": Rich. Traunt, Nich. Traunt, Tho. Traunt, Stephen Ryse, Dominick Ryse, James Traunt, John Ryse, Tho. Ryse, Patr. Ryse, Wm. Traunt, Rich. Goldinge, Morish Goldinge, Wm.

Goldinge, and Garret fitz Nicholas Traunt.[29] Another pardon of May 1586 has three burgesses of "Dinglecouse", Edw. Rice, John Walshe and John Mao, among other individuals from Limerick and Kerry.[30] A pardon of 1588 has among others a David Grany from Dingle.[31] Property on the Dingle Peninsula, which had been confiscated after the Desmond rebellion, was granted to George Stone and John Champen or Champion in February 1589. This included the following properties in and around Dingle itself along with the rent payable: one house in the town "sometime in the tenure of David Brenaghs, 6s. 8d. a year", "a house between the lands of Stephen Rice, on the north and east and of Thomas McGerrot on the south, 6s. 8d. a year, which house belonged to the said earl in his letting at will, a house and garden in Dingle, late of David duffe Gerrald, attainted, 3s. 4d. a year, a house with land there, late of John Hussie, slain in rebellion, 10s. a year, a burgage and garden late of James Russell, 15s. a year, two burgages with a garden there, late of Dominick Fitz Morishe, 10s. a year, a tenement there, late of Thomas fitz William ne Boy, 5s. a year".[32]

There is a remarkable description of Dingle by Edward Wright, who visited it in 1589. He described it as consisting of one main street with smaller streets off it and that it formerly had a defensive wall with gates at either end and a castle.

> The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like unto Castles : for they confessed in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde *Irish* or otherwise, they used their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, save foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of *Desmonde*. These foure houses fortified themselves against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.[33]

Pardons issued around the turn of the century are clearly connected with the nine years war, such as that of James fitz Richard Traunte of Dingle in 1597.[34] Other pardons from 1601 are clearly connected with Carew's campaign in Munster prior to the battle of Kinsale when in May 1601 he claimed that "Munster is not only long since reduced, and made new men by their pardon but, as I hear, begins to taste the sweetness of peace".[35] A pardon of April 1601 lists forty-five individuals from Dingle, including eleven specifically described as merchants, one as a gent[leman], one as a smith, three as masons, three as weavers, two as soldiers, nine husbandmen, one yeoman, one fisherman and thirteen

others for whom no occupation was specified.[36] In June 1601 three, Philip Trant, John Champen and John Comyne, were pardoned.[37] Another list of individuals from Kerry who were pardoned in 1601 (August) includes Wm. Newman, Donell O Reagan, Hugh beg McDermod (the latter two described as husbandmen), Philip mcShane O Faleve and Donogh O Hannefean, shoemaker, all of Dangen (presumably Dingle), and later on in the list John Padmen of Dingle.[38] A list of individuals pardoned in September 1601 includes the following from Dingle: Nich. Oge Trant, James Traunt fitz Rich., merchant, Donogh McTeig, John Palmer gent., John and Edm. Bowler, John Rice fitz Piers, merchant, Dominick Traunt, merchant, Rich. Traunt, and James Traunt, John Rice[39] and Dominick Traunt, merchants.[40]

In 1611 the administration was anxious not to have too many Catholics in the new parliament, and one official expressed the view that Dingle could elect two "conformable men" "Stephen Ryce or John Ryce, both burgesses and Protestants".[41] Possibly the same John Rice, clearly in favour with the government, was made a commissioner for raising money for the army in 1627.[42] The elected members of parliament for Dingle in 1634 were Dominick Rice and James Rice.[43]

The Confederate and Cromwellian periods

There is limited information on how Dingle fared during the wars of the 1640s and 1650s. On the orders of Lord Broghill, Captain Robert Moulton along with Lt. Col. MacAdams and 700 men landed at Dingle in 1646 and, after capturing the town, "pillaged and burnt it as also all the corn and dwellings about it".[44] By March 1652 Dingle was in Cromwellian hands and a letter from Edmund Ludlow referred to "our party at Dingle" having routed the enemy and taken their arms.[45]

Only one individual from Dingle was listed for transplantation to Connacht in the published document on this issue, and that was Andrew fitz James Rice, who was decreed 500 acres in the barony of Inchiquin, County Clare in 1656.[46] However, many more from Dingle were ordered to transplant in 1653 according to certificates issued, which do not survive but which were recorded by Hickson.[47] Each of these is given with the number of persons (presumably family, servants and retainers), cows, garrons (horses) and sheep, which they were permitted to take with them, and the number of acres of summer corn that they were allowed to harvest (Table 1).

Table 1. Transplantation certificates for persons from Dingle after Hickson 1874.					
Name	**persons**	**Acres summer corn**	**cows**	**garrons**	**sheep**
Edward Barry, merchant	35	1¼	11	2	
James Rice	69	19½	22		14
Andrew Rice, merchant	2				
Patrick Rice	31	9½	6		
Edward Rice	93	40	27	16	43
Rowland Rice	67	15½	16	6	3
Tiege Cullen	44	11½	17		6
Tiegue an Doona	23	21½	8		36
Nicholas Nagle, merchant	34	35½	2	20	20
Stephen Rice	34	35½	2	20	18
Owen Callanan, chirurgeon	13	6	2	3	
David Trante fitzWilliam, merchant	15		2	1	
Edward Trant	31	9½	14		35
John Trante, merchant	69	3	12	3	14
John Mac Bryan, husbandman	32				
John Nagle, merchant	44				
Connor Mac Shane	47				
Christian Skiddy, widow	47				
John Cooke	54				
James Fitzgerald	41				
Andrew Skiddy	48				
Richard Goulding	8				
Peter Nagle, merchant	36				

The population of Dingle in 1659 was recorded as 159 (26 English and 133 Irish), and the "tituladoes" or important residents were given as "John Chappell Esq., William Chapell, Thomas Holland gent.". The titulado under Ballymore, between Dingle and Ventry, was Edward Trant.[48]

The Restoration and its aftermath

A number of people who had property in and around Dingle attempted to avoid having it confiscated by taking cases to the Court of Claims after the Restoration. These claims throw light in some cases on marriages between these prominent citizens of Dingle. One of the claimants was Christian Trant the widow of Nicholas Skiddy of Milltown, who died about 1647 owning certain lands and mills at Milltown, Kilbracke and Kilfountain. Another was Joane Skiddy, widow of Robert Rice of Dingle,[49] who was a brother of Andrew Rice. Among other property, she held four tenements in Dingle. Another was Christian Skiddy, "ancient native and inhabitant of Corke", widow of Thomas

Rice fitz Stephen.[50] Certain lands were demised to her brother, Andrew Skiddy, in trust for her use by Morris Trant and James his son, Phillip McMorris Gerrald and Thomas his son, Edward Rice fitz Dominick, "late of Dingle, deceased, executor of Dominick Rice, his father, unto whom the said lands were demised for ninety nine years by Thomas Fitzmorris and John fitz Thomas, his son". Another was Patrick Rice fitz Thomas, who among other property held four messuages or tenements in Dingle. James Rice fitz Stephen claimed firstly property inherited from his brother Bartholomew Rice of Dingle including land in County Limerick, land in County Kerry inherited from another brother, Anthony Rice and finally lands inherited by Edward Rice from his father, Dominick Rice fitz Stephen of Dingle and made over to James Rice by Edward Rice. Edward Rice fitz Edmond claimed one tenement in Dingle consisting of "a stone house, backside and garden and a close of arable land thereunto adjoining". A number of these claimants refer to being "outed by the usurpers". According to the Books of Survey and Distribution, most of the above claimants, apart from James Rice, were declared innocent and were granted land.[51] In the case of James Rice evidence that he "lived in the enemies' quarters" was sworn against him by Teige mcOwen Moriarty, aged forty years.[52]

The Books of Survey and Distribution do not cover urban property, but a lot of the people in the 1668 list figure in them because they owned small fields in the borough or more extensive lands in the barony of Corkaguiny or both. Dominick Rice fitz Stephen "and now his son Edward Rice" owned a number of farms in the barony. Peirce Rice, a child, heir to Dominick fitz Richard, was given as the owner of land in Dunquin and of Ballingollin, where Lord Ventry's house, Burnham, was later built. Dominick Trant, Edward Rice, Morris Trant and Thomas Trant and his son Garret were given as owners of land in Ventry parish. Among the owners of smaller fields in the borough were Edward Barry, Peter Nagle, John Nagle, Nicholas Nagle and James Nagle, his heir, and John Walsh. Much of the confiscated land around Dingle, including Ballingollin was granted to Richard Coote, a son of the first earl of Mountrath.[53]

The published calendar of grants under the Act of Settlement and Explanation, as well as publishing an inadequate version of the 1668 grant to the duke of Ormond, has two other grants that include property in Dingle. One was to John FitzGerald, knight of Kerry, and includes a chiefry (ground rent) on a tenement "without the north gate in Dingle" and another out of a thatched house "without the south gate", a tenement

"without the north gate, containing 3 ruinous thatched houses, a garden and a backside, mearing on ye east with ye street, on ye south with a tenem't belonging to Pat'k Rice and T. Bowler's tenement, on ye W. with Farmaquilly, and on ye N. with Farrin-Walter". The other grant only mentions land within the borough.[54]

Though Ormond, in instructions to Patrick Archer in 1651, described Dingle as "a handsome walled town, and an excellent harbour",[55] other slightly later accounts from the Ormond papers do not paint such a rosy picture. In 1667 the sovereign, Thomas Amory, refers to the citizens as being "under a cloud of poverty at present".[56] A letter of 1673 from Sir Francis Brewster, who had brought 100 English to Dingle, presumably to occupy Ormond's properties, refers to the town as follows: "in all this town is now standing but 4 or 5 houses with a roof but only thatched hovels in the walls of a house".[57] By 1679-80 the citizens were in fear of being raided by the Turks and were looking to have soldiers posted in the town.[58] The Ormond properties in Dingle appear to have remained in the family up to 1715, when they were forfeited on the attainder of the second duke.[59]

A marriage settlement drawn up between members of the Boyle family[60] in 1672 has a list of properties, mostly on the Dingle Peninsula, and the tenants who occupied them. While many of the tenants have English names, a number of old proprietors or their descendants appear, such as Edward Rice, Nicholas Nagle, Arthur Nagle, Major Ferreter, Andrew Skiddy, Edward Trant, Joan Trant and John Nagle. As well as other property Arthur Nagle was given as tenant of the mill and park of Dingle.[61] These properties were originally confiscated after the Desmond rebellion and granted to English adventurers, from whom they was bought by Richard Boyle, who later became the first earl of Cork. They are again mentioned in the letters of Lord Orrery in 1735, where he mentions Dingle park and some land "just west of the farther gate of the town".[62]

The Rices and the Trants

What is clear from the 1668 grant and the other information presented here is the dominant position of the Rice and Trant families in Dingle in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The 1668 grant shows that they owned 44 of the 83 listed confiscated properties that were granted to Ormond. Both families were of Old English or Anglo-Norman origin, as were most of the others on this list, illustrating how well such

families succeeded in guarding their property and privilages even in relatively remote towns such as Dingle. They survived the Elizabethan confiscations, but like so many other Catholic Old English elsewhere in the country lost out to a considerable degree under the Cromwellian confiscations. Only ten individuals on the list have what appear to be Gaelic Irish names, and only one of these, John Kennedy, had a slated house (62).

Some members of the Rice, Trant and other Dingle families had both urban and rural property. Some appear to have been country gentry with possibly a town house and other property, which they could let, in Dingle. Looking at the transplantation certificates (Table 1), a number of the Rices appear to have been in this category, notably James, Patrick, Edward, Rowland and Stephen. The number of accompanying persons in some cases, 93 in the case of Edward Rice, is an indication of the status and wealth of these people. Some listed as merchants were clearly also involved to some degree in farming, such as Edward Barry, Nicholas Nagle and John Trant (Table 1). Others listed as merchants appear not to have been involved in farming, such as Andrew Rice or David Trant fitzWilliam, who had just two cows and one horse.[63] The occurrence of a surgeon, Owen Callanan, in this list is particularly interesting.[64] There is insufficient documentation to establish when and how the extensive lands around Dingle were acquired by these families but, judging from the place name Caheratrant, it is likely that the Trants had land here for centuries.[65] The Rices on the other hand may have first come to Dingle as merchants and bought or otherwise acquired the land as many other merchant families in towns such as Galway and Kilkenny did, especially in the 16th century.

The inclusion of the father's name in the case of many of the Rices and Trants is useful in trying to work out family connections but unfortunately there is too large a gap between the names listed in the Fiants up to 1601 and those in the 1668 grant to make direct connections. One or two generations are missing in most cases. Smith recorded as early as 1756 that Sir Stephen Rice, an "eminent actor in the troubles of 1688", was a descendant of Stephen Rice of Dingle, who, according to the recorded but now illegible inscription on his graveslab at the parish church in Dingle, had married Ellen Trant and died in 1629,[66] aged 80 years.[67] D'alton claimed that Sir Stephen, a Catholic who was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland under James II, was a grandson of Stephen Rice of Dingle, who is likely to be the Stephen Rice mentioned in Fiants in 1586, 1589 and 1601. D'alton also stated that he

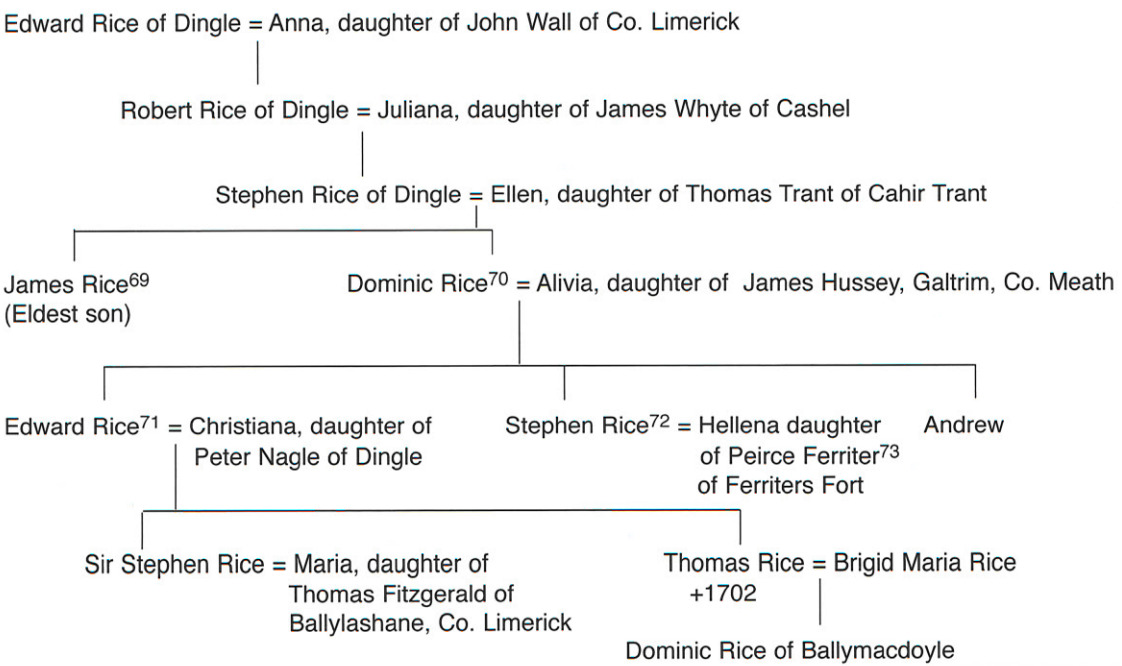
came originally from Limerick, where the family name also occurs, and his eldest son James married firstly Eleanor, daughter of Robert White of Limerick and secondly Phillis Fanning of Limerick.[68] Sir Stephen, having benefited from the terms of the Treaty of Limerick, died in 1714 and was buried in St James's churchyard in Dublin. A manuscript in the Genealogical Office gives a different and more likely pedigree for Sir Stephen, making him a great grandson of Stephen Rice of Dingle, who died in the 1620s (see Table 2). Though D'alton's genealogy appears to be incorrect, the connection with Limerick in both genealogies is confirmed by one of the cases in the Court of Claims. These cases also show marriage alliances with the Skiddy family of Cork and explain how members of the Skiddy family occur in the 1668 list for Dingle.

Another important individual in the administration of James II in Ireland was Sir Patrick Trant, commissioner of the revenue.[74] On his daughter Olive's evidence, he was also a descendant of the merchants of Dingle. She claimed that his father, whose first name she does not give, was rich and had married an heiress, the daughter of Lord Dingkevin (presumably O'Sullivan More of Dunkerron, County Kerry), but lost all under the Cromwellians and in the Restoration settlement.[75] However, Sir Patrick Trant had by the late 1680s acquired extensive estates in counties Laois and Offaly, including the lordships of Portarlington and Lea.[76] These were confiscated after the Jacobite defeat, and Sir Patrick died in prison in England.[77]

The town wall of medieval and early modern Dingle

What is particularly clear from the 1668 list and is supported by other evidence from the period is that Dingle had one main street, that the walled area enclosed the middle section of it and that there were north and south suburbs along the street outside the north and south gates. The list would also indicate that both suburbs were not inconsiderable. This has implications for the likely extent of the walled town, and the extent suggested by John Bradley (Fig. 1) may be too large, at least in relation to the late 16th- and 17th-century town.[78] Avril Thomas may be more correct for this later period in the walled area she suggests and in including the two walled areas north of the churchyard. The outer walls of these are substantial and like the long stretch of wall on the sea side of the town may be 18th- or early 19th-century walls built on the line of the town wall. Ivy growth makes a close examination of them difficult. It is of course possible that the medieval wall enclosed a larger area and

Table 2. Genealogy of Rice of Ballymacdoyle and Sir Stephen Rice (selected from Genealogical Office Ms 165, 23-4)



that the area contracted when a wall was rebuilt, as seems likely, in the late 16th or early 17th century. If this were the case, it would account for the formal and relatively regular layout of plots in the north and south suburbs. There must always have been some development between the town and the harbour, but this area and the Dyke Gate that clearly led to it do not appear to figure in the 16th- and 17th-century records that survive. Another interesting feature is the curving lane in the western part of the south suburb. This and other curving lines are suggestive of an oval enclosure including the church and graveyard and stradelling the stream (Fig. 2). This may be an early medieval ecclesiastical enclosure in existence when the town was founded.

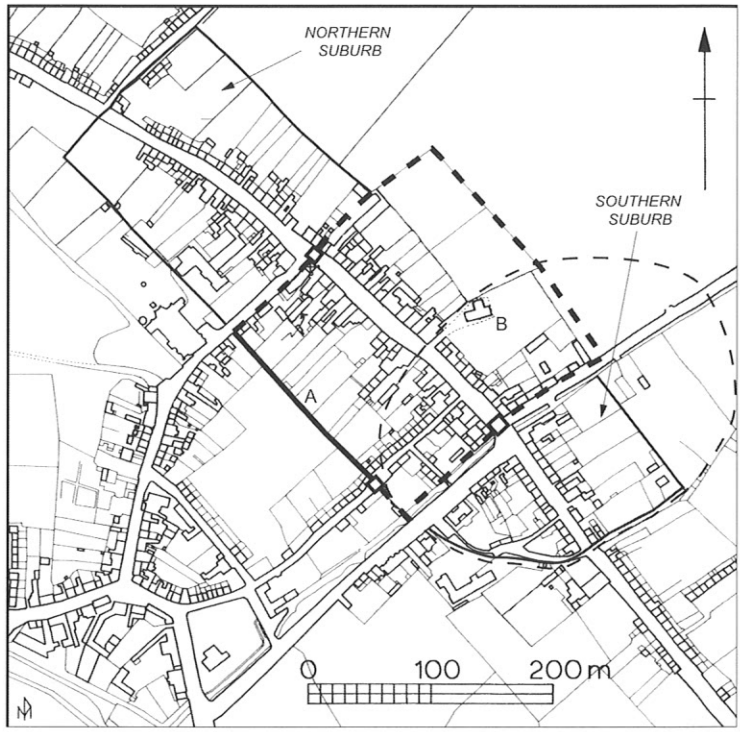


Fig. 2. A map of Dingle adapted from Fig. 1, with a heavy solid and dashed line indicating the likely line of the town wall, taking account of the existence of a northern and southern suburb (both indicated). A is the wall, long accepted to be on the line of the town wall, and B is the church. A lighter dashed line indicates a possible earlier enclosure.

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Note about author

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Notes

1 *Report from the Commissioners….respecting the Public Records of Ireland*, 3 vols (London: 1815-29), fifteenth annual report 1825, pp. 155-6.

2 H. Butler, "The Charles II Charter", *Journal of the Butler Society,* vol. 1 (7), pp. 541-4; G. Marescaux, "Occupants of the Ormond Houses, Kilkenny, 1641 and 20 Years Later", *Ibid.* (7), pp. 545-50; G. Marescaux, "Occupants of the Ormond Houses in Clonmel 1641 and 20 Years Later", *Ibid.* (8), pp. 642-5.

3 D. Edwards and C. Manning, "A Seventeenth-Century Map of Inistioge", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (JRSAI),* no. 131 (2001), pp. 38-55 (49-54). C. Manning, "Mid-Seventeenth-Century Surveys", in J. Kennedy (ed.), *Callan 800: 1207-2007: History and Heritage* (Callan: 2007), pp. 94-142.

4 Rawlinson Ms B508 p. 17 (microfilm copy P3093, National Library of Ireland). See also *Analecta Hibernica* 1 (1930), p. 177.

5 M.A. Hickson, *Selections from Old Kerry Records Historical and Genealogical*, 2nd series, (London: 1874), p. 31.

6 The text of the maniscript remains the copyright of the Butler Society.

7 J. Cuppage, *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula (ASDP)* (Ballyferriter 1986), pp. 380-3. The line of the town wall on this map (Fig. 221) was based on John Bradley's unpublished MA thesis of 1976 on Irish medieval towns.

8 J. Bradley, A. Halpin and H. King, *Urban Archaeology Survey – County Kerry*, unpublished report produced for the Office of Public Works in 1987. It was also published in J. Bradley, "The Medieval Towns of Kerry", *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 28 (1986), pp. 28-39 (35), where there is also

a history of the town.

9 A. Thomas, *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, 2 vols. (Dublin: 1992), vol. 2, pp. 68-70.

10 P. MacCotter, "The Ferriters of Kerry", *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* (*JKAHS*), series 2, no. 2 (Tralee: 2003), pp. 55-82 (56).

11 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland* II, p. 415. There is an unreferenced claim that the town was referred to in 1257 in J. McKenna, *Dingle...Some of Its Story* (Tralee: 1979), p. 16.

12 A. Thomas, *Walled Towns*, vol. 2, pp. 68-70.

13 S. Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin: 1951), p. 423; S. Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (Dublin: 1947), p. 111.

14 This is one of the earliest references to the town under the modern English form. For a full discussion of the name see P. MacCotter, "An Daingean and Dingle: What's in a Name?" *JKAHS*, series 2, no. 6, pp. 89-93.

15 P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (eds.), *Handbook and Select Calendar of Sources for Medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom* (Dublin and London: 2005), pp. 175-6.

16 A. Thomas, *Walled Towns*, vol. 2, pp. 68-70.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 D. Ó Conchúir, *Corca Dhuibhne* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1973), pp. 144-5.

20 Fiant 5172 (see note 23).

21 Fiant 5347. The Any possessions were granted to the Kenmare Brownes in 1604, including the property in Dingle (E. MacLysaght (ed.), *The Kenmare Manuscripts* (Dublin: 1942), p. 461.

22 M. O'Dowd (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Ireland Tudor Period 1571-1575* (Kew and Dublin: 2000), pp. 165-6.

23 While the original documents do not survive there are published summaries available in *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns*, 4 vols. (Dublin: 1994). All referred to here are fiants of Elizabeth and will henceforth be referred to simply as Fiant and the published number.

24 This is presumably the same man who is listed as a bailiff of the Knight of Kerry in the above-mentioned deed of 1565 and is probably the same Peter Rice, who was in control of Dún an Óir in Smerwick Harbour and had built a "perty castel" on the promontory when Fitzmaurice landed there with a Spanish force in 1579 (J. Cuppage, *ASDP*, pp. 424-6). O'Sullivan Bear described him as a citizen of Dingle, who had charge of the fort and had three or four youths guarding it. James Fitzmaurice and the Spanish gained control of Dún an Óir after Rice was put on top of a sow (a type of siege engine), which was pushed up to the wall of the fort, and he ordered his garrison to surrender (M.J. Byrne, *Ireland Under Elizabeth* [Dublin: 1903], p. 21). A second Spanish force was masacred at the same fort by Lord Deputy Grey in 1580. See articles by Shiels and Mullan, this volume.

25 Fiant 1721. This Trant is the other bailiff of the Knight of Kerry mentioned in 1565.
26 J. Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland...Henry VIII- Elizabeth*, 2 vols. (Dublin: 1861-3), vol. 2, p. 105.
27 Fiant 4816.
28 C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (Dublin: 1756; reprint Cork: Mercier Press, 1979), pp. 94, 273. A letter of 1606 from Garret Trant, sovereign of Dingle, to the earl of Cork indicates that the earl was instrumental in getting the charter for the town. Apparently the chiefry of the barony, originally granted with other confiscated property to George Stone and John Champion, was ultimately acquired by Richard Boyle, earl of Cork (A.B. Grosart [ed.], *The Lismore Papers*, 2nd series, 5 vols. [printed for private circulation 1888], vol. 1, pp. 97, 276).
29 Fiant 4864.
30 Fiant 4871.
31 Fiant 5226.
32 Fiant 5308.
33 R. Hitchcock, "Dingle in the Sixteenth Century", *JRSAI* 2 (1852-3), pp. 133-43 (140).
34 Fiant 6183.
35 B. O'Brien, *Munster at War* (Cork: 1971), p. 98.
36 Fiant 6494. The eleven merchants were Garret Traunt fitz Nich., Garret Traunt fitz James, Thomas Barrie, Wm. Goldinge fitz Rich., Morris Goldinge, John Nogle, John fitz Nicholas Trutt (Trant?), Rowland Rice, Rich. Noghell, John Walsh junior, Richard fitz Thomas Rice; the one gent[leman]: Michael Hussey; the smith: David Grany; three masons: John O Dogheg, Edm. Brown and Wm. Brown; three weavers: John and Morris Casie and Conoghor O Kennedie; two soldiers: Dermond McHugh and Patr. McShane; nine husbandmen: Teig mcMorris mcEdm. O Morogh, John Traunt, Teig mcConoghor mcTeig I Brenayn, John oge O Geyne, Teig mcGuoire alias Teig O Neale, Donagh boy O Kievane, Wm. O Heynie, John O Heynie and Simon Fullum; one yeoman: Dermond mcDonogh Dillon and one fisherman: Morish McRichard. The others for whom no occupation was specified were Nicholas Traunt fitz Garret, Garret Traunt fitz Dominick, John Walsh fitz John, Richard and Patrick Traunt, Tho. Traunt fitz Rich, Stephen Riche (Rice?), James Traunt fitz Morris, John Barrie, Patr. Nangle, Mellrona McEdeill, Murtagh O Breasie and Morris Bearn.
37 Fiant 6555.
38 Fiant 6569. The shoemaker's name has been corrected from what is in the printed text. John Padmen is likely to be a mistake for John Palmer, who appears also in Fiant 6576.
39 A John Rice of Dingle wrote to Robert Cecil in 1599 stating that he had relieved the queen's garrison at Castlemaine with "powder, lead match and salt" and beeves and other necessities (Salisbury Mss IX [1902], p. 386).

40 Fiant 6576.
41 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1611-1614*, p. 165.
42 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1625-1632*, p. 252.
43 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1633-1647*, p. 63. These could both be sons of Stephen Rice (see Table 2)
44 C. McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner Letters* (Dublin: 1943), pp. 215-6.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 350. A few months later, Dingle, the only strong point the Cromwellians had in Kerry, was in danger of being taken by Lord Muskerry (*Ibid.*, p. 365).
46 R.C. Simington (ed.), *The Transplantation to Connacht 1654-58* (Dublin: 1970), p. 33.
47 M. A. Hickson, *Selections from Old Kerry Records,* 2nd series (London: 1874), pp. 31-5.
48 S. Pender (ed.), *A Census of Ireland, circa 1659* (Dublin: 1939), p. 253.
49 This is presumably the "Robert Rice of Dingle, gent.", who died in 1640 (J. Vicars, *Index of the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810* [Dublin: 1897], p. 398).
50 This may be the "Thomas Rice of Dinglycouche, County Kerry, burgess", who died in 1634. (*Ibid.*, p. 399).
51 RIA MS I.3.2.
52 G. Tallon (ed.), *Court of Claims: Submissions and Evidence, 1663*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin 2006, pp. 173-5.
53 RIA MS I.3.2.
54 *Report from the Commissioners ... respecting the Public Records of Ireland*, 3 vols. (London: 1815-29), fifteenth annual report 1825, pp. 137, 230.
55 Ormond MSS (new series), vol. 1, p. 252.
56 Ormond MSS (new series), vol. 3, p. 267.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 328. An Ormond rental book dating from 1705 mentions the lease of Ormond property in Dingle to Sir Francis Brewster for £20. 10s. and that the lease had expired (NLI MS 7864).
58 Ormond MSS (new series), p. vol. 5, pp. 184, 536.
59 *The Records of the Forfeited Estates Commission*, Public Record Office Handbooks no. 12 (London: HMSO 1968), p. 132.
60 The Books of Survey and Distribution (RIA MS I.3.2.) show that the Boyle property in Corkaguiny was acquired prior to 1641 and, of course, was not confiscated.
61 E. MacLysaght (ed.), *Calendar of the Orrery Papers* (Dublin: 1941), pp. 81-3.
62 The Knight of Glin, "Lord Orrery's Tavels in Kerry, 1735", *JKAHS* 5, pp. 46-59 (50).
63 It is not clear in the case of the last nine individuals on Table 1 whether the lack of livestock and corn reflects reality or just that this information was not listed.
64 He was probably a member of the O'Callanan fanily who were hereditary

physicians to Mac Carthy Reagh of Carbery (E. MacLysaght, *More Irish Families* [Dublin: 1982], p. 46).

65 MacCotter in "The Ferreters of Kerry", *JKAHS,* 2nd series, no. 2, p. 56, records that their original name was de Trewent.

66 RIA MS 165, pp. 23-4, gives his date of death as 1622.

67 Smith, *Kerry*, p. 96.

68 J. D'alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List, 1689* (Dublin: 1860), p. 183.

69 This may be the "James fitz Stephen Rice of Dinglycush, County Kerry, gent.", who died in 1637 (Vicars, *Index of Prerogative Wills*, p. 398). The Andrew fitz James Rice who was transplanted to Connacht may have been his son.

70 In 1628 Edmund and Piaras Ferriter entered into a mortgage agreement for much of their land with Dominic Rice of Dingle (MacCotter, "The Ferriters of Kerry", p. 66).

71 This is likely to be the Edward Rice in Table 1.

72 Probably the same Stephen Rice as in Table 1.

73 This is the famous Piaras Feiritéir the poet, who was hanged in 1653 (P. Ua Duinnín, *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir* [Baile Átha Cliath: 1934], p. 20). For a full account of the Ferriters see MacCotter, "The Ferriters of Kerry".

74 C. McNeill and A.J. Otway-Ruthven (eds), *Dowdall Deeds* (Dublin: 1960), p. 354.

75 Stuart MSS, vol. VII, pp. 379-83. Could Sir Patrick's father be the John Trant in Table 1?

76 D'alton, *King James's Irish Army List*, p. 751. R. Loeber, H. Murtagh and J. Cronin (eds.), "Prelude to Confiscation: a Survey of Catholic Estates in Leinster in 1690", *JRSAI* 131 (2001), pp. 61-139 (83, 85, 86-7). He also bought part of the seigniory of Castleisland in the 1680s (P. O'Connor, "The Seigniory of Castleisland", *JKAHS* 3, pp. 43-7).

77 Stuart MSS, vol. VII, p. 382.

78 In the text of the *Urban Archaeology Survey* (p. 67 as cited in note 7 above), he does allow for the possibility that the north gate was further south, that the south gate may have been at the stream and that the two enclosures north of the churchyard may have been within the walled area.

Dún an Óir 1580: The Potential for Intact Siege Archaeology

Damian Shiels

Abstract

The events of November 1580 at Dún an Óir have left a permanent mark on Irish history. The key events of this brief siege are still hotly debated, with particular focus on the massacre of Spanish, Italian, Basques and Irish following the fort's capitulation; was the surrender conditional or unconditional? Did Lord Grey break his word? What was the extent of Walter Raleigh's involvement? Such questions continue to fascinate. It is perhaps less well known that the site of Dún an Óir may well represent a practically unique opportunity for Irish archaeologists – an opportunity to examine a 16th-century siege site where both the positions of the besiegers and the besieged remain greenfield. This paper will explore the archaeological potential of the site of Dún an Óir, and highlight the importance of carrying out archaeological research before more of the site is lost to the sea.

Introduction

The Second Desmond War devastated much of the south of Ireland between 1579 and 1583. The conflict saw the destruction of the powerful earldom of Desmond and the death of thousands of civilians in the region. It is not the purpose of this paper to detail the causes and course of the conflict, a task which has been previously completed by historians. However, it is appropriate to note that the war represented a conflict between the Anglo-Irish Fitzgeralds of Desmond and their Gaelic Irish allies against the Crown forces acting for Queen Elizabeth I of England. The war is particularly significant in that it was one of the first rebellions in Ireland to use the Counter-Reformation as a tool in opposing the English. In addition it saw the first intervention of foreign troops in Ireland during the course of Elizabeth's reign, when a Papal force of Italians, Spanish and Basques landed at the fort of Dún an Óir in County Kerry. The latter site is not the only engagement of the war that may benefit from the application of conflict archaeology techniques; other notable battles which almost certainly left a trace in the

archaeological record include Springfield (on the Limerick-Tipperary border), Monasternenagh (County Limerick) and Glenmalure (County Wicklow).

The Siege

The events of the siege of Dún an Óir are well documented, with a number of extant eye-witness accounts (O'Rahilly, 1938). The fort is situated on a windswept and isolated promontory, in what was an extremely untenable position from a military perspective; among the key necessities absent from its confines was fresh water, a disastrous shortcoming when expecting a siege. The fort is thought to have got its name, the "fort of gold", following the wrecking of one of Martin Frobisher's "gold" fleet on its return to England from North America (Berleth 1978: 163). It was subsequently discovered that the ships had risked all for pyrite, "fool's gold".

In 1580 some 400-500 Italians, Spanish and Basque troops landed in support of the rebellion under the command of Colonel Sebastian da San Guiseppe, an Italian. The English soon concentrated all their strength on this dangerous incursion into Ireland, and the queen's ships under Admiral William Winter entered the harbour to bombard the enemy positions from the seaward side. The land troops under Lord Deputy Grey de Wilton completed the encirclement of the position and progressed siege works in November. This involved the construction of siege trenches in order to batter the fort with artillery, an activity which the besieged troops attempted to disrupt with sallies. After some three days "...the fort was yielded; all the Irish men and women hanged, and upwards of 400 Italians, Spaniard, Basques and others put to the sword" (Calendar of State Papers 1574-1585; 267). It is unclear why the papal troops stayed in their fort and allowed themselves to become besieged so easily. Perhaps there is some truth to the surviving officers' later claim that the Desmond forces in the surrounding hills were due to attack the English in the rear once the siege got underway, although it seems unlikely that a Gaelic Irish army would have been willing to take on such a large number of English troops on open terrain, where advantages such as superior cavalry would tell in the Crown forces' favour. What is clear is that there are a number of elements to the siege which are likely to have left an archaeological trace. This includes the construction and improvement of the fort, the construction of the besiegers' trenches, the material and ammunition lost, discarded and expended during the course of the siege, and potentially the human remains of those who lost their lives on both sides.

Battlefield and siege archaeology in Ireland

Battlefield archaeology is its infancy in Ireland. The archaeological study of battlefield sites was pioneered in the United States with Dr Douglas Scott's investigation of the site of Custer's Last Stand at the Little Big Horn (Scott: 1987). It is now widely employed in the United States, Britain and much of Europe. This increased awareness of the archaeological value of these sites has led to the drawing up of battlefield registers in Britain to help protect the resource. Ireland is beginning to recognise the importance of such fields of conflict, with the Irish Battlefields Project established in 2006 by the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government to assess the possibilities of protecting some of our more important sites. Battlefields such as the Yellow Ford (1598), Kinsale (1601), the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691) have already begun to yield important archaeological evidence.

What then of siege sites? Throughout much of the history of the island siege warfare, not major battles, dominated the conflicts which took place here. However, by their nature they generally occurred at important strategic towns and cities, be they a supply centre, a major junction, a river crossing, etc. The subsequent development of these population centres has led to the destruction of much of the original siege positions. As a result, Ireland, like the majority of European countries, is poorly off when it comes to well-preserved siege archaeology. Archaeological material relating to sieges has been recovered from towns such as Athlone and Limerick, but the majority of this has come from riverine deposits, with the notable exception of the siege mines and counter-mines dating to 1642 from King John's Castle, Limerick (Wiggins: 2001). Only a handful of siege sites remain totally greenfield, allowing the archaeologist to explore both the besiegers' and besieged positions in detail. In this writer's opinion, two examples are of particular note: Ballymore, County Westmeath (Shiels 2007a: 180-183), the site of a siege in 1691, and Dún an Óir. Dún an Óir is special for a number of reasons: the site remains greenfield, heightening the potential for extensive archaeological survival; a number of accounts exist for the engagement; the action remains an important event in Irish history, and it is a rare example of a relatively well-defined conflict site from the Elizabethan period.

Dún an Óir: the known archaeology

Our present state of knowledge concerning the archaeology at Dún an Óir is quite good. The fort itself has been archaeologically planned

and described (Gowen: 1979; Cuppage: 1986). The landward defences of the fort survive clearly on the ground, with the defensive bastions discernable. The field beside the fort on its south-eastern side is traditionally known as Gort na Gearradh, "the field of the cutting", the supposed site of the massacre of the defenders by Lord Deputy Grey's forces (Cuppage: 1986, 425). Local tradition also states that following the dumping of the bodies in the sea they subsequently washed up at Teampall Bán and were interred there (*ibid*, 425). Recent excavations have produced a number of burials associated with medieval activity in this location (Bennett 1996 and 2005), but as yet no conclusive evidence has been found to link them with the 1580 massacre. It would seem likely that the bodies of the dead were thrown into the sea for ease of disposal, and future study may well reveal that some of the remains located here are indeed victims of the massacre.

As has often been the case with many of these conflict sites, illegal finds retrieval has taken place in the environs of the fort. Fortunately the material was recovered, and there are currently artefacts from Dún an Óir in the Kerry Museums and in the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street. These artefacts, which include items such as munitions, a 16th-century buckle, a lead ingot and a post-medieval pottery sherd (Snoddy 1972: 247-8), are testament to the potential surviving archaeology at the site. Some of the material still held by the National Museum of Ireland is illustrated in Figure 1. Of particular interest are the fragments of exploded gun barrel and small calibre cannonball recovered. It is unclear if the barrel was accidentally or intentionally destroyed, but it is conceivable that the troops within the fort decided to sabotage their own gun before surrendering, as it has clearly been ripped apart with tremendous force, suggesting a major explosion within the gun itself. The cannonball has a maximum diameter of some 2.1 inches, suggesting that it was most probably fired from a gun such as a falconet (Biddle *et al*. 2001: 191). The gun that fired such a projectile would have been in the region of 9 feet in length, weighing some 500lbs (Henry 2005: 9). The recovery of artefacts such as these is an example of how archaeological material can be utilised effectively to reconstruct certain aspects of a siege or battle.

It is quite clear then that there is evidence for good archaeological survival of artefacts from the 1580 siege, and that the position of the besieged is largely intact. The next step is to attempt to project the probable location of the besiegers' positions.

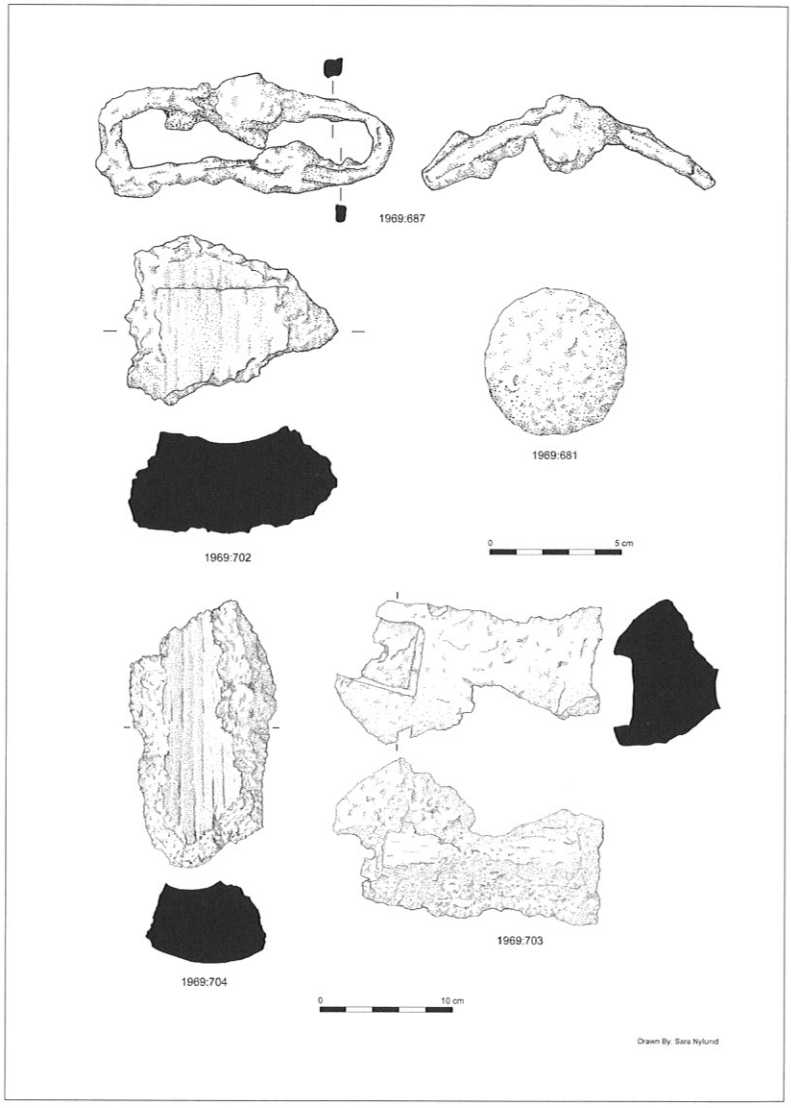

Fig. 1.

Dún an Óir finds in the National Museum of Ireland; 1969:687 Possible Buckle, 1969:681 Cannonball, 1969:702, 1969: 703, 1969: 704 Pieces of Exploded Gun Barrel. (illustrations by Sara Nylund)

Locating the invisible archaeology at Dún an Óir

We know that the English forces constructed trenches around Dún an Óir during the siege. The Calendar of State Papers makes reference to trench work on the evening of 7 November, which was "advanced" on the 8 November (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1574-1585, cited in O'Rahilly 1938: 3). The fact that the site remains greenfield indicates that there is a good possibility that these trenches survive archaeologically in the ground. In an attempt to suggest a probable location for these remains, we must turn to the records left behind by the participants. We are fortunate in that the 1580 siege of Dún an Óir was depicted on two contemporary battle maps. These are held in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and the Public Record Office, Kew. A close study of the maps has revealed that the Public Record Office example, drawn by Admiral William Winter, is most probably the more accurate (Shiels in press). We know Winter was present as he commanded the Queen's ships during the engagement. His map shows the harbour and peninsula with the fort under siege and the English fleet bombarding it. The English camp is shown in extended line along the nearby beach. At first glance, Winter's depiction does not seem to hold much promise for locating potential archaeological sites, as he pays only scant attention to accurately portraying the peninsula and harbour. However, detailed study reveals that Winter was concentrating principally on the fort and siege works around it, as this was the most important aspect of his study. His depiction of the fort itself shows internal buildings, which we know existed, as a "timber penthouse" is referred to in the contemporary documents (O'Rahilly 1938: 3).

The key factor in discovering that this map may be of use in determining the location of the English siege trenches is the astounding accuracy of the depiction of Dún an Óir itself. When the Winter version is placed side by side with the modern archaeological drawing, the similarities between the two are astounding (See Fig. 2). This suggests that Winter was well aware of the precise setting and layout of the fort when he drew his plan. He depicts the English siege trenches, which are not portrayed as fully enclosing the fort; rather they are concentrated on its south-eastern side, in the vicinity of Gort na Gearradh. From here they curve around to face on to the main fort entrance. An inspection of the field in question reveals that it is indeed a likely candidate for the location of the English trenches. It is known from the historical sources that the English forces advanced from the vicinity of the beach to the south-east. This being the case, they would have had to traverse this field

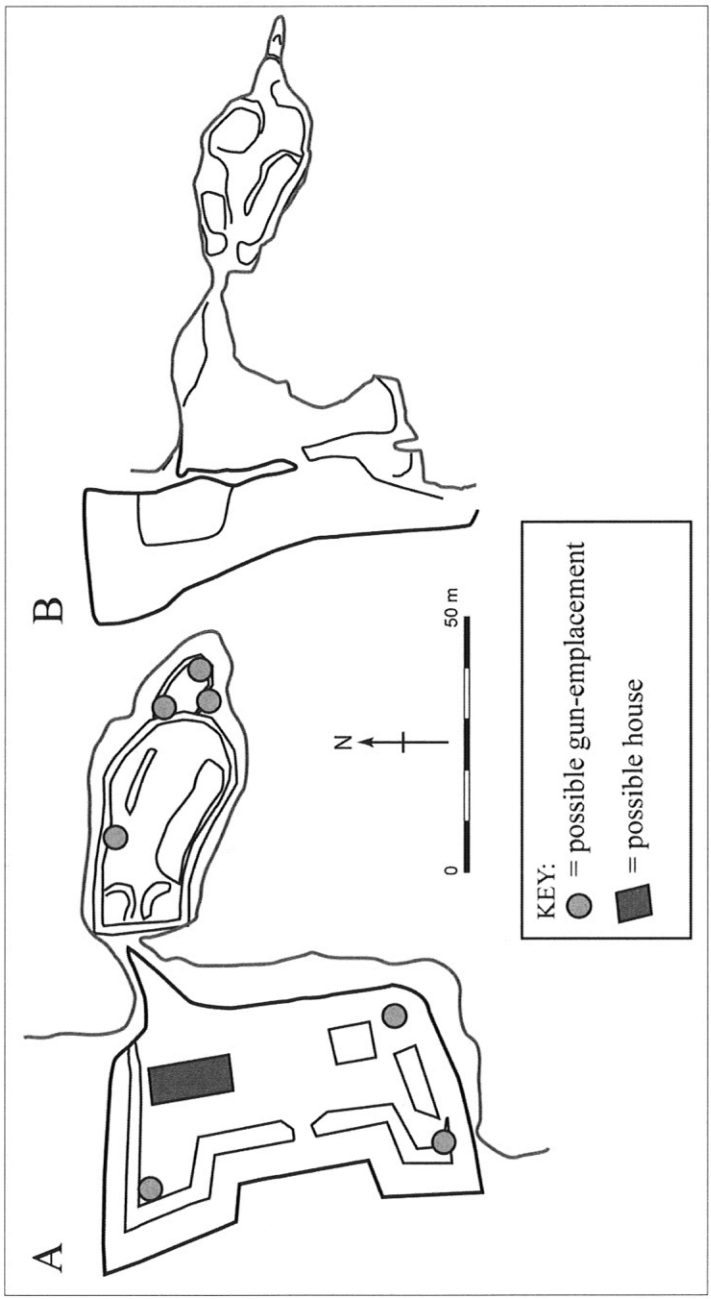

Fig. 2. Dún an Óir comparative analysis; A: Fort as it appears on 1580 Winter Map (after Nylund)
B: Fort as it appears archaeologically today (after Gowen)

on their way to the fort. In addition, the English would not have wanted to begin construction of their siege works in a position exposed to fire from Dún an Óir. Standard practice at the time was to begin work either out of range of, or under cover from, the enemy's guns. There are few places around the fort which fit these criteria, but once again there is a pronounced fall off in the ground in this field which shields it from fire (See Plate). Choosing this location would have allowed the English to begin work close to the fort itself, but well protected from enemy fire. It would seem likely, therefore, that the English may well have begun their trenches below this dip, gradually advancing their works to bring their fire to bear on the fort's defences.

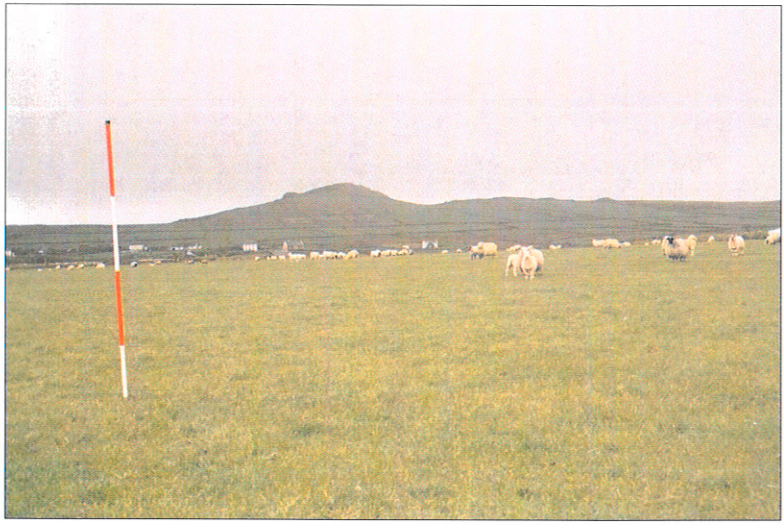

Plate. The fall off in ground level at Gort na Gearradh, where the English may have begun trench construction.

The potential for archaeological work does not end there, however. Ongoing historical research is bringing to light information relating to the potential location of the main English camp during the siege, which with further inspection may also be amenable to archaeological investigation. (For an example of this research, see Mullan, this volume.) In addition, the sizeable English fleet which battered the fort from its seaward side is worthy of study, particularly in a marine archaeological context close to Dún an Óir.

A proposed methodology

From an analysis of the archaeological remains on the ground, the artefacts recovered, the primary accounts and the cartographic and landscape evidence, it becomes possible to view Dún an Óir not just as a small isolated fortification, but rather as an intact siege landscape of national and international importance. As such it should be identified as a key site for further archaeological research in the years ahead. To accomplish this, a multi-disciplined approach should be adopted. Phase I of any such project should include a detailed historical study of the available primary sources to extract all potential location indicators relating to the siege itself. In addition, key events throughout the siege and massacre should be noted for referral during the archaeological phase. Further cartographic and landscape analysis would also assist in identifying where any archaeological work should commence. A similar approach by the Kinsale Battlefield Project in relation to that engagement has led to a number of key sites being identified and located (Shiels 2007b: 4-7).

Subsequent to the completion of the historical and desk-based research, Phase II should involve the archaeological fieldwork itself. Depending on the results of Phase I, sites such as the fort, the English siege trenches and the encampment could be investigated. Initial work surrounding the fort should include a topographical and geophysical survey to ascertain if any sub-surface archaeology such as siege trenches (or graves) can be identified using non-intrusive methods. Gort na Gearradh to the south-east should be a priority for the application of these techniques. In addition, a licensed metal-detection survey, undertaken under the supervision of a qualified archaeologist, should be carried out in the topsoil levels to determine what percentage of material has survived and to indicate high-concentration areas. A detailed record of the find spot of any material recovered during this procedure would be vital to the later interpretation of events. Following this work it should be possible to target any subsequent excavation to the zones of highest archaeological potential.

As for Dún an Óir itself, the site, although well preserved at present, is under serious threat. As any visitor to the site over the last number of years will have noted, the promontory point of the fort has been fenced off, as it is now too dangerous to access. This continued erosion of the fort needs to be urgently addressed, and a rescue excavation considered. It is clear from the surviving structures in the interior of Dún an Óir that significant archaeological remains survive *in situ*. However, the fact that

much of the fort has been lost over the centuries is clear when one refers again to the comparison between Winter's map and the modern archaeological example (Figure 2). Archaeological study in the interior should initially concentrate on the application of further non-intrusive techniques such as topographical and geophysical survey, with the excavation of the promontory point also considered. In addition, a trench placed across the bastion and outer defences would add much to our knowledge of the preparedness of the defenders in November 1580.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to highlight the importance of the site of Dún an Óir both nationally and internationally, as well as to stress that archaeological remains relating to the 1580 siege may lie beyond the confines of the fort itself. Although the site remains greenfield, the threat of erosion to this potentially pristine siege landscape should not be underestimated, and it is vital that steps are taken in the near future to prevent the further loss of archaeological information. The scarcity of similar sites in Ireland and beyond has been highlighted. It is rare indeed for archaeologists to be presented with a virtually unchanged landscape following the passage of almost 500 years of history. To be presented with such a landscape armed with the contemporary information amassed by historians on the events which unfolded there is rarer still. The fort of Dún an Óir presents a unique opportunity for Irish archaeologists to significantly contribute to our understanding of not only siege archaeology, but the archaeology of colonial Ireland as a whole.

Note about the author

Damian Shiels MA is the post excavation manager with Headland Archaeology Ltd. He has worked on excavations across the Republic of Ireland since 1995, and is eligible to hold an archaeological excavation licence. He was previously an assistant keeper in the National Museum of Ireland, working with their military collections, and has a long-standing interest in conflict archaeology, founding the Kinsale Battlefield Project in 2001.

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An Italian Account of the Siege and Massacre at Smerwick

Aoibheann Mullan

> The port of Smeruch can take any fleet of any size because it can take a turn around of 4 miles and it is very good and you only have to be watchful of winds which enter the mouth and there is the risk of driving the ships on to land; its mouth is a mile and a half wide; and it is formed by two high mountains and in the middle of this mouth there is a high cliff. The following morning he first put Aldone, an Irishman, ashore with some of his own men and some soldiers so that they could find out more about the Queen's fleet and about the Count of Desmond and other particulars: [f. 92v]

This vivid description of the landing at Smerwick on 12 September 1580 was written by Petruccio Ubaldino, a Florentine military historian, in a manuscript which contributes greatly to the historiography of the period and has not been published to date. The writer was a conscious historian who worked as an interpreter and could be described as an early modern journalist, a self-declared chronicler. The manuscript is addressed to Lord William Cecil, Baron of Burghley and is an objective account, in three parts, of the events in Smerwick, County Kerry in 1580. It was written by Ubaldino in 1582, in early modern Italian.

Part 1, December 1577 – June 1578

This is set in Rome and Lisbon. It opens with the petition to Lord William Cecil, and outlines the command of the expedition by the Papal commissary, San Giuseppe. It tells the story of Sir Thomas Stuckley's involvement and describes the hi-jack of the Papal troops by Don Sebastiano, the King of Portugal. The narrative links the attitudes of the men to Stuckley with the issue of the letter patent.

Part 2, August 1578 – September 1579

The action moves to Galicia, revealing how San Giuseppe took command of all supplies and sought further orders, and includes the letter patent. This is followed by an account of the expedition of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald from Galicia to Ireland.

Part 3, Autumn 1579 – November 1580

This is the longest account, set in Galicia and Ireland. It opens with a detailed description of the expedition of the Papal mercenaries, and contains a full report of the siege and the massacre at Smerwick, which took place 8-10 November 1580.

The manuscript comes from the English State Papers (SP 9 102 microfilm) and was seen as a translation project as much for its curiosity value as for anything else. In fact it happened to provide the missing link in the recorded chain of events surrounding the Smerwick massacre, which is well documented in other contemporary sources such as the Annals, the correspondence of the Papal Nuncios, Cardinals Sega (Nunziatura di Spagna) and Frumenti (Nunziatura di Portogallo) and the State Papers. The account completes the picture given in these sources.

The content is controversial and the style epic. The same facts by various narrators have resounded down the centuries. The massacre of the Italians at Smerwick is one of the most notorious events in early modern Irish history. It has acquired the status of myth in the same way as have the siege of Derry and the sack of Drogheda. Such dates for most people with even a little knowledge of history acquire semiotic significance. Parallel sources confirm that the event involved major English personalities of the era; Edmund Spenser, in his late twenties, in his capacity as secretary to the viceroy, Lord Gray, was present at the siege and massacre. Walter Raleigh, then a young captain aged twenty-six, may have commanded one of the bombardments, although he did not speak of it for many years.

My purpose in writing this article is to promote the value of translation as a means of recording events, and recovering the past. I will describe the process of translation and the usefulness of the editorial commentary provided by the author of the manuscript account of the siege and massacre. Translation of primary sources cannot be achieved without bibliographical reference points; therefore a degree of scholarship is a prerequisite for the translator. In relation to translation as historiography – the events are not merely recorded but communicated, memorialised and given a retrospective interpretation, a responsibility for the translator – thus making them more comprehensible in another language or another era.

Translation of the vivid narrative led down several interesting paths to investigations of coastal topography, language, politics, shipping, diet, colonial warfare, Gaelic place names and a colourful voyage around the

Mediterranean. The earliest Italian-English dictionaries proved very useful. I have selected some quotations in order to give an overall impression of the manuscript. More importantly, it clarifies confusion which has prevailed regarding this expeditionary force by giving the worm's eye view, that of the Italian mercenaries as spectators of their impending fate.

Ubaldino comments throughout both critically and with irony on the personalities and significance of events as they unfold. The style is Latinate, pointing to a classical education, and is consistently characteristic of the vernacular literature of the period. I will refer to this as Elizabethan when referring to England and Ireland. Italian was very widely studied during 16th and 17th centuries and was the next best thing to Latin as an indicator of education and refinement. Burghley had a good knowledge of Italian and sent his son to Italy to "finish" his education. Italian poets, writers and philosophers, Macchiavelli in particular, were widely read and influential. In the era of vernacular humanism, which derived from the translation of classical works, certain genres were popular. In this case the memorial or account of the deeds and military exploits of a leader (*Hypomnemata*) appears to have been the favoured model. After the Council of Trent (1545-63), when a publication ban was imposed in Italy on all secular works in Latin, many humanists found a more congenial working environment in the courts and universities in Northern Europe where the Reformation had produced relative freedom of thought. In this spirit the author comments on leadership in war, relations between officers and soldiers, military discipline, honour, glory, virtue, the importance of the prince, men's endeavours and the duty of the historian, all of which makes this a work of conscious historiography. The model for young men about court was the Renaissance man of letters and of war, and this inspired England's first colonial expansion, which was of course into Ireland

The opening petition, a conventional dedication, outlines the composition of the manuscript. It also leads us to surmise the motivation for writing the account. Was it perhaps commissioned by Burghley in order to substantiate claims to the ransom, which the Pope initially refused to pay, preferring to wash his hands of the matter? The author evidently had access to the records of meetings and documents of the Nunziatura di Spagna and was well acquainted with the English. He may have made a personal attempt at reward from the ransom. The tone is critical from the start. The Pope demonstrated a degree of cynicism by agreeing to send troops who were drawn from the usual source,

consisting of outlaws[1] and mercenaries who were "various political exiles, all military men" [f.80v] who dressed up well and received absolution! Descriptions of the troops, and especially the military parade in Portugal, are very colourful and amusing. San Giuseppe, a Bolognese captain, the Papal commissary, comes across as a very dutiful, efficient commander, who communicated with the Papal Nuncio in a detailed correspondence. They were well acquainted, as San Giuseppe had been employed previously by Cardinal Sega. Indeed their relationship is one of the undercurrents which surface in the correspondence of Fra Matteo de Oviedo, who became Archbishop of Dublin in 1600. There is also extensive detail about Stuckley's character which is of interest as he was seen for what he was from the outset – a "chancer", to use the vernacular. The disparaging tone of "*questo* Stuckley", in the account of how the Moroccan venture started, speaks volumes:

> knowing him [Stuckley] to be a rebel and a traitor to his Prince [the Pope], and more so for having shown signs on the journey of various bad habits and great haughtiness; he was therefore regarded secretly with more hatred than good will by the captains and the soldiers, which can be an example to anyone who has charge of or commands men in war. The vices and virtues of the leader bind men. [f.82v]

This quotation illustrates the style of commentary; the observations on the conduct of war couched in humanist rhetoric are classic for the period, and illustrate the influence of Macchiavelli's writings throughout Europe, in particular on Elizabethan colonial tactics.

Cavaliere Barducci, one of the principal agents in Ireland, "who first wrote of these events",[2] is introduced [f.84r]. He had survived the expedition to Barbary[3] with the King of Portugal and is as important as San Giuseppe. He also features in the negotiations during the final stages of the siege. He seems to be very shrewd, withdraws from the parley and liberates himself by paying his own ransom. At the end of Part I [f.84r] the author comments on the duty of the historian to write the truth and include the "counsel of others" i.e. the testimony of others, and what goes on behind the scenes. He also uses the first person as if to authenticate the account.

The second part of the narrative may be based on the correspondence of the Nuncio, Filippo Sega, in the Nunziatura di Spagna. The most important item in it is the letter patent of which an extract is reproduced below:

> I have written the attached translation of the patent from the Spanish language which I obtained by courtesy of Captain Jonton, one of the English gentlemen, who as victors had a right to the ransom on the said Sebastiano de San Giuseppe and others who had been taken prisoner. [f.84v]

The letter patent is clearly legible and important, because it had been claimed that the Italian and Basque troops were adventurers and outlaws, without any authority, which meant the rules of war need not apply to them. One reason for translating it into Italian was to prove that it was authentic. It also eliminated doubt about its authority, while making the Italian account official, distinctly Papal rather than Spanish. It may also be from the papers of Cardinal Sega, who had previously been the Papal Nuncio to Flanders.

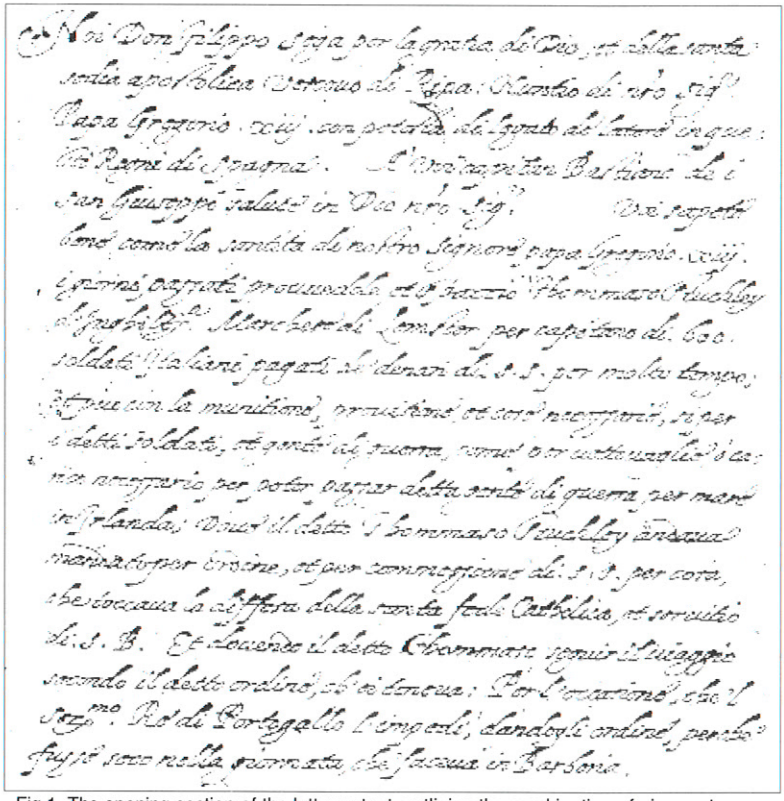

Fig 1. The opening section of the letter patent, outlining the combination of circumstances, and explaining that the intervention of the King of Portugal was the reason why the expedition was not completed.

This section also throws light on various questions concerning Stuckley and may even provide evidence that he was an opportunist. San Giuseppe survived the experience of Barbary and returned the ships and equipment in his charge. The author comments quite critically on Gherardini's Realpolitik.

> and the reason had been that Gherardini had written that it should be sent, as it was, with great diligence, showing that he valued the munitions and other things on board more than the the men; [f.87r]

Bertoni, *maestro di campo* for Ireland, also features in the failed expedition of Jacopo Gherardini, which was compromised by the annexation of Portugal by Spain. The closing fatalistic comment concerning "ventures which men undertake with fatal obstinacy" [f.87v], linking parts II and III, rouses the reader's interest and lends an authoritative tone.

There is a certain overlap in the narrative at the beginning of part III. This may be due to there being two similar accounts. The author mentions letters arriving from Rome "saying that he [San Giuseppe] was to pursue the Irish expedition" [f.88r]. This was based on assurances of support from the Count of Desmond and Giovanni Gherardini. At this point the Basque soldiers were hired. They included "600 or 700 soldiers in Biscaya. And on 26 March he had 120 soldiers in good order under his command and some of them were Italians." [f.88v] It can be assumed that San Giuseppe, as commander, retained any survivors of the Barbary expedition. Dates are very meticulously recorded, with specific references to the Roman calendar, for example: "At that time which was 28 Feb 1580, since the year began on the Ist day of January" [f.88v]. Exact details of the names of ships and their commanders are catalogued.

The last part of the account is likely to be of greatest interest to historians as the very precise details can be crosschecked against other sources

> The savage reported that there were not many English in Ireland and that the natives were very topsy-turvy[4] and he said that there were six of the Queen's galleons in the port of Finghi and in the Rio di Ventura, which were well armed with much artillery; and he said that four armed galleots were continually moving round the island, guarding it, because they had word that the Pope's fleet was to go there and the above mentioned galleons and galleots had been there for several months; which things were found to be true. [f.90v]

The landing and ensuing disagreement about the position of the fort is supported in contemporary illustrations. Some naval battles are described in detail; one takes place in El Ferrolo (El Ferrol) when English ships entered the harbour to attack the Papal fleet; another, in Smerwick, is depicted by an officer on the *Achates*,[5] one of the English ships.

> On 29 Oct in the morning at about the 4th hour of the day, the ships of the Queen's fleet began to enter the same port itself, they were five more big galleons, bigger than the first one, and five fairly big ships; but well armed with artillery and men.
>
> [...] and the following night he had two big pieces of artillery unloaded to batter the fort, and he had a big trench dug flanking the fort where he placed the two pieces of artillery and he began to pound the fort and straightaway did great damage; and in the evening he unloaded another piece of artillery a half culverin. [f.99v]

The figure of about 430, given as the number slain [f.102v], included those massacred in the fort and those who were sick on a ship lying beached under the fort. About 10 hostages were ransomed and camp followers let go, which corresponds to other accounts of varying accuracy.

> But many of the others were given their freedom, for the most part servants, sailors and poor people. [f.103v]

It is obvious that the Italians did not know the fate of these people or indeed what happened to the Franciscan friar and the Irish bishop, to whom there are several scathing references, although he is not named at all in the account.[6] The hostages were handed into the private custody of Denny and were held in his palace at Walden on the Thames, about 12 miles from London.

The final phase of the siege and surrender consisted of three days bombardment, and makes exciting reading. It is described with some pathos, especially the last night in the fort. The confusion depicted surrounding the destruction of the fort is very credible.

> They nonetheless spared the small fort, where the provisions were, on the orders of the Viceroy; then they were divided up by him amongst the soldiers on land and those from the fleet according to their needs. These were plentiful supplies of all sorts; which they had to last for three months for all those men; there were 40 barrels of powder, lead, various types of shot, iron, steel and many other things useful for warfare,

> besides firearms and artillery; all of which he had removed. [f.102v]

There is no doubt as to the advantage of all these provisions to the English. Frequent references in Part III to exact amounts of money acquired by the Irish bishop would lead one to think that there is some link between the motivation for writing the account and the issue of the unpaid ransom. The hostages were given facilities to send for money, yet it still took two years before the Pope paid up, using funds from the ecclesiastical revenue of Toledo! In fact this expedition marked the end of military support from the Pope as it was considered to be madness, "*pazzia*", without the support of a Catholic monarch. Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, was instrumental in liberating San Giuseppe in 1583.

The entire venture is judged quite harshly; described as a "senseless undertaking" in concluding paragraphs that are very conventional in tone. Criticism of the native Irish in what to modern ears is a condescending tone may also be a reason why this source has not been cited or published.

> It must have been obvious to them that it was not just difficult but impossible due as much to the nature of the country, where it took place as the barbaric belief[7] of those they were to join up with, but above all because of the strength of maritime defences of the English Crown against which no other foreign force can reasonably be superior or equal in those seas. [f.104r]

Generalisations on the conduct and fortunes of war also abound. A reference to the solution of the battle of Agincourt as a precedent for the massacre is interesting, because it is a national rather than a classical historical allusion.

Personalities are all described or defined, as they are introduced. Irish names are Italianised, e.g. "Gherardini", "Aldone", "Warmond", as are some place names in Kerry for instance "Rio di Ventura", "*il passo forte*". English surnames are retained but Christian names are Italianised, as with "Tommaso" Stuckley. There is a note in the margin referring to Gherardini as "*Fimoris*" [f.86r]. The following are further examples; "Bertoldo Oldre, an Englishman resident in Lisbon", "Matteo d'Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan", "that Irish bishop", Alessandro Bertoni "*maestro di campo* for Ireland", "Ensign Zefiro de'Fabiani, a Roman, was in command", "Ulivieri Prunchetta, an Irishman", translator, "Antonio di

Castiglio, a man of property". The most notable is "Pietro de Valdes, general of that kingdom", who later turned up in the Armada.

As with any Elizabethan text (cf. Sidney, Spenser), the manuscript is a valuable indicator of usage of place names, which are not recorded on other contemporary maps or the earlier Portolans.

There are few examples of Gaelic words, apart from place names, except for a most interesting Italian version of a word describing Gherardini's retinue:

> this the Irish call by a word in their language that sounds like gnadagnato[8] [gnadañato] in the Italian. [f.96r]

I have worked hard to find the actual original, and my ear tells me the words "*gnáth do/dá*"...must be in there. I would welcome authoritative heated correspondence on this matter.

Smeruch = place of blackberries is a plausible enough Gaelic alternative and can be added to the numerous versions and spellings of the name, some of which are faithful to the Norse origin such as "Smervic" on the map in Vatican Archive from the Nunziatura di Spagna. The headland of Friara = Feogharach may include "*ghaorach*". It was common in Elizabethan Ireland to use Gaelic words in English to indicate the untranslatable or uniquely native, for example: *tánaiste, garrán, urriagh* etc. There are several references to the language used in Munster in the 1580s:

> ... and he resolved to go to a better place, so he put a few sailors ashore there with barrels to get water, and seeing the galleot, a few savages appeared, but they did not dare to approach; but the sailors who were born in that country spoke to them in the Irish and English language, and with sweet words they tried to persuade them to bring something to sell, which would be well paid; and they offered them bread, which when they saw it (because they do not have it there) they began to be more assured and to approach. [f.90r]

Of course not only language, but also day-to-day details of climate, terrain, and specific details of distances are documented. Attitudes to indigenous peoples are conventional for the period and not without irony: the Italians considered themselves to be "civil" as did the English. Use of the word savage is also commonplace. Observations on the native Irish are of anthropological interest.

The lie of the land is described quite well:

> he (Gherardini) left that place and quickly passing on the other side of the wood he crossed a mountain, on top of which was a large quagmire,[9] and a bad path; because of the darkness some soldiers and many horses were drowned; but they succeeded in escaping safe and sound from the enemy's men, it was also easy to reach Finghi safely. [f.97v]

There are several vivid descriptions of the Irish at war, dodging the English and Ormond in the woods and on mountains well known to them. The Italians must have cut a ridiculous figure, equipped as they were for conventional warfare, as were the English. The Colonel (San Giuseppe), a very conscientious man, so tired of the treatment of his troops by Gherardini that he contemplated leaving,

> for the sake of common honour and gain; and because the great promises made in Spain had been reduced to nothing; he was of a mind to get out of that venture with all his men, the more so because he had sent the two Biscayan ships back to Spain. [f.98r]

However, events took over and three days later

> a big galleon and a galleot of the Queen had entered that port, almost the vanguard of the rest of the fleet which was behind, and they were upon him; and the English tried to do damage with the artillery, but with little gain: so it was necessary for the Colonel to think about the defence, there being no room or time to think of departure. [f.98r]

A recent visit to the site was very rewarding. In spite of coastal erosion and the reduction of the remains of the fort on land, I found the terrain confirmed the detail in the text and brought the narrative to life. All historic sites are smaller and more confined to the modern eye because their scale is human rather than mechanised. Roads were like the sandy tracks along the fields to the seashore. I am mindful of the size of bawns, medieval churches, tombs and houses. It is most important also to keep in mind the perspective of the seafarer, approaching from the mouth of the bay. The sense of distance must be reckoned in terms of sailing time, transport on horseback or on foot. It is very difficult to focus in an age of fast transport by car, bus or worldwide air travel. When I was out in the "small fort", as it is referred to in the text, an air-sea rescue helicopter flew over, quite low, accentuating for me the huge gap in time and perception.

In conclusion, the significance of the manuscript is in the

contemporary record of an event (already well documented in other sources), from all perspectives, including the visual. It is a document of its time, a detailed, objective account by a military historian, in contrast to partisan/official accounts and letters in the State papers. It throws light on the attitude of the mercenaries through the eyes of the professional soldier San Giuseppe, who was frustrated and doomed by lack of overall strategy. An example of early conscious journalism, it includes documentary proof, an important item of evidence, in the translation of the letter patent of Papal Nuncio Sega of 20 August 1578. Probably because of the reiterated criticism of the venture in the commentary, it does not seem to have been referred to by scholars of the 1920s and 30s, a time when most research done in Ireland, which although largely confessional, at least published the Irish side of the story.

The omission of an account that is not popular, or selective translation of papers from the Nunziatura di Spagna, is given credence by F. Jones in his paper on the Golden Fort.[10] Historians of the period are better equipped to suggest by whom the manuscript may have been commissioned. There is no reference to the account in O'Rahilly's thorough contrastive list of sources,[11] although he does refer to "papers in the Vatican Archives", which were not accessible to the public until recently. It is also possible that this manuscript falls into the category of suppressed evidence because it illustrates common ground between the Englisl alian commanders. The quotations I have selected should give a taste of the wealth of detail contained in the manuscript, as if it were a slice of a rich cake. It is my intention to publish the translation with detailed *explication de texte* later this year.

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Note about author

Aoibheann Mullan, MA MCIL, is an independent scholar and translator. A linguist with great interest in history, in particular 16th- and 17th-century Ireland and Europe, Aoibheann has some experience in translating source material relating to Ireland. Resident in Derry, she works as a local guide for German and Italian groups with emphasis on historic tours.

Notes

1 *banditi* = political fugitives.
2 Account in Italian in Calthorpe Mss.
3 Barbary, in present-day Morocco. The coast was famous for pirates and slave traders. Alcázarquivir was besieged in 1578. The King of Portugal and Stuckley died, San Giuseppe survived.
4 cf. Dr Johnson = state of chaos, *bun ós chionn*.
5 cf. maps Nat. Archive MPF 75.
6 Cornelius O Mulrian?
7 *barbara fede* = barbaric belief
8 *gnáth daoine atá, gnáth theaghlach* = permanent household, *gnáth mhuintir*, *do réir gnáthaigh*, *gnáth duinn*.
9 *pantano* = quagmire, bog, slough.
10 Plan of the Golden Fort at Smerwick 1580. *Irish Sword*, vol. 2 (1954).
11 A. O'Rahilly, The Massacre at Smerwick (1580), Parts I and II.

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"My Dear Husband": Kerry Convicts and Their Families

Perry McIntyre

On 29 January 1831, John Sullivan, a convict in New South Wales, petitioned the colonial secretary in Sydney asking that his wife and son in Ireland be given a free passage to that far-flung penal settlement. Our first thought is that such a petition would be mere wishful thinking on his part. However, further examination of the situation gives an insight not only into colonial New South Wales but pre-Famine Ireland.

The convict indent of the *Mariner* shows John Sullivan was a Catholic farm labourer, aged 23, who could read and was married with one child when tried in his native town of Tralee on 24 July 1826 and sentenced to seven years' transportation for manslaughter. He arrived to Sydney ten months later on 24 May 1827 and was assigned to William Bellamy of Castle Hill, now a suburb of Sydney. By the time he petitioned for his family four years later, he had received his ticket of leave, which allowed him to work for his own support independent of a master.[1]

Some convicts had obtained permission for such "indulgences" by governors and men in authority since the beginning of the convict settlement in 1788. Several thousand convicts, approximately one third of whom were Irish, took advantage of this apparently benevolent act by the colonial government. Reunion with their family was extended to suitable convicts as a means of reform, but it was also a way in which Britain, and Ireland in particular, dealt with some destitute families who had lost their breadwinner by the process of transportation.

John Sullivan had initially petitioned for his wife in 1829. The application was approved, and his name was returned in a list of sixty-one convict men recommended by the governor as worthy of having their wives and families sent out to New South Wales at government expense.[2] Correspondence relating to John and Ellen Sullivan can be found in repositories in Sydney, Dublin and London, and an examination of these records tells a great colonial Irish Australian story while also being a Tralee local history study.

To His Excellency

LIEUTENANT GENERAL RALPH DARLING,

Governor, and Commander in Chief,

&c. &c. &c.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of John Sullivan
by the Ship Mariner (3)
a Prisoner for 7 years
Dated,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner is desirous of being re-united to the Family from which he was separated at the Time of his Transportation, and particulars of which are stated on the other side.

That Testimonials are subjoined of his Ability to Support his said Family, and of his having endeavoured, by good Conduct, to merit this Indulgence.

That he humbly prays, therefore, that Your Excellency will be pleased to transmit to the Right Honorable the SECRETARY of STATE, a Recommendation that your Petitioner's said Family may be sent to this Colony at the Expence of the Government.

And your Petitioner will ever pray. John Sullivan

I certify that the Petitioner above-named has been in my Service since the Month of June, 1827, and that during that Time his Conduct has been such, that I respectfully recommend his Petition to the favorable Consideration of His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

I am also satisfied that he is both able and willing to maintain his Family.

William Bellamy *Petitioner's Employer.*

We severally certify that we are not acquainted with any Circumstance that should induce us to withhold our Signatures from this Petition, and we therefore respectfully recommend the same.

Samuel Marsden *First Clergyman or Magistrate.*

Gregory Blaxland Jr *Second Clergyman or Magistrate.*

N. B. This Petition must be submitted through the Principal Superintendent of Convicts.

O'Sullivan Petition, page 1.

Petitioner's *Standing No.* ———
Name, John Sullivan
Ship, Mercury 3
Year, 1827
Sentence, Seven Years
Wife's *Maiden Name,* Ellen Reidy
Present Residence, viz.—
County, Kerry
Town or Parish, Tralee at Rowland Egan's Esqr
Street, ———

Children, viz.

NAMES.	AGES.
Timothy Sullivan	five years

Respectable Persons, to whom Petitioner's Family are known; viz.—

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Rowland Hassett Esqr	Tralee
Charles McMahon Esqr	Blennerville Mills
Robt. Day Esqr	Blennerville Barrister
Henry Bunn Esqr	Blennerville Mills
The Revd. M. Reidy	Tralee &c &c

R. HOWE, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

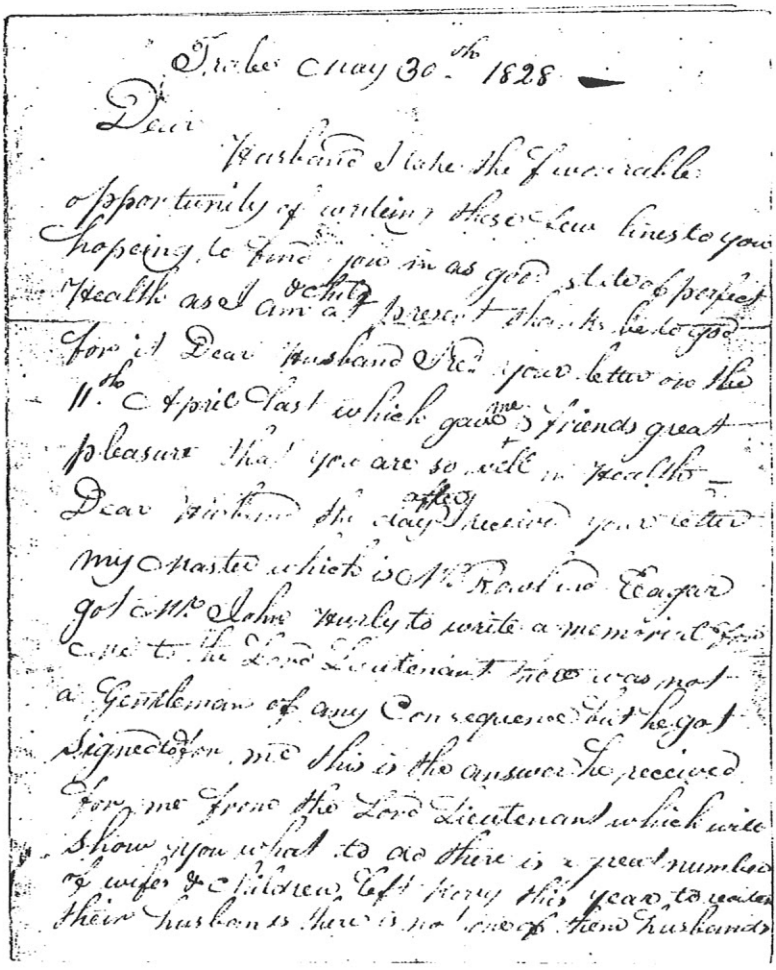
O'Sullivan Petition, page 2.

John Sullivan's petition was on a standard application form approved by his employer, William Bellamy, and countersigned by three members of the hierarchy of the colony. They were Samuel Marsden, the Church of England minister who was also a local magistrate, Gregory Blaxland J.P., a large landowner, magistrate and, as an explorer, was part of the team of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson who found a way over the Blue Mountains, opening up the land west of Sydney for settlement. The third party was John Joseph Therry, Roman Catholic vicar, one of the first of two official Catholic priests to come to the colony in 1821. It is worth noting the lack of religious prejudice here with John Sullivan's petition signed by the senior ministers of both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church.

John Sullivan's petition revealed that his wife Ellen, née Ready, was living and working at the home of Rowland Eagar (Egar on the petition) in Tralee.[3] The details give some clues about how she supported herself and her son Timothy, aged five, following her husband's trial, imprisonment and subsequent transportation. John Sullivan's petition also cited Rowland Hassett Esq of Tralee, Charles McMahon Esq, Robert Day Esq and Henry Blenner as "respectable persons" in County Kerry who could identify his wife. McMahon and Blenner were both Blennerville merchants. Day was a Blennerville barrister and the Rev. McKeniry of Tralee was the final referee.

One of the most exciting finds in New South Wales was a four-page letter written from John's wife in Ireland, which was attached to his petition written from Sydney. Dated Tralee, 30 May 1828, Ellen Sullivan's letter follows, and the first page also appears here as a scan of the original document:

> Dear Husband
>
> I take the favourable opportunity of writeing (*sic*) these few lines to you hopeing (*sic*) to find you in as good state of perfect Health as I & child am at present thanks be to god for it. Dear Husband, I received your letter on the 11th April last which gave me & friends great pleasure that you are so well in Health. Dear Husband, the day after I received your letter my master which is Mr Rowland Eagar got Mr John Hurly to write a memorial for me to the Lord Lieutenant. There was not a Gentleman of any Consequence but he got signed to for me. This is the answer he received for me from the Lord Lieutenant which will show you what to do. There is a great number of wives & children left Kerry this year to [reoites] their husbands. There is not one of them husbands [not] got the governor of their Island to certify the Lord Lieutenant that they were



First page of Ellen Sullivan's letter

well conducted men & was able to maintain [their] wives & children. My Dear Husband until you get that done there is no use in my exercions (*sic*) about it. All the rest of the men has done it. My Dear Husband you are only a month left the Gaol when I come to nurse for Mr Rowland Eager and is with him still. My mother could not be as kind to me as my Mrs Eagar is. I was no more than 3 months with my master & mistress when my master made me a present of a handsome cloak & gown. As for cloths for my child, my mistress has gave me as much of them as will do him until he is able to do for himself. I do not know how did I deserve

from my master & mistress to be so kind and good to me as they are. My Dear Husband my mother has my child and she is living where you left her. My Dear Husband, Patt is living where you left him. Judy & Jerry is living (*sic*) still with Mr Rey. Katty is living where you left her. All you inquiring friends are all very well. My Dear Husband, I beg you will write to me when you have liberty. No more at present from ever loveing (*sic*) wife until death, Ellen Sullivan.

My Dear husband, direct your letter to the care of Mr Rowland Eagar, Tralee, to be forwarded to Ellen Sullivan.[4]

The letter is annotated:

Mr Gregory is directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint Ellen Sullivan in reply to her memorial for a free passage to New South Wales that in consequence of its frequently happening that the Wives and Children of Convicts on reaching their destination, were left entirely at the expense of the Government from the inability of some of the Convicts and the unwillingness of others to support them, it was found necessary to establish a regulation that no indulgence of this description should be granted unless a recommendation and Certificate should be first transmitted by the Governor of that Colony to the effect that the Convict had applied for this favour, and that he had conducted himself with propriety and was in a condition to support his family on their arrival in the Colony.

And as the name of Ellen Sullivan is not on the list of persons recommended by the Governor; the only thing which can be done consistently with the regulations, would be to write to the Governor to ascertain, whether the Convict is a person deserving of the indulgence in question.

Dublin Castle, 9 May 1828.

Direct to John Sullivan at Mr Bellamy's under cover to the care of Reverend

J.J. Therry.

The 1828 Census taken in the colony in November confirmed John Sullivan's convict status, his arrival details and his employment as a government servant to William Bellamy at Castle Hill. However, here his religion was noted as Protestant whereas he was cited as Catholic on his convict indent.[5]

What was the fate of John Sullivan, his wife and five-year-old son? The records in New South Wales show that a John Sullivan per *Mariner* applied to marry in the colony. However, careful examination of the records allows us to dismiss this John Sullivan as another convict by the

same name who arrived by a previous voyage of the same ship.[6]

Before John Sullivan petitioned from New South Wales for his wife and son to join him, Ellen was proactive in Ireland. She wrote to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin in 1827 and again in 1828 applying to join her husband. Her letters confirm the colonial information about her husband's trial and conviction at Tralee in July 1826. She had received a letter from her husband and asked permission to be allowed to take their child with her to the Australian colony. Her petition was strongly supported by her employer and the local curate as well as several justices of the peace and the town clerk of County Kerry.[7] These referees included R. Conway, surrogate of Ardfert; J. Hurley, junior clerk of CountyKerry; Rowland Blennerhasset J.P.; Rowland Eagar J.P.; James Magill J.P.; Archibald Macintosh, curate of Tralee; Caleb Chute, provost of Tralee, William Bateman of Oak Park; R.J. Eagar, late church warden of Tralee and Jeffrey Eagar of Ardfert and Aghadoe. She had initially applied to Judge Day and suspected that her application had been confused with Daniel and Johanna McCarthy's similar application for a free passage, which had been directed to Humphrey Donovan and granted on 28 August 1827.[8]

In April 1830, Ellen Sullivan again wrote noting that further correspondence received from her husband indicated that he was still employed by Mr Bellamy, this time noted as of Pennant Hills, but it is in the vicinity of Castle Hill, so some familiarity with that district of Sydney is suggested. She asked to be "sent to her once dear and lamented husband by the next opportunity".[9] The Irish authorities certified her as a woman of strict honesty, in the prime of life and in sound health with a five-year-old son.[10] In New South Wales, her husband's application was apparently successful and her name appeared among the names in two subsequent lists of approved convict applicants.[11]

John Sullivan was one of over 2,000 convict men and women who applied for immediate members of their family to join them in New South Wales under a unique scheme to reunite reformed convicts with family members considered to be suitable for emigration. In looking at the County Kerry convicts who applied for their families, John Sullivan was one of forty male and three female convicts involved in the wives and families of convicts' scheme. Four of the forty men were convicted outside County Kerry. The two transported from England were tried in London and Manchester, and two other Kerrymen were sentenced in Limerick and Mayo. The rest sailed to New South Wales directly from

Ireland [see table]. Only fourteen of these forty-three Kerry convicts are confirmed to have been reunited with their families through this immigration scheme and unfortunately the fate of Ellen Sullivan, like many of the others, remains unknown. Some families may have arrived after the end of the scheme or by other means of immigration and these reunions have not been confirmed.

As noted by London officials on the petition of Catherine Hanafin for her two sons, the "the great object [of the scheme] was to provide for letting convicts be joined by their wives".[12] Her sons were refused a passage "as the only reason for giving a free passage to these two youths above any other two young Irishmen was that their mother had committed a crime and had previously had two illegitimate children".[13]

Some convict applications, like that of John Lynch, were incomplete and no reapplication was made. For a variety of reasons other properly completed applications were unsuccessful and some wives were unable to make the journey. David Griffin from Castlegregory near Tralee was transported in 1838 following his trial in Limerick for sheep stealing. The convict records in New South Wales show that his brother, Michael Griffin, had been transported fifteen years before, which raises the thought that David may have used transportation as a form of family reunion and emigration. He petitioned for his wife in September 1847.[14] Unfortunately he had left his application for her free passage too long, and by March 1849 the letter to his wife was returned through the Castlegregory post office with a note from the referees that she and one of her two children had died. The authorities issued an emigration order for the surviving family member, their fifteen-year-old son, but he failed to embark as requested on the *Panama* with other free convict families.[15] The Famine was well under way by the time David Griffin wrote for his family and "Black '47" claimed two members of his family and may have claimed the third.

Poverty and the famine were undoubtedly contributing factors which prevented many women and children availing themselves of the opportunity of a free passage. Mary Fitzgerald, wife of Edmund O'Keefe from Mountcoal, close to the border of Limerick near Abbeyfeale, declined to uproot her family of three sons, aged between 11 and 19, claiming that she was too poor to supply the necessary outfit for the voyage.[16] Other reasons which prevented the families from taking up the offer of a free passage to the colony also become apparent from the annotations on the petitions as the authorities tried to find the family and facilitate a reunion.

John Shea, who spoke only Irish, was working for Sir John Jamison at Regentville in the Hunter Valley, north-west of Sydney. Shea's wife Johanna gave birth to a second child after her husband's transportation, and by the time the approval for her passage to the colony was granted, she had moved house and failed to take up her emigration order to embark as requested.[17] Jamison was the son of an Antrim-born surgeon's mate who had arrived to New South Wales on the First Fleet in 1788 and who inherited considerable property in the colony following his father's death in 1811. He arrived in the colony in 1814 and built the large estate, Regentville, in 1825.[18]

Owen Sullivan, another convict who settled in the Hunter Valley, stated he was able to support his wife and three children when he applied for them in October 1834. A letter from Dublin Castle in November 1837 reported that his wife was "quite deranged" and as a consequence the children could not be sent.[19] Andrew Pickett left his wife and two children, aged 8 and 5, at Glanbehy, Ballynakilly near Tralee. He applied for them in May 1836, and by April 1837 the application was initially approved, but in November of the same year Dublin Castle reported, without further clarification, that she was "not worthy of the indulgence."[20]

Michael Kirby, from a parish near Tralee, was transported on the *Mangles* in 1826 with a large group of men sentenced under the Insurrection Act. Like John Sullivan, his crime was manslaughter, and he applied twice for his wife: once in 1831 and again in 1837. The surviving correspondence in Sydney shows that Michael's wife failed to arrive at the quayside after the initial permission for her passage was granted. However, she and her daughter did eventually arrive in New South Wales in 1842, sixteen years after his departure from Ireland. Nothing is known of her two sons who, by 1842, would have been aged over twelve and therefore prevented by the regulations from travelling with their mother and sister on a female convict ship. They had to wait until a suitable male transport was available, and their fate is unknown.

While the fate of some families whose husbands successfully applied for them from New South Wales remains unclear, others were reunited. Dennis Collins was transported from Kerry in July 1834 for sheep stealing. He could read and write, was aged 42 and a widower who left three sons and a daughter in Derra, Listowel, when he boarded the *Backwell* in mid-1835 bound for Sydney with a life sentence. In October 1847, Dennis Collins applied to the principal superintendent of convicts in Sydney for a free passage for his four children. Maurice Fitzmorris

Esq of Spring Mount and John Raymond Esq of Riversdale were his referees in Listowel.[21] All four children agreed to join their father in the colony. His two eldest sons, John and Thomas from Shanafona, were both married and undertook the voyage with their wives and their younger brother and sister. John and his wife also had two infant children. This large extended family of Dennis Collins all arrived in the colony a week before Christmas 1849 on the *Success* and joined their emancipated father in the Kiama district south of Sydney.

Matthew Eaton (Aiton) was in the same district as Dennis Collins when he applied for his wife and six children in July 1842 and again in 1847.[22] Mary Eaton had a newborn infant as well as her five other children and was unable to earn a living despite being a skilled dressmaker because of the superabundance of women of that trade.[23] How this large family survived following the departure of her husband and during the early years of the Famine is not known, but by September 1849 Mary and her six children successfully arrived on the *Panama* to join their husband and father.[24] The family of John O'Connor, who had been transported in 1837, were also fortunate to survive the Famine on the Dingle Peninsula, part of the worst affected area of Ireland. Mary Connor and all five of her children arrived safely to New South Wales in 1850.

The process of allowing certain convicts the privilege of having their families join them began with the sailing of the Second Fleet in 1791 and continued beyond the official end of transportation to New South Wales in 1840.[25] There is ample evidence in the colony, in Great Britain and in Ireland, that by the time Lachlan Macquarie began his governorship in January 1810 a number of wives and families of convicts had been granted free passages to New South Wales, but there was no formal scheme to facilitate this reunion. Macquarie's arrival in 1810 heralded a different approach to managing the colony, and during the decade he was governor there were great changes in the way that free family members of transported convicts were allowed to New South Wales.

By the middle years of Macquarie's period in office, a combination of factors in the colony and Great Britain and Ireland began to influence transportation. The end of the Napoleonic wars resulted in an increase in population, unemployment, social unrest and a subsequent increase in crime and overcrowding of gaols. The consequent increase in convicts transported had an obvious impact on the colony of New South Wales. Governor Macquarie was tolerant toward emancipists whom he considered valuable to the developing settlement. His humanitarian

attitude toward some convicts alienated sections of the community, including officials, men of political influence and those in the military including Rev. Samuel Marsden and Ellis Bent.[26] Social friction was created by his emancipist policies which included the appointment of ex-convicts, Andrew Thompson and Simeon Lord, as magistrates. Treating educated convicts like William Redfern as equals around his dinner table also raised the ire of some colonists.[27] Despite Macquarie's lack of tolerance to his critics, his delight was "to serve mankind" and this is nowhere more apparent than in his administration of the developing settlement and his dealings with convicts.[28]

Granting of all forms of pardons and responses to various petitions from convicts for a wide spectrum of "indulgences", including granting permission for members of their families to obtain a free passage to the colony, were clearly and frequently given as rewards for good conduct and encouragement to reform. The penal colony of New South Wales was an open gaol and, apart from those in chain gangs, few men were restrained or imprisoned, most being free to move within the districts designated by their ticket of leave.[29]

As well as an increase in convict numbers, the decade of Macquarie's governorship (1810-21) saw more free families arriving to join transported husbands and fathers as a result of regulations on this form of assisted immigration being formalised in 1817. Macquarie clearly encouraged ex-convicts to return to mainstream society. Convicts with free families were an obvious group who regained "a respectable place in society"[30] and contributed to the developing needs of the colony by earning their own livelihood with the assistance and stabilising influence of free family members who had volunteered to emigrate.[31] Thus from early in the colony, convict families were recognised as among the better settlers.

The rather *ad hoc* practice of allowing free families of convicts to come to the colony following their own applications in Britain or the benevolence of the government in the colony formally changed when the first regulations were gazetted in March 1817.[32] This shifted the emphasis to the husband in the colony as the sole supporter and attempted to guarantee that the emancipist husband "could give the most satisfactory proof here that they have the means of supporting their wives and children" when they arrived. The convict's application had to "minutely" describe his arrival details and status in the colony as well as the names of the family and their place of residence before the petition was forwarded to the British government. Thus the scheme to reunite

families came to be driven from the colony, whereas in the pre-Macquarie era such applications, and the chance of a successful result, were more often because of favourable recommendations made by, or on behalf of, the wife in England or Ireland with occasional influence from the colony.[33]

The four governors who followed Macquarie further developed and refined the rules and regulations for granting free passages to families of convicts.[34] Governor Brisbane's years in the colony were distinguished by "the encouragement he gave to emigration".[35] As recommended in the first published regulations of 1817, comprehensive lists of approved convicts began to be sent back to London from that time onwards. For the first time since 1817 a public notice reminding those in the colony about convict family reunion appeared on 17 January 1822.

Within twenty-three days of the publication of this notice, the first large list of 100 approved petitions was despatched to London by Governor Brisbane.[36] Given the size of this list, it is apparent that Brisbane was sending a batch of approvals which had been gathering for some time. It is not possible that 100 applications and approvals could have been processed in just over three weeks. Frederick Goulburn had been appointed as the first colonial secretary on 1 January 1821, but Sir Thomas Brisbane did not arrived in the colony until 7 November 1821, so this large batch of approvals was part of tidying a backlog which could well have involved Governor Macquarie, who did not leave the colony until 12 February 1822.[37]

During the governorships of Brisbane and Darling, in the years 1821 to 1831, at least 439 convicts were recommended to have their families sent out to New South Wales. Some of these included men transported from Ireland after the 1798 rebellion who were "truly good men", whose loyalty and passion for their native country remained strong even after thirty years. Rev. Therry noted that some of them:

> testified their attachment for their native country in the best possible shape, by sending to their families at home a portion of the fruits of their industry, and frequently defraying the expense of the voyage of other relatives whom they invited to join them and share their prosperity in the colony.[38]

Apart from short-lived or limited immigration schemes such as this one to bring the free wives and families of convicts and Earl Grey's Irish Female Orphan scheme, which brought young women from Ireland

during the Famine years of 1849 to 1850, the imperial government did not fund assisted emigration to the colonies. The publication of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theories on systematic colonisation in 1829 had illustrated a way to bring suitable immigrants to New South Wales in order to balance the sexes and address labour shortages. Wakefield suggested funding the passages by sale of colonial crown lands, and in January 1831, Viscount Goderich, the British colonial secretary, ended the system of free grants of Crown land in the colony and began an assisted emigration scheme partly funded by the sale of crown lands. The resulting regulations were known as the Ripon regulations, named after his title as Marquis of Ripon.[39] A trial scheme to facilitate female emigration was introduced, and half the passage money was paid by charities in Britain for single women who embarked on the *Red Rover* and the *Princess Royal* in 1831.[40] The successful arrival of these women caused the British government to search further for assistance from charitable institutions, and the Refuge for the Destitute in London was the first to respond. Their involvement and that of the newly formed London Emigration Committee resulted in approximately 2,700 single women leaving England and Ireland between April 1833 and November 1836 on fourteen ships charted specially for the purpose.

Opportunities for the free members of convict families to travel with these single women did not legally exist, and the only way they could gain a free passage to the colony was on female convict ships. The cessation of transportation to New South Wales in 1840 coincided with the formation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, which then became responsible for all assisted immigration to the colonies of Australia. When transportation ended, the means for free spouses of previously transported convicts also ended abruptly. However, their status in the colony as convicts did not cease with the end of transportation, and their applications for their families continued to be presented to the colonial governor. In the three years 1837 to 1840 alone there were 307 successful applications.[41] Between the gazetting of stricter regulations in May 1833 and the formal announcement in December 1842 to terminate the scheme to send convict families to New South Wales, at least 537 men and nine women convicts applied for their families.

In order not to disappoint these already successful applicants, the lobbying of Caroline Chisholm helped to recommence the scheme, which ran on until 1852 when it was replaced by a system whereby any resident in the colony could remit a portion of the fare of any nominated

FAMILIES FROM KERRY or CONVICTS TRIED IN KERRY WHO APPLIED FOR THEIR FAMILIES UNDER THE WIVES AND FAMILIES OF CONVICT SCHEME						
	Convict	**Native Place**	**Trial place and date**	**Convict Ship**	**Wife (maiden if known) children**	**Family arrival and year**
1	Burnell, Michael	Co. Kerry	Manchester, England 8 Aug 1826	*Guildford* 1827	Mary King; 1	no
2	Cahill, Denis	Ballyheigh, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 1 Mar 1822	*Brampton* 1823	Catherine McAlister; 1	wife, 1 child 1828
3	Coffee, Michael	Pyne Lane, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 12 Aug 1824	*Lonach* 1825	Julia Foulne; 4	unknown
4	Collins, Dennis	Derra, Listowel, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry Jul 1834	*Backwell* 1835	Honora Collins; 4	wife, 3 children & extended family
5	Cunningham, James	Rahealy, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 1 Mar 1824	*Boyne* 1826	Ann Conniham (Connor); 1	unknown
6	Duckett, Andrew	Capanacush, Templenoe, Co. Kerry	Co. Cork 29 Mar 1826	*Boyne* 1826	Margaret Dorohy; 5	unknown
7	Eaton (Anton), Matthew	Killarney, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 23 Jul 1835	*Surry* 1836	Mary Carey (Casey); 6	wife, 6 children 1849
8	Griffin, David	Castlegregory, Co. Kerry	Limerick 9 Mar 1838	*Westmoreland* 1838	Ellen Walsh; 2	no
9	Griffin, John	Dunkeron, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 28 Jul 1831	*City of Edinburgh* 1834	Johanna Griffen; 8	unknown

10	Houlihan, Timothy	Possibly Killarney, Co. Kerry 1835	Killarney, Co. Kerry	*Backwell* 1835	Norah Bray; 7	wife, 4 children 1849
11	Hourigan, John	Co. Mayo 6 Aug 1840	Ballylongford, Iraghticonnor, Co. Kerry	*Pekoe* 6 Mar 1840	Mary Hennessy; 7	wife; 4 children 1849
12	Hurley, Richard	Tralee, Co. Kerry Spring assizes 1822 Tralee,	Tralee, Co. Kerry	*Brampton* 1823	Mary Fitzgerald; 4	unknown
13	Joy, Maurice	Co. Kerry 3 Aug 1825	Kelmore near Listowel, Co. Kerry	*Mangles* 1826	Margaret Sullivan; 4	unknown
14	Keefe, Edmond	Co. Kerry 7 Mar 1836	Mountcoal Co. Kerry, near Abbeyfeale	*Earl Grey* 1836	Mary Fitzgerald; 3	No
15	Kenneally, Daniel	Co. Cork 3 Mar 1827	Native of Co. Kerry but she living at Charleville, Co. Cork	*Marquis of Huntley* 1828	Margaret Leary; 2	wife; 2 children 1832
16	Kennedy, unknown	unknown	Dingle, Co. Kerry	unknown	Catherine Kennedy; 2	wife approved to join her husband but other details unconfirmed
17	Kirby, Michael	Co. Kerry 2 Aug 1825	Killurly near Tralee, Co. Kerry	*Mangles* 1826	Johanna Neilan; 3	wife, 1 child 1842
18	Leyne, Cornelius	Co. Kerry 13 Mar 1834	Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry	*Blenheim* 1834	Johanna Leyne; 4	unknown

19	Linnane, Timothy	Lislaughtin, near Ballylongford, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 17 Jul 1837	*Neptune* 1838	Mary Sullivan; 1	wife, 1 child 1849
20	Lynch, Daniel	Kilgarven or Tralee, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 26 Mar 1826	*Boyne* 1826	Joan/Jean Calligan; 4	unknown
21	Lynch, John	Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 3 Aug 1823	*Mangles* 1826	Mrs Lynch; 3	no
22	Mahony (Mahon), Jeremiah	Native of Co. Kerry but she lived at Tower St, Newmarket, Cork, when he applied for her.	Tralee, Co. Kerry 21 Mar 1831	*Asia* 1831	Mary Carver; 1	wife, 1 child 1838
23	McCarthy, John	Castleisland, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 14 Aug 1827	*Borodino* 1822	Ellenor Rooney; 1	No
24	Mealy, Thomas	Lissaniska, Listowel, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry summer 1822	*Isabella* 1823	Mary Connell; ?	unknown
25	Moore, Patrick	Abbeydorney or Kilmanahan near Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 8 Aug 1833	*Blenheim* 1834	Anastatia Roach; 1	wife, 1 child 1850
26	O'Connor (Cannon), John	Ventry, Co. Kerry	Dingle, Co. Kerry 1837	*Calcutta* 1837	Mary Lynch; 3	wife, 3 children 1850
27	O'Neill, William	Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry, Special sessions 1822	*Mangles* 1822	Johanna O'Neil; 1	wife, 1 child 1828

28	Orpen, Edward	Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry summer assizes 1824	*Sir Godrey Webster* 1826	Mrs Orpen; 8	Unknown
29	Pickett, Andrew	Glanbehy, Ballynakilly near Tralee, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 21 Mar 1831	*Asia* 1831	Johanna Foley; 2	no
30	Quinn, James	Listowel, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry Spring assizes 1822	*Brampton* 1823	Ann Lyons; 2	Unknown
31	Quinn, Matthew	Pound Lane, Listowel, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 12 Mar 1833	*Java* 1833	Honora Dillane; 3	Unknown
32	Relehan, Timothy	native of Kerry but wife at St Mary's, Clonmel, Tipperary	Co. Kerry, Summer assizes 1822	*Brampton* 1823	Sarah Fleming; 1	No
33	Riley, John	Co. Kerry	London 14 Jan 1818	*Baring* 1819	Hannah Riley; 1	unknown
34	Shea, Dennis	Glanleigh (Glenbeigh? Glinboy?), 12 miles from Cahirsiveen, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry 13 Mar 1834	*Blenheim* 1834	Mary Hargin; 3	wife, 3 children 1849
35	Shea, John	Kilgarvan near Kenmare, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 15 Aug 1827	*Borodino* 1828	Johanna Casey; 2	unknown

36	Sheeny (alias Kean), John	Ballylongford parish, Listowel, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry special sessions May 1822	*Brampton* 1823	Hanora Carroll; 1	unknown
37	Sughrie (Sughrue), Daniel	Bunaderreen near Cahirsiveen, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 29 Sep 1832	*Blenheim* 1834	Ellen Maranan; 4	unknown
38	Sullivan (alias Donnellian), Daniel	Dingle, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 6 Aug 1823	*Prince Regent* 1824	Catherine Granfell; nil	his mother as convict 1824; wife unknown
39	Sullivan, John	Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 24 Jul 1826	*Mariner* 1827	Ellen Ready; 1	unknown
40	Sullivan, Owen	Killorglin, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 15 Aug 1827	*Borodino* 1828	Mary Brien; 3	No
Convict Women from Kerry						
41	Griffin (alias Sullivan), Mary	Tralee, Co. Kerry	Tralee Mar 1823	*Almorah* 1824	her 3 children	unknown
42	Hanifin (alias Sullivan), Catherine	Brookhill, Co. Kerry	Co. Kerry Oct 1838	*Whitby* 1839	her 2 sons	no
43	Pierce, Mary	Dingle, Co. Kerry	Tralee, Co. Kerry 26 Oct 1835	*Thomas Harrison* 1836	her 4 sons	yes, 4 sons, one with his wife and child 1850

family member. Under these Remittance Regulations many convict families were reunited in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The wonderful stories of these Irish families survive in the records in repositories in Australia, in Ireland and in England. For some individuals transportation was not banishment from family and home but an opportunity to escape poverty, a chance to begin a new life and rather than be victims of their crimes, some convicts were among the best settlers in the new colonies of Australia.

Note about author

Perry McIntyre first visited Ireland in 1987 to attend the *Irish Origins* conference in Kilkenny. Since then her keen interest in the historical connections between Ireland and Australia has led to academic studies, with her main interest being on pre-Famine emigration. This article is drawn from her PhD thesis on the Wives and Families of Convicts Scheme, which concerned Irish convicts whose families were separated by transportation, and focuses on those from County Kerry. Perry has co-led eight genealogical tours to Ireland and has a g-g-grandmother from Listowel.

Notes

1 Convict Indent of *Mariner*, left Cork 14 January 1827, State Records of NSW (hereafter SRNSW) 4/4012, fiche 664, p. 91; ticket of leave 31/842, SRNSW reel 916.

2 List of recommended applications, 15 May 1829, Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 201/203, pp.138-48.

3 SRNSW 4/2097, 33/1166.

4 *Ibid*. Most of the original spelling has been preserved but some punctuation has been inserted for ease of reading; John Sullivan, 28, *Mariner* 1816, free to Frances Nugent, 27, *Woodman* 1823, SRNSW 4/1899, 26/4827; NSW BDM marriage 1826 3910/3, 56/10 and 373/44.

5 Malcolm R. Sainty and Keith A. Johnson (eds.), *Census of New South Wales November 1828*, Library of Australian History (Sydney: 1980), p. 358.

6 Marriage banns 1826, John Sullivan, 28, per *Mariner* 1816, free applied to marry Frances Nugent, 27, per *Woodman* 1823, SRNSW 4/1899, 26/4827. They married in 1826, NSW BDM 3910/3, 56/10 and 373/44.

7 Ellen Sullivan petition from Tralee, 16 April 1828, Chief Secretary's Office, Registered Papers (hereafter CSORP), National Archives Ireland, Dublin

(hereafter NAI) 1828/716 and 16 September 1827, CSORP, NAI 1828/1471.

8 Ellen Sullivan petition, 16 September 1827, CSORP, NAI 1828/1471.

9 Ellen Sullivan petition, 7 April 1830, certified by A.B. Rowan, Clergyman; Thomas Spring, Magistrate; Robert C. Hurley, Magistrate and John Hurley, Clerk, CSORP, NAI 1830/509.

10 CSORP, NAI 1830/509.

11 Free Settlers Papers (hereafter FSP) 1831 1, list G, supplementary list, Chief Secretary's office, 18 February 1831; Whitehall to Gossett, 25 August 1831, and FS 1831 1, list dated 25 August 1831, includes no. 104 in supplementary list, John Sullivan per *Mariner* 1827.

12 Annotation by Elliot on Catherine Hanafin's application for her sons, despatch no. 222, Governor of NSW to Colonial Office, 2 November 1847, CO 201/385.

13 Catherine Hanafin's application, CO 201/385.

14 Petition, dated Pittwater, 21 October 1847, SRNSW 4/2762.1, 47/6030 in 47/8453.

15 Emigration Register of Applications for passages to the Colonies for Convicts' families, 1848-1873, no. 109 for David Griffin's family, CO 386/154, Australian Joint Copying Project (hereafter AJCP), reel 987.

16 Emigration Register of Applications for Passages, CO 386/154, AJCP reel 987.

17 Dublin Castle, 20 August 1836, list of convicts declined passage, SRNSW 4/2359.2, 37/737.

18 G.P. Walsh, "Jamison, Sir John (1776 - 1844)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (hereafter *ADB*), vol. 2 (Melbourne University Press: 1967), pp. 10-12. Also see http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au

19 Correspondence from Dublin Castle, 15 and 27 November 1837, in Musters and Papers, SRNSW 2/8282, reel 2428, p. 161.

20 Memorandum from Dublin Castle, 15 November 1837, SRNSW 2/8255, reel 2420, p. 100; Musters and Papers, SRNSW 2/8282, reel 2428, p. 161.

21 Petition of Dennis Collins, dated Kiama, Illawarra, 28 October 1847, SRNSW 4/2762.1, 47/7730.

22 Petition of Matthew Eaton 7 July 1842 SRNSW 4/2550.1, 42/4929 and 42/5088; petition 21 October 1847, SRNSW 4/2762.1, 47/6146 in 47/8453.

23 FSP, 18 March 1836, 1836/11.

24 Wives and Families of Convicts on Bounty Ships, 1849-55, SRNSW 4/4819, fiche 837, p. 2.

25 The official end date of transportation to New South Wales, excluding the "Exiles" in 1849-1850, was the arrival of the *Eden* to Sydney on 18 November 1840. A few convicts were sent from India, South Australia, Western Australia and the Cape of Good Hope in 1841 and 1842, but this was after the "official end" of transportation in 1840.

26 Ellis Bent was the deputy-judge-advocate in the colony from January 1809 and arrived on the *Dromedary* with Lachlan Macquarie who became his firm friend, C.H. Currey, "Ellis Bent (1783-1815)", *ADB*, vol. 1, pp. 87-92.

27 Macquarie said acceptance back into society was the greatest inducement to reformation. Governor Macquarie to Viscount Castlereagh, despatch no. 3, 30 April 1810, *HRA,* series I, vol. VII, pp. 275-6. He named William Redfern, assistant surgeon; Andrew Thompson, a successful farmer and proprietor of land, and Simeon Lord, an opulent merchant, as some he had "admitted to his table." Also see Macquarie on well-behaved emancipists, Governor Macquarie to the Duke of York, 25 July 1817, *HRA,* series 1, vol. IX, pp. 442-3 and discussion of Macquarie's policies in McLachlan, "Lachlan Macquarie", *ADB,* vol. 2, p. 191.

28 Quote from poem cited by McLachlan, "Lachlan Macquarie", *ADB*, vol. 2, p. 194.

29 In 1995 I created a database of all the extant tickets of leave for convicts in New South Wales covering the years 1810-75 which has now been linked to the Wives and Families of Convicts Database. In looking at these 47,114 tickets of leave I gained an understanding of this form of pardon. Limited fields of the this index are now available at the Society of Australian Genealogists at www.sag.org.au

30 "1812 Select Committee on Transportation", *BPP*, p. 13.

31 Macquarie continually referred to the contribution of ex-convicts to the development of the colony. For example, Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, despatch no. 5 of 1815, 22 June 1815, *HRA,* series I, vol. VIII, p. 507; Governor Macquarie to Mr Commissioner Bigge, 6 November 1819, *HRA*, series I, vol. X, p. 222; Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, despatch no. 2, 22 February 1820, *HRA,* series I, vol. X, p. 216.

32 Regulations concerning wives and families of convicts, "Government Public Notice, Secretary's Office, Sydney", *Sydney Gazette*, 1 March 1817.

33 There are many examples but a few are Mortimer and Westlake requested by Governor Phillip, Sydney Cove, 28 September 1788, CO 201/3, p. 97; Governor Macquarie recommended wife of Reuben Hannan, Governor Macquarie to Under Secretary Goulburn, 20 August 1813, *HRA*, series I, vol. VIII, p. 78.

34 Brisbane was governor 1821-5, Darling was governor 1825-31, Bourke was governor 1831-7 and transportation ended during Gipps' term 1838-46.

35 R. Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, facsimile edition (RAHS and Sydney University Press: 1974; first published by Sampson, Low, Son and Co., London: 1863), p. 93; Brisbane governed the colony 1821-5.

36 Governor Brisbane to Earl Bathurst, despatch no. 4, 9 February 1822, *HRA*, series 1, vol. X, p. 623 and full list in "missing despatches", ML A1193, pp. 217, 221-31.

37 Arthur McMartin, *Public Servants and Patronage: The Foundation and Rise of the New South Wales Public Service, 1786-1859* (Sydney University Press: 1983), pp. 67-8.

38 Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales*, p. 93.

39 Elizabeth Rushen, *Single and Free: Female Migration to Australia 1833-1837*, (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2003), pp. 3-4; Robin F. Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia: Schemes, Regulations and Arrivals, 1831-1900 and Some Vital Statistics 1834-1860*, Occasional Papers in Economic History, no. 3 (Adelaide: Flinders University of South Australia: 1995), pp. 1-2.

40 Rushen, *Single and Free*, p. 4.

41 Wives and Families of Convicts Database created by Perry McIntyre for "Deserted and Despised Innocent Sufferers": the immigration of free families of convicts to NSW 1788-1852, with particular reference to the Irish, PhD thesis, University of Western Sydney, September 2006.

Port na bPúcaí – the Fairy Music of the Blaskets

Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh

Geographical borders cannot be put around any piece of music – very often one piece of music has influenced another, and often one cannot be certain who composed a piece or where it was composed. An example of this was when I visited New Zealand in 1995. At a session in Dunedin I played a West Kerry polka that I was certain originated here, but a couple of other musicians joined me and I was amazed that they had it. "Where did you get that?" I asked them. They told me it was a Scottish march called *The Barren Rocks of Aden*, they themselves being of Scottish origin. Following that I researched some other West Kerry polkas and found that quite a few of them are based on Scottish marches.

This type of thing happens also when a piece of music unconsciously influences a composer who thinks his or her composition is brand new. I had another experience of this once at a session in Ballyferriter some years ago. A group of American musicians came in with fiddles, banjo and guitars. They were shy at first: it seemed that we didn't have much in common with each other but we encouraged them to play – they played and then we played. Then we stared up a set of polkas including *Port Tom Mhic* (Gromaill), and suddenly we were all playing together. When finished we asked how they knew that one. "Oh, that's one of ours," they said. "*Buffalo Gals*." A local man near by said to me quietly, "Don't you know that Tom Mhic was in the States for a time" (Fig. 1).

With regard to the music of the Blaskets, it is difficult to say what originated there. Music from the mainland had a great influence on the Island musicians and, like the language itself, is a form of communication. In my youth when visiting West Kerry, I found that Seán Maguire was the great hero of the Blasket musicians – Seán Ceaist Ó Catháin and Seáinín Mhicil Ó Súilleabháin especially – and that from gramaphone records.

It was from Seán Ceaist that I first heard *Port na bPúcaí* when Seán de Hóra brought me to visit him at home in Dún Chaoin in the early 1960s. Later I got to know the version of Tomás Ó Dálaigh (Tom an

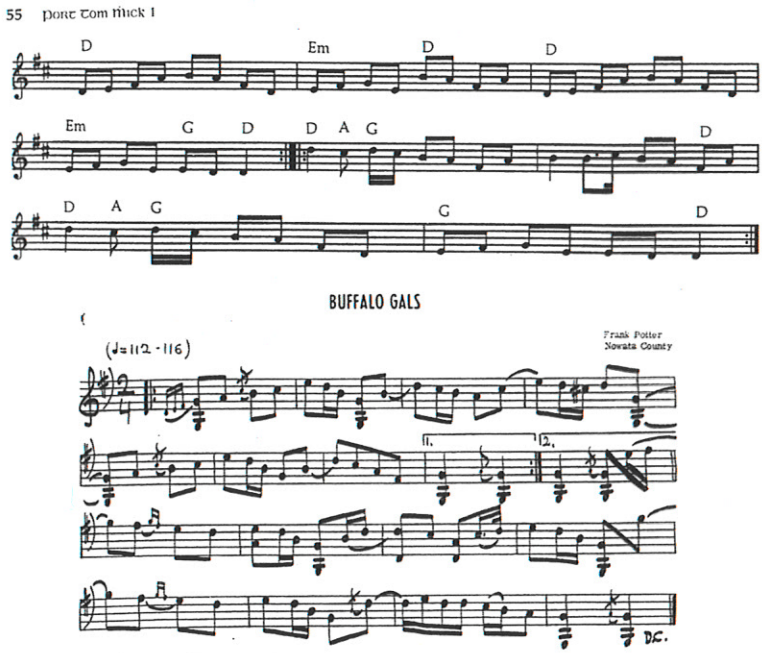


Figure 1. The west Kerry polka, *Port Tom Mhic*, and *Buffalo Gals*.

Oileáin or Tom na hInise, born in Inisvickillaun) who also gave me the words.

There was nothing strange about Seán Ceaist having one version or style and Tom an Oileáin having another. It is quite common to have various versions of a tune doing the rounds in traditional circles today, and it is certainly the case with *Port na bPúcaí*.

Referring to this, Muiris Mhaidhc Léan Ó Guithín told Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine, "They all had *Port na bPúcaí*, but they didn't play it as you would hear it today."[1]

It is part of the tradition that music changes according as it is played, especially when the

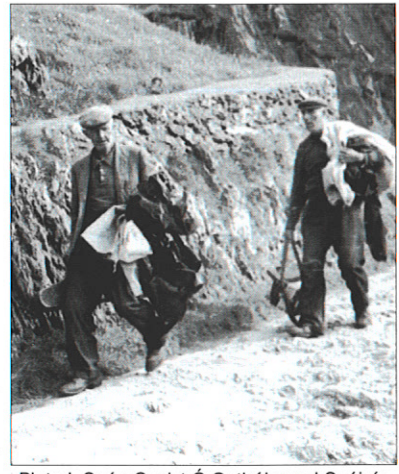


Plate I. Seán Ceaist Ó Catháin and Seáinín Mhicil Ó Súilleabháin, 1968.
Pict: Maria Simonds-Gooding

musician is learning by ear and not depending on written notation. Take, for example, James Goodman's written version of *An Clár Bog Déil*: it is totally different from how it is performed today.[2] But Goodman's version is that of his time, the mid-1800s, which remained on ice, as it were, in Trinity College Dublin Library until published by the Traditional Music Archive in 1993, edited by Hugh Shields, under the title *Tunes of the Munster Pipers*.

On the other hand, Turlough O'Carolan's music has remained unchanged due to its notation by Edward Bunting from 1796-1840. And another far-seeing collector, Francis O'Neill of Chicago, published thousands of tunes and airs in the early 1900s. Musicians today still depend on these two collectors as sources and are grateful to them both for their efforts.

Plate II. Tom ("An Oileáin"/"Na hInise") Ó Dálaigh, 1969.

In the case of the Blasket music, and especially in the case of *Port na bPúcaí*, we are totally dependent on the playing tradition, and that from one musician to another, from generation to generation. And often when a musician learns a tune from another, he then goes on to make his own of it. And so on.

Take, for example, the *Port na bPúcaí* versions of Seán Ceaist and Cormac Breatnach. The bones of Seán Ceaist's version are in the Breatnach version, but the two are not totally the same.[3] And who is to say that Seán Ceaist had the correct version? Or Tom an Oileáin? We are,

Notable Collectors of Irish Traditional Music

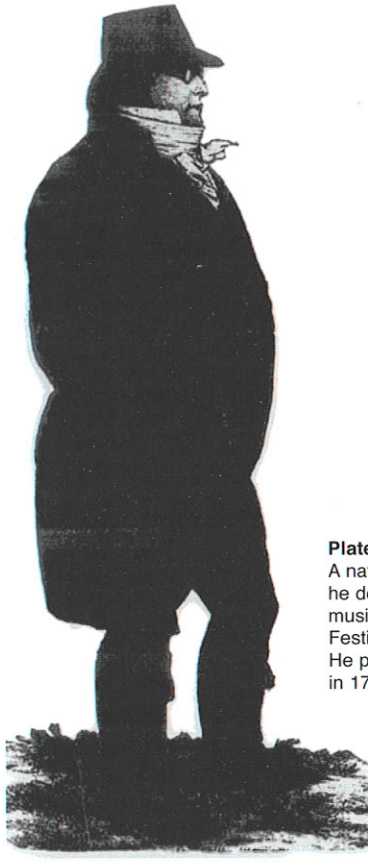


Plate III. Canon James Goodman 1828-1896
Born in Ballymore, near Dingle,he was appointed first professor of Irish in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1884 while continuing as Church of Ireland minister in Skibbereen, Co. Cork.

Plate IV. Edward Bunting 1773-1843
A native of the town of Armagh, he devoted his life to collecting Irish music following the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792.
He published three major collections in 1796, 1809 and 1840.

Plate V. Francis O'Neill
1848-1936
Native of Tralibane near Bantry, west Cork,
Chief of Police, Chicago 1901-1905.
Published nine works of traditional Irish music, most notably *Music of Ireland* containing 1850 melodies.

after all, talking about a tradition spanning five or six generations.

Along with that, musicians arrange a piece of music to their own liking, and if the musician is one of some repute, then that arrangement will be taken up by others. A simple example of this is the song *The Cliffs of Dooneen*, mostly associated with Christy Moore, who has moved the song from one county to another simply by the change of one word. From Christy's version it would seem to be a Clare song, when in fact it is a Kerry song. For the Cliffs of Dooneen are on the headland at Beul between Ballybunnion and Ballylongford, north of Asdee, and composed by a Jack McAuliffe of Dysert near Lixnaw. Christy sings, "Take a view o're the mountains, fine sights you'll see there..." while "Take a view o'er the Shannon ..." is the original version.

A similar error occurs in the case of *Róisín Dubh*, or *Mise Éire* as people often refer to it from the Seán Ó Riada version for the film of the same name.

Róisín Dubh

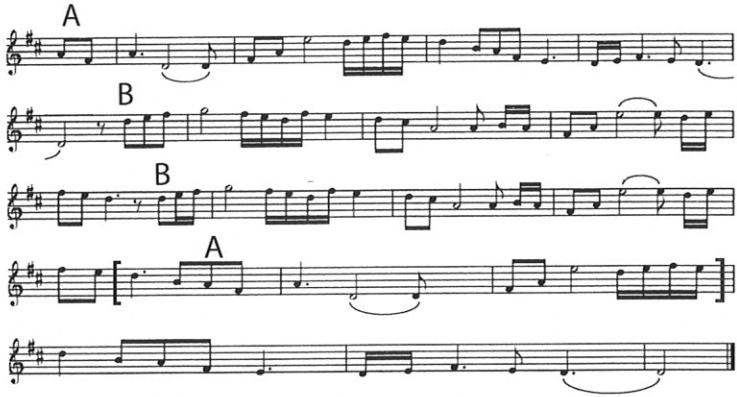
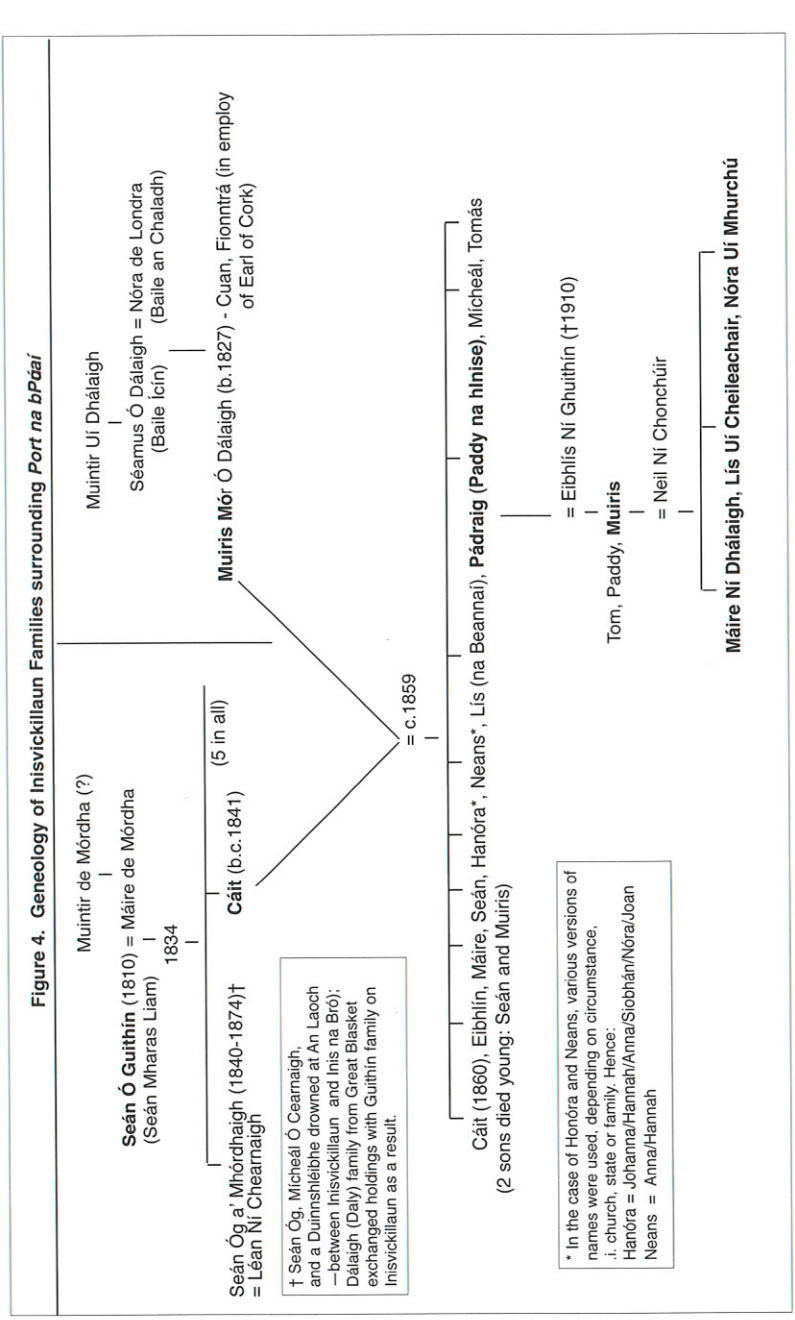


Fig.2 Correct arrangement of *Róisín Dubh.*

Róisín Dubh is formatted A B B A – that is, first part once, second part twice, followed by first part again – all of which agrees with the words of the song. Often, however, the repeat of the first part is cut, omitting the piece within brackets [above] and finishing short, which leaves those who know the words in some discomfort. Willie Clancy always maintained that one should never attempt to play an air to a song without being familiar with the words. Good advice, but traditional music gives musicians a freedom to do as they wish.

In the case of *Port na bPúcaí,* there are words to it, although we don't know when they were written. Words were added to many pieces of

Figure 4. Geneology of Inisvickillaun Families surrounding *Port na bPáiste*



Mhúraigh's granddaughter, Cáit Ní Ghuithín (Figure 4).

I spent a lot of time researching the genealogies of both families – with Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine, *beannacht Dé leis*, with Máire Ní Dhálaigh who had been working on Mícheál's book on Inisvickillaun,[8] and then with Leslie Matson who has carried out major research into Blasket genealogies. I gave up in the end because it would require a major study in itself to trawl through all that is involved and have therefore only presented here the main players connected to the *Port na bPúcaí* story.

In support of the theory that it was a Daly who heard the *Port*, George Thomson wrote in 1977:

> The most preferred story among the islanders was the "Lay of Oisín in Tír na nÓg". They believed that place was situated behind Inisvickillaun, the nicest and most solitary of all the Blaskets. The old people believed it was under some spell right up to their own time; as evidence of this there was "Port na bPúcaí", fairy music heard about 100 years ago.[9]

Go back 100 years from 1977 and the Dalys are well established in the Inis by that time. But if we accept Kruger's version, and in spite of his naming of the Dalys, he adds a further 100 years to Thomson's estimate.

And then there is another version of the story from Peig Sayers, who places its origin in the parish of Dún Chaoin and also refers to it as "a song":

> … he was going home. He was going in the direction of a place called An Coire, a big cove a bit west of Tóin na Gualann. The evening was beautiful with the lonely murmur of the waves washing among the rocks on the shore. The young man heard the song being played. He looked down and he saw a fairy piper on a big flagstone on the water's edge and he playing. He was proficient in music and dancing and he picked up the fairy song.
>
> The Blasket people say it was first heard in Inisvickillaun. No, it was on the big flagstone at An Coire near Cuas na gColúr that Seán Eoghan's son heard it. It was from Dún Chaoin that the song went to the Island. A man from Comíneoil who had spent time in Inisvickillaun brought the song there.[10]

Pádraig Ua Maoileoin believed that the tune was first heard on a flute and by fishermen out on the sea off the Inis, but the traditional understanding is that it was the sound or voice of a fairy woman and that a fiddler in the Inis picked it up from that.

There are many questions concerning all of this. I don't know what sources Pádraig Ua Maoileoin had for the music to have been played on the flute – and he was so definite about this that he included it in his stage play, *Ár Leithéidí Arís*, in the Peacock Theatre in Dublin in 1972.[11]

We cannot be sure what musical instruments there were in the Inis at that time, if any. There is no evidence at all that they had musical instruments there. *Portaireacht bhéil*, mouth music or puss music, is always referred to. Take this passage by Tomás Ó Criomhthain, for example, describing a visit by him to the Inis:

> We went out after that, myself and the two lads and the five girls, down to the edge of the landing place that was there, the most spacious level area that anyone ever stood on and the place where anyone who ever landed there could do anything he wanted.
>
> We weren't there long when one of the girls said it would be a nice place to do a four-handed reel. Then the older lad said, "We will indeed," and he told one of his sisters to play, calling her by name Siobhán. But there was one good thing about Siobhán, you didn't have to ask her a second time, and the other good thing was that she played the best ever.[12]

There is no indication there that they had a musical instrument with them, although Tomás says that Siobhán played music. We can safely say that it was *portaireacht* that was meant which was their custom, and this would add to the belief that the words of *Port na bPúcaí* must have been there from an early stage.

On top of all that, this was a time of great poverty and plenty to spend their little money on besides musical instruments which would have been fairly expensive.

Nóra Ní Shé gives us an account of a conversation between Tomás Criomhthain and Robin Flower (Bláithín) when he asks Tomás why more poetry wasn't composed since the time of Piaras Ferriter and the poet Seán Ó Duinnshléibhe. Tomás answered:

> "The people of the Blaskets had a hard life during those 200 years. They were just surviving and wondering where the next meal would come from. This made life for them contrary; they lost their finesse, their gentility and their placidness. You see, then, that they had not the inclination or interest in poetry or anything cracked like that."
>
> "Cracked?" said Bláithín, amazed that Tomás would use the word cracked in reference to poetry.
>
> "What else but cracked, with the life they had?" said Tomás.[13]

Plate VI. The house on Inisvickillaun

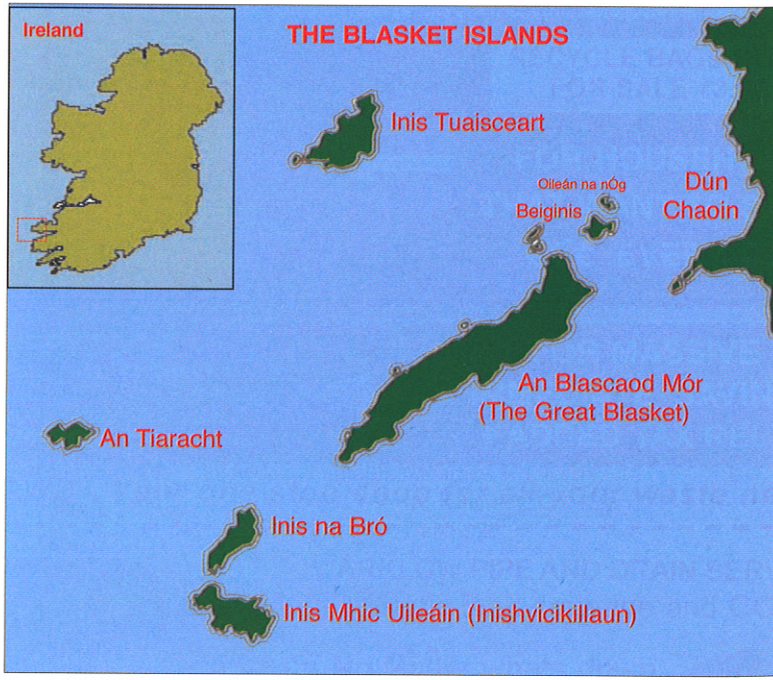


Fig. 5. The Blasket Islands.

We don't know when the islanders began to use musical instruments. You could say the same about the entire country. References to musical instruments are only accidental: they were part of life just like food, drink or sleep and were not made to be extra special. Music is often mentioned in relation to song and dance without being definite as to whether on an instrument the music was played or if puss music was employed.

But the Gael always had music as part of their tradition, back to the time of the harp and even further back than that. The people had some form of musical instruments, whether the whistle, pipes or drums. If there was no money to purchase instruments, the people often made them themselves, be that some form of whistle or even the uileann pipes without today's trimmings of brass, silver and ivory, although the pipes are such a high-maintenance instrument they would require not only money but the availability of craftsmen to maintain them.

Plate VII. 7th-century carved stone, Church Island, Lough Currane, in south Kerry.

Plate VIII. Crwth (1742)
Welch Folk Museum, Cardiff.

We know from history that the harp gave way to the uilleann pipes and fiddle, followed by the flute, the box, the concertina, banjo, guitar, bazouki, mandeoline, and who knows what else will be acceptable in the future.

There is no definite information as to when the fiddle or violin became an integral part of the music tradition among the ordinary people. There is a theory that it was there as part of the harping tradition, as a small harp or lyre played with a bow and called a *fidil*. Mícheál Ó Gealbháin of Cork has written a very interesting thesis on this whole subject which is soon to be published by An Sagart. In his thesis, Ó Gealbháin mentions a figure playing this instrument with a bow on a carved stone at Church Island in Lough Currane near Waterville in south Kerry, known locally as the "Fiddle Stone" (Plate VII).

Seán Ó Riada subscribed to this theory also, going as far as suggesting that the word *fidil* devolved into "veidil" to "veil" to "viol" and so on to "violin". The Welsh word for this bowed instrument is "crwth" [pro. crowd], obviously from the Irish *cruit*.

There is evidence that the harp was strong in the west Kerry area once, and it is known that Piaras Ferriter played harp; we have Lough Cruttia (Harp Lake) north-west of the Conor Pass, and Ballymacadoyle Hill (Baile Mhac a' Daill), in Baile an Ghóilín (Burnham), where lived a family of harpers.[14]

The following is an interesting account of a visit to Dingle by a George Erle of Cumberland, England, in 1589:

> So soon as we anchored here [Ventry haven] my lord went forthwith to shore, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as mutton, pigs, hens, etc., to refresh his company withal. …Soon after the sick and

> wounded men were carried to the next principal town, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant from the aforesaid haven where our ship rode, to the eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the chirurgeons daily to attend upon them. Here we well refreshed ourselves, whilst the Irish harp sounded sweetly in our ears, and here we who for the former extremities were in manner half-dead, had our lives, as it were, restored unto us again.[15]

While this is an account of an event 400 years ago, we have other references to the harp closer than that from Tomás Ó Criomhthain, such as when telling of a visit one Sunday by people from Dún Chaoin:

> There were no noamhógs left in Dún Chaoin because they all came. There were 13 from the north and seven from the south … The gathering was at Bóthar an Rí, two fiddlers with two harps…[16]

It would be interesting to know why Tomás referred to the fiddle as a *cruit*: was it an echo of the ancient relationship between the fiddle and harp in line with Ó Gealbháin's theory?

Following the harp came the uilleann pipes – a softer version of the warpipes. There is no doubt but that there was a strong tradition of uilleann pipes in this area at the time under discussion. Peig refers to a fairy piper in her account of *Port na bPúcaí*. Thomas Kennedy, piper and companion of James Goodman, was a native of west Kerry. Sources suggest that he was born in Smerwick and spent time in Dún Chaoin, but Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine believed him to be a native of Dún Chaoin whose family home was situated opposite Kruger's Public House. It was Fr John Casey, parish priest of Ballyferriter, who chased him out along with his brother Andy, a piper also, and who knows what ill effects he had on other musicians and on the tradition generally, in spite of his membership of the Ossianic Society of which James Goodman was also a member.[17]

We have no evidence that the flute was played by the islanders, although Muiris Mhaidhc Léan Ó Guithín told Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine:

> Seán Ceaist, Paddy Mharas and Tom na hInise, they all played fiddle and flute. I would often hear them playing out in the bothán.[18]

But the "flute" that Muiris is referring to would be a tin whistle or a reed whistle.

> Mike File, when referring to the effect of music on seals, writes: "We

> often took a *feadán ceoil* with us in the naomhóg to chase them from the fishing nets…" [19]

James Goodman played flute and, as was often the custom, moved on to the pipes, but there is no evidence that the flute as we know it was played by islanders. Only very recently I came upon the reason why the flute suddenly became part of the tradition at the turn of the 20th century. Evidently it was used in the British army bands, but at this time was discarded for the silver flute and, as a result, many wooden flutes became available at reasonable cost to traditional musicians, now being fully part of the tradition.

The box or accordion was a totally modern phenomenon which didn't arrive in Ireland until the early years of the last century. It was gaining popularity for Irish music in America at that time, but frowned upon in some quarters, especially by Francis O'Neill as he gives us an account of a flute-player from Wexford around 1906:

> The melodeon being "all the go", he acquired commendable proficiency on that alien instrument, but abandoned its use with the Irish Revival.[20]

It would seem that the box didn't appear on the island until the late 1920s or early 1930s. Eibhlís Ní Shúilleabháin tells us of a box being sent to the island by an American friend, John Cullen. Referring to winter pastimes on the island, she says:

> We would go home and play the fiddle or melodeon. There was nothing east of the village but fiddlers…[21]

And although there was no great tradition of concertina playing in this area, and especially on the Blasket, Robin Flower tells us the following:

> The loft over the fire is heaped with implements of the Island existence; nets, bags of wool, sails, oars, ladders, boots and concertinas, sheers for sheep-shearing, panniers for turf carrying, an epitome of all the simple life.[22]

I always understood that Muiris O'Sullivan's preferred instrument was the box, but in his own book, when talking about George Thomson's last night on the island, he states:

> When I had eaten my supper, I took the fiddle down from the loft. "It

> seems there will be dancing at the top of the village tonight," said my grandfather when he saw the fiddle in my hands...[23]

It is often said that fiddles were made in the Blasket. Seán Sheáin Í Cearnaigh says:

> One year there was little for us to do but make fiddles. We got the timber for them from the sea and the glue from Dingle. There were two fiddles in every house on the Island...[24]

And an account from *Romantic Hidden Kerry* by O'Sullivan, published in 1931:

> On the Island the visitor is surprised to find a number of fiddles. At present there are four purchased in shops and an equal number of home-made instruments.[25]

As far as can be ascertained, there are none of these home-made fiddles anywhere today. Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine told me that, on a visit to Springfield, he heard that a Blasket family there had one but that it had gone to Germany and he was unable to find out anything more about it.

Paul Coleman, who spent a year on the island around 1987, found a hand-carved scroll, roughly cut from a piece of wood. As to whether this was evidence of serious fiddle making is questionable. Violin making is a fine craft with the instrument containing seventy-six individual pieces of timber.

However, there is quite an amount of literary evidence that attempts were made and success of some sort achieved. R.M. Lockley, who spent time on the Inis in 1936, attributes the tradition of island fiddle making to Peaidí Mharas "na hInise" Ó Dálaigh, a good fiddler himself by all accounts and father of Tom an Oileáin and Deálaí:

> Pat Daly is a remarkable man. Born in Inisvickillaun with ten or eleven brothers and sisters, he is the only one of the family who has remained to care for the island, most of the others having emigrated, with the majority of the Blasket people, to America ... He built the first Blasket violin, and started almost an industry in consequence.[26]

Plate IX. Peaidí Mharas "na hInise" Ó Dálaigh

Seáinín Mhicil Ó Súilleabháin, in a filmed interview for the National Folklore Collection, described in detail how he himself made a fiddle but that it was very heavy and soon fell apart.[27]

As mentioned above, the church under Fr Casey cleared the local musicians from the area, but at this time there also occurred the Great Famine, and musicians headed for America with their trade. Many did well for themselves, playing in the music halls there.

Again, Muiris Mhaidhc Léan Ó Guithín told Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine:

> My own uncle, Mike, my mother's brother, played the fiddle. He had *Port na bPúcaí*. He went to America and he played in the music halls there. He made a great job of *Port na bPúcaí*. Twice he came home. He came home the year of the Lady, 1909.[28]

There can be no doubt but that the fiddle was the most common instrument in use on the Blaskets, and there is evidence of that going back nearly 200 years. Robin Flower was quite definite that it was on the fiddle that the *Port* was first played and by a musician from the Inis:

> In the old days, when this island was inhabited, a man sat alone one night in his house, soothing his loneliness with a fiddle. He was playing, no doubt, the favourite music of the country-side, jigs and reels and hornpipes, the hurrying tunes that would put light heels on the feet of the dead. But, as he played, he heard another music without, going over the roof in the air. It passed away to the cliffs and returned again, and so backwards and forwards again and again, a wandering air wailing in repeated phrases, till at last it had become familiar in his mind, and he took up the fallen bow, and drawing it across the strings followed note by note the lamenting voices as they passed above him. Ever since, that tune, *Port na bPúcaí*, "the fairy music", has remained with his family, skilled musicians all, and, if you hear it played by a fiddler of that race, you will know the secret of Inisicíleáin.[29]

For those who don't believe or subscribe to fairies, it has been suggested that the original sound may have been the crying of seals or whales. Back in the 1980s, Ciarán Mac Mathúna made a very interesting radio documentary broadcast on his RTÉ Radio programme, *Mo Cheol Thú*. Taking part were Pádraig Ua Maoileoin and Charlie Haughey, along with samples of the *Port* by various musicians. In the programme he gave an example of the sound of the whale and compared it to the formation of the tune as played by Tommy Peoples.[30]

Whatever the truth, and even in spite of what Peig Sayers says in her

Plate X. Humpbacked Whale

account, according to most sources and the Blasket tradition, *Port na bPúcaí, Caoineadh na hInise, Port na hInise, Caoineadh na bhFairies* or *Caoineadh na Síog* originated in Inisvickillaun and was taken up by the residents of the Inis at the time, be they Guiheens or Dalys.

And if the whole thing is a lie, so be it, because one thing is for sure, *ní mise a chum ná a cheap!*

Note about author

This article is based on a talk given by the Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh at Ceiliúradh an Bhlascaoid in October 2006, the theme of which was "The Musical Pulse of the Islands".[31] A musician and collector, he runs his own business, Inné typesetting and graphic design, in Dún Chaoin, County Kerry.

Notes

1 Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine (1942-2006), former headmaster in Dún Chaoin school, assisted the author in making his notes on interviews with former Blasket Islanders available for research for this article.

2 Hugh Shields (ed.), *Music of the Munster Pipers, Irish Traditional Music from the James Goodman Manuscripts* (Dublin: 1998), p. 8.

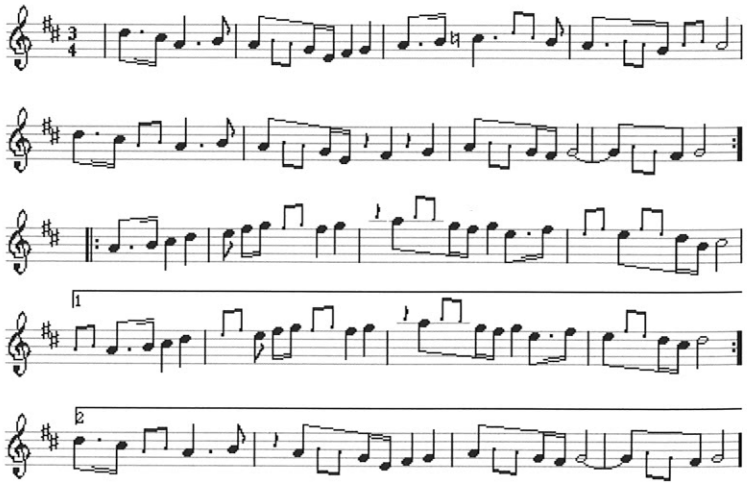
3 *Beauty an Oileáin: Music and Song of the Blasket Islands*, Claddagh

CC56CD; Cormac Breatnach playing *Port na bPúcaí* on YouTube at www.cormacbreatnach.com

4 Seán Ó Criomhthain, *Leoithne Aniar* (Baile an Fheirtéaraigh: 1982), p. 11.

5 Kruger Kavanagh, personal papers held in private collection.

6 Shortened version of *Port na bPúcaí* with ornamatation:



7 Kruger Kavanagh, *ibid*.

8 Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine, *Inis Mhic Uibhleáin* (Daingean Uí Chúis: 2007).

9 Seoirse Mac Thomáis, *An Blascaod Mar a Bhí* (Má Nuad: 1977), p. 21.

10 Mícheál Ó Guithín, *Beatha Pheig* Sayers (Baile Átha Cliath: 1970), pp. 97-8.

11 Pádraig Ua Maoileoin, *Ár Leithéidí Arís* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1978).

12 Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Seán Ó Coileáin, eag. *An tOileánach* (Baile Átha Cliath: 2002), p. 179.

13 Breandán Ó Conaire (eag.), *Tomás an Bhlascaoid* (Indreabhán: 1992), p. 162.

14 Known as Harperstown in the sixteenth century. *Mac a' Daill* from "blind" as were many harpers: Steve MacDonogh, *The Dingle Peninsula* (Dingle, 1993), p. 83; Eibhlín Ní Mhurchú, Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, eag., "Ceol agus Rince Mo Cheantar Dúchais ó 1800 go dtí 1880", in *Séamus Goodman, Iris na hOidhreachta 2* (Baile an Fheirtéaraigh: 1990), p. 100; Doncha Ó Conchúir, in *Corca Dhuibhne* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1973), p. 104.

15 Edward Wright, *The Voyage of the Right Honourable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores,* vol. 2, "The Principal Navagations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by sea or overland to the south and south-east parts of the World at any time within the Compasse of these 1,600 years". (I am grateful to Dr Conor Brosnan, An Daingean, for

informing me of this text. For the full account of Wright's visit to Kerry, see: http://www.fullbooks.com/The-Principal-Navigations-Voyages-Traffiquesx40092.html).

16 Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Pádraig Ua Maoileoin, eag., *Allagar na hInise* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1977, an chéad chló 1928), p. 213.

17 Art Ó Beoláin, "Séamus Goodman: A Shaol agus a Shaothar", and Eibhlín Ní Mhurchú, "Ceol agus Rince Mo Cheantar Dúchais ó 1800 go dtí 1880", in *Séamus Goodman, Iris na hOidhreachta 2,* pp. 60-2, 104.

18 Muiris Mhaidhc Leán Ó Guithín in interview with Micheál Ó Dúbhshláine.

19 National Folklore Archives 1459:82, 1956.

20 Francis O'Neill, *Irish Minstrals and Musicians* (Chicago: 1913), p. 415.

21 Eibhlís Ní Shúilleabháin, Seán Ó Coileáin, ed., *Letters from the Great Blasket* (Cork: 1978), p. 49.

22 Robin Flower, *The Western Island* (Oxford: 1944), p. 44.

23 Maurice O'Sullivan, *Twenty Years A-Growing* (London: Oxford University Press 1953) p. 237; Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, *Fiche Blian ag Fás* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1933), p. 189.

24 Seán Sheáin Í Chearnaigh, *An tOileán a Tréigeadh* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1974), p. 56.

25 Thomas O'Sullivan, *Romatic Hidden Kerry* (Tralee: 1931), p. 574.

26 R.M. Lockley, *I Know an Island* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1938, reprint 1948), pp. 125-6.

27 Seáinín Mhicil Ó Súilleabháin talking to Séamus Feiritéar on a National Folklore Collection video in the 1980s.

28 Muiris Mhaidhc Leán Ó Guithín in interview with Micheál Ó Dúbhshláine; "the Lady" refers to Eibhlín Nic Niocaill (Eileen Nicholls): Mícheál Ó Dubhshláine, *Óigbhean Uasal ó Phríomhchathair Éireann* (Baile Átha Cliath: 1992); *A Dark Day on the Blaskets* (Dingle: 2003).

29 Flower, Robin, *The Western Island*, p. 112.

30 TPCD 001; also Seán Ceaist Ó Catháin on Claddagh CC56CD; and a most unusual but beautifully executed version on the highland pipes by Allan MacDonald on *Fhuair Mi Pog* (Margaret Stewart and Allan MacDonald) CDTRAX 132.
To hear the sound of the humpbacked whale, go to
http://cetus.ucsd.edu/sound_library/baleen/rorqual/humpback.php
and http://www.whalesounds.com/home/index.html.

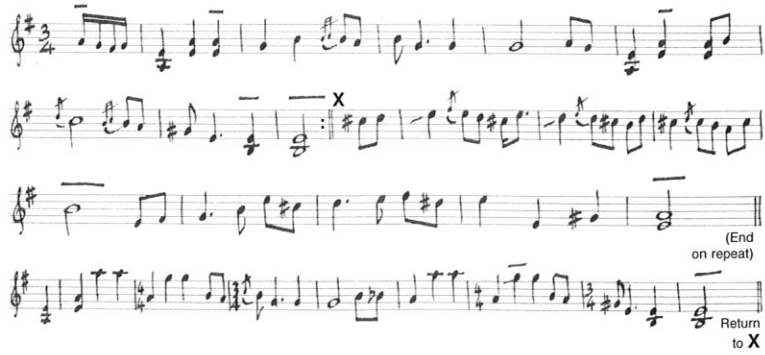
31 Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh, Dáithí de Mórdha (eag.) "Port na bPúcaí agus a mBaineann Leis", *Ceiliúradh an Bhlascaoid 11: Cuisle Ceoil na nOileán* (Baile Átha Cliath: 2007).

ADDENDUM

Since completing this article, I have rekindled an interest in the haunting slow air from Donegal known as *Paddy's Rambles Through the Park*. I first heard it played by Mick Kinsella on hormonica and it has also been recorded by Paddy Glackin and Frankie Gavin on fiddles, and James Keane on accordion. And a fine performance of the tune by Ed Paloucek of Milwaukee, Wisconsin USA, on fiddle can be accessed on the web at http://www.atlanticwave.us/craicd.html

Recently I learned the tune myself and what struck me was how the construction of the tune is almost an exact mirror of *Port na bPúcaí*. I then investigated the the story behind it and found it again to be an echo, if not a repeat, of the Inisvickillaun story.

The tune is assocated with the fiddler John Doherty, a relative of whom, in the late 1800s, was returning home from a night of music when he heard a banshee singing in the grounds of the local demesne. He tried to catch up with the singer, going from one cairn of stones piled up in the park to another, but she kept eluding him. At dawn, he still had not succeeded but, by then, he had the air himself.



See: *The Northern Fiddler, Music and Musicians of Donegal and Tyrone*, Allen Feldman & Eamonn O'Doherty (Belfast: 1979), pp. 54, 96.

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PROCEEDINGS 2007

January 30	Annual General Meeting TRALEE LIBRARY
February 6	*Seeing through Counties: Geography and identity in Ireland* Dr. Patrick O'Connor, University of Limerick LISTOWEL LIBRARY
February 27	T*he Irish Colleges in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Paris* Dr. Liam Chambers, University of Limerick TRALEE LIBRARY
March 6	*Wm Melville – Sneem Spymaster* Helen O'Carroll, Kerry County Museum KILLARNEY LIBRARY
March 15	*Ringforts* Michael Monk, Dept. of Archaeology U.C.C. KILLARNEY LIBRARY
March 26	Nóra Ní Shuilliobháin Memorial Lecture *Trinity College Lands in County Kerry* Kenneth Nichols, U.C.C. NATIONAL LIBRARY, DUBLIN
March 27	*3rd Earl of Kerry* Patrick Pilkington, M.A., University of London. TRALEE LIBRARY
April 10	*The Cailleach in Beara and Beyond* Dr. Gearóid Ó Crualaoich, U.C.C. Kenmare Library
April 30-May 4	Away tour: Westport, Co. Mayo
May 20	Field Outing: Castleisland Leader: M. Prenderville, Archaeologist
June 10	Field Outing: Minard Leader: Roibeard Ó Cathasaigh, Lios Póil and University of Limerick.

June 21	Field Outing: Aghadoe Abbey Leader: An tAthair Tomás Ó Luanaigh, S.P., An Daingean
July 8	Field Outing: Listowel — Lartigue Memorial Leader: Jack McKenna
July 22	Field Outing: Newcastlewest Leader: John Cussen, Historian
August 12	Field Outing: Dún Chaoin *In ómós do Mhícheál Ó Dubhshláine* Siúlóid le Domhnall Mac Síthigh, Staraí
September 2	Heritage Week Field Outing: Inch Beach
September 27	*The Penal Laws in 18th-Century Ireland — Reconsidered* Liam Irwin University of Limerick.
October 11	*Folklore and Legends* Professor Daithí Ó hÓgain, U.C.D.
November 12	*Kerry Surnames* Dr. Paul McCotter, Historian, Cork
November 25	Annual Lunch and Presentation of Heritage Award Fels Point Hotel, Tralee
November 27	*Boer War — Kerrymen in Irish Transvaal Brigade* Michael Walshe, Westport.

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Allen County Public Library, Genealogy Periodicals, 900 Webster ST, Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270, U.S.A.
Ardfert Retreat Centre, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.

Ballinakella Press, Hugh Weir, Whitegate, Co. Clare.
Belfast Education & Library Board, Belfast Public Library, Periodical Sections, Central Library Royal Av., Belfast BT1 1EA, Northern Ireland.

Clare County Library, Mill Road, Ennis, Co. Clare.
Copywrite Printers, Manor West, Tralee, Kerry.
Cork City Library, Grand Parade, Cork City, Cork.
Cork County Library, Model Farm Road, Cork City, Cork.
Cork/Kerry Tourism, Box 44, Tourist House, Grand Parade, Cork.
Cornell University Libraries, Serials Dept., 110-B, OLIN Library, Ithaca, New York 14853-5301, U.S.A.

Derrynane Hotel, Caherdaniel, Co. Kerry.
Díseart, Institute of Education and Celtic Culture, Green Street, An Daingean, Co. Chiarraí.
Donegal County Library, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

Dublin City Public Libraries, ILL Section-Bibliographic Ctr, Dublin 7.
Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4.

Education Centre, The, Dromtacker, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Elizabeth Smith, The Library, Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government, Custom House Dublin 1.

Franciscan Friary, Killarney, Co. Kerry.
Franciscan Library, Dún Mhuire, Seafield Rd, Killiney, Co. Dublin.

Genealogical Society of Utah, Purchase Acquisitions- Serials, 50 E North Temple St-Rm 599, Salt Lake City, UT 84150-3400, U.S.A.
Great Southern Hotel, Parknasilla, Sneem, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

Harvard College Library, Serial Services-Widener 190, 1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA 02138-6500, U.S.A.
Holy Cross Priory, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

Institute of Technology, Tralee, Dromtacker, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

Kerry County Library, Moyderwell, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Kerry County Museum, Ashe Memorial Hall, Denny St, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Killarney Bookshop Ltd, 32 Main Street, Killarney, Co. Kerry.
Killarney Credit Union Ltd., Beech Road, Killarney, Co. Kerry.
Killarney Nature Conservation Group, c/o Clare Morris, Ardaneanaigh, Killarney, Co. Kerry.
Killarney Printing Works Ltd, c/o Paddy Mac Monagle, Countess Road, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

Limerick City Museum, Castle Lane, Nicholas Street, Limerick.
Limerick County Library, County Hall, Dooradoyle, Co. Limerick.

Mary Immaculate College Library, Journals Department, South Circular Road, Limerick.
Meath County Library, Railway Street, Navan, Co. Meath.
Mercy Convent, Balloonagh, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Muckross House (Killarney) Ltd, Trustees of Muckross House, Muckross, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

National Museum of Ireland, Kildare St, Dublin 2.

Permanent TSB, 12 Lower Castle St., Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Princeton University Library, Order Division-Periodicals, Princeton, NJ 08544,

U.S.A.

Raidió na Gaeltachta, Baile na nGall, Trá Lí, Co. Chiarraí.
Roscommon County Library, Abbey St, Roscommon.
Royal Irish Academy Library, 19 Dawson St, Dublin 2, Dublin.

Sackler Library, University of Oxford, 1 St. John Street, Oxford OXI 2LG, England.
St. Patrick's College Library, c/o Ms B Staunton, Serials Asst., Drumcondra, Dublin 9.
Sheen Falls Lodge, Kenmare, Co. Kerry.
Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadily, London WIV OHS, England.
State Library of Victoria, Serials Section Technical Services Division, 328 Swanston St, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

The Placenames Commission, Nuala Uí Dhuill, Dún Aimhirgin, 44-49 Bóthar Mespil, Baile Átha Cliath 4.
Tipperary County Library, Castle Avenue, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Tralee Credit Union, 45/47 Ashe Street, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Tralee Town Council, Princes Quay, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

Ulster Museum, Adminstration Officer, Dept. of Archaeology & Ethnograph, Botanic Gardens, Belfast, Co. Antrim, BT9 5AB, Northern Ireland.
University College Cork, Acquisitions Section, Boole Library, Cork.
University of Notre Dame, Serials Acquisitions, 122 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame IN46556-5629, U.S.A.

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