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IS STAIRE CHIARRAÍ

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CONTENTS

Regular Contributors to the Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, 1968 to 2020

By Paul MacCotter

Introduction

This paper sets out to throw some light on journal contributors and their papers as the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society marks the fiftieth printed edition of its journal. Brief biographies of each contributor are given along with a summary of each paper. It is hoped that by doing this, both the academic calibre of the contributors and of their papers will be illustrated, attesting to the quality of the *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and History Society*. The editions of the journal reviewed ran from 1968 to 2020.

The period was too long to consider all papers within it so in order to make the survey manageable I have largely confined myself to authors of more than one paper. Although the Society styles itself the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society the journal is in fact much more of an historical publication, with around three-quarters of contributions lying within the discipline of history, the remainder consisting largely of archaeological contributions.

In the paragraphs below the year in parenthesis is that of the volume date. Entries are organised chronologically as they first appear.

Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin

Prof. Ó Corráin of University College Cork was one of Ireland's leading medievalists and greatest scholars, possessing a remarkable breadth of learning with a particular expertise in the field of the classical Gaelic pedigrees and the Viking Era in Ireland, among many others. The titles he chose for three of his contributions indicates that these were to be the first examples of their genre and that more were to follow. Sadly this was not the case, this proud Kerryman made no further contributions to the Journal as we see from his bibliography of 185 or so papers and books. Donnchadh, under whom I studied, died in 2017.

- *'Studies in West Munster History 1: the regnal succession in Ciarraighe Luachra 741-1165'*. Here Donnchadh presents an historical account of the Uí Conchobair (later O Connor Kerry) lineage, kings of North Kerry, covering the period from *circa* 700 to the 1160s. Extensive pedigrees are reproduced (1968).

- *'Studies in West Munster History 2: Alltraighe'*. A detailed treatment of the various political and genealogical aspects of this superdenomination, mostly confined to north Kerry along the Shannon estuary and across the river in Co. Clare. Again relevant linear genealogies are provided (1969).

- *'A further note on the Alltraighe'*. As above (1970).

- *'The ogham inscription'*, appendix to Tom Fanning's 'Ogham and cross slab, Tralee' (1977).

Dr. Seán Ó Lúaing

Seán was the second most fertile contributor to the Journal after Pádraig de Brún. Dr Seán Ó Lúaing, who died on 10 February 2000, aged 82, was a former head of the translation section of the Houses of the Oireachtas and the author of several books. He was a poet, a contributor to historical journals, and a linguist. He was born in Baile an Fheirtéaraigh in 1917. He was particularly interested in the Fenian period. An honorary degree of Doctor of Celtic Studies was conferred on him by the National University of Ireland at University College Galway in June, 1995.

- *'Some travellers in Kerry'*. Reproduces contemporary accounts by various travellers of their Kerry visits during the early nineteenth century. Particularly valuable commentaries on the towns of Kerry are made. In Dingle 'all looked like Spaniards' while the normal marriage age for girls in Kerry was between the ages of 12 to 14 (1968).

- *'The Phoenix Society in Kerry'*. This was a secret society of supporters who favoured independence for Ireland and which existed largely between 1858 to 1860. As an oathbound secret society it was opposed by the clergy but supported by American Irish Republicans. This is an account of police malpractice and informers (1969)

- *'The Fenian rising in Kerry'*. This is a very detailed account of the rising and of its origins in Kerry, largely covering the period 1867 to 1871. It comes in five sections. The evidence is mostly derived from newspapers (1970 to 1974).

- *'Richard Griffith and the roads of Kerry'*. In the early 1800s the roads of Kerry were in an abominable state and civil engineer Richard Griffith (he of Griffith's Valuation fame) was appointed by the government to repair them and develop a new network based on economic imperatives (in 1822). Griffith supported the new government policy of building entirely new roads funded by central government as against the old baronial system of grand jury taxation to fund repairs. Part of the paper concerns itself with the technology of road building at this time (1975, 1976).

- *'Robin Flower'*. Flower was an English scholar whose main interest lay in the history and literature of the Blasket Islands. Ó Lúaing gives an interesting account of Flower's life and his achievements, including cataloguing the collection of Irish manuscripts held by the British Museum (1977).

- *'Seán óg Ó Caomhánaigh'*. Seán Kavanagh as he was known to English speakers was the brother of the famous Kruger Kavanagh whose public house may still be visited in Dún Chaoin. Seán, who spent much of his life in America, was a teacher, journalist, novelist, anti-treaty intellectual, and lexicographer of Kerry Irish (1978).

- *'Local government in Dingle, Ardfert and Tralee in 1833'*. The contents of this paper are largely the result of a parliamentary commission of 1833. This found that the structure of local governance in the town of Dingle was of medieval origin, with a corporation ruled by a sovereign elected on the feast of Saint James and twelve burgesses, all Protestants. Similar findings related to the other two towns, as for example Tralee, which we read was incorporated in 1613 (1979).

- *'George Thompson alias Seoirse Mac Tomáis'*. Mac Tomáis acted as tutor to Muiris Ó Suilleabháin when the latter was writing his famous 'Twenty Years A-Growing'. He was in many ways a great friend to the dwindling Blasket Island community. A lecturer in University College Galway and later Birmingham University, Thompson's

raison d'etre was the re-interpretation of Greek classical scholarship through the lens of Marxist philosophy (1980).

- *'Muiris Caomhánach in America'*. The first of two accounts of the famous Kruger Kavanagh of Dún Chaoin by Ó Lúaing. This concerns Kavanagh in America (1982/3).

- *'Kruger agus a Ré'*. Maurice "Kruger" Kavanagh was born in Dún Chaoin on the Dingle Peninsula in 1894. He earned his nickname at school, taking the title of Paul Kruger in a re-enactment of the Boer War. Like others, he emigrated to the United States, arriving in 1913. He later became a drama critic and publicist and acted as de Valera's personal bodyguard while he was in America. Kavanagh later returned to Ireland and established his famous pub at Dún Chaoin with its international clientele. Kruger died in 1971 (1984).

- *'William Mauncell Hennessy'*. Hennessy was a leading Celtic scholar of his day (he died in 1889) and was a native of Castlegregory. Celtic Studies of the period was a discipline riddled with enmity and personal dislike but Hennessy remained aloof from this, unlike his friend Whitley Stokes, who also gets much coverage in this paper. Hennessy was the editor of several volumes of annals and was noted for his high academic standards. He acted as a precursor of the later Gaelic League. Hennessy died aged sixty, suffering a depression at the loss of several family members (1986).

- *'Marie-Louise Sjoestedt'*. An extremely talented French Celtic scholar and polymath (1900-1940), Ó Lúaing reproduces her correspondence and comments on it. She had a somewhat tragic life and died a young woman in Paris (1987).

Pádraig de Brún

Born in Lixnaw Co. Kerry, Prof. de Brún is a distinguished academic, and is former professor at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies). He was elected as a Member of Royal Irish Academy in 1994, and has published widely on matters of Celtic scholarship, including in our Journal. He was the first editor of the Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and History Society working on volumes 1-4 (1968-1971) and 22 (1989) [1991].

- *'Charles O'Brien's agricultural survey of Kerry'*. Reproduction of an agricultural survey of County Kerry from 1800 (1968, 1969).

- *'An tAthair Brasbie'*. Denis Brasbie was a Catholic priest who converted to Anglicanism. He was a native of Killarney. He converted in Dingle in 1844 provoking local riots on the streets. He joined in efforts to convert the local population to Protestantism which resulted in his ostracism. He married a Protestant clergyman's daughter and emigrated to Canada in the 1870s. His notoriety is remembered in local ballads which de Brún reproduces (1969).

- *'The affray at Ballyeagh'*. Concerning a famous faction fight at Ballyeagh in 1834 (1971).

- *'Sir Richard Cox's description of Kerry'*. De Brún reproduces Cox's description of Kerry from his 'Kingdom of Cork' and gives a biography of his subject (1971).

- *'An Scoláire Bán'*. The white scholar was Seán Ó hAodha alias John Hughes, 1792 to 1863, a noted Irish scholar and itinerant schoolteacher, one of the last of a dying breed. He was born in Fermanagh and died in Dingle (1972).

- *'A song relative to a fight….'*. This paper concerns the Kerry Militia in Co. Tyrone. A local song tells the tale of a massacre of members of the Militia in 1797 by the local Tyrone Orange Militia (1973).

- *'A census of the parish of Ferriter'*. Dating to 1835, this is a census listing heads' of households and total numbers of occupants of each house and their religious affiliation. The background was that for political reasons Daniel O'Connell wanted a national religious census to show how Catholics greatly outnumbered Protestants. Very few Catholic parishes co-operated, this was one that did and is of interest to genealogists (1974).

- *'John Windele and Father John Casey…..'*. Discusses the visit of the Cork antiquarian Windele to Inis Tuaisceart in 1838 and more generally Windele's recording of and interest in ogham inscriptions (1974).

- *'A census of the parishes of Prior and Killemlagh, 1834'*. Similar to the parish of Ferriter above (1975).

- *'Scéal Gaéilge ón Tóchair'*. A folklore piece recorded in 1904 is discussed against the background of the decline of spoken Irish in western Clanmaurice barony (1975).

- *'An extract from the Civil Survey'*. Concerning most of Ratass parish, this extract was found in the Gloucester Record Office by de Brún. It is one of three such Kerry fragments to survive from the survey of 1656 (1979).

- *'The Kildare Place Society in Kerry'*. This paper is spread over several journals. The society promoted a non-denominational secular model of primary schooling. A large amount of record material is reproduced. De Brún, with full access to the material, covers such topics as schools, lending libraries, details of teachers, summary and discussion (1979, 1980, 1981, 1982/3, 1984).

- *'Rev. Archer's account of Kerry in 1801'*. Archer was a Dublin Castle official tasked by the Lord Lieutenant with visiting gaols, hospitals and other public institutions (1981).

- *'Caoineadh ar an Easpag Ó Siochfhradha'*. Discusses the lament composed upon the death of Bishop Sughrue of Kerry, its Catholic bishop, in 1824 (1981).

- *'A lost Fitzmaurice Duanaire'*. A lost collection of poems from the early seventeenth century associated with the Fitzmaurice lords of Kerry (1982/3).

- *'Valentia Erasmus Smith School'*. Documents are reproduced concerning the school for the period 1777 to 1800, whose main sponsor was the proselyte Knight of Kerry. Contains lists of schoolbooks and details of students (1982/3).

- *'Further fragments of the Civil Survey'*. See 1979 above. In total, fragments from seven parishes (1985).

- *'Some Kerry lists of priests'*. Covering the period 1750 to 1835, lists Catholic priests and gives information on them, such as where educated, if leading a moral life, parochial work, and so on. Detailed accounts of parish boundaries are given and compared with the older civil parish network. These are extensive lists and de Brún gives very useful indices (1985).

- *'Tralee voters in 1835'*. The Tralee poll book of 1835. A good genealogy resource (1986).

- *'The lament for Garrett Pierse of Aghamore'* (with John H. Pierse). Pierse was slain at the battle of Liscarroll in 1642. An excellent account of the battle and its context is given, and the lament is recited and translated (1987).

- *'Kerry diocese in 1890'*. Bishop Coffey's survey. Contains information on changing parish names and boundary changes, names of patron saints, graveyards, church history, and various pastoral issues such as sacraments, schools, mixed marriages and clerical qualifications (1989).

Kenneth Nicholls

Nicholls is undoubtedly Ireland's leading scholar of the late medieval and early modern periods. He possesses a knowledge of sources which is superlative and gives his work a depth of scholarship beyond compare. Unfortunately he only made one contribution to the Journal but his 'fingerprint' can be found on my contributions as well as those of Pádraig de Brún and he has lectured to the Society several times.

- *'The Fitzmaurices of Kerry'*. A study of these Lords' of Kerry from their Geraldine origins to the sixteenth century (1970).

Pádraig Ó Riain

Pádraig Ó Riain was lecturer in Celtic Languages and Philology at University College Cork from 1964 until he was appointed to the Chair of Early and Medieval Irish in 1973, a post he held until his retirement in 2002. He is Ireland's leading scholar of hagiography and hagiology: saints. As we see below however, his expertise is not limited to this area.

- *'A poem on Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha an Ghleanna'*. A poem of the 1640s discussed, reproduced and translated by Ó Riain (1970).

- *'Two Welsh visitors to Kerry in 1852'*. A travel account of two Welsh Protestant clergymen and proselytisers and their impressions of Kerry (1971).

Alf MacLochlainn

Alf MacLochlainn, who died on 8 December 2018 in Galway, aged 92,

was a former director of the National Library of Ireland and University Librarian at National University of Ireland, Galway. He wrote fiction and poetry and published widely, in Irish and English, on history, film, music, typography, and even papermaking.

- *'Thomas O'Shea, a Kerry harper'*. One of a dying breed, O'Shea is discussed against the general background of harping (1970).
- *'Blasket Island life and work, 1919 to 1923'*. This paper consists of extracts from a diary kept by Blasket Islander and author Tomás Ó Criomhthain on several themes, including island customs, sudden death, religion, traditional lore, community spirit, hunting, fishing, farming, crafts, outside influences and so on. Many charming anecdotes are given (2010).

Rev. Kieran O'Shea

Rev. O'Shea was an avid local historian and editor of the Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society. He made nearly one dozen contributions to the Journal as well as writing a book on the history of Castleisland. These Journal articles are largely of ecclesiastical interest. Born in Listowel in 1937, he died in 2006 as parish priest of Knocknagoshel, earlier having served as curate in Castleisland.

- *'David Moriarty, bishop'*. This essay was published over four Journals between 1970 and 1973. Moriarty's *floruit* was from 1814 to 1877. He was born in Lixnaw and educated in France. O'Shea debunks the myth that Moriarty was anti-Fenian. Moriarty criticised the Fenian leadership and was anti-home rule and pro the Union. He did not believe in bloodshed. He established schools and religious orders in the diocese. Rev. O'Shea was not aware, in regards to the territorial dispute between the dioceses of Kerry and of Ross, that Beara was originally part of Ross and was only transferred to Kerry during the eighteenth century. Moriarty was an ally of Cardinal Newman in regard to the Irish university question and opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility. He was popular among his flock up to the time of his death (1970-73).
- *'Bishop Moylan's Relatio Status of 1785'*. This was the oldest such report for Rome to emanate from Kerry. Moylan was a Cork man and the details in the report are scanty (1974).

- *'Nineteenth century Diocesan reports'*. Again fairly scanty in content, these three reports were submitted to Rome by Bishop Sughrue between 1804 and 1822. It is clear that during Sughrue's episcopacy the numbers of priests and converts within the diocese grew steadily (1977).

- *'Rickard O'Connell, 1572-1653'*. One of the O'Connells of Darrynane, credited by O'Shea as the founder of the modern diocese of Kerry. O'Connell was made bishop of Ardfert in 1643 and the church bloomed under his brief reign. Parishes were created and the mendicant orders welcomed into ministry. O'Connell was buried in Muckross Abbey (1978).

- *'Owen's account of the seigniory of Castleisland'*. This document was written in 1687 and gives a description of the manor and its tenants, including its castle with its name giving moat (1978).

- '*Bishop Egan's diocesan reports to Rome'*. These date to 1835 and again, ten years later, e.g., and are perfunctory. When Egan was PP of Tralee, he would hear confessions for eight hours a day. He was responsible for the erection of the cathedral in Killarney (1979).

- *'A Castleisland Inventory'*. This document dates to 1590 and reproduces the original document listing the contents of the castle of Castleisland, which appears to be unique in Ireland of its genre. Lists bedding, linen, books, furniture, plate, jewels, cutlery, china, kitchen ware, garden tools, horses, armour, munitions and food stores (1982/3).

- *'Extract from Bishop Moriarty's diary, 1856'*. Records Moriarty carrying out a visitation of several North Kerry parishes. He relates modern parish boundaries to earlier medieval boundaries and gives details of parochial patron saints. Few parochial houses existed at this time and most parish priests and curates lived in local lodgings. Refers to 'one notorious adulteress in Murher parish' and records details of the surviving ruins of medieval churches. He lists all schools and refers to the activities of the Church Mission Society, describing their converts as 'perverts' (1984).

Professor Michael Herity

Prof. Herity was a native of Donegal and an archaeologist and Celtic

scholar in University College Dublin . His research areas included the Neolithic period, early monastic sites and antiquarian studies. He served as President of the Royal Irish Academy, President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and editor of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. He was a leading academic administrator. He died in 2016 aged 86.

- *'The pre-historic peoples of Kerry'*. This is an archaeological survey and discussion of the remains of the prehistoric period (1970).
- *'John Windele in South Kerry'*. Herity gives a background account of Windele before reproducing details from his 1848 visit to South Kerry. Illustrations by Windele of now lost antiquities are included (1970).

Gerard Lyne

He was the former Keeper of Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland (NLI) and retired in 2009 after having worked at the NLI for more than thirty-six years. A graduate of University College Dublin, he began his working life as a teacher in London and then moved on to a position as a sub-editor with The Irish Times. He joined the NLI in 1973 and was appointed Keeper of Manuscripts in 2003. He published extensively in the Journal between 1971 and 1992. He died in 2019.

- *'Daniel O'Connell, intimidation, and the Kerry elections of 1835'*. An excellent coverage of the subject, which featured open voting, tithe issues, boycotts, eviction of tenants for refusing to vote for their landlord, among other issues. The Dennys, the Knight of Kerry, and local Catholic clergy all feature at different stages (1971).
- *'Dr. Dermot Lyne'*. Flourishing during the 1680s into the eighteenth century, Dr. Lyne is ancestor to several Lyne families in Beara, especially those located around Tuosist. A detailed history of the surname in South Kerry is given. Dr. Lyne was a major leaseholder and much of the local economy depended on him (1975).
- *'The MacFínín Duibh O'Sullivans of Tuosist and Bearhaven'*. This branch of the O'Sullivans was typical of a class of Irish middlemen proprietors of the eighteenth century hitherto not noticed (in 1976) in the historiography. The family history is traced from the fourteenth

century to the extinction of the male line in 1809. The paper contains genealogies and reproduces several leases. Incidentally, it should be noted that, while the native version of the placename Tuosist is normally taken to represent Túath Ó Siosta, this is an error. The name derives from Túath Áesa Iste, an early branch of the Eoganacht Locha Léin (see my *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008), 160. (1976).

- *'Land tenure in Kenmare and Tuosist 1696 – 1716'*. The famous land speculator and surveyor William Petty obtained 270,000 acres in South Kerry in the seventeenth century and founded the town of Kenmare in the 1670s. His estate manager Richard Orpen sub-let much of the estate to native middlemen on 99-year leases who in turn sub-let small farms to the locals. Orpen's leases are given (1977).

- *'Land tenure in Kenmare, Bonane and Tuosist 1720-1770'*. An account of the descent of the Orpen leases as held by native McCarthy, O'Sullivan and Lyne middlemen. These super leases were broken in the 1760s by Petty's descendant, the earl of Shelburne, causing great distress in Beara and elsewhere. An account of the social and financial condition of the middlemen is given (1978).

- *'Landlord tenant relations on the Shelburne estate'*. Covers the period 1770-1775 and enlarges on the previous paper. Shelburne/Lansdown, after breaking the leases of the 1760s, only re-leased the lands to the former middlemen on oppressive 21-year leases, meaning that the middlemen were forced to become rack renters. Contains an estate rental of 1783 (1979).

- *'Peter McSwiney and the last MacFínín Duibh'*. Sylvester, the last MacFínín Duibh, died in 1809 leaving no male heirs and intestate to boot. This paper tells of the efforts of the various female relatives to obtain the lands and how Peter McSwiney of Derreen, who married Sylvester's niece Lucy, succeeded to the inheritance. McSwiney, known for duelling, descended from a sixteenth century gallowglass line of the family in the employ of the O'Sullivan Beara chiefs. McSwiney is described as an anachronism, the last of a dying breed. He died in 1860 (1980).

- *'Lewis Dillwyn's visit to Kerry, 1809'*. Dillwyn was a Welsh botanist and naturalist. His account mostly focusses on the Killarney area. He

was a bigot despite his Quaker background, but an acute observer, and his account makes interesting reading (1982/3).

- *'The Taylors of Dunkerron'* (jointly with Daniel Moriarty). Of Cromwellian origin, the main character here is Joseph Taylor, agent of the Shelburne estate in the 1770s. Various family members are outlined, including one who was a famine doctor. Later the family became absentee, and descendants remain in Canada (1984).

- *'Rev. Daniel Beaufort's tour of Kerry, 1788'*. Beaufort was a founding member of the Royal Irish Academy and a noted geographer and cartographer. Items dealt with during the visit included quality of the soil, antiquities, poverty, folklore, etc. During his visit he based himself in Killarney, Milltown, Dingle, Castlemaine, Tralee and Kenmare. Lyne describes the survey as a high quality venture (1985).

- *'John Townsend Trench and the Lansdown estates in Kerry'*. Trench was the estate agent between 1863 and 1873. Despite an IRA raid in 1921 which destroyed many estate records, enough survives to paint a colourful picture of the business of the estate, which contained 95,000 acres in South Kerry. We gain insights into the management of the estate of a great absentee, including such issues as plantations, fisheries, etc. During his ten years in office, Trench was responsible for funding 485 assisted emigrants. The Trench's were not popular 'landlords' and abused their position, being virtually local potentates (1986).

- *'Roger Casement and Banna Strand'*. Shortly before his capture, Roger Casement secreted documents and money in a rath near the strand. What subsequently occurred is described against a background account of Casement's activities before Banna (1987).

- *'A visit to Kerry in 1788'*. A brief anonymous account (1988).

- *'Letter to an emigrant from Lauragh'*. The writer was Daniel Sullivan, the innkeeper at Lauragh (the public house was still there when Lyne was writing in 1988 and was considered to have been the oldest pub in Kerry at the time). The letter dates to 1768, and throws an interesting light on the local middleman society (1988).

- *'The pattern of Kilmakilloge'*. The pattern here is associated with the cult of Kilian of Wurzburg in Germany and was famous for its miraculous floating grass tussachs. A detailed account of the devotions and associated faction fight is given (1989).

- *'Kilmakilloge, its patron saint and antiquities'*. Discusses firstly the false cult of Kilian of Wurzburg. The real saint of Kilmakilloge was Mochellóc mac Oibleáin of the Corcu Duibne, associated with Inch, the Blaskets, Ballinrannig and other church sites. A detailed history of the cult is given. Donnchadh Ó Corráin would later return to this subject and confirm many of Lyne's tentative conclusions in a paper on the saint in the volume *Cín Chille Cúile* (Aberystyth, 2004) (1990).

- *'William Steuart Trench and emigration from Kenmare, 1850 – 1855'*. Trench was the agent of the Lansdown estate and was responsible for sending 4,000 estate tenants to America by paying for the passage but offering no further assistance. The result was the arrival of half-starved emigrants in rags. The scheme was a disaster but was tacitly supported by the tenant farmers as those assisted were largely landless labourers. It also appears to have been supported by the local Catholic clergy. Part of the problem had been sub-division of plots by labourers and the issue of lands held in partnership (1992).

Dr Peter Harbison

He is among Ireland's leading archaeologists with 36 books to his credit and is professor of Archaeology in the Royal Irish Academy, among many other honours. A native of Dublin, he carried out most of his academic studies in Germany. His publications range widely on Irish art and archaeology from prehistory to the present.

- *'The building history of Ratass church'*. Covers the history of this ancient parish church from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries, and compares with several other major early church sites, including Kilmalkedar (1972).

- *'Some medieval sculpture in Kerry'*. Concentrates on rectifying an imbalance caused by lack of attention to ecclesiastical sculpture in north Kerry dating from the period 1200 to 1600. Among the surprises in this excellent paper is evidence that the medieval church of Castleisland has some Romanesque features (1973).

- *'Windele's visit to Skellig Michael'*. This occurred in 1851 and is an important description – if somewhat confused – of conditions regarding visits to the island at this time, and typically for Windele, sketches were made which are here reproduced (1976).

Desmond, Knight of Glin

Desmond FitzGerald, knight of Glin, was the last male holder of this 800-year-old Geraldine title, and resided in Glin Castle, Co. Limerick. Desmond John Villiers FitzGerald, 29th knight of Glin, had a master's degree in fine art and was the author of many books and articles on landscape, gardens, painting, architecture and furniture. He was president of the Irish Georgian Society since 1991 and held a number of other prestigious posts. In company with Kenneth Nicholls I was fortunate to work with Desmond on the earlier history of his lines before his unfortunate death in 2011.

- *'Lord Orrery's travels in Kerry'*. An account of Kerry in 1735 based on Orrery's letters and his Kerry leases (1972).

- *'Letters from Lady Theodosia Crosbie'*. She was the wife of William Crosbie of Ardfert and we get an insight into the life of the Anglo-Irish gentry outside of Dublin, based on her letters from 1746 (1984).

John H. Pierse

John Pierse (1921 – 2002) was a talented Kerry local historian with a particular interest, though by no means his only one, in his surname history.

- *'The origin of the Pierse family of County Kerry'*. This Clanmaurice Anglo-Norman family derive from Piers, younger son of the second FitzMaurice lord of Kerry, and Pierse was assisted by Kenneth Nicholls for part of this high quality historical narrative (1972).

- *'Nicholas Dall Pierse of Co. Kerry, harper'*. Blind Nicholas was head of a junior branch of the Pierses of Clanmaurice and was a skilled harper. He was born around 1560 and died in 1653. Pierse discusses at length the history of the Irish harp and its international context (1973).

- *'Lament for Garrett Pierse of Aghamore'*. See above under Pádraig de Brún, 1987.

Tom Fanning

Having spent much of the early part of his career working as an archaeologist with the Office of Public Works, in 1979 Fanning, whose main research interests were in aspects of the medieval period in Ireland and abroad, moved to academia, as a lecturer of archaeology in University College Galway. He died in 1993.

- *'Excavations at Reask'*. A preliminary report into the excavations at Reask before it was reconstructed by the OPW. Excavations at Reask between 1973 to 1975 found the church to be fifth or sixth century in origin (in Fanning's opinion) with interesting lapidary. The remains were reconstructed and tidied up in 1975 (1973, 1975).

- *'Ogham stone and cross slab, Tralee'*. Discusses an ogham stone and cross slab discovered during the nineteenth century at Ratass church (1977).

David Dixon

Professor David Dixon of Trinity College Dublin is a scholar of modern Irish history and has had a luminous career in his chosen field. A member of the Royal Irish Academy, he has published extensively on the social, economic and cultural history of Ireland in the eighteenth century.

- *'The account book of a Kerry revenue official, 1687 – 1689'*. This is a valuable account of events in Cork and Kerry, both economic and political (1973).

- *'Report on the management of customs and excise in County Kerry in 1733'*. Following upon allegations of incompetence by the English Revenue, Irish Revenue commissioner Edward Thompson made a tour of inspection throughout much of Ireland, of which the Kerry section is reproduced here. Production of beer and spirits and the importation of wine were among the main processes examined and were largely of local importance. Smuggling through Dingle had recently been reduced by the actions of the local landlord, the Knight of Kerry, and detailed brewing histories for the towns of Killarney, Tralee and Dingle are given. Yet another example of Dixon's expansive knowledge of the sources (1974).

- *'The 1732 religious returns and the evolution of Protestant Kerry'*. A good analysis despite the poor quality of the sources. The number

of Protestants in Kerry stagnated from the mid-1700s onwards, partly due to the Catholic Church's policy on mixed marriages (1986).

Dermot Twohig
Dermot Twohig, who died in 1989 aged 41, is best remembered for the important urban excavations he carried out in Cork city while attached to the Department of Archaeology, University College Cork.

- *'Excavations at Dromkeen, Causeway'*. Details of a souterrain and fulacht fiadh (1974).
- *'Excavation of a fulacht fiadh at Dromkeen East, Causeway'*. Discusses the fulachta fiadh as a cooking trough and discusses a pendant whetstone from Feale (1977).

Michael Ryan
Michael Ryan is an archaeologist who has published widely and who has specialised for many years in early-medieval ecclesiastical fine art metalwork. He spent his early career, from 1978-1992, in the National Museum, where he was Keeper of Antiquities before taking up a position as Director of the Chester Beatty Library, retiring from that position in 2010. He is a member of the Royal Irish Academy.

- *'A souterrain in Kealduff Upper townland, Glenbeigh'* and *'Fulacht Fiadh at Rath More townland, Rathmore'*. In two consecutive contributions, Ryan reports on a souterrain in Glenbeigh and a fulacht fiadh near Rathmore (1976).
- '*A Gold Box from Ballinclemesig'*. His next contribution concerns a gold box found in Ballinclemesig which he dates to the Late Bronze Age (1981).

Monsignor Michael Manning (Micheál Ó Mainín)
Monsignor Manning was a native of Baile an Fheirtéaraigh and spent the last seventeen years of his life as PP of Millstreet, Co. Cork. A knowledgeable local historian, he died in 2013.

- *'Dr Nicholas Madgett's Constitutio Ecclesiastica, 1758*'. Deals with the Constitutio Ecclesiastica of Rev. Nicholas Madgett. This document, from 1758, was a treatise of moral theology. Madgett was bishop of Kerry between 1753 to 1774. The paper highlights the

pastoral problems of the period and gives a window into the operation of the Penal Laws in Kerry at this time (1976).

- *'The Protestant Crusade in Dingle'*. Places proselytism in its Irish and British context during the 1830s and 1840s with especial reference to Dingle (1996).

Conleth Manning
Conleth Manning worked for almost four decades as an archaeologist with the National Monuments Service and during that time excavated at many National Monument sites. He has lectured and published widely mainly on aspects of Irish archaeology and has a particular interest in medieval archaeology and architecture. He is a past president of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and of the County Kildare Archaeological Society.

- *'A cross slab at Ardamore'*. The find is illustrated and placed in context (1980).

- *'Properties in Dingle granted to the Duke of Ormond, 1668'*. Features a partial rental of Dingle from 1641 and goes on to discuss the ancient oligarchy of the town including bearers of a number of extinct surnames, among them the Mawe, earlier Mayhew family. A more general discussion of medieval Dingle follows (2007).

Toby Barnard
Toby Barnard, FBA, is emeritus fellow in history at Hertford College, University of Oxford. He joined the college in 1976 and retired in 2012. Barnard is a specialist in the political, social and cultural histories of Ireland and England, c. 1600-1800.

- *'Fishing in seventeenth century Kerry and Sir William Petty'*. Petty was an absentee with a naïve interest in his Kenmare River fisheries. His main ports were at Kilmakilloge and Ballinskelligs but the fisheries were poorly managed and produced a small income compared to other similar industries (1981).

- *'The borough of Dingle during the 1770s'*. An account of local politics during this period (2018).

Peter Woodman
Peter Woodman, 1943-2017, was emeritus professor of archaeology at University College Cork. With 113 publications to his name, he was the leading authority on the Irish Mesolithic (8,000BC - 4,500BC), a period during which the first settlers arrived in Ireland. He was also the former assistant keeper of prehistoric antiquities at the Ulster Museum in Belfast.

- *'Excavations at Ferriter's Cove'* (with Duggan and McCarthy). A preliminary report into the rescue archaeology of a stone tool manufacture of the mesolithic era by hunter gatherers. Dated to circa 5,000 BCE (1984).

- *'Excavations at Ferriter's Cove, 1985-86'*. A full report following the preliminary report above. A short term campsite of the Mesolithic (1986).

Maurice Bric
Professor Maurice J Bric was educated in University College Cork and The Johns Hopkins University, USA. In 2008, he was appointed Associate Professor of History at University College Dublin (UCD) where he had been Senior Lecturer since 2002. In 2001, he established the Clinton Institute for American Studies at UCD, of which he became Foundation Director. He has published numerous articles on the Irish Diaspora, the history and nature of popular protest in eighteenth century Ireland, as well as on Irish emigration to America.

- *'Richard Herbert's 'Information of the state of tithe in Kerry'*. Bric first deals with a general background to his subject before going on to Herbert's document itself, which dates to 1788 (1984).

- *'Popular protest movements in Kerry, 1770 to 1800'*. Firstly deals with the Whiteboys and the abuses of the tithe proctors, before dealing with resentment against both the Protestant and Catholic tithe collections. The era was marked by large public meetings and attacks on gaols (1985).

Valerie Bary
Originally from Wellington, New Zealand, Bary moved with her husband to settle in Kerry in 1970. She was a regular contributor to both the Journal and the Kerry Magazine and served for many years on the Council of the

Society. Her Houses of Kerry (1994, Ballinakella Press) was a valuable addition to all studying aspects of the county's history.

- *'An unrecorded tower house .... some notes on the Godfrey family'*. A towerhouse in Kilcolman parish and some details on the owners of Kilcolman Abbey near Milltown (1985).
- *'The Godfrey papers: abstracts of eighteenth century deeds'*. The Godfrey family arrived in Kilcolman in 1667. Their papers survive from 1710 onwards and are reproduced for the period 1710 to 1799 with a people and places index (1987).
- *'Godfrey papers, 1830 to 1839'* with indexes. With Jane Spring. Includes a rental of Annagh parish from 1808 (1988).
- *'Godfrey papers, 1840 to 1848'*, with Spring. Indexes (1989).
- *'Godfrey papers, 1850 to 1858'*, with Spring. Indexes (1990).
- *'Godfrey papers, 1860 to 1898'*, with Spring. Indexes (1991).
- *''Kerry Militia Courts Martial...'*, with Jane Spring. Covers the period 1808 to 1811 and concerns internal discipline within the militia as enforced by the senior officers. Most of the cases involved stealing or drunkenness. The normal punishment was a number of lashes (1998).
- *'The story of Dún an Óir'*. Argues that Walter Raleigh did not organise the massacre of Italians here as is commonly thought (2004).
- *'The earl of Essex's descent into Munster'*. A detailed account of Essex's campaign in Munster in 1599 (2011).

Elizabeth Twohig

Elizabeth Shee Twohig was formerly Senior Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University College Cork. She has published extensively on the topics of prehistoric megalithic and rock art of Western Europe, and on megalithic tombs generally. Other research interests include the history of archaeological research, the role of women archaeologists and recording methods in archaeology. She is a member of the RIA.

- *'An unrecorded wedge tomb in Drombohilly, Tuosist'*. Discusses markings on the stone and suggests that these were from tool sharpening (1986).

- *'Two stone circles at Uragh, Kenmare'*. Previously unrecorded, near Tuosist. Again suggests markings caused by stone sharpening (1987).

Catryn Power

Catryn Power is a former Cork County Archaeologist who specialises in palaeopathology and physical anthropology. She has worked on numerous excavations throughout Ireland and abroad and taught at both undergraduate and postgraduate level in University College Cork. She is also a writer of short stories, partly based on her archaeological career.

- *'Archaeological investigations on Abbey Island, Darrynane'* (with Martin Doody). The early history of the island as given is unreliable. The very limited excavation found pottery fragments of the thirteenth century, a dating which concurs with the foundation of the priory (1988).

- *'Tapeworm infestation in Ireland'*. An interesting study concerning a form of tapeworm common in Ireland, Hydatidosis. Found in Kerry burials, including medieval burials at Caherquin. It is spread by dogs and foxes, and is still found, if rarely (2010).

Isabel Bennett

A member of the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland, Bennett has been a member of the Council of the Society for many years, and also served as editor of the Journal. She has worked as a field archaeologist, museum curator, tour guide and tutor, and is editor of www.excavations.ie.

- *'Excavations .... at Drumkeen East'*. Two long stone cists which she was unable to date (1986).

- *'Excavations of Clocáin .... Glin North'*. Three hut sites were excavated, concludes that these were modern booly huts (1994).

- *'Excavations at Caherquin, Ballyferriter'*. Rescue archaeology of a late medieval church and cemetery site on the coast (1996).

- *'Helping the stones to speak: Corca Dhuibhne 3D community project'*. A community based digital technology project to record stone carvings on ogham stones and other media. Includes new discoveries made during the project (2017).

James Donnelly Junior

James Donnelly Junior specialises in modern Britain & Ireland. As an Irish Historian, he has had three main research interests over the years: 1) landlord-tenant relations; 2) agrarian rebellions; and 3) popular religion. To these might be added a fourth: the Great Famine of the late 1840's. He is emeritus professor of History in the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

- *'Kenmare estates during the 19th century'*. Firstly discusses the pattern of landholding, reclaimation, consolidation and sub-division during the first half of the century. Agriculture was mostly pastoral in nature. A learned exposition on the development of agriculture during the century follows. Discusses 'improving' landlords, moderate rents and the lack of evictions. Much background on Kerry history as a whole (1988).

- *'Kenmare estates, part II'*. Gives a very detailed account of the land war, agrarian violence and the land acts (1989).

- '*Kenmare estates, part III'*. Discusses estate management and the Plan of Campaign' (1990).

John Sheehan

John Sheehan is a graduate of University College Galway and worked as Director of the Iveragh Peninsula Archaeological Survey before joining the Department of Archaeology in University College Cork in 1989. His research interests include the Vikings, specifically Viking-age silver hoards in Britain and Ireland, and Viking-age settlement in the North Atlantic region, as well as the ecclesiastical archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland. He has published widely on these subjects.

- *'Early cross forms and related motifs from the Iveragh Peninsula'*. A comprehensive and beautifully illustrated paper (1990).

- *'Fionnán enclosures: traditional land use in Co. Kerry'* (with Ann O'Sullivan). A study of Fionnán enclosures. Fionnán is a type of

upland grass in a form that can be misidentified as ring fort patterns. The enclosures were man made in order to harvest the grass, which was then used for animal bedding and thatching. Mentioned in Smith's *History of Kerry* (1992).

Michael Connolly

Michael has been the county archaeologist for Kerry since 1995 and obtained his PhD in University College Cork. Formerly curator of Kerry County Museum, he has directed numerous rescue and research excavations in Kerry including the excavation of the passage tomb at Ballycarty, the Early Medieval/Viking Age burial site at Cloghermore Cave and portal tombs in the townland of Killaclohane, Milltown. He is the author of numerous publications on the archaeology of County Kerry.

- *'A prehistoric decorated pillar stone'*. From Teeromoyle. He dates it to the early Bronze Age (1991).
- *'Iron sickle from a souterrain in Beaufort'*. Discusses harvesting implements from Ireland and abroad and the usage of souterrains. He dates the sickle to the early medieval period (1992).
- *'Earthen barrows of the Lee Valley'*. Uncovered as a result of a new archaeological survey of the Tralee area. He dates the barrows to the late Mesolithic or the Bronze Age. These are ritualistic features with water associations. Includes a detailed inventory (1996).
- *'Íochtar cua and the stone rows of Kerry'*. The site is near Waterville. Concerns a four stone row and enclosures. The row is illustrated and photographed. A partial excavation of an associated pit indicates an approximate date of 700 BCE. There is also a platform cum enclosure present. Connolly opined that the brief excavation raises more questions than it answers (2017).

Bryan McMahon

Bryan MacMahon is originally from Ballyheigue, Co. Kerry, and now lives in Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, where he was a secondary school teacher for thirty years. He has published in many local historical society publications in Kerry and Dublin and has written six books on local and general history.

- *'The golden lion and the Danish silver robbery at Ballyheigue, 1731'*. A cause celebre of eighteenth century Ireland, involving local

complicity in stealing silver from a shipwreck of a Danish ship. McMahon advances new research and indexes the people mentioned in the text, producing a virtual local census. Relevant documentation is reproduced (1991).

- *'George Sands of Listowel'*. Despite being based solely on newspaper evidence this is an excellent paper. McMahon shows that Sandes was an entirely repugnant character. In his work as an agent for several south Kerry estates he sponsored a notorious assisted emigration scheme that saw half naked and half starved emigrants thrown off boats in the New World with only the rags on their backs. The *Cork Examiner* eventually exposed Sands cruel system. He regularly evicted widows and orphans sending them to the Workhouse. He is on record as forcing sex from tenants' wives and had a number of illegitimate children as a consequence, and there was at least one rape allegation, of a servant. Despite all of this he was made sheriff of Kerry in 1887. His wife committed suicide (1993).

- *'Lindsey Talbot Crosbie of Ardfert'*. Crosbie, a Kerry Unionist, was instrumental in establishing the 'Land Conference', precursor of the Wyndham Land Act of 1903. He was a prominent local politician until his death in 1913, promoting reconciliation (2005).

- *'Records of St James' church and graveyard, Ballyheigue'*. McMahon produces a detailed study of this Church of Ireland parish church and its records, many of which survive (2009).

- *'The famine journal of Lieut Greenwell, 1846-7'*. An Englishman and government inspector with the Board of Works, excerpts from his diary are given with a commentary (2015).

- *'The early years of the Tralee Workhouse'*. A comprehensive account largely based on newspapers rather than internal documentation (2019).

Bríd Ní Mhoráin

Bríd Ní Mhóráin is a poet, folklorist, editor, former language teacher and former writer in residence with Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne.

- *'Ról na mBan i Malartu Teanga'*. Discusses the role of women in language change in Iveragh. Notes the increase of literacy between

1871 and 1911 and how women were the main driver of change in regards to language change in Kerry (1997).

- *'Women's lives at the time of Seán Ó Conaill'*. Compares the lives of Peig Sayers and Cáit Ní Chorráin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in south west Kerry (1997).

Paul MacCotter

I obtained my MA in 1994 and my PhD in 2006, both in University College Cork (UCC). I worked as lead historical consultant to an INSTAR project, 'Making Christian Landscapes' with the School of History in 2008-9 and later won a two-year IRCHSS fellowship to study the lands of the church, in 2010. I am currently a researcher with the School of History in UCC and lecturer with the School of Adult and Continuing Education there. My main areas of interest are medieval history, church history, medieval and modern genealogy, and historical geography. I have written four books and over sixty papers in various journals including many in peer-reviewed publications and have worked as historical consultant in a number of media contexts.

- *'The Ferriters of Kerry'*. A comprehensive study of this important Corca Dhuibhne Anglo-Norman family between their arrival in Kerry in the thirteenth century and the nineteenth century (2002).

- *'Lordship and colony in Anglo-Norman Kerry'*. A comprehensive coverage of lordship and colony, covering the lords of the cantreds and the Geraldine overlords from the Anglo-Norman settlement to circa 1400. In addition, and despite the title, the relationships between Gaelic Desmond and the Anglo-Norman lords is explored. This debunks the idea that the MacCarthy kings of Desmond fought against their Geraldine overlords and had a major victory at Callan. All of the leading families of Gaelic Desmond were clearly subservient to the Geraldines from *circa* 1200 until the fall of the House of Desmond in the 1580s (2004).

- *'The Ferriters of Kerry, addenda and corrigenda'*. Inclusion of new material which had come to light on the subject after the first paper was published (2004).

- *'An Dangain and Dingle: what's in a name?'* A comprehensive history of the name of Dingle from 1252 to 1599, followed by a

discussion on the politics and culture of the name. Unfortunately the references were accidentally omitted and as I did not receive proofs before publication I was unable to correct this (2006).

- *'The earlier Geraldine knights of Kerry'*. An historical and genealogical account of this important Geraldine lineage from the earliest down to 1708 (2016).

Dr John Knightly
Callinafercy is the birthplace of John Knightly, a local historian with a passion for history, and in particular, the Godfrey Estate.

- *'Eleanor Godfrey …. landlord Philanthropy'*. Eleanor was the wife of the second Godfrey baronet of Kilcolman Abbey. This paper gives an insight into a minor aristocratic family of the early 1800s featuring benevolent estate management, as she spent many years running the estate in her husband's politically required absences. She fed locals during the 1822 famine and donated land upon which was built a new Catholic church and a fever hospital, all in the true tradition of landlord philanthropy (2002).

- *'The Godfrey estate during the Great Famine'*. Features various topics, such as the foundation of Miltown in the 1750s, the estate structure pre-famine and the good reputation of the family during the famine, when heavy borrowings were necessary to feed their tenants, which were of mixed religion. Evictions were rare during the famine and tenants were assisted to emigrate, while the streets of Miltown were paved as famine relief. The estate was burdened with heavy repayments which lasted to the land acts (2005).

- *'Lixnaw and the earls of Kerry'*. The eighteenth-century court of Lixnaw was a remarkable estate featuring extensive parkland and a big house associated with the Fitzmaurice and later Petty families. The Fitzmaurices were earls of Kerry and resided on a 2,600 acre demesne featuring many follies. The social life of the period is discussed. After the death of the second earl in 1747 the estate was gradually abandoned over several decades (2010).

Jim Condon
A researcher from England with an interest in numismatics, particularly medals, Condon wrote two papers for the Society with a maritime theme.

- *'The last voyage of the Florence Graham'*. Concerns a shipwreck on Inch strand in 1861. The Florence Graham was carrying palm oil from the West Indies to Liverpool when it was driven on to Inch. Twelve died and there were five survivors (2003).

- *'Another shipwreck at Inch'*. The Veronica was driven ashore in 1828, another ship bound for Liverpool but this time all of the crew were saved (2006).

Tomás Ó Canann

Ó Canann has written extensively on genealogical matters, in various local journals throughout Ireland. Contributions to the Kerry Journal include:

- *'Sliocht Cormaic (McCarthy) of Dungeel'*. A fifteenth-century offshoot of the main MacCarthy Mór line, the Dungeel MacCarthys, whose detailed pedigree is given, are here well documented. A cadet line, of Srugreana in Iveragh, survived into the twentieth century. The author states that the Earls of Desmond were hereditary enemies of MacCarthy Mór, but this is incorrect (see my 'Lordship and Colony', 2004 above) (2003).

- *'John Lyne's Sliabh Luachra genealogies'*. Discusses the Irish genealogical tradition before moving on to the collection of modern pedigrees composed by Lyne, of Kilcummin, featuring his neighbours. In total there are nearly twelve thousand people recorded in these, but unfortunately the collection is scattered and no single comprehensive version is known (2008).

Seán Ryan

Seán Ryan retired from his accountancy practice to obtain a PhD in University College Cork. He has a special interest in the history of the Killarney area.

- *'The Killarney deer forest clearances'*. This is a detailed analysis of the question, were there clearances from the Kenmare and Herbert estates during the famine? The answer, well argued, is no (2004).

- *'Ralph Sneyd and Muckross'*. Sneyd was an English landowner with an interest in the Muckross estate of the Herbert family during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Based on Sneyd's correspondence (2008).

- *'Genesis of the Killarney National Park'*. The key players were the American Bourn family who bought the Muckross estate and Senator Arthur Vincent. How the estate eventually came into the hands of the state in 1932 is well told and very interesting (2010).

Paul David Tempan
English born Tempan has lived in Ireland since 1990. He was awarded his PhD at Queens' University Belfast and worked as a Research Fellow part-time at the Northern Ireland Place-Name Project. He has won a number of awards and now is an independent researcher who specialises in early place-name and other onomastic subjects, in particular the names of Irish mountains.

- *'Our onomastic heritage'*. An interesting study of Gaelic personal names, surnames, tribal names and relevant sources (2004).

- *'The names of some Kerry mountains'*. Discusses the onomastic history of Brandon, Beenoskee and Mangerton in particular. He is unaware of an historical account of the seventh century naming both Mangerton and Torc mountains (see *Èigse* volume 23, pp 16-26) (2005).

- *'Fíonnán in Kerry placenames'*. A comprehensive history of references to this important South Kerry saint (2007).

Gerald O'Carroll
A native of Tralee, O'Carroll is a local historian and former secondary school teacher who has published a number of books.

- *'Birth, Marriage and Death notices of Kerry's Estated Gentlemen, principally from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era'*. O'Carroll's survey is based on thirteen titles of Munster newspapers covering the period 1764 to 1820. This results in valuable data of a genealogical nature relating to Kerry gentry as well as a commentary on local politics in this period (2005).

- *'Some noted Kerry clergymen .... Church of Ireland'*. A discussion on the Anglican clergy of Kerry and the status of the Church of Ireland in the nineteenth century (2005).

Michael Gibbons
Born and raised in Clifden, Connemara where he still lives, Gibbons is a graduate of University College Galway with a degree in history and archaeology. He is a member of the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland and his research interests include the archaeology of Irish uplands and islands, in particular the maritime pilgrimage tradition. Michael is noted for his iconoclastic review work.

- *'Past Kingdoms ....'* and *'Islands in the clouds ....'*. A review article on two recently published archaeological volumes concerning County Kerry. As always Gibbons is forthright and direct in his comments (2006).

- *'Late mesolithic settlement on Ross Island'* (with Myles Gibbons and Jim Higgins). A discussion concerning the find of a possible Bann Flake (2007).

- *'Critique for the existence of Viking maritime havens'* (with Myles Gibbons). Discusses a new paradigm, one aspect of which sees Viking coastal settlements linking the known Viking towns. Based on archaeological and onomastic considerations, the Gibbons' argue that this is a fundamentally flawed concept, relying on weak evidence, excessive supposition and conjecture (2008).

Patricia Long
Patricia Long Hourihan is a Senior Archaeologist with Rubicon Heritage Services Ltd, having joined the company in 2003. She is now project manager for Rubicon's larger contracts.

- *'Report, N22 bypass project'*. This is a detailed report on the archaeological excavations of the Tralee bypass. A total of 31 sites were excavated ranging in time from the Neolithic to the Post Medieval (2012).

- *'New discoveries near Kilflynn'*. Rescue archaeology required by the N69 road realignment project. The sites included an Early Bronze Age tool production site, and Early Medieval iron working site, and evidence of Late Medieval thatching materials (2012).

Past lifeways between the Maine and the Laune: Archaeological excavations on the N70 Kilderry Bends Road Improvement Scheme

By Kerri Cleary, Ed Lyne and John Olney

Introduction

According to an old tradition found in both the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Book of Invasions) and the verse, *Dindshenchas of Loch Éirne*, three rivers 'burst forth' during the reign of Fíachu Labrainne, including the *Mainne* or *Mane* (River Maine), while the Annals of the Four Masters state that the *Lemuin* or *Leamain* (River Laune) erupted during the reign of Siorna Saeghlach (Connellan 1866–69, 451–2; O'Rahilly 1933, 212–3). Both rivers enter the sea at Castlemaine Harbour and it is between them, and Milltown and Killorglin, that approximately 3.5 km of the N70 Kilderry Bends Road Improvement Scheme was approved for realignment. Pre-construction archaeological work on this scheme uncovered a wealth of new information about those who lived between these rivers, from the earliest farmers to the landed gentry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Between September 2017 and May 2018, archaeological investigations were undertaken by Archaeological Consultancy Services Unit (ACSU) on behalf of Archaeological Management Solutions (AMS). Work began with test excavations along the route of the road scheme, which also targeted the results of a geophysical survey carried out by Earthsound Archaeological Geophysics in December 2014 (Gimson and Bonsall 2015). This resulted in the identification of nine new archaeological sites and the establishment of the extent and surviving depth of one previously recorded site, a ringfort/rath[1] in the townland of Kilcolman known as 'Lissaniska' (Figure 1). Of these sites, four[2], also in Kilcolman, and two[3] in Kilderry South were excavated under the direction of John Olney. The remaining sites were excavated under the direction of Ed Lyne, comprising three sites[4] within Kilderry Woods in the townland of Knockagarrane and a portion of Lissaniska ringfort.[5] In addition, field boundaries depicted on nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey (OS) mapping, but no longer extant, were investigated and recorded during the test excavation phase (Kilcolman 4) under the direction of Ian Russell

(Russell and Olney 2017). All of these sites are within the Parish of Kilcolman and the Barony of Trughanacmy. The archaeological investigations were funded by Transport Infrastructure Ireland through Kerry County Council.

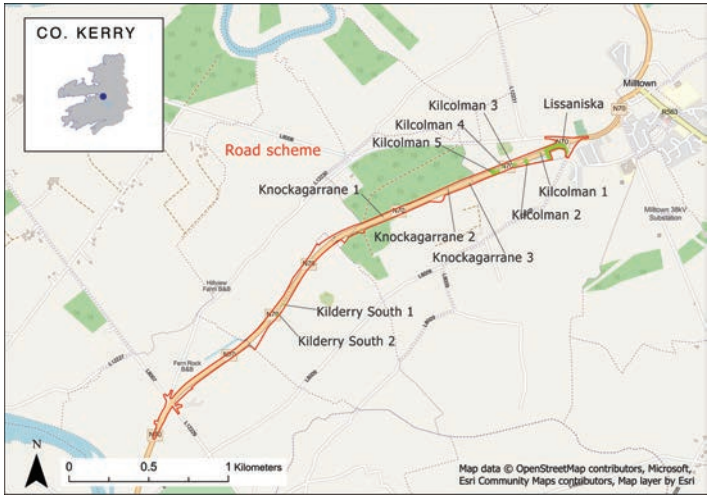

Figure 1: Location of N70 Kilderry Bends Improvement Scheme and the archaeological sites investigated along its route (image: Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

The N70 road scheme traverses an area between Milltown and Killorglin, just east of Castlemaine Harbour, with the Slieve Mish mountains to the north and the MacGillycuddy's Reeks to the south. The River Maine, which rises at Tobermaing and flows westwards, passes under the existing N70 in Castlemaine before entering the harbour. From at least the early twelfth century, this river and its tributary, the River Brown Flesk, were the traditional division of the Kingdom of Desmond, with the territory to the south controlled by the Gaelic Desmond and that to the north by the Anglo-Norman Earl of Desmond (MacCurtain 1975, 30). To the south of the road scheme is the River Laune, which flows from Lough Leane, one of the Lakes of Killarney, through the town of Killorglin before entering the sea. Overall, this region of Kerry formed part of the kingdom of Corcu Duibne, which from the beginning of recorded history until the early thirteenth century occupied the southern and western portions of the Dingle/Corkaguiney Peninsula, all of the Iveragh Peninsula, and the

connecting lands at the head of Dingle Bay in the lower Maine and Laune river valleys (MacCotter 2021). While political developments of the early thirteenth century saw the native rulers of Corcu Duibne replaced, their descendants survived in this region as minor landowners and middlemen into the seventeenth century and later (*ibid*.). Much of the land subject to archaeological investigation was formerly within the Kilcoleman Demesne, also known as the Godfrey Estate (Plate 1).

Plate 1: Part of Kilcoleman Demesne under excavation at Kilcolman 1–3 & 5, with Fort Agnes in the centre, looking south-west (photo: Ian Russell, ACSU).

Kilcoleman Demesne

From the seventeenth century onwards, the Kilcoleman Demesne evolved from the mensal lands around Killaha Abbey (Knightly 2009). The abbey, which is an Augustinian foundation of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, was built around AD 1215-16 by the Anglo-Norman Justiciar, Geoffrey de Mareis (Marisco), and dedicated to St Mary de Belle Loco (Barrington 1976, 227). It most likely developed from an earlier ecclesiastic complex called *Cell Achaid Coinchind* or Killagh, which would have been the principal church of the Mag Coinchinn (alias Aes Coinchind), one of the three constituent local or petty kingdoms within Corcu Duibne (MacCotter 2000, 67; 2021). Ó Corráin (2009, 141) suggested that their chief centre of power may have been focused on a bivallate ringfort/rath[6] in Kilcolman, known locally as Fort Agnes. MacCotter (2021), however, highlights the density of ringforts across this region, favouring a group found in and around Kilgobnet (c. 9 kms to the

south) as the demesne or royal túath of the Mag Coinchinn, with those at Lissaniska and Fort Agnes associated with the church (see below). Over time, Killaha Abbey grew in importance and wealth, being endowed with large possessions of land in both the Iveragh and Dingle peninsulas, and while substantially rebuilt and extended in 1445, by 1576 it had been suppressed as part of Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries (Carmody 1906, 289–90; Barrington 1976, 226).

Following the dissolution, the abbey and its lands were leased by the Crown to various army officers and by the late sixteenth century it was in the hands of Captain Thomas Spring, who in keeping with the terms of his grant, was permitted to 'rebuild the abbey castlewise' so that the building would be defensive (Barrington 1976, 291). In 1649, the buildings and lands were confiscated and granted to John Godfrey, a Major in the Cromwellian army, and the domestic buildings that enclosed the cloister garth on the south side of the church were destroyed (Maher 2012, 130). The Godfreys lived in Milltown for three hundred years, although Major Godfrey himself never took up residency in Kerry. Little is known about the earliest Godfrey residence, only that it was a two-storey, three-bay thatched house with three central chimneys, known for many years as Bushfield House, and is thought to have been destroyed by fire in 1772–3 (Bary 1994, 147).

In the 1770s, the first Baronet, William Godfrey MP, later Sir William, built a new home centred around a nearby tower house[7] that originally belonged to the MacCarthy Mór (Bary 1994, 148). More or less abandoned from 1800 to 1818, the house was partly renovated in the early nineteenth century under the second Baronet, Sir John Godfrey, who also improved the surrounding demesne lands and walled deer park. It was during this period of renovation that a two-storey summer residence was built for Agnes Godfrey, wife of Sir William Godfrey, on the site of an earlier ringfort that then became known as Fort Agnes (Bary and Spring 1988). Furthermore, from c. 1820 onwards, Bushfield was renamed Kilcolman Abbey, thus evoking the monastic origins of the demesne (Knightly 2009). The Godfrey family lived here until 1949 when it was eventually sold and soon after in the 1970s demolished (Bary 1994, 148).

While aspects of Kilcoleman Demesne were rediscovered during the archaeological investigations on the present project, many hitherto unknown sites were also uncovered that allow us to go much further back in time, to when some of the earliest farmers occupied these lands.

Digging-in During The Earlier Neolithic

The oldest activity discovered along the N70 road scheme consisted of two pit clusters at Kilcolman 5, dating from between c. 3650–3350 BC. The northern cluster comprised seven pits, one post-pit and a stake-hole, while approximately 16m to the south-east was the second cluster, of six pits (Figure 2). Five of the southern pits were closely set, forming a semi-circular arrangement with a diameter of 3.2m open to the south, with the sixth pit directly to the west. The pits in both clusters were similar in size (averaging 0.93m in length) and were mainly sub-circular in plan with gently sloping sides, concave to flat bases, and surviving depths of 0.08–0.29m.

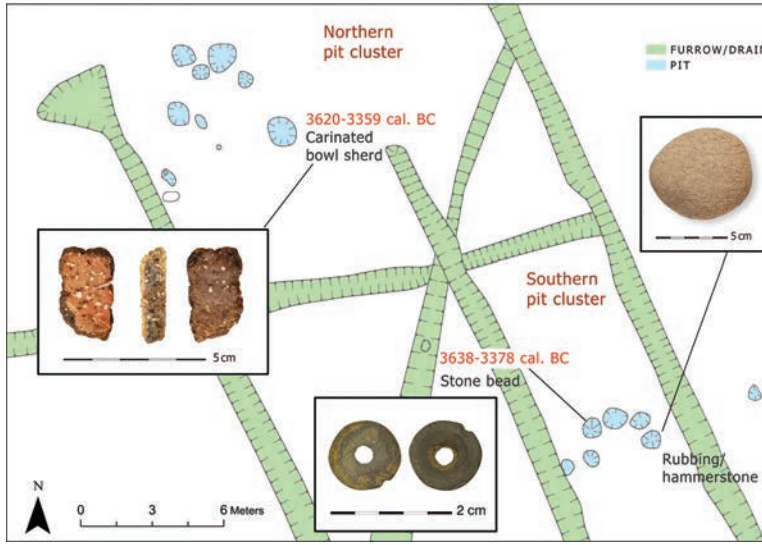

Figure 2: Plan of Neolithic pit clusters at Kilcolman 5, including locations of radiocarbon dates and artefacts (image: Martin Halpin and Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

All of the pits were filled with similar charcoal-rich silty clay, with many also incorporating small stones and charred hazelnuts, both shell fragments and whole nuts. Analysis of the charcoal confirmed that it was dominated by oak with a smaller amount of hazel and birch (O'Donnell 2020a). A few pits within each cluster also contained very small amounts of willow, holly and pomaceous fruitwood, possibly representing mountain ash or hawthorn. All of the pits in the southern cluster, and five

in the northern cluster, contained the remains of hazelnuts, ranging from just a couple of shell fragments to 22 whole nuts and 291 shell fragments in one pit in the southern cluster (Stone 2020; Plate 2).

Plate 2: Hazelnuts and shell fragments from Neolithic pit in southern cluster at Kilcolman 5 (photo: David Stone).

A small but important assemblage of artefacts was also recovered from three of the pits. Two small and abraded sherds of pottery came from the secondary fill of a pit in the northern cluster. These were identified as carinated bowl ware, probably from a single vessel and representing the earliest type of Neolithic pottery found in Ireland, with current dating falling in the period c. 3900–3600 BC (Grogan and Roche 2020). A hazelnut shell fragment from the same fill returned a slightly later radiocarbon date of 3620–3359 cal. BC[8] (4664±46 BP; UBA-41837). The fragmented and worn nature of the pottery indicates that it was perhaps broken for some time and incorporated into midden (domestic waste)

material that accumulated at the site. From the southern pit cluster, a small, circular and centrally-perforated stone bead was recovered from the primary fill of one pit, while a sandstone rubbing/hammerstone was recovered from the secondary fill of another (Figure 2). A hazelnut shell fragment from the same fill as the bead returned a radiocarbon date of 3638–3378 cal. BC (4754±40 BP; UBA-41835). The raw materials used for both the bead (shale) and the rubbing/hammerstone (sandstone) were most likely locally sourced (Mandal 2020), probably by the people that occupied this area just below the crest of an east–west ridge above the valley floor. The bead represents a personal ornament, perhaps one attached to clothing or strung to be worn as a necklace or bracelet, possibly originally with other beads. The rubbing/hammerstone could have been used for grinding, crushing, pounding or hammering, perhaps even to crack open the hazelnuts.

Plate 3: Flint leaf-shaped arrowhead recovered from old topsoil horizon at Lissaniska (photo: Ian Russell, ACSU).

Pit-digging was a common practice across Ireland in the earlier Neolithic, with excavated examples known to contain a wide variety of cultural material, from knapping debris to worked stone tools including axeheads, complete and incomplete pots to mismatched sherds, burnt hazelnut shell and other plant remains, charcoal, burnt stone, animal and human bone (Smyth 2012; 2014, 112–8). The Kilcolman 5 pits, containing artefacts, food waste and the residues of fuel sources, can therefore be understood as the remains of a settlement site that was in use during the earlier

Neolithic, at a time when it is likely that small-scale, dispersed social groups would have inhabited Ireland. Additional evidence for Neolithic occupation in the area around Kilcolman 5 can be seen in the form of three surviving megalithic tombs[9] situated in the townlands of Killaclohane and Brackhill, to the north-east of Milltown, at least two of which are Early Neolithic portal tombs. Furthermore, the nearby excavation at Lissaniska recovered a flint leaf-shaped arrowhead from an old topsoil horizon preserved beneath the ringfort bank (Plate 3; Lyne 2021). This artefact also likely dates to the Early Neolithic and may have been lost by a hunter, perhaps while stalking waterfowl or other animals that may have come in search of water in what was probably a waterlogged location in prehistory, as it was in the early medieval period and is today (*ibid*.). The wider landscape of County Kerry, particularly the Tralee area to the north, is also long known to be rich in Neolithic archaeology, from the passage tomb excavated at Ballycarty (Connolly 1999) to the rectangular house uncovered at Cloghers (Dunne and Kiely 2005). More recently, excavations in advance of the construction of the N22 Tralee Bypass discovered a cluster of stake/post-holes at Manor East that may have formed a sub-rectangular structure, with an associated hazelnut shell returning a date of 3891–3646 cal. BC (4955±35 BP, SUERC-37321; Long 2012, 13–14). Carinated bowl pottery sherds and lithics, including a flint hollow scraper, were also recovered from this site. The pits discovered at Kilcolman similarly offer a glimpse of a local settlement during the earlier Neolithic, when the megalithic tombs at nearby Killaclohane were also in use as a focal point for the wider Neolithic community.

Middle Bronze Age Water-Boiling

At Kilcolman 1, in an area of poorly-drained land just over 300m to the north-east of Kilcolman 5, were discovered a 0.33m thick spread of heat-shattered stones (predominantly limestone) in a charcoal-rich clay overlying an unlined, earth-cut oval-shaped trough. The remains of the burnt mound were spread across an area measuring 8m north–south by 5m east–west and the trough measured 1.85m in length, 1.24m in width, 0.44m in depth and included two fills. A soil sample from the primary fill of the trough included low levels of alder, hazel, oak and willow charcoal (O'Donnell 2020a), with a fragment of hazel returning a radiocarbon date of 1496–1286 cal. BC (3124±35 BP, UBA-41832).

These remains represent a burnt mound, also known as a *fulacht fia*.

Such sites are commonly found across the Irish landscape and represent the use of pyrolithic or hot-stone technology, predominantly to boil or heat water in a pit or trough but also for use in roasting, steaming, baking and steam bathing (Hawkes 2018). Cooking is long attested as one of the main functions of a burnt mound. Meat or vegetables were wrapped in hide or cloth and either submerged in the heated water to boil or roasted in a dry stone-lined pit. Other, perhaps secondary functions, may also have taken place at these sites, such as bathing, including as steam baths or saunas, industrial practices such as tanning, dyeing and other textile processing, the steaming of structural timbers, horn/antler working, metalworking, flax retting, butter production and brewing (Hawkes 2018, chapter 6).

While there are currently over 600 *fulachta fiadh*/burnt mounds and over 100 burnt spreads recorded across County Kerry,[10] there are relatively few recorded in the vicinity of Kilcolman 1. The closest is situated 3 km to the north-east at Killaclohane, with another two located 4 km to the south in the townland of Corbally.[11] In 2008, however, in advance of works on the Milltown Sewerage Scheme, a burnt mound was uncovered approximately 700m to the north-east, also in the townland of Kilcolman (Quinn 2020). Here, the burnt mound had been partially levelled and was spread over an area measuring 23m long by 7m wide and survived to 0.25m in thickness. This mound covered several features, including two sub-rectangular troughs, clusters of stake-holes, pits and evidence for water management, with a sample of hazel charcoal from a stake-hole returning an Early Bronze Age date of 2014–1825 cal. BC (3568±20 BP; UBA-11559).

Daily Life In Medieval Kerry

Lissaniska / *Lios An Uisce*—fort of the water

Before the archaeological investigations undertaken in advance of the N70 road scheme, Lissaniska was a known monument, recorded as a univallate ringfort. In 2013, an assessment of aerial photographs and a site visit indicated that the ringfort was bivallate (Dunne 2014), and this was followed by geophysical survey and analysis of LiDAR data, which detected an additional outer ditch (Gimson and Bonsall 2015; John Cronin & Associates 2015). Subsequent hand-excavated test trenches through the northern portion of the enclosing elements of the site confirmed this as a trivallate ringfort, meaning it has three concentric ditches and associated banks (Russell and Lyne 2017). This test excavation phase also

demonstrated the scale of these enclosing elements, that the ditches had been cut into the shale bedrock and that the inner ditch contained a peaty fill that helped preserve plant remains, insects and wooden vessels. Overall, the Lissaniska enclosure has a maximum external diameter of 82m and an internal diameter of 43m, although if an internal bank were present it would reduce this figure to 40m.

Plate 4: Aerial view of Lissaniska under excavation with Milltown in background, looking south-east (photo: Ian Russell, ACSU).

Full excavation of the area of Lissaniska within the road corridor commenced in December 2017, focused on the northern portion of the enclosing elements (ditches and banks) and the surrounding area but excluding the interior of the ringfort (Lyne 2021; Plate 4). The inner ditch measured on average 5.25m wide, with a depth of 1.4–1.65m and had a U-shaped profile with a shallower step on the outer side. This represented a side channel that contained a series of rectilinear troughs extending along the outer circumference of this inner ditch and interpreted as probable flax retting ponds. Following harvest, sheaves or bundles of flax are softened in water to allow the fibre to be separated from the stem. This is the first stage in the production of linen, which was a major component of clothing in the medieval period, from shirts or tunics (*léine*) to trousers (*truibhas*), as well as for church linens (Fitzgerald 1997; Izbicki 2016). This interpretation was also supported by the presence of flax pollen in a palaeoenvironmental core taken of the inner ditch fills, including from a

layer predating AD 830 (Molloy 2021), as well as a preserved flax sheaf recovered from the base of the inner ditch. Direct scientific dating of the flax sheaf, however, returned an anomalous late seventeenth to mid-twentieth century date, the implications of which have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Lyne 2021).

Plate 5: Wooden vessels and vessel fragments from inner ditch at Lissaniska. Top: Carved two-piece vessel; Middle left: Stave-built vessel; Middle right: Carved two-piece vessel; Bottom: Disc with central perforation and opposing notches (photos: Ian Russell, ACSU).

Wooden vessels and vessel fragments were recovered from this ditch during both the testing and excavation stages. These comprise a stave-built vessel, two carved two-piece vessels, a stave from a fourth vessel (possibly a drinking vessel), a possible bung and several discs or disc fragments representing lids and bases (Tillison 2021; Plate 5). All of the vessels and two of the disc fragments are made from yew wood, with the remaining discs comprising alder and the bung manufactured from willow (O'Donnell 2021). Structural timbers were also recovered from the inner ditch, likely dumped there when they were no longer needed or the site was going out of use. These ranged from stakes of oak, willow, hazel, blackthorn, ash and holly, to planks of oak, willow and alder, one of which had five dowel marks along one side (O'Donnell 2021).

The middle ditch measured on average 3m wide, had a depth of 1–1.15m and a U-shaped profile with a flat base. The outer ditch, unlike the other two, varied significantly in scale along its length, ranging between 1m and 3m in width, narrowing significantly from east to west. It ranged in depth from 0.8m to 1m and had a generally U-shaped profile, but was more a blunt V-shape in places. The bases of both these ditches were sub-divided by a series of low ridges of bedrock, some of which did not extend fully across the base of the ditch. The morphology of these ditches, along with the inner ditch which featured three low steps descending from east to west along its length, suggests these elements were a deliberate design feature, perhaps related to water management.

Some bank material, in the form of a sterile compact yellow–grey silty clay, survived in the areas between the inner ditch and middle ditch and between the middle ditch and outer ditch, up to 0.20m and 0.25m in thickness respectively. The inner bank is unlikely to have been very substantial given the narrow area between the ditches, while the outer bank may have been wider and higher. Notably, the area external to the enclosing elements was largely void of significant archaeological features, though some minor shallow pits were identified, as well as some later small ditches, furrows and drains.

Radiocarbon dating of the site suggests it was established by the late seventh or early eighth century AD and continued in use potentially until about the eleventh century. One date returned from the outer ditch spanned the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries and most likely reflects the gradual accumulation of organic material within the ditch in the centuries following abandonment.

Overall, the morphology of the ditches at Lissaniska was both complex

and unusual, suggesting that its builders had a specific purpose in mind that included water management and probably also the processing of flax. Given the proximity of this site to the chief church of the Mag Coinchinn, it is likely that it formed part of that church's lands and may have been specifically designed to produce garment fabric for the Cell Achaid church estate (MacCotter 2021).

Continued occupation at Kilcolman 2 and 3

Features excavated at Kilcolman 2 and 3, located approximately 50m apart, returned similar dates in the early eleventh to mid-twelfth century AD, suggesting that some occupation of the area continued while the nearby Lissaniska enclosure was falling out of use. At Kilcolman 2, a charcoal-rich deposit beside a pit was dated to cal. AD 1024–1158 (967±27 BP, UBA-41833), with charcoal analysis indicating it included a high quantity of oak with small amounts of ash and hazel, as well as fourteen *Brassica* sp. (cabbages) seeds (O'Donnell 2020a; Stone 2020). The pit included very low levels of oak charcoal and a small amount of weed or wild seeds (bramble and cabbages), with further deposits over 20m to the south-east incorporating some oak charcoal. At Kilcolman 3, a scatter of up to four pits and four post-holes pre-dated the remains of a vernacular structure (see below). Two of the pits included heat-fractured limestone, while very low levels of oak charcoal were identified from three post-holes and two pits, one of which also contained a small amount of pomaceous fruitwood that returned a date of cal. AD 1044–1218 (901±26 BP, UBA-41834). While it is difficult to interpret these features in the absence of associated artefacts, they do suggest that this land continued to be farmed and occupied into the later medieval period.

Manufacturing charcoal and lighting fires at Kilderry South and Knockagarrane

During the early and late medieval periods, large quantities of charcoal would have been required for the smelting and smithing of iron, as well as working non-ferrous metals, glass and enamel. Such charcoal was produced by carbonising smouldering wood, which would have been stacked in a pit and covered with straw or bracken and an overlying layer of earth or turf to create an oxygen-limited environment, with the amount of air carefully controlled so that the wood was roasted but not burnt (Carlin *et al*. 2008; Kenny 2010). This method of producing charcoal left behind a distinctive earth-cut pit, circular, oval or rectangular in plan, with

evidence for burning on the base and sides, often with a charcoal-rich layer lining the bottom of the pit. As such, these charcoal-making sites often leave a clear trace in the archaeological record.

Plate 6: Possible charcoal-production pit at Kilderry South 1 mid-excavation, looking north-east (photo: excavation archive).

Kilderry South 1 and 2 were located 75m apart on a slight north-facing slope nearly 2 kms south-west of Lissaniska. Two pits were excavated at each site, set 1.60m apart at Kilderry South 1 and 1.80m apart at Kilderry South 2. Three of the pits were sampled and all included oak charcoal (O'Donnell 2020b), with samples from a single pit at each site returning dates of cal. AD 1414–1475 (456±30 BP; UBA-41839) and cal. AD 1301–1404 (607±25 BP; UBA-41840) respectively. Only one pit (at Kilderry South 1) had evidence for oxidized clay signifying *in situ* burning, which along with its morphology, charcoal assemblage and fifteenth century radiocarbon date, suggests it may represent a charcoal-production pit (Plate 6). The adjacent pit, which lacked oxidized clay, could represent a failed attempt at producing charcoal or an area where charcoal was temporarily stored while more was being produced. The two pits at Kilderry South 2 may have had similar functions.

Over 1.3 kms to the north-east, within a forested area known as Kilderry Woods, a comparable site was excavated at Knockagarrane 3. A sub-rectangular flat-based pit contained a charcoal-rich primary fill, comprising mainly oak charcoal with a small amount of hazel (O'Donnell 2020c), a sample of which returned a date of cal. AD 892–1023 (1080±34

BP; UBA-41831). Smithing hearth cake fragments (debris formed during the iron smithing process) were also recovered from this pit, though an absence of clear evidence for *in situ* burning indicated that it was not a furnace or smithing hearth and was more likely to represent the production of charcoal during the early medieval period, perhaps when Lissaniska was still in use. Nearby, a thin deposit of fire-reddened clay may have been the base of a hearth or furnace.

Additional sites at nearby Knockagarrane 1 and 2 may also have been contemporary with the occupation of Lissaniska, albeit the former was not scientifically dated. Knockagarrane 1 was positioned close to the highest part of the wooded area and consisted of a single pit of loosely compacted charcoal, while at Knockagarrane 2, c. 440m to the north-east, two pits with evidence for *in situ* burning were set c. 4m apart and found roughly two-thirds of the way down the north-eastern slope of the forest. Oak was the sole wood species identified from all three pits (O'Donnell 2020c), with a sample from the primary fill of one of the Knockagarrane 2 pits returning a date of cal. AD 1026–1158 (961±27 BP; UBA-41830). While some of these pits could also relate to the production of charcoal, others appeared more likely to represent the remains of fires or cooking pits.

Combined, the evidence from Kilcolman and Knockagarrane may represent the occupants of nearby raths, including Lissaniska and Fort Agnes, continuing to work this land, including engaging in small-scale ironworking, perhaps when a repair was needed; a practice which also continued into the fifteenth century at Kilderry South.

The Landed Estate

Several eighteenth and nineteenth century features exposed across Kilcolman 1, 2, 3 and 5 relate to a time when the Godfreys of Milltown owned these lands. The estate farm around the Godfreys' residence was represented by Kilcoleman Demesne, with a deer park on Kilderry hill adjacent to Gurrane Wood (now Kilderry Wood). Early nineteenth century expansion into part of the Abbeylands to the west included the construction of a new boundary wall and access roads (Knightly 2011, 20, 28). According to Knightly (2011, 51), Lissaniska Lodge was built by William Duncan Godfrey circ. 1820 as a small model farmhouse at the centre of a *ferme ornée* (ornamental farm), but later served as a grace-and-favour cottage at the disposal of the landlord. It is a one-story building situated between Lissaniska and Fort Agnes, with relatively good views

of the estate lands to the north and Kilderry Woods to the west.

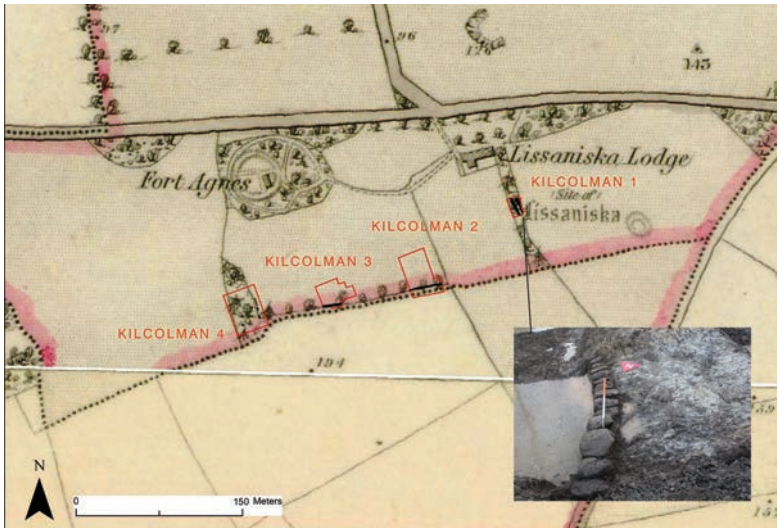

Figure 3 Location of ditch sections excavated at Kilcolman 1–4 superimposed on first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map, surveyed 1840 and published 1846 (image: Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

Landscaping, land improvements and agriculture

At Kilcolman 1, two roughly parallel ditches, set approximately 2.8m apart, were located in an area depicted on the first edition OS six-inch map of 1846 (surveyed 1840) as an avenue leading to/from the southern side of Lissaniska Lodge (Figure 3). Based on the 25-inch map of 1894 (surveyed 1893) and the excavation results, sometime in the late 1800s this avenue was altered, along the eastern side at least, perhaps in relation to ongoing land improvements and landscaping. A single course of stone along part of the western side of the eastern ditch may have been the remnants of a stone-facing that originally extended along the tree-lined banks defining the avenue and preventing vegetation from encroaching. This avenue extended southwards to the townland boundary with Knockagarrane, to where the deer park wall probably originally existed, and turned westwards. Parts of this section of the avenue were also exposed during excavations at Kilcolman 2, 3 and 4, suggesting it comprised a planted tree-belt defining a path along the deer park wall of the Godfrey Estate (Figure 3). At Kilcolman 2 a clay pipe stem fragment

and a sherd of stoneware, possibly from the base of a preserve jar of later nineteenth century date (Campbell 2020), were recovered from this ditch.

Across Kilcolman 1, 2, 3 and 5 evidence was also uncovered for both land improvements (drainage ditches) and agricultural practices (furrows). While these aspects of the landscape are difficult to date beyond the general post-medieval or early modern periods, they do appear to represent a palimpsest of land management within the Kilcoleman Demesne. Finds from two of these drainage ditches included a sherd of black-glazed earthenware from a small jar of eighteenth to nineteenth century date (Campbell 2020) and sherds of green glass, representing at least two late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century 'onion' bottles used for wine (Giacometti 2020).

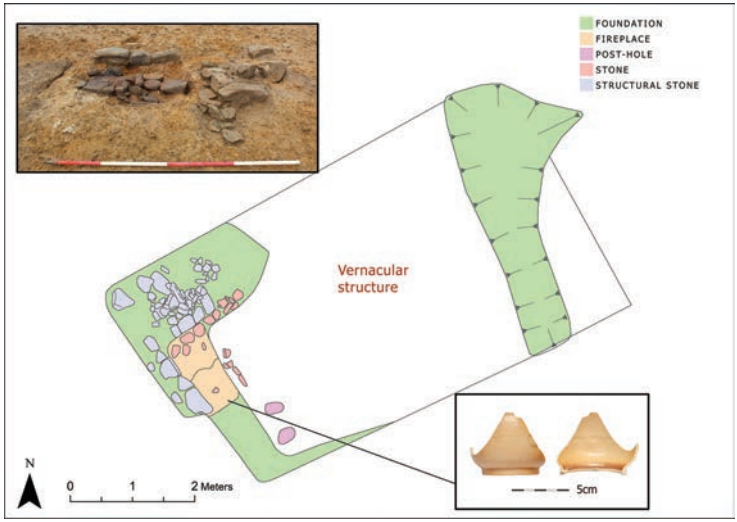

Figure 4: Plan of remains of vernacular cottage at Kilcolman 3 (image: Martin Halpin and Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

Vernacular cottage

Traces of a vernacular cottage, including a fireplace, were uncovered at Kilcolman 3, along with two ditches that appeared to enclose an associated plot. These ditches represent boundaries that were probably planted with hedging, offering windbreaks to the setting. The stone-built remains of the cottage suggest that it may have measured approximately

7.2m in length by 4m in width, indicating that the surviving length either represents a one-room house or that the remains of any additional rooms had been destroyed (Figure 4). According to the 1841 census, the percentage of one-roomed mud cabins in County Kerry was as high as 67% (O'Hare 1993). Furthermore, the first few feet of the mud-brick houses common in the Barony of Trughanacmy in the 1830s were often of stone construction, surmounted by sod or mud (*ibid*.), suggesting that the vernacular house at Kilcolman 3 may have been constructed in this way.

Although comprising a small assemblage, the associated finds of pottery and glass fragments suggest a date in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. From the fireplace, part of a small thin-bodied stoneware vessel, such as a bowl or a teapot (Figure 4), can be identified as being of lathe-turned or 'engine-turned' manufacture, used from the 1760s into the nineteenth century by Wedgewood and others (Campbell 2020). A shale disc fragment with a central perforation was recovered from a stone deposit, most likely gathered up from the surrounding area sometime after the vernacular structure was demolished. Although the square perforation is unusual, it most likely represents an unfinished spindle whorl (Stevens 2020).

The vernacular cottage is not depicted on the historical OS maps, which indicates that there was no above-ground expression of this site by the middle of the nineteenth century (1840). It is likely, therefore, that the cottage was intentionally cleared during the early 1800s, perhaps when the nearby Fort Agnes and surrounds were being landscaped.

Conclusion

Archaeological investigations along the route of the N70 Kilderry Bends Improvement Scheme resulted in the discovery of previously unknown prehistoric, medieval and early modern archaeological sites, as well as establishing when Lissaniska ringfort was constructed and used, including its role in the processing of flax.

The information that has come to light indicates that the landscape was occupied sporadically during prehistoric times, beginning in the Neolithic with some of the earliest farmers in the region, at a time when the megalithic tombs at nearby Killaclohane were also in use. During the Bronze Age, areas for pyrolithic activity were established, where people could routinely gather to heat water for cooking, bathing and other roles important to the local community. By the late seventh or early eighth

century AD, the trivallate enclosure of Lissaniska had been built and was probably being used for the retting of flax that grew in the environs, perhaps to make linen for the church of the Mag Coinchinn. The nearby enclosure of Fort Agnes may also have been within the church estate and active at this time, although this remains speculative in the absence of archaeological investigation. What is evident is that the landscape surrounding these two enclosures was not only farmed and worked during their occupation but also continued to be used for similar activities in the centuries after they fell out of use. This includes the production of charcoal on a small scale, most likely for use in local ironworking, probably when farming tools and weapons required mending. During the post-medieval and early modern periods, ditches were dug to divide and organise the land, create areas for different agricultural practices and improve drainage.

From the seventeenth century onwards, the Kilcoleman Demesne and its associated buildings were also subject to episodes of repair, destruction, construction, landscaping and land improvement. A variety of features exposed during the archaeological investigations on this road scheme provided a glimpse of this palimpsest of activity within the Godfrey Estate, from the demolition of a vernacular cottage to the removal of field boundaries and the establishment of an avenue and pathway associated with Lissaniska Lodge.

All of these sites contribute to a greater understanding of how this land was settled and used over time and where relevant, compliment the surviving historical records. These archaeological discoveries demonstrate that this area of County Kerry, just east of Castlemaine Harbour between the Maine and the Laune rivers, was chosen as a place with natural resources and favourable land that could be lived on, cultivated and exploited by many, from the earliest prehistoric farmers to the landed gentry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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Reference Notes

[1] Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) KE047-054.
[2] Kilcolman 1–3 and 5 (Excavation Licence No. 17E0538; see Cleary *et al*. 2020).
[3] Kilderry South 1 and 2 (Excavation Licence No. 17E0543; see Russell *et al*. 2020).
[4] Knockagarrane 1–3 (Excavation Licence No. 18E0065; see Lyne 2020).
[5] Lissaniska ringfort, Kilcolman (Excavation Licence No. 17E0328; see Lyne 2021).
[6] RMP KE047-053.
[7] RMP KE047-091.

[8] All radiocarbon dates have been calibrated using OxCal v4.4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 2009), IntCal 20 (© Bronk Ramsey 2020); Atmospheric data from Reimer *et al*. (2020), and are presented here as 2-sigma (95.4%) calibrations.
[9]RMPs KE047-052, KE047-059 and KE047-042.
[10] Data taken on 27 May 2021 from Historic Environment Viewer, http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment/.
[11] RMPs KE047-111, KE057-116 and KE057-117 respectively.

The Castle of the Island

By Robert McGuire

Abstract
During medieval times, Castleisland castle was commonly referred to in the historical sources, as the "Island Castle" or more simply as the "Island". However, by the late-sixteenth century onwards, it was more frequently referred to as the "Castle of the Island". This study aims to offer the reader, a brief historical narrative of the castle, from the time of its construction c.1226, until its abandonment at the end of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the role of the manor of the Island will be explored, as well as the evolution of the physical castle over time. Like most castles, the Island Castle experienced multiple phases of building and adaptation, during its prolonged lifespan.

Preceding this paper, I wish to note to the reader, that due to the sporadic nature of the surviving historical sources, major gaps in knowledge exist, particularly, in relation to the lives of the Geraldines, in connection to Castleisland castle. At the very least, we may assume that each Earl of Desmond, resided temporarily in the Island stronghold. While for others, it may have been their favoured fortress, though obligated to travel constantly throughout their earldom and beyond. This was necessary, as the Geraldine leaders were compelled to regulate and govern crucial gatherings, pertaining to social, political, and economic affairs. Therefore, the Island Castle was one of several strongholds in which the various Earls' of Desmond temporarily resided. A surviving parchment, held in the National Library of Wales, contains knowledge eluding to such a customary lifestyle of ceaseless travel and transient (castle) habitation. The following quote is in respect of Gerald Fitzgerald, the fourteenth and last Earl of Desmond:

> *"Garrett Earle of Desmond had several manor houses in Kerry and elsewhere, whereof the Island Castle was one and appointed a Constable in each of those manor houses, unto whom was allowed all the lands belonging to ye manor towards keeping a Table for the said Earle and his familie and retinue when he came yt way. For he did not keep house, but always in progress from one manor house to another all the year. In y Island Castle one John Oge Mc John Mc David Gerald*

was constable who had all the lands of ye manor allowed him towards keeping a Table for ye said Earle".[1]

Introduction

"The place was formally called The Castle of the Island of Kerry. The castle was erected in 1226, but the ruins want wood and verdure to make them interesting. Immense masses of this building broken off, as solid and compact as rock, lie in the field in which it stands*".*[2]

This fleeting description was wonderfully captured by an English traveller, named John Carr in 1805. Since then, the ruins of this once powerful Desmond Castle have deteriorated further. Nevertheless, its fading edifice still has the power to inspire and captivate the imagination of its beholder.

Castleisland is a small market town located in East Kerry, situated in a low-lying fertile valley known locally as 'the valley of the Maine'. It is surrounded by distant hills and rugged mountains. Castleisland town is accessible nowadays via a network of primary roads, which radiate from the town in the direction of Tralee, Killarney (Kerry) and Abbeyfeale (Limerick). Nowadays, only three diminishing fragments of the fortress survive, located on the western fringes of the town, behind a row of private dwellings on the Killarney Road. Now overgrown and in ruins, these relics represent the dying embers of the once monstrous Desmond Castle, which formerly commanded this valley. In the wider context, Castleisland is situated within the cantred of Trughanacmy. The historian Paul MacCotter (2020) has stated that: "during the Anglo-Norman period, the manor of (Castle)Island was a secular manor which consisted of most of the cantred of Acmys, the remainder of which consisted of church lands".[3]

The Shanid Geraldines

This stronghold is associated with the Fitzgerald's, Earls' of Desmond, also known as the Geraldines. The key ancestor of the Irish Geraldines, was a Welsh knight named Maurice Fitzgerald. Maurice accompanied Strongbow and other Norman knights, during their military advance into Ireland in 1169. In time, two distinct branches of the Geraldines emerged, the Earls' of Desmond (South Munster) and the Earls' of Kildare. Maurice Fitzgerald had three sons, one of which, Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, acquired land in Shanid, County Limerick. In time, Shanid Castle was erected to consolidate their foothold against the ousted Gaelic-Irish. As a

result, this branch became known as the "Shanid Geraldines". In time, their descendants would become the infamous Earls' of Desmond. The importance of Shanid castle is reflected in their war cry "Seaned Abú".[4] Around the year 1177, the Shanid Geraldines, under the leadership of Thomas FitzMaurice Fitzgerald and his son John, advanced into North Kerry and marched as far south as the river Maine. The source of the river Maine is located approximately 3 miles east of Castleisland, at a place called Tobermaing in Cordal. From this point the river grows and meanders, until it finally escapes into the sea at Castlemaine. During the thirteenth century and beyond, the river acted as a natural boundary between the landholdings of the Norman Geraldines, who occupied most of north Kerry, and the lands of the native Gaelic-Irish, who maintained control over south Kerry. According to the historical records, Castleisland castle was one of a line of castles, built along this river during this early phase of castle building and military advance. Anthony M. McCormack (2005) has revealed that: "In Kerry, the most important castles were those from Castlemaine harbour along the Maine river valley. These castles, at Killorglin, Castlemaine, Currans and Castleisland, guarded the 'Killorglin Line', the boundary between Hiberno-Norman northern Kerry and Gaelic-Irish southern Kerry".[5]

Plate 1: Remains of the castle's SW Turret (McGuire 2021)

In the past historians have accredited the construction of the Island Castle in 1226, to Geoffrey De Marisco, who acted as the Justiciar or Lord Justice of Ireland. However, this theory has been greatly disputed by some historians, including MacCotter (2016): "Thomas fitz Maurice's son John came of age during the 1220's. In his first years in the lordship he was probably responsible for constructing the first stone fortifications at Shanid and Castleisland, as well as the development of the important port of Tralee in Acmys".[6] More recently, on the subject, MacCotter (2020) has stated that: "the widespread belief that the castle was erected by Geoffrey de Mareis (or Marisco) in 1226 is without foundation… Castleisland was the caput of Thomas fitz Maurice and after he died in 1213, the lordship of Trughanacmy remained in the hands of his descendants, the Shanid Geraldines, until the death of the last earl of Desmond, at Glanageenty in Trughanacmy, in 1583".[7]

The Island Castle of 1298

An extraordinary thirteenth century manuscript *'MS. E101/233/6'*, held in the National Archives, Kew, London, contains some fascinating knowledge, in respect of the form and layout of the Island Castle in 1298. The parchment is entitled '*Extents of lands of Thomas Fitzmaurice 1297-1298'*. It reads as follows:

> *A hall of folks constructed with earth walls and straw thatch…a stone chamber with a cellar and another chamber for the women. The chapel was made of rickety crucks [wood] and roofed with straw. The kitchen was constructed using planks, the manor was surrounded by a stone wall.*[8]

We can observe from this extract, that most of the structures, dating to 1298, were built using earth and timber. This was the norm during the thirteenth century, as numerous 'earth and timber castles' were erected throughout the country by the Normans.[9] The timber structures listed above, may date to the initial period of construction in 1226. Furthermore, earthworks, including banks and ditches (moat), were likely added during the thirteenth century or soon after, as well as layers of wooden palisades, which enclosed the site. However, the references to stone chambers appear to represent the origins of the first stone towers on the site. This was likely part of the second phase of castle building, in which it was resolved to erect more permanent structures, using locally sourced limestone.

Nevertheless, from the fourteenth century onwards, the Island Castle continued to evolve and expand. The remains of the Castle that survive today most likely date to the fourteenth and/or fifteenth century. It is plausible that many of the later stone buildings may rest on the foundation of earlier timber or stone structures. MacCotter (2020) observed that: "it is clear that the later castle was built after 1298 although it is possible that the bawn wall which was described in the Inquisition was what was described even as late as the first edition Ordnance Survey map".[10]

The Earls' of Desmond-I

In 1261, a mixed regiment of Normans and Gaelic-Irish clashed at a place called Callan, near Kilgarvan in south Kerry. This significant battle became known as the Battle of Callan. Regrettably for the Shanid Geraldines, it resulted in the death of two key individuals: John 'Baron of Decies and Desmond' (also known as 'John of Callan') and his son Maurice. Fortuitously for the Geraldines, Maurice had an infant son named Thomas, who became the next 'Baron of Decies and Desmond'. He was infamously known as 'Thomas an Apa'.[11]

In time, Thomas had a son named Maurice FitzThomas, who in 1329 was created the First Earl of Desmond. Maurice was known as the 'Warrior Earl' and was frequently involved in skirmishes between the Gaelic-Irish and his fellow Normans. It is recorded in 1339, that Sir Maurice FitzNicholas, Lord of Kerry, a relative of the Earl of Desmond, was taken prisoner and starved to death in the Island Castle, on the orders of Maurice.[12] As the 'Warrior Earl's' lust for power grew stronger, he eventually challenged the authority of the Crown in Ireland. In 1344, Maurice is said to have sought military aid from the continent. The Earl is also believed to have orchestrated many of these treacherous plans, from within the walls of the Island fortress. In 1345, Sir Ralph Ufford, the Lord Justice of Ireland, was ordered by the King of England, to apprehend the rebellious Earl. Ufford and his party first travelled to Askeaton Castle, County Limerick. However, having found no trace of the Earl there, they proceeded to march towards the Castle of the Island. According to historical sources, the fortress was defended at the time by a loyal band of Desmond soldiers, including three brave knights, named as Eustace Le Poer, John Coterel and William Grant. Once captured, the three knights, faced an inquisition by the King's officials. The judgement issued on the 24 October 1345, has remarkably survived. It proclaims that:

> *"The castle was conquered by force by the justiciar [Ralph Ufford], to the use of the King. They [the three knights] deny the entire felony, sedition and everything…. and therefore, adjudged that they be drawn and hanged."*[13]

Robin Frame (2016) has revealed in more vivid detail, what dire consequences befell the faithful knights: "Desmond's knights, who had held Castle Island against the King's banner, suffered horrible deaths. Sir John Coterel, his [the Earl's] steward, was judicially drawn at the horse's tail, hanged, beheaded, gutted with his entrails burnt, and then quartered."[14] As for the rebellious Earl of Desmond, he was eventually captured and sent to the Tower of London. However, Maurice was later released and died in Ireland.

The next Earl of Desmond associated with the Island Castle, was Gerald Fitzgerald, the third Earl, also known as 'Gearóid Iarla'. It is recorded in *The Annals of the Four Masters* that he "mysteriously disappeared from his castle of the Island of Kerry, supposed to have been murdered [d. 1397]".[15]

According to the Annals, Gerald is reputed to have possessed great wisdom and knowledge of the Gaelic language. He was also renowned as a distinguished poet, hence he was referred to as the 'Poet Earl'. Following the enigmatic life of Gerald, there is a significant gap in knowledge, pertaining to the lives of the Earls' of Desmond, in the context of Castleisland Castle. Nonetheless, from the fourteenth century onwards, the power of the Desmond Fitzgeralds' expanded. The fifteenth century was marked by an explosion in castle building of a new castle type known as tower houses. H.G. Leask (1941) described tower houses as:

> '*Though not comparable in massiveness with the military erections of the first period….they are really fortified houses [single towers], the ordinary and typical residences of the Irish and Anglo-Irish gentry'*.[16]

In addition to the construction of a substantial number of tower houses throughout the Desmond domain, such key strongholds as Castleisland and Tralee, continued to control centres of local and regional power.

The Castle of the Island

Over the past number of years, I have committed immense time and effort, in attempting to gain a more thorough understanding (and sense) of the

extent and layout of the Island Castle. Due to the multi-phase nature of castle building on the site over the centuries, I decided to focus on creating a conjectural reconstruction of the late-sixteenth century castle. To achieve this, a comprehensive examination of the surviving ruins at Castleisland was undertaken. Furthermore, a thorough investigation of other Desmond castles was instigated at sites such as Adare, Askeaton and Newcastle West. Moreover, a wide range of historical sources were examined, including more recent evidence obtained from archaeological excavations (i.e. Adare Castle) and other surveys. Additionally, a consultation with several Irish castle experts, such as Rory Sherlock and Tadhg O Keeffe was arranged. Ultimately, a series of floor plans and elevations of the various buildings were created. Finally, these were converted into a digital reconstruction of the Castle (see plate 2).

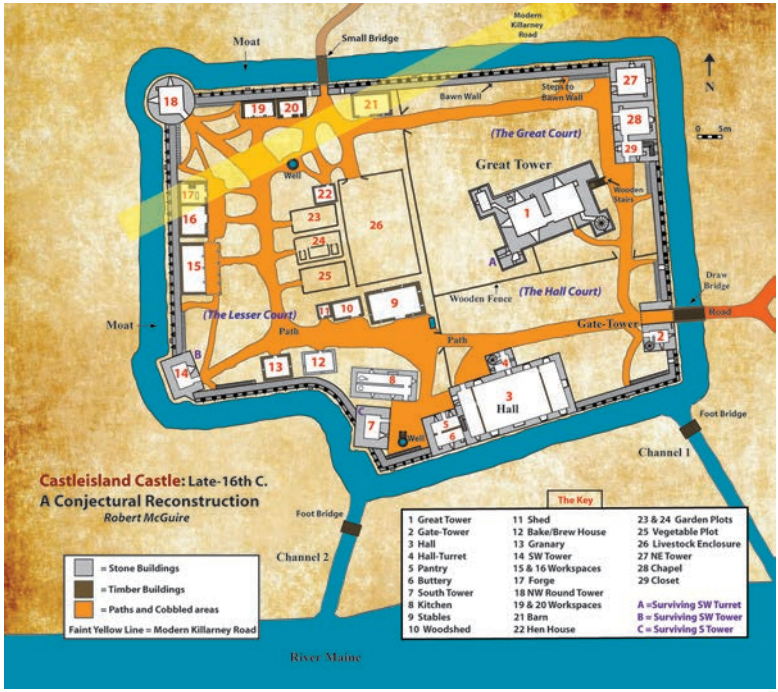

Plate 2: Ground plan, conjectural reconstruction of the late sixteenth century 'Island Castle' (©McGuire 2021)

Today, three vestiges of the old Desmond castle survive. These include the imposing SW Turret of the now missing Great Tower, as well as the

remains of two flanking towers (SW and S Flanking Towers). The historical Ordnance Survey of Ireland maps contain invaluable evidence, in respect of the extent of the castle ruins. Particularly, the 6" OS Map (1841) and the 25" OS Map (1888-1913), which depict the extent of the bawn wall (now missing) and other structures. The bawn wall, which surrounded the Castle, seems to have enclosed a space that measured c.90m x c.65m. (c.296ft x c.213ft). These dimensions roughly match the perimeter of other bawn walls, such as Askeaton castle. Tadhg O Keeffe (2021) remarked that: "Askeaton was a large residential complex evidently equipped for a large household. The same can be said of Castleisland (Kerry)."[17]

Furthermore, as part of the OS site description of the castle, compiled by John O Donovan in 1841, the location and layout of the "gateway" (now missing) was uncovered. He recorded at the time that: "The gateway tower had two floors over the gate…..not unlike the one at Kilmallock [Limerick]".[18] Directly outside the bawn wall there was a moat, which was likely fed from channels directed from the river Maine. Within the bawn wall, there were probably at least three courtyards, with a series of graded buildings, constructed from either stone or timber.[19] There may have been an additional enclosed space (defined by wooden palisades or stone walls) outside the bawn wall. There was also a water mill, located somewhere along the river Maine. This was most likely a timber structure. MacCotter (2020) asserts that: "water mills were another source of income for lords if only because it was a common feature of feudal tenure to require tenants to mill their cereal at the lord's mill. Very often these mills, given their location, remained in use into the modern era, as in Castleisland, for example".[20]

One of the most crucial manuscripts discovered was a parchment dating to the Herbert era of control in Castleisland. It is catalogued as '*Herbert MS'* in the National Library of Ireland. It suggests that there was a total of four flanking towers positioned at the corners of the bawn wall. The manuscript also reveals that one of these towers was circular in plan. Each of these flanking towers served a defensive function. However, each may also have served as accommodation quarters for staff or soldiers. The parchment also discloses that the castle had a private chapel, with a closet attached, as well as an elaborate hall. Within this hall, public meetings (courts) and banquets were frequently held. The most imposing edifice within the castle complex was the Great Tower. This monstrous building (c.25m tall) was rectangular in plan and contained at least four floor

levels. It appears to have contained a projecting turret at each of its corners, only the SW Turret now stands.[21]

The Manor of the Island

The Island Castle was located within the heart of a division of land known as "the manor of the Island". A medieval manor may be defined as 'units of land with fixed boundaries…[they] were self-regulating vehicles of social and economic organisation'.[22] These land units were introduced by the Normans into Ireland. Like most manors in Medieval Ireland, the manor of the Island was mainly self-sufficient, as it generated its own wealth through mixed farming practices, employing both dairy and tillage farming. According to '*MS. E101/233/6'* (cited earlier): "the [Island] manor was surrounded by a stone wall". The extent and nature of this wall (dating to 1298) is unclear. Nevertheless, like the Castle, we may assume that the manor wall also increased in size overtime.

The manor was of immense economic and political importance to the Desmond Fitzgeralds'. This was mainly because of the surplus wealth which it produced. Such surplus was traded beyond the manor walls, via a series of routeways, which emitted from the Island. Furthermore, the proximity of the Island manor to the prosperous port town of Tralee, was also advantageous for the Geraldines. Notwithstanding the key routeways which radiated from the Island, connecting it to the wider world, it is important to note that, compared to other parts of Kerry and Desmond (i.e. Tralee), the site of the Island Castle was relatively remote and inaccessible. This was due to sporadic patches of dense woodland and bogs in the vicinity of the Castle. Therefore, both the Castle and its proximity to such inaccessible zones, offered the Geraldines an invaluable refuge during times of political instability and war. Incidentally, this came to pass in 1580, when during the Desmond Rebellion, the last Earl of Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald, retreated to the Island Castle and then into its surrounding natural sanctuaries.[23]

Overall, the stronghold served as a local centre of power, as well as a residential base for the Earls' of Desmond and their extended kin. As alluded to earlier, courts of justice were frequently held in the hall of the Island Castle. *The Desmond Survey* (1580's) discloses that: "the courts of the said manor of Island, as well as the great courts called Barons Courts, as of the small courts held there from week to week every year-at which courts all offences and trespasses of the inhabitants…were answered and levied by the seneschalls, constable of the castle, and other officers of the said manor".[24]

It is difficult to determine the size (and indeed the population) of the medieval settlement that emerged around Castleisland at this time. Undeniably, the construction of the Castle in 1226, was the main catalyst for the emergence of what would later become a proto town. Evidence obtained from a map entitled *'A Map of the Seignory of Castleisland'*,[25] dating to 1729, proves that a series of domestic buildings once stood along the eastern end of the modern main street. These buildings were likely earth and timber structures with thatched roofs. The eighteenth century buildings depicted on the map, were most likely erected on the foundation of earlier dwellings, dating to the Desmond era. The Church of St Nicholas, shown on the Map, is also likely of Desmond origin.

The Earl's of Desmond-II

A surviving parchment (dating to 1422), reveals that a peace treaty was signed at "Castrum de Insula", between James Fitzgerald, the Seventh Earl of Desmond, and Patrick FitzMaurice, the Earl of Lixnaw and Kerry. Unfortunately, yet again, there is another significant gap in knowledge in relation to the lives of the Geraldines in Castle Island, until the life of the last Earl of Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald.

According to historical sources, Gerald appears to have spent significant time in the Island fortress.[26] By the dawn of the sixteenth century, religious and political revolution was at hand. It was into this chaotic world that the fourteenth Earl of Desmond, Gerald Fitzgerald, was born. The dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII, (following his disconnection from Rome) was to have catastrophic repercussions in Ireland. In 1558, Queen Elizabeth came to power and she aimed to expand the Crown's administration and control in Ireland. It was during this tumultuous period that many of the old Norman dynasties, such as the Geraldines, came into direct conflict with the Crown. The greatest ancestral rivals of the Desmond Fitzgeralds' were the Butlers' of Ormond. Even arranged intermarriage between both powerhouses, did little to ease their bitter long-term rivalry. Thomas Butler, also known as 'Black Tom', was the Tenth Earl of Ormond. Records show that Thomas spent considerable time in court in London where he developed a special relationship with Queen Elizabeth and her advisors. Conversely, Gerald Fitzgerald failed to forge such influential and crucial connections.

Therefore, when both lordships clashed in 1565, at Affane in County Waterford, it was inevitable that Gerald Fitzgerald would be held responsible. Accordingly, Gerald was committed to the Tower of London, along with his brother John. During his captivity in London, Gerald's

cousin, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, took control of the Earl's exposed lands and castles in Munster. James was a Catholic zealot and secretly formulated plans to seek Catholic support from the King of Spain, as well as the Pope in Rome. In 1569, the first Desmond Rebellion occurred, but it was quickly suppressed by Sir John Perrot, the President of Munster. This was essentially the beginning of the Elizabethan wars in Ireland, which would lead to numerous vicious clashes over land, religion, and politics. In 1573, the Earl of Desmond was released from London and on returning to Dublin, he somehow managed to escape his captor. It is said that Gerald swiftly made his way to Lough Gur in County Limerick. Then it is reputed that he made a public demonstration of his allegiance to the Catholic cause, by exchanging his English attire for Gaelic garments. Following this public gesture, Gerald and his party made their way into the remote and more inaccessible parts of Kerry. Eventually, Gerald chose to seek shelter in the Island Castle. Finally, in October 1579, with the odds firmly stacked against him, the Earl was driven into rebellion.[27]

The Governor of Ireland, Sir William Pelham, declared a proclamation against the Earl of Desmond on 2 November 1579.[28] This led to what would become known as, the second Desmond Rebellion. This gory war was to rage across Munster for four prolonged years, from 1579-1583. It would lead to widespread devastation and loss of life, because of the frenzied scorched earth policy and massacres employed by both sides.

Plate 3: Conjectural reconstruction of the Late-16th Century 'Island Castle' (©McGuire 2021)

In 1580, a plot to align the Catholic factions, led by James Fitzmaurice, finally came to fruition. Finally, the long-awaited support from the

Continent finally arrived in Dingle, which included a high-ranking Jesuit priest named Doctor Nicholas Sanders. It is documented that Dr. Sanders travelled to the Castle of the Island, where he was introduced to the Earl of Desmond, and his wife Lady Eleanor Butler. Unknown to the new-found group, Lord Pelham and his forces had discovered their whereabouts, and were now only within a few miles of the Island fortress.

Remarkably, the series of dramatic events which unfolded have endured, due to the preservation of Sir William Pelham's war diary or 'breviate', which is held in Lambeth Palace Library, London. It reveals that Lord Pelham and his army approached Castleisland over the "Slievelougher" mountains. Incidentally, McCormack (2005) has commented on the difficulties involved in such highland travel: "When weather conditions deteriorated…travel could become almost impossible. This was particularly true for travel over the Mullaghareirk mountains [located in east Kerry], which at the time were known as the Slieve Luachra mountains".[29]

Even so, having successfully negotiated the mountain range, Pelham's forces (assisted by 'Black Tom' Butler) formulated a plan to capture the Earl in the Island. Somehow, in the hours that followed, the local inhabitants became aware of the imminent danger and the Earl of Desmond was forewarned. Lord Pelham's 'breviate', transcribed by Dave Edwards (2014), contains a riveting recount of the sequence of events as follows:

> *The Earl of Desmond, the Countess, and Sanders, being in this 'boilie', little expecting so sudden coming into Kerrie, escaped hardly. The priest [Dr. Sanders] being faine [forced] to leave his gown behind him. And so the horses and men beinge clean tired, his Lo. [Lordship Pelham] returned to his camp near the Island, (a faire manor of the Earl's) and lay that night at 'Kilcoshnen' [Kilcushnan] in Kerry, so as that day's travel was accompted about 30 miles".*[30]

At the same time, Nicholas White, the Master of the Rolls, was in the Island. He also documented the dramatic episode which unfolded in July 1580. He recorded that:

> *"We pitched our campe at a place within three myles of the Island of Kerry called Kilcushny [Kilcushnan]…we overtook cows of the Erle's*

proper dery [dairy] of the Island …he was so suddenly taken that he had no leysor [leisure] to take his horse, but was lifted up betwixt the gallowglasses of the Mac Swynies, and conveyed away by them into the woods of Desmond…. we went to view the Island, (County Palenteyne [Palatine] of Kerry), which is a high monstrous castle, of many rooms, but very filthy and full of cow dung".[31]

The Demond Survey offers an intriguing insight into the demise of the Island Castle, during the Elizabethan raid in 1580. It speculates that during the assault, the Earl of Desmond chose to burn the Island fortress, rather than leave it fall into the hands of his adversaries. The manuscript states that:

From one stately castle called Island Castle, built very high, with several vaults, and situated within a mile of the great mountain of Slewlogher, on the North and East part; …which castle the said late earl of Desmond, at the time of his entering into rebellion, demolished and burnt, with the exception of the stone walls and some parts of the roofs.[32]

From this time forth, the Earl of Desmond was forced to live as a fugitive. Never again would a Geraldine Earl reside in the Island stronghold. In November 1580, the coalition of Spanish and Gaelic forces, had fortified the ancient site of 'Dún an Óir', near Smerwick in Dingle. However, the Elizabethan army arrived with lethal force and mercilessly defeated the coalition of Catholic rebels. Prior to the battle, James Fitzmaurice, the resourceful cousin of the Earl of Desmond, was murdered by members of the Clanwilliam Burkes. Soon after, the Earl's virile brother John, also perished.

After the ill-fated Battle of Smerwick in 1580, the Desmond Rebellion was effectively over. By now, an immense reward was offered, for whomever could capture Gerald Fitzgerald. It was during this period that the Earl and his followers sought refuge in the dense woods of Glanageenty, near Castleisland. Desperate for sustenance, it is recorded that some of Desmond's cohort went on a cattle raid near Tralee. On their return to Glanageenty, they were pursued by a group of vengeful Gaelic men, led by Owen O Moriarty and Daniel O Kelly. Finally, on the morning of the 11 November 1583, the Gaelic men made their move and swiftly seized the Earl of Desmond, who is said to have been found alone. By now, the Earl was weak and demoralised and was unable to negotiate

such difficult terrain (also Gerald is reputed to have been born lame). Therefore, he was probably dragged by the Gaelic men for some time, until they were forced to decapitate him and abscond the scene with his prized head. Soon after, the Earl's body was taken by a band of Geraldines in secret and buried in 'Killnananama' graveyard, in Cordal. In the weeks that followed, the Earl's head was sent to London, where it was placed on a spike overlooking London Bridge.[33]

Sir William Herbert

In the wake of the Desmond Rebellion, the province of Munster was left ravaged by war. Desmond's estates in Castleisland, which consisted of over 13,276 acres, were confiscated by Queen Elizabeth in 1583 and redistributed to Sir William Herbert of Monmouthshire, Wales, in 1587.[34]

The historian W.J. Smith (1963) noted that: "out of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, Sir William had been granted a seigniory known variously as the lordship of the Castle of the Island, the lordship of Mounteagle Loyal, or, more familiarly, as the lordship of Castle Island".[35]

Sir William Herbert was a resourceful and an imaginative man, moreover he was a man on a mission. Herbert arrived in Castleisland with high hopes and wasted no time in launching his schemes to create a thriving new estate here. In addition to the influx of other Protestant families from his homeland in Wales, Herbert summoned a cohort of surveyors and tradesmen to fulfil his vision. Herbert was also committed to demonstrating his authority over his new lands and its people. As a result, he formulated plans in 1587 to establish his main seat of power within the crumbling walls of the Castle of the Island. By this time, the fortress was most likely an empty shell, as it had been in disuse for nearly seven years, since it was burned in 1580. Thus, to make the Castle habitable once more, substantial repairs were necessary.

As mentioned earlier, Sir William Herbert's manuscript *'MS 7861'*, contains invaluable knowledge in relation to the works undertaken by the new colony in Castleisland, between 1587 to 1590. The manuscript also contains a description of the Castle, within a segment entitled *'A Note of my Buildings within the Castle of the Island'.*[36]

Some of the buildings mentioned included: a '*gateway*', a '*bawn wall*', a '*hall*', a '*chapel*', '*corner towers*'. Additionally, '*several vaults'* which served for a '*buttery*' (where drinks were stored), a '*pantry*' (where food stuffs were stored) and '*cellars*', (vaulted rooms at ground floor, where dairy produce, fine wines, etc. were stored). The text also refers to other

chambers, such as a '*great dining chamber'*, a '*parlour*' and '*chambers above the parlour'*. These chambers were interpreted as been located within a single tower, the Great Tower. Other buildings recorded included: a '*kitchen*', a '*granary*', and a '*brew house*'.[37]

Overall, castle repairs and other construction works took over four years to complete. Additionally, Herbert's manuscript contains a detailed inventory, entitled *"The Household Stuff in the Castle of the Island"*.[38] It proves that no expense was spared and that the castle was furnished with some of the finest objects of its time. Ultimately, in 1590, the castle was finally restored and ready for a new lease of life, this time under the vigilant eye of Sir William Herbert. Following years of establishing a new colony in Castleisland, as well as renovating its chief stronghold, Herbert decided to return to Wales to inspect his estates and houses "… in the Spring of 1589. He returned briefly the following year [to Kerry], and died at St. Julian's [Wales], on the 4th March 1593".[39] Following his untimely death, William's daughter Mary inherited the Castleisland estate and castle on condition that she would marry a member of the Herbert family. In the end, she married her cousin Edward, who later acquired the title 'Baron of Cherbury and Castleisland'. There is no known evidence that Edward visited his estate in Castleisland, during his lifetime.[40]

Plate 4: Sir William Herbert of St. Julians (National Trust, Powis Castle)

The Barons' of Cherbury and Castleisland

Throughout the Herbert era, resentment towards the new colonisers persisted in Castleisland, as well as throughout the broader landscape. Inevitably, this resulted in intermittent strikes on members of the new colony. By 1598, Catholic uprisings in Ulster, led by Hugh O Neill and Red Hugh O Donnell, inspired James Fitzgerald (the nephew of the last Earl of Desmond), to declare himself, the new Earl of Desmond. He was known as 'The Sugán Earl'. It was during this chaotic period that a determined cohort of Desmond supporters rose in rebellion with James. Predictably, violence and bloodshed ensued. Regrettably in 1600, the fully restored and refurbished 'Castle of the Island' experienced another devastating event. Evidence suggests that the Castle was once again 'put to the torch' in a desperate attempt by the insurgents to drive out the colonisers. In 1600, Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, recorded that:

> *The Island of Kerry, the ancient and chiefest house of the Earls of Desmond, and late belonging to Sir William Herbert, as an undertaker, and almost all the castles in those places, are razed to the ground, which is an evident token of their resolved obstinacy in rebellion (Cal Carew MS, 1600, p. 426).*[41]

One can only imagine the dreadful spectacle, as the Island fortress was engulfed by flames, made all the worse because the castle had only been renovated ten years previously. However, all was not lost, as it is clear from the historical sources that parts of the castle were repaired and inhabited (but probably to a limited extent) in the decades that followed. The Powis Castle Estate Papers, held at the National Library of Wales, are a treasure trove of information regarding the management of the Castleisland estate during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these letters were transcribed by W.J. Smith (1963), in his acclaimed book entitled the '*Herbert Correspondence'*. Most of the papers contain information with reference to memorandums on the difficulties and trouble between tenants and agents. However, the Island Castle is also fleetingly mentioned. Such archives reveal that in 1608, the Castleisland estate (and castle) were leased by Edward Herbert, the first Baron of Cherbury and Castleisland, to a gentleman named Sir Thomas Roper (also known as Viscount Baltinglass), for a period of three lifetimes. It is said that Roper and his wife, Dame Anne (Lady Baltinglass), neglected the Castle. A brief description of the Castle (during Roper's lease) is contained

in a text entitled; '*An Unpublished Survey of the Plantation of Munster in 1622'*. It declares that:

> *"The chief house of the seigniory, [once] being the earl of Desmond's chief habitation, was a strong, spacious and goodly castle, with a fair large bawn, with much building within it, all which buildings are either already fallen down or ready to fall and the great castle itself is so ruinous that we durst not venture to go into it. We are informed that this castle, which was of so great consequence, both for the strength and situation, is put into the possession and committed to the trust of one David Oge Fitzgerald, who, although he be conformable in religion, as we hear, yet is a Geraldine, and the son of an arch-rebel and hath been himself, and nor only the castle, but (as we were informed) 40 plowlands or thereabouts of the Seignory is let to him".*[42]

Incidentally, in a letter written by Lord Baltinglass (Roper) in 1632, it specified that "Lord Herbert was contented to leave the repair of the castle till his own coming over".[43] However, based on another letter, written in 1638, this was not the case. An associate of Herbert wrote that the castle repairs were still unresolved between Lord and Lady Baltinglass and his lordship. It reads; "Lord Herbert has real covenant against her [Dame Anne] for not keeping the castle in repair".[44] Following the death of Lord Edward Herbert in 1648, the title passed on to his son Richard, who became the second Baron of Cherbury and Castleisland. Records prove that Richard briefly visited his estate in Castleisland, around 1635. In another correspondence, there is mention of the fact that the old woods of Desmond, around Castle Island, were rapidly diminishing.

After the death of Richard in 1655, his son Edward became the third Baron of Cherbury and Castleisland. Following a visit to Castleisland, Edward appears to have been charmed and infatuated by the old Desmond castle and was determined to restore the crumbling remains. The Powis Castle Estate papers contain some insightful information in relation to the extensive repairs undertaken at this time. They ascertain that the renovations took place over the summer months, between 1656 and 1658, and astonishingly a list of the locally hired tradesmen were recorded, including details pertaining to their labour. It reads as follows:

> *'Carpenters for cutting of timbers for the vaults and gutters of the tower of the castle…. the roofs and vaults were thatched and wattled. The tower staircase and cellar were mended….glass and lead were*

purchased from Cork and were fitted into the windows. The kitchens were re-plastered…. new stables were constructed inside the bawn… internal plastering using lime was undertaken throughout the castle… .some of the tradesmen requested payment in coin, while others preferred payment by means of tobacco and beer'.[45]

Yet, these exhaustive repairs were regrettably in vain, as the plans to restore the Island Castle were abruptly abandoned, in favour of constructing a new mansion. It is plausible that this decision was founded on the fact that, by this point, the fading Castle may have been deemed structurally beyond repair.

Plate 5: Edward Herbert, Third Baron of Cherbury and Castleisland (National Trust, Powis Castle)

During the middle of the seventeenth century, the Castleisland estate was managed by a series of agents. One of the most prominent agents was Thomas Herbert. Thomas was a cousin of Lord Herbert, the third Baron. Smith (1963) said that: "Thomas…went over [to Castle Island] with the heavy responsibility of re-establishing his master as landlord and seignior after a period of chaos and collapse".[46]

Many correspondences between Thomas and 'his Lordship' have survived. It is interesting to note that Thomas wrote many of these letters from a plantation house in 'Kilcow' (now vanished) which is located on the western fringes of Castleisland town. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, the old Desmond stronghold was still in use, even though the exact nature of which is vague. In one letter, dating to February 1659, Thomas wrote that:

> *"his concernments are in good posture, except the castle which last winter worsened very much; will hasten thither next week to endeavour to have one good room fitted for him'.*[47]

In another letter, he refers to preparations been made for the arrival of special guest at the Castle. It reveals:

> *"the Castle will not be in fitting condition to receive him, finds it much worse than when he left it. Cruel winds this winter not only uncovered it but destroyed most of the glass".*[48]

In another letter, dating to 1661, Thomas asserts that he:

> *'intends to move out of the castle this winter'.*[49]

In a separate letter, dating to 31st January 1671, Thomas wrote again to his Lordship, updating him on the progress of the new mansion. It asserts:

> *"I communicated to him [the contriver] your lordship's commands intimated to me in your letter and prayed him to draw a draught of your lordship's buildings. He hath been computing the charge of finishing the Great House. The contriver…answered that the stones got from the old castle walls were more chargeable than if they had been dug out of the quarry".*[50]

Ultimately, in 1686, Humfrey Owen's wrote in his account of the seigniory of Castleisland that:

> *"at ye west end of ye town, stands the new built mansion of ye Lordship, nere to ye old castle of ye Island. The ditch - whereof is filled with ye river Maigue [Maine]".*[51]

The new mansion must have been some sight to behold. It remains one of the lost wonders of Castleisland. Ultimately, the decision to construct a new mansion rather than restore the old Desmond fortress, was a death knell for the castle. In due course, generation after generation of townsfolk, continued to strip the castle of its fabric. This was undertaken for a variety of reasons, such as for constructing buildings and boundary walls, as well as for land improvements. On reflection, one might wonder would more of the castle have survived today, if Edward Herbert's elaborate plans in restoring it during the 1650's had been accomplished? The truth is we will never know.

The Eighteenth Century

In the end, during the eighteenth century, the Castleisland estate was sold by the remaining members of the Herbert family to a few prosperous proprietors. Hence, this event marked the end of the Herbert reign of dominance over 'the valley of the Maine'. Also, during this century, the castle's stone was undoubtably plundered further, due to the expansion of the town.

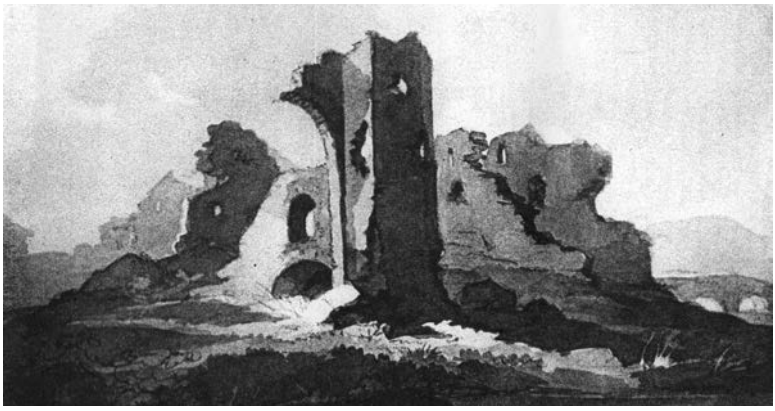

Plate 6: Wash drawing by Jessy Allan (1801), from a sketch of Castleisland Castle by John Harden (1797)

In 1797, an English explorer named John Harden travelled through Castleisland. While there he took time to compose a unique sketch of the Desmond fortress, noting in his journal that:

> *"there are the ruins of a noble Castle of great extend and strength… there is a small river runs round the walls…it was formerly a defence the ditch being there broad, and drawbridges thrown across".*[5]

As outlined earlier, John O Donovan's description of the castle, as part of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, remains an irreplaceable source of reference. He noted in September 1841 that:

> *"The old castle at Castle Island was an extensive one, but it is now very difficult to determine the original form and characteristics… the spot on which this castle stands is called by the natives Oileán Ciarraighe, the Island of Kerry. The river Maine was conducted round the walls in a ditch, over which were formerly drawbridges, portcullises, etc".*[53]

Plate 7: The Castle of the Island (McGuire, 2021)

Epilogue

Overall, based on the historical sources and archaeological remains, it is evident that the Island Castle was a formidable and prestigious building. Some records have stated that the castle was the "fortress caput" or "chief seat" of the Earls of Desmond.[54] This may be disputed by some historians,

nevertheless, the Castle was of great importance to the Desmond Fitzgeralds', primarily because it served as a local centre of power within the manor of the Island. All things considered; we are truly blessed in Castleisland that fragments of the castle remain. These survive as a treasured symbol of the key role which the castle played in the development of the area overtime, most notably, the town of Castle-Island.

Unbeknownst to most of the town's citizens and visitors, many of the buildings located along the iconic main street were constructed using stone stripped from the old Desmond castle. Thus, in a peculiar way, the castle continues to watch over 'the valley of the Maine' and its people, as it has done so for centuries.

The Castle of the Island Society

In 2017, a voluntary, non-profit organisation called 'The Castle of the Island Society' was founded by Robert McGuire. The main goal of the Society is to preserve and promote the history and built heritage of Castleisland Castle. From 2017 to 2021, a documentary entitled *'The Castle of the Island'* was written, presented and produced by Robert McGuire. Furthermore, in 2021, the Society released a brochure entitled '*Castleisland Castle-A Journey through Time- By Robert McGuire'*.
For more information on 'The Castle of the Island Society' please visit the website at: *www.castleislandcastle.com*

Endnote

In 2021, an international multi-disciplinary team, compiled a conservation management report on Castleisland Castle. This occurred, following a successful bid for funding under the Community Monuments Fund, a scheme initiated by the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage. The conservation team was led by Castleisland native Bill Keane, who is a director of Clarkebond Ltd, which is a UK structural based company.

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About the Author

Robert McGuire holds a BA in Archaeology and Geography and a MA in Buildings Archaeology from University College Cork. He currently works as a teacher. Robert has contributed numerous articles to The Kerry Magazine, which is published annually by the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, of which he is a council member. Recently, Robert presented two lectures, to the KAHS Webinar Series, on the topic of Castleisland Castle.

In 2017, Robert established the voluntary, non-profit organisation entitled 'The Castle of the Island Society'. Since 2017, Robert has researched, produced and presented a documentary entitled 'The Castle of the Island'. Furthermore, he most recently published a brochure entitled 'Castleisland Castle: A Journey Through Time'. For more information visit *www.castleislandcastle.com.*

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Recent rock art discoveries in Kerry – an exponential rise in the known numbers of rock art panels

By Aoibheann Lambe

Introduction

The most enigmatic of any monument class in Ireland, rock art is found in far greater numbers in Co. Kerry than in any other county island-wide. Defined more by the material worked rather than by its content (as has been observed by Bradley (2002)), the term rock art is used world-wide to denote open-air pictographs or petroglyphs dating from any time from prehistory to the present.

The class of petroglyph generally known in Ireland simply as 'rock art' is megalithic-era and widely believed to span the Neolithic and early Bronze Age. Sometimes referred to as 'cup-and-ring' rock art to distinguish it from the many other classes of petroglyph, it is part of a greater tradition frequently referred to as 'Atlantic rock art' (Bradley 1997) due to its distribution largely along the Atlantic fringes of Ireland, Britain, Spain and Portugal. Atlantic (cup-and-ring) rock art is non-representational and consists almost exclusively of geometric curvilinear forms: the core elements of the cupmark, the ring and the groove, as well as picking found in a myriad of combinations throughout the distribution. While the relationship of rock art to passage tomb art is unclear, the two traditions are spatially associated in some instances e.g. at Loughcrew in Co. Meath (Shee Twohig 2012). Similar techniques of carving, as well as certain motifs such as rosettes, concentric rings and cupmarks, occur in each of these distinct monument classes.

Of the 1,000 or so panels currently recorded under the various classes of rock art on the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (ASI), 374 are found in Co. Kerry (hereafter Kerry). Of these, 362 fall under the monument class 'rock art' and ten under the category 'cupmarked stone' (See Plates 1 and 2). Other panels which have been mapped on the island-wide map of Irish rock art include the outlier of Ardamore stone row and the wedge tomb at Baile Uí Uaithnín near Loch an Dúin. Newly discovered panels reported recently will be added once the records are updated and many more panels are in all likelihood waiting to be rediscovered.

Plate 1: This distribution map of Irish rock art most accurately reflects the original rock art distribution of any map to date as it includes rock art incorporated into architectural monuments from Neolithic portal tombs to Bronze Age wedge tombs, such examples not necessarily included in the various categories of rock art on the ASI and NISMR. Panels whose original location is known only to the townland are also mapped. With some 60,000 townlands in Ireland, to include these panels on a map of this scale shows the distribution more accurately than would their omission (Source: Author).

Panel numbers in Kerry have more than doubled since 2014. Many of the newly identified rock art panels are elaborate and frequently inscribed with motifs otherwise rarely recorded in Atlantic rock art. Some of the newly recorded panels are found in areas where previously no rock art

was known and also in landscape contexts considered uncharacteristic of the monument class e.g. low elevation areas suitable for settlement. Moreover, of great importance for a monument class whose characteristics extend beyond the carvings to panel shape, form and prospect as well the overall cultural and landscape settings, the majority of the newly identified panels are *in situ*. Accordingly, not alone have the panels remained in the exact location where they were carved four or more thousand years ago, but their location is also where they were designed to serve their purpose.

Plate 2: Rock art in Kerry is concentrated along the Dingle peninsula (top) and the Iveragh peninsula to south. (Source: Author).

The growth in panel numbers has greatly altered the known distribution of rock art and suggests that the tradition had a greater role in prehistoric society than is currently appreciated. The factors underpinning this increase and its significance for our understanding of rock art is the subject of this paper.

An Overview of Rock Art Recording in Kerry

Unlike ogham, which was described in the Book of Ballymote in the 1390s (Atkinson 1874), rock art is largely absent from folklore and mythology, and remained undocumented until Charles Graves (1873) gave a presentation on the subject to the members of the Royal Irish Academy in 1860, in a paper aptly entitled 'On a previously undescribed class of monuments'. In 1851, upon first beholding the rock art panel at Liss (See Plate 3) in the company of the Earl of Dunraven, Graves could not help wondering that so curious an object should have excited so little attention, a feeling strongly echoed by this writer in 2021.

Plate 3: The rock art at Liss which was visited by Charles Graves in 1851 (Source: Author).

However, awareness of rock art is growing steadily, with increasing numbers of rock art panels (the term 'panel' used in this context to encompass boulder and outcropping) being reported to the National Monuments Service by landowners themselves (a very welcome development). Overall, most panels have been identified by those actively looking for rock art (See Plate 4), its distribution growing in their wake perhaps in much the same way that the Mesolithic 'followed' Prof Peter Woodman. Significant numbers of rock art panels were documented by Kinahan (1880) and later by Price (1934–5) in Wicklow; Clarke (1982) in Louth/Monaghan; Kinahan (1884, 1889a, 1889b), van Hoek (1984) and Liam McLaughlin (grey literature) in Donegal; Burns and Nolan (2007, 2017) in Cavan; and Shee Twohig (2012) in Meath.

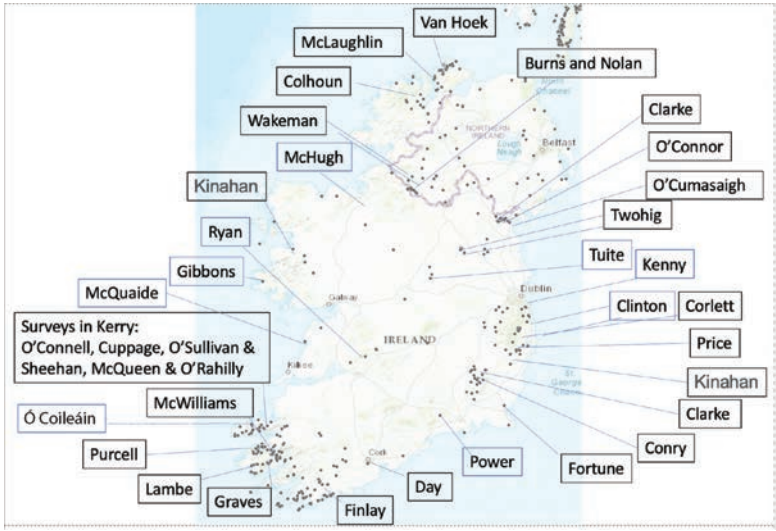

Plate 4: The names of individuals around Ireland who have made significant rock art discoveries (Source: Author).

Kerry has been surveyed for rock art more than any other county in Ireland, the first survey inadvertently conducted by a Mr. Richard Hitchcock engaged by Graves to document the ogham stones of the county. While a small number of panels were documented in the late 1800s and early twentieth century in Kerry (e.g. Maclister 1898; Lynch 1906; Orpen 1908; Hussey 1909), the archaeological surveys led by Captain O'Connell (1939) significantly increased the quantity and known distribution of panels, particularly on the Dingle peninsula.

The important rock art complex at Derrynablaha on the Iveragh peninsula was reported by the landowners themselves in a letter to Prof. M J O'Kelly of the Department of Archeology at University College Cork. These panels were documented by Anati (1963), the record later augmented by Finlay (1973) with additional panels identified by Purcell (1994). Further panels have since been recorded in the complex by McQueen and O'Rahilly during the 2016–17 rock art survey, Ken Williams in 2020 (pers. comm.), Kith Crannóg in 2021 (pers. comm.) and also by the author, the most recent of which have been identified at the time of writing (See Plate 5).

The rock art of Dingle was surveyed in the 1980s (Cuppage 1986) and that of Iveragh in the 1990s (O'Sullivan and Sheehan 1996). The Iveragh survey resulted in a surge in the known number of panels on the peninsula.

A rock art survey (2016–17) and a cupmarked survey (2018) commissioned by the National Monuments Service (NMS) and conducted by McQueen and O'Rahilly from 2016–18, led to the identification of over 100 additional panels in townlands in Co. Kerry where rock art had already been recorded. A steady stream of reports have been sent to the NMS by this author since 2013. Many of these newly identified examples are in townlands with no prior records of rock art as well as in low elevation areas close to modern day settlements.

Plate 5: Two views of the same portion of a rock art panel recently rediscovered at Derrynablahala viewed by controlled lighting - the carvings are imperceptible by flat light (Source: Author).

Taphonomy

The wealth of panels in the county does not necessarily indicate that Kerry was Ireland's rock art 'capital' at the time the tradition was current. Taphonomy, in particular the absence of development in upland pasture, has contributed to the survival of so many rock art panels in Kerry, whereas much of the rest of Ireland has been subject to agricultural and other development. Island-wide, it is significant that the landscapes in which rock art is found both *in situ* and in the greatest numbers are also those which have not been modified other than perhaps by peat cutting. Such landscapes are often marginal or relict. Rock art clusters in fertile areas have survived in some instances due to their fortuitous occurrence on land which has been protected from development - the important rock

art complex initially identified by Jack Clarke at the former deer park in Drumirril in Co. Monaghan being one such example.

The Known Distribution of Kerry's Rock Art

While more rock art is found in Kerry than in any other county, the distribution within the county is sporadic. The greatest density of rock art is on Iveragh with over 300 panels on record. 67 panels are recorded on the Dingle Peninsula and two only in the Kerry portion of the Beara peninsula at its north western extent. An additional four cupmarked-only panels are recorded on the Cork portion of the Beara peninsula and three beyond the peninsula on Dursey Island.

The absence of rock art in north Kerry and the small numbers of panels along the Beara peninsula is remarkable. Vague references have been made on rare occasions to probable rock art panels in north Kerry. O'Connell (1939) records being presented with an 'unusual' cupmarked stone at Ballybunion. The location of this rock is, however, unknown. A stone inscribed with 'drawings and writing' and bearing a hole was reportedly located in a bog near Ballyseedy in north Kerry, a box of gold said to be buried beneath it (O'Connor ND).

Rock art is also notably absent on the slopes overlooking the lakes of Killarney. The only two panels ever recorded in the area consist of a cupmarked rock at Lisleibane and an elaborately inscribed panel at Gortboy, both destroyed in the twentieth century. Rock art is also absent from the most westerly portion of Iveragh with no panels recorded in the greater Ballinskelligs region nor on any of the islands including Valentia. While these areas have yet to be specifically targeted for rock art survey, an absence of boulders and outcropping in the landscape overlooking St. Finian's bay is notable, possibly indicating that the pasture of this region has been subject to deliberate clearances.

The Changing Rock Art Distribution in Kerry

The greatest changes to the known distribution of Kerry's rock art are evident on the Iveragh and Dingle peninsulas. The highest numbers of panels on Dingle are found in the townlands downslope from, and on either side of, the shores of Loch an Dúin. Panels identified by Mícheál Ó Coileáin (2003) during fieldwork for his master's degree supplemented the panels previously recorded by Cuppage (1986), with further panels identified in the recent state-commissioned rock art survey. There are 23 rock art panels found in this area, not including the rock art inscribed

Plate 6: Cup-and-ring variations - the images are derived from photographs of actual rock art panels (Source: Author).

megalithic tomb at Baile Uí Uaithnín/Ballyhoneen. Other monument classes in the same vicinity include two standing stones, 29 hut sites and twelve fulachtaí fia. The Lispole and Annascaul areas on the south side of the peninsula are also important rock art locales. Rock art revealed following gorse burning was observed recently by the landowner on a large panel near Lispole This fine example of *in situ* rock art is an important addition to the record.

On Iveragh, the greatest numbers of recent rock art discoveries have been made in the townlands of Letter West and Kealduff Upper near Glenbeigh. Many of these panels were initially identified during this writer's fieldwork. Three panels had already been recorded in Letter West by 1999 when two further panels were discovered by Crista Vanhof. A total of five panels were on record for the townland when the writer was first directed there in 2014 by Paddy Joe Riordan (RIP). That number now exceeds 65. The rock art here, while plentiful, is characteristically elusive as the carvings are difficult to spot without optimal light conditions. It is unfortunate that public access has not been granted to the complex since before October 2019. This is due in part to local disquiet over the supposed upgrade of a small water works located within an area in Letter West designated an 'archaeological landscape' by Kerry County Council (2015). The replacement of the original works with an extensive and prominently visible water treatment plant has been detrimental to the landscape setting of the rock art and the overall natural beauty of the area. Plans to erect three-phase electricity poles through the valley were shelved due to action by local people and the intervention of the author. Viewsheds to and from many of the rock art panels, an important component of this monument class, are now severely compromised, the local soundscape also negatively impacted by noise pollution from the plant.

In order to challenge the widely held belief that high elevation (*c.*150m OD) liminal landscapes were the preferred locations for those making rock art, fieldwork within the last seven years has specifically targeted low elevation areas close to contemporary settlements. In a clear instance of survey bias, the areas around the author's home on the south of Iveragh have been heavily surveyed and many rock art panels identified where none were recorded previously. The ten panels currently recorded in the greater Caherdaniel area were only identified following extensive field walking in the locality over nearly a decade. Some of these panels were incorporated into field clearance cairns and were very difficult to find. Further panels in the locality at Liss and Loher have also been identified.

Some of these rock art panels are among the lowest elevation of any in Kerry including an *in-situ* panel in grassy pasture at Derrynane Beg near Caherdaniel located at only 23m OD. Other panels have been found along routeways which form natural pathways of movement through the landscape. The Ballaghisheen Pass was specifically targeted for survey on account of its strategic location, the pass permitting the only access from the south to the centre of the peninsula. Local enquiries yielded information on rock art north of the pass near Glencar at Derreenaryagh.

With few exceptions, rock art is found in clusters of two or more panels throughout the Kerry rock art distribution. Surveys by this writer in the townlands adjacent to those with rock art have also frequently resulted in the identification of previously unrecorded panels, with gaps in the necklace of rock art located in the foothills of the 'Glenbeigh Horse-shoe' also being narrowed by targeted survey.

The Character of the Rock Art

In Kerry, and indeed elsewhere in Ireland, preliminary analysis appears to indicate that the prevalence of certain motif forms and compositions are independent of landscape topography, panel elevation or whether the rock selected for carving is outcrop or boulder, isolated or in a cluster. However, the rock art of Kerry is outstanding for its degree of elaboration. The rock art of certain portions of Cork and Wicklow, by contrast, is largely cupmarked-only. Prior to the discoveries of the last seven years, certain rare motif forms such as the rosette and the keyhole appeared to be exclusive to particular regions - the rosette to Derrynablaha and the keyhole to Coomasaharn (Purcell 1994). That is no longer the case, as well-defined rosette motifs are also now recorded in Letter West, Coomsaharn and Derreeny. Likewise, the keyhole motif is more prevalent than previously recorded. Only the elaborate cruciform motif remains exclusive to Kealduff Upper, with this motif yet to be recorded anywhere else in Ireland or Britain. Disc-cups, some of which are large and plate-like, have been recorded in the Glencar region with notable examples also at Dromtine near Sneem, and Spunkane near Waterville - this motif is also characteristic of the rock art of the Isle of Doagh in Donegal.

However, to focus solely on rock art motifs is to misrepresent the complexity of the monument class. Variations in the form of cup-and-ring marks are vast (See Plate 6). The interaction of rock art with the rock surface has long been observed (Finlay 1973, O'Connor 2006, Jones 2012) and an increasing number of panels recorded by this writer were

Plate 7: The same motif shown in six different lights. The panel is located in Letter West (Source: Author).

found to have 'all-over-decoration'. A panel's shape can echo the horizon or prominent features in the landscape in a phenomenon dubbed 'mirror landscape' by this writer. Some of the recent rock art 'discoveries' have been made on foot of a close study of panels already on the record. On the Dingle peninsula, Dáithí Ó Conaill (2017) observed that the dramatic setting sun at the autumn equinox highlights a cup-and-ring mark with the wedge tomb at Ballyhoneen. A panel in Letter West, which was included in two archaeological surveys, is inscribed with an ambiguous motif described as cup-and-three ring motif in these surveys but which can also be read as a double-coiled spiral. A single motif on another panel in the same townland appears markedly different in different lights (See Plate 7).

Having experience of rock carving and an appreciation of the difficulty involved, rock art replication attempts by this writer to date, using quartz stones, produced forms unlike those found in prehistoric rock art. The rings were wider than desired, the area between the cupmark and the picked ring left 'planar', i.e. level with the natural rock surface. The individual pickmarks were visible only as small indentations. Attempts to make replicas of motifs with a rounded almost doughnut-like ring between a finely picked ring and the enclosed cup mark were not successful. However, in open-air rock art, a broad diversity of forms is found, the pickmarks in some instances large (some 1cm x 2cm) and parallel, in others undetectable as the surface has been abraded to form a smooth contoured finish.

A dichotomy in carving styles in Kerry described by Connolly (1991, 36) distinguishes between two contrasting groups of carvings. One is characterised by shallow picking and poor overall compositional qualities which is similar to the 'depictive' group described by O'Sullivan (1986). The other group is more expertly executed. However, a binary distinction as described by Connolly does not account for the diverse range of styles, both planar and contoured, identified in Kerry. While certain characteristics of rock art, including ambiguity, are found throughout the rock art distribution, it is not readily evident if regional styles of carving exist in Kerry and further afield. However, styles of carving attributable by at least four individuals has been recently proposed by this writer (Lambe 2021a, 2021b).

Rock Art Uncharacteristic of the Cup-and-Ring Tradition

Among the more recent rock art discoveries are carvings distinct in character from traditional cup-and-ring rock art. A single-coiled clockwise

spiral (246m OD) identified by Colm Bambury (2011) is picked out on the near vertical face of outcropping on Rinn Chonaill to the south-west of Brandon Mountain. This is a rare instance of an open-air spiral in Ireland and is without associated cupmarks or other devices characteristic of cup-and-ring rock art. Located by the medieval pilgrim route, Cosán na Naomh, it may date to the historic era. Incised markings on two boulders in a rock shelter known as 'Cáit na Pluaise's' by the Kerry Way near Caherdaniel, consists of boxed crosses and Xs, scaliform as well as 'windmill' and 'asterix' motifs as well as many other inscriptions. Said to have been inhabited by a family evicted from their house after the famine, the shelter's carvings were previously thought to have been made by Cáit's children. However, the rock art belongs to a category of petroglyph with a distinct motif repertoire and which is found in caves, outcrops, megaliths and boulder shelters. The genre was named COMBS by Towhig (2004) after the contexts in which the petroglyphs are found. Another unusual example of rock art is found along the Gap of Dunloe in an area otherwise seemingly devoid of rock art. An outcrop inscribed with square-shaped rings, some of which enclose a central cupmark-like hollow, has recently been reported to the ASI by this writer. This style of rock art appears unique in Ireland, the next closest example being a recently discovered panel in Co. Kilkenny. At distinct locations some 40km from one another at the north-east, north and south of the Iveargh peninsula, finely incised rings have also been found either by or on cup-and-ring marked panels. This includes Carhoomeengar near Kenmare, Letter West near Glenbeigh and at Liss and Lambs Head near Caherdaniel. Information on further examples of such rings from any context would be welcome.

Conclusion

It is evident that the rock art distribution of Ireland is not static but rather growing exponentially, a somewhat improbable development for a monument class dating back to the Neolithic. The increase in panel numbers in Kerry is mirrored elsewhere in the country. The total amount of panels currently on record is nearly half as much again as was recorded in 2014. Since the turn of the millennium, newly identified rock art panels have been reported in counties Carlow, Cavan, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Monaghan, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, Wexford and Wicklow. Further panels have also been recorded in Northern Ireland, particularly in Fermanagh.

While rock art is not the only monument class whose numbers are growing, its increase is all the more remarkable given that carvings are readily visible only from within close range and in optimal light conditions. The spate of recently identified enclosures, by contrast, is attributable to advances in drone technology and satellite imaging.

Rock art is an important monument class whose distribution patterns may help elucidate the role of rock art in prehistoric society. An increased understanding of the meaning and purpose of rock art will advance our understanding of the ideologies and world view of the people who made and used it. The incidence of rock art in low elevation landscapes close to areas which may have been settled in prehistory may reflect the use of rock art in everyday life. Also, its occurrence along pathways of movement may indicate its use as 'stations' or route or boundary markers.

A heightened awareness of the monument class will increase the numbers of panels recognised as rock art-inscribed and improve the accuracy of the distribution map of Irish rock art. The moniker 'rock art' is a reductive term which neither serves as a visualisation aid, nor places the carvings in a chronological context. Furthermore, as any internet search will verify, the term is also applicable to imagery associated with rock music as well as to painted pebbles. At ever increasing risk from development works, rock art continues to be largely unknown and is easily overlooked. Qualifying the term 'rock art' with 'megalithic-era' might emphasise the association between megalithic art and open-air rock art and in turn raise awareness and appreciation of this vulnerable monument class. A dream long-held by this writer has been the creation of an open-access open-air rock art 'museum', whereby specially designed rock art trails would be sensitively created in association with the landowners in question. Such a trail would be beneficial to local communities, create a visitor attraction while also fulfilling the important role of raising awareness of this beautiful and mysterious monument class.

About the Author

Aoibheann became aware of the existence of rock art just over ten years ago, beginning her surveys for rock art in earnest in 2014. An archaeologist, her recent masters by research at University College Cork focused on phases of carving and ambiguity in rock art. She has reported over 150 monuments to the National Monuments Service of Ireland, compiling reports on a range of monument classes including two stone

circles, a copper mine, standing stones, a lime kiln, passage tomb art, a rock shelter and 'rock scribings' as well as rock art. She has given many lectures on a range of archaeological topics. Her introduction to rock art, 'Lecture 31: Kerry's Rock Art' is available on the YouTube channel of Trasna na Tíre. Aoibheann is chair of Heritage Iveragh/Oidhreacht Uíbh Ráthaigh and runs a number of social media pages including Rock Art Kerry, Irish rock art, Heritage Iveragh and Irish Medieval Graffiti. She is employed by UCC as a Knowledge Gatherer with LIVE (#ecomusemlive), a project which aims to enable coastal communities to promote their natural and cultural assets, creating opportunities for sustainable tourism, especially outside of the traditional peak tourist seasons. Aoibheann's current focus is on copper mines on the Iveragh Peninsula. She also hopes to progress her ambitions to create a rock art trail as part of her contribution to the project.

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Plate 1: Sean Scoil Árda Mór (Buíochas le Caoimhín Ó Catháin).

Luíochán Lios Póil

Le Micheál Ó Móráin

Réamhrá

Iarracht atá sa chúntas seo ar scéal an choimheascair idir na hÓglaigh agus forsaí na Breataine i Luíochán Lios Póil a insint go macánta. Níl aon amhras ná go bhfuil bearnaí agus doiléire anseo is ansiúd.

Óglaigh Lios Póil

Bunaíodh Óglaigh na hÉireann sa Rotunda i mBaile Átha Cliath i Samhain na bliana 1913 agus ghlac Tomás Ághas ó Chinn Aird, a bhí ag múineadh i Scoil an Choirr Dhuibh in aice le Lusca, páirt lárnach sa ghluaiseacht. Bhí Tomás mar bhall de Bhráithreachas Poblachta na hÉireann ó timpeall na bliana 1909. Agus é sa bhaile ar laethanta saoire na Nollag sa bhliain 1912 ghlac sé le Jimí Mac Gearailt mar bhall den ngluaiseacht.

Sa bhliain 1913 tháinig Earnán de Blaghd go tigh Mhuintir Ághas i gCinn Aird chun feabhas a chur ar a chuid Gaeilge agus ní fada a bhí sé ann nuair a bhunaigh sé cumann drámaíochta i gCinn Aird agus go luath sa bhliain 1914 bhunaigh sé féin agus Jimí Mac Gearailt camplacht de na

hÓglaigh sa pharóiste agus 'sé Earnán a bhíodh i mbun cúrsaí druileála. Ní raibh puinn gunnaí ná armlón acu.

Plate 2: Muiris Mac Gearailt a maraíodh i Luíochán Lios Póil (Buíochas le Dr. Breandán Ó Cíobháin).

Tar éis do Earnán an ceantar a fhágaint 'sé Jimí a bhíodh ag druileáil. Nuair a tháinig an glaoch, mháirseáil timpeall 30 fear faoi cheannas Jimí go Trá Lí Satharn Cásca 1916 ach bhí orthu filleadh abhaile ar an Luan gan aon buille a bhualadh ar son na saoirse. Chuir an eachtra sin lagmhisneach ar roinnt de na hÓglaigh ach chuir marú tragóideach Thomáis Ághas agus é ar stailc ocrais i Meán Fómhair 1917 borradh úr faoin ngluaiseacht. Leanadh den druileáil agus bhí na hÓglaigh gníomhach go maith i mbunú cúirteanna Sinn Féin, ag cruinniú eolais ar fhórsaí na Breataine sa cheantar agus ag soláthar gunnaí breise agus armlón. Ag tús na bliana 1920 ceapadh Jimí mar mháistir ceathrúin den 5ú Cathlán, Briogáid 1 i gCiarraí agus chuir sé buíon beag de timpeall cúigear déag le chéile sa pharóiste a bhí gníomhach ag tacú le buíonta eile i gCogadh na Saoirse go háirithe i gCorca Dhuibhne.

Luíochán Lios Póil

De réir an phlean a leagadh síos chun borradh a chur leis an gcogadh in aghaidh fhórsaí na Breataine tháinig méadú mór ar fuaid na tíre ar líon

na n-ionsaithe ar na fórsaí sin, go háirithe ar na Dúchrónaigh. Bhí Óglaigh an Iardheiscirt an-ghníomhach, ag feidhmiú faoi chóras an Cholúin Reatha le luíocháin rialta ar fhórsaí na Breataine á eagrú, go háirithe i gCiarraí agus i gCorcaigh. Ó thús na bliana 1921 tugadh faoi ndeara go mbíodh patról rialta póilíní agus Dúchrónaigh ag taisteal i leoraí ón nDaingean go hAbhainn an Scáil gach Domhnach, agus na trinsí a bhí réabtha ag na hÓglaigh á líonadh isteach acu. Timpeall dáréag a bhíodh sa leoraí. Beartaíodh ar luíochán a dhéanamh ar na fórsaí sin i Lios Póil ar an nDomhnach, 20ú Márta.

Plate 3: Tomás Ó hÁille, a maraíodh i Luíochán Lios Póil.

'Sé Pádraig Ó Cathail, ceannaire Bhriogáid 1 na nÓglach i gCiarraí a bhí I gceannas agus i mbun pleanála, agus buíonta Óglach ó Thrá Lí, ó Chaisleán na Mainge, ó Chaisleán Ghriaire, ó Abhainn an Scáil, ó Lios Póil agus ón nDaingean faoina chúram. Bhí roinnt mhaith raidhfilí, gránghunnaí agus gunnaí ilghné eile acu – ina measc gránghunna mór le Pádraig Ó Dálaigh ó Chathair Piarais ar a dtugtaí gunna punt – agus roinnt ábhar pléascaigh leis.

Plate 4: Tomás M. Ághas, a maraíodh i Luíochán Lios Póil.

Chruinnigh na hÓglaigh le chéile tar éis aifrinn i Lios Póil ar an Domhnach, an 20ú Márta, le plean an luíocháin a chur i gcrích. Bhí thart ar 90 fear bailithe le hais na seanscoile in aice an tséipéil, ar an bpríomhbhóthar. Bhí roinnt mhaith acu gan gunna. Maidhc Harrington, a thug roinnt blianta in arm Mheiriceá, a bhí i gceannas ar Óglaigh an Daingin, agus chuir sé in iúl d'Ó Cathail go raibh an slua ró-mhór don gcúram a bhí rompu ach ní raibh fonn ar éinne de na hÓglaigh filleadh abhaile. Is mar seo a d'eagraigh Ó Cathail a chuid fear:

- Buíon seachtar nó ochtar fear le raidhfilí ar tharbhealach na traenach faoi cheannas Peaidí Paul Mac Gearailt ó Thrá Lí.
- Seachtar nó ochtar eile le raidhfilí le hais an bhóthair tamall soir chun láthair an luíocháin a chosaint ó thaobh Abhainn an Scáil faoi cheannas Dhónaill Uí Rócháin ón Leitriúch.
- Bhí an tríú buíon -- timpeall ochtar fear -- i dtigh Shéamais 'Táilliúir' Uí Chatháin, agus gránghunnaí is mó a bhí acu. Mick Duhig ón Leitriúch a bhí i gceannas orthu. Seoladh muintir Chatháin go tigh mhuintir Ící a bhí tamaillín ón áit, chun go mbeidís sábháilte.
- Buíon dáréag nó mar sin a bhí sa tseanscoil agus gránghunnaí is mó a bhí acu seo leis, ach go raibh an gránghunna mór punt acu. 'Sé Dónall Ó Maolmhichíl ó Chaislean na Mainge a bhí i gceannas.
- Bhí Jeaic Ó Brosnacháin agus Dónall Ó Muircheartaigh ar dhá thaobh an bhóthair ag an ndroichead beag le hais na seanscoile le hábhar pléascaigh chun an droichead a shéideadh san aer nuair a bheadh an leoraí ag déanamh air.
- Bhí na hÓglaigh eile -- timpeall 50 fear -- ar an gcúlbhóthar laistiar den seanscoil, le raidhfilí agus gránghunnaí, faoi cheannas Phádraig Uí Chathail. Bheadh sé de chúram ar roinnt den mbuíon seo stop a chur leis na Dúchrónaigh cúlú as láthair an luíocháin dá mbeadh san i gceist.

Bhí an t-ullmhúchán ar fad curtha i gcrích timpeall meán lae, le triúr fear faire ar an dtalamh ard, an Leaca Riabhach, os cionn na seanscoile ag coimeád súil ar bhóthar an Daingin. Bhí súil leis an bpatról timpeall a dó a chlog, agus cé gur fhan na hÓglaigh go titim na hoíche níor tháinig aon leoraí. Bhailigh an díorma ar fad le hais na seanscoile chun an scéal a phlé

agus mhol Maidhc Harrington scor, agus tabhairt faoin luíochán Domhnach éigin eile. Níor ghlac Pádraig Ó Cathail, a bhí i gceannas, leis an moladh sin agus d'fhógair sé ationóil ar maidin Dé Luain. Scaip na hÓglaigh ansan agus chaitheadar an oíche i dtithe sa chomharsanacht. D'fhan duine aonair mar gharda sa tseanscoil mar a raibh an gunna mór punt.

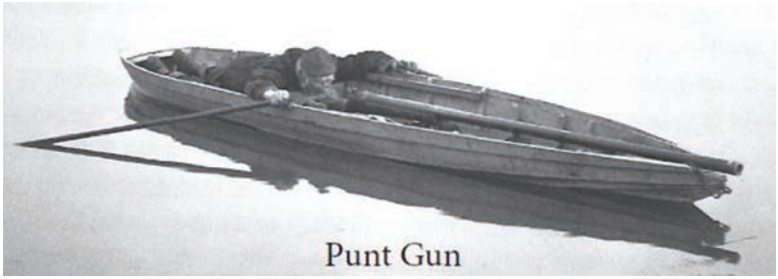

Plate 5: Punt Gun

Chruinnigh na hÓglaigh le chéile arís ar an Luan mar a bhí ceaptha ach níor tháinig an líon céanna a bhí ann an lá roimhe sin. Cuireadh plean an luíocháin i bhfeidhm arís ach níor tháinig an patról a raibh súil leis. Agus an scéal pléite arís le titim na hoíche scaip an díorma athuair agus ordú fachta acu a bheith thar nais an mhaidin dar gcionn. Fágadh duine ar garda arís an oíche sin. Bhí na hÓglaigh ar an láthair arís Dé Máirt ach faoin dtráth seo bhí an líon tite faoi bhun leathchéad.

Le linn plean an luíocháin a bheith á chur i bhfeidhm don tríú lá goineadh duine de na hÓglaigh go dona trí thimpist – Muiris Mac Gearailt ó Fhearann na Min Airde. Tugadh suas go tigh Thomáis Uí Chonchúir in Arda Mór é agus cuireadh fios ar an nDr. Peaidí Ó Cathasaigh, a bhí fostaithe sa Rinn i gCo. Phort Láirge ach a bhí sa bhaile ar chúpla lá saoire, agus chuir sé cóir leighis air. Tugadh as san é go tigh mhuintir Chinnéide in Arda Mór (Cook's) mar ar dhein Siobhán Ní Chonchúir (Arda Mór) cúram dó i rith an lae. Bhí sé marbh faoin am gur bhain a dheirfiúr an láthair amach an tráthnóna sin.

Bhíodh comhra ullamh ag Tomás 'Siúinéir' Mac Gearailt i gcónaí agus ar bhás Mhuiris chuaigh gasra beag faoi dhéin an Ghearaltaigh ag triall ar chomhra. Tugadh corp Mhuiris faoi choim na hoíche soir go reilig na hEaglaise mar ar cuireadh i dtuama a mhuintire é. Tar éis sos cogaidh na bliana sin fearadh deasghnátha foirmiúla sochraide ag an dtuama agus b'é an tAthair Dónall Mac Fionnmhacáin ón nDaingean an ceiliúraí.

Plate 6: Tadhg Brosnan agus Mick Duhig (Buíochas le Mattias Ó Dubhda, An Clochán agus Tim Horgan).

Timpeall a haon a chlog ar lá na cinniúna tháinig na fir faire anuas go láthair an luíocháin ag fógairt go raibh fórsaí na Breataine ar an slí agus go mbeidís chúcu gan puinn moille; go rabhadar ag taisteal i dhá fheithicil, leoraí agus gluaisteán. Bhíodar stoptha ag an bPóna Bán timpeall leathmhíle siar ón láthair. Cheap na fir faire gur ag líonadh trinse a bhí fórsaí na Breataine. I measc na buíne a bhí ag faire amach bhí Maidhc de Prindibhéil ó Arda Mór, ógánach ocht mbliana déag d'aois. Toisc gur fhan na fir faire ar láthair an luíocháin ní raibh súil á choimeád ag éinne ar an dtimpeallacht fhairsing máguaird. Bhí gach ní in eagar mar a ceapadh -- an gunna mór réidh agus Jeaic Ó Brosnacháin ullamh chun an droichead beag a shéideadh san aer.

Idir an dá linn tháinig na póilíní agus na Dúchrónaigh amach as na feithiclí agus seo leo de shiúl na gcos an bóthar soir i dtreo Lios Póil. Chuaigh beirt de na Dúchrónaigh isteach i Scoil Chluain Chumhra a bhí le hais an bhóthair, agus tar éis dóibh drochíde a imirt ar na múinteoirí bhagraíodar orthu gan aon dalta a scaoileadh amach go dtí am dúnta na scoile. Thug na múinteoirí faoi ndeara ná raibh éide mhíleata á chaitheamh ag éinne acu.

Plate 7 & 8: Leacht Cuimhneacháin Luíochán Lios Póil.

Ar an slí soir ón scoil dóibh ghaibh cúigear nó seisear acu síos Bóthar na Lathaí agus meaisínghunna agus raidhfilí á n-iompar acu, agus iad ag déanamh ar an dtalamh ard, an Leaca Riabhach, mar a raibh na fir faire tamall roimhe sin. Seo leis an gcuid eile -- timpeall le ceathrar déag -- le raidhfilí agus meaisínghunna eile soir an bóthar iarainn go dtí an stáisiún traenach agus ar aghaidh i dtreo an tarbhealaigh. Cuireadh an meaisínghunna i bhfearas i mbearna sa chlaí i ngort le muintir Shúilleabháin. Bhí an dream sin ábalta súil a choimeád ar a gcompánaigh ar an dtalamh ard theas, agus an meaisínghunna eile á chur i bhfearas acu siúd.

Timpeall a dó a chlog, agus na hÓglaigh fós ag fanacht leis na feithiclí, thosnaigh an dá mheaisínghunna agus na raidhfilí ag scaoileadh fúthu. Baineadh an-phreab astu agus bhíodar trína chéile go mór ar dtúis. Thosnaigh na hÓglaigh a bhí sa tseanscoil, i dtigh mhuintir Chatháin agus

ar an gcúlbhóthar lastuas díobh ag scaoileadh faoi na fórsaí agus faoin meaisínghunnadóir ar an mbóthar iarainn, ach ní raibh aon tseans acu an meaisínghunnadóir agus na fórsaí ar an dtalamh ard ar an dtaobh theas a aimsiú. Dá bhrí sin bheartaigh Ó Cathail ar a chuid fear a bhogadh chuig ionad níos sábháilte níos sia soir, mar go rabhadar i mbaol ó fhórsaí agus ó mheaisínghunnadóirí ón dá thaobh.

'Sí an bhuíon Óglach ar an dtarbhealach traenach is mó a bhí i mbaol anois mar ná raibh puinn cosanta acu ón meaisínghunnadóir ná ó na fórsaí ar an mbóthar iarainn, agus bheartaigh Peaidí Paul Mac Gearailt ar chúlú. Thugadar faoi ndeara gur thóg sé cúpla soicind an meaisínghunna a athlódáil, agus ar gach ócáid ar deineadh amhlaidh rith óglach aonair thar bearna a bhí inaimsithe ag an meaisínghunnadóir ar an mbóthar iarainn. Agus na cosa tugtha leo ag gach duine acu bhí ar a gcumas tabhairt faoin namhaid lena gcuid raidhfilí.

Plate 9: Sochraid Mhuiris Mac Gearailt (Buíochas le Dr. Breandán Ó Cíobháin)

Um an dtaca seo bhí na hÓglaigh sa scoil agus i dtigh mhuintir Chatháin faoi ionsaí fíochmhar ag an namhaid le raidhfilí agus go háirithe ag an mbeirt mheaisínghunnadóir. Tuigeadh don mbuíon i dtigh an Chathánaigh go rabhadar i mbaol agus bheartaigh Mick Duhig an tigh a thréigean. D'ordaigh sé dá chuid fear cúlú trasna an bhóthair agus isteach sa ghleann le hais na scoile. Díreach agus é ag léim isteach sa ghleann bhuail dhá urchar Tomás Ághas agus goineadh go dona é.

Bhí an buntáiste ag na Dúchrónaigh ar an dtalamh ard ar an dtaobh theas, agus bhí ceathanna piléar ó na raidhfilí agus agus ón meaisínghunna

ag réabadh ceann na scoile. Ní raibh ar chumas na nÓglach iad san a ionsaí agus iad ag druideam anuas i dtreo an chúlbhóthair. Faoi dheireadh bhaineadar gort le hais an chúlbhóthair amach. Bhí roinnt de na hÓglaigh ag cúlú suas tríd an ngleann duine ar dhuine, agus is ansan a goineadh Tomás Ó hÁille go dona sa cheann. De réir mar a bhíodar ag éirí amach as an ngleann agus isteach sa ghort bhí na Dúchrónaigh rompu á ngabháil. Bhí na Dúchrónaigh seo chomh cóngarach go raibh ar chumas na nÓglach sa ghleann iad a chlos. Dúirt Tadhg Ó Brosnacháin le Jimí Mac Gearailt dul go barr an ghleanna agus foláireamh a thabhairt do na hÓglaigh a bhí fós ann fanacht i bhfolach sa ghleann.

Plate 10: Maidhc Harrington (Buíochas le Seán Harrington).

Faoin am seo bhí seisear nó seachtar gafa, ina measc Gearóid Ó Catháin, Jeaic Ó Móráin, Teamaí Mac Gearailt, agus Tomas Ó hÁille a bhí leonta. Bhí Tomás Ághas, a goineadh sa cheann agus sa dhrom, fós sa ghleann, agus Jimí Mac Gearailt agus Alfred Fullerton ag iarraidh bindealáin a fháscadh ar a chréachtaí leis an bhfuil a stop. Nuair a staon na hÓglaigh ó éirí amach as an ngleann bhí na Dúchrónaigh in amhras go raibh a thuilleadh acu i bhfolach ann fós, agus chuala na hÓglaigh iad ag beartú ar ghránáid a theilgean isteach ina measc. Ar chomhairle Mhaidhc Harrington bhéic na hÓglaigh sa ghleann ar na Dúchrónaigh a gcuid arm a chaitheamh uathu, agus thosnaigh sé féin ar ordaithe míleata a scairteadh amach. Cheap an bhuíon Dúchrónach go rabhadar timpeallaithe agus chaitheadar a ngunnaí uathu. Chuireadar a lámha in airde agus theitheadar siar an cúlbhóthar in éagmais a gcuid príosúnach. Tháinig an t-ochtar Óglach a bhí fós sa ghleann amach ansin – Jimí Mac Gearailt, Griaire Ághas, Tadhg Ó Brosnacháin, Team Bán Ó Cinnéide, Alfred Fullerton, Tomás Ághas a bhí leonta, Maidhc Harrington agus Jeaic Hutch Ó Grífín. Bhailíodar suas na raidhfilí a bhí caite uathu ag na Dúchrónaigh, maraon le gránáid a bhí i bhfearas chun pléasctha.

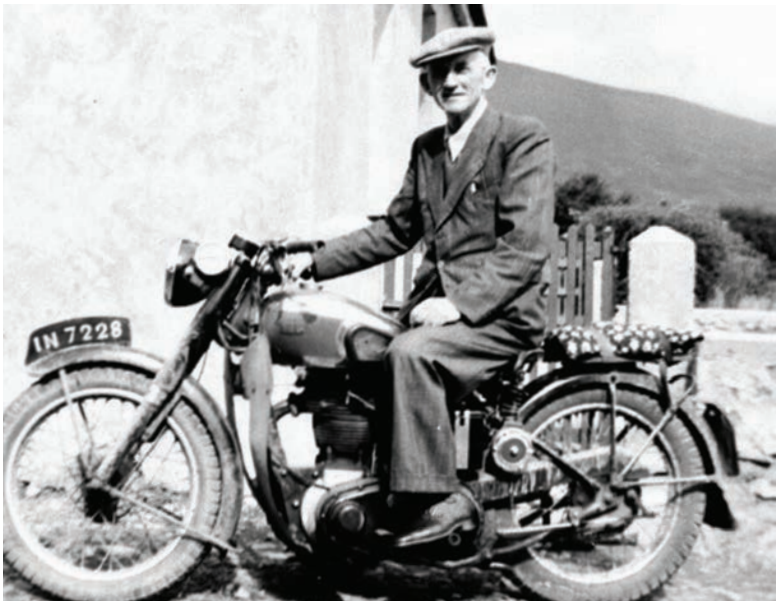

Plate 11: Jeaic Ó Brosnacháin (Buíochas le James Brosnan agus Tom Fox).

B'é an cúram ba phráinní um an dtaca seo ná cóir leighis a chur ar Thomás Ó hÁille, ar Thomás Ághas, agus ar Jimí Ó Dálaigh a bhí gonta leis. Tugadh go tigh Théidí Uí Chonchúir a bhí in aice láimhe iad, mar ar dhein an Dr. Peaidí Ó Cathasaigh cúram dóibh. B'éigean an triúr sin a aistriú ón dtigh sin go tapaidh ar eagla go dtiocfadh fórsaí na Breataine ar ais. Cuireadh an triúr isteach i gcairt chapaill Théidí, le Siobhán Níc Gearailt agus Kate Ní Grífín (Cumann na mBan) ag tabhairt aire dóibh agus Maidhc Harrington agus Alfred Fullerton mar gharda tionlacan. Tugadh síos chun na Min Airde iad agus soir an cúlbhóthar go tigh mhuintir Shúilleabháin sna hAcraí, mar ar cuireadh cóir leighis orthu arís. Cuireadh Pádraig Ó hUallacháin agus Maidhc de Bhailís ag triall ar an Ath. Tomás Ó Leidhin agus ar an altra Neans Ní Scolaí, ball de Chumann na mBan. Chuir Roibeard Mac an Ridire, máistir an stáisiúin traenach in Abhainn an Scáil, scéala chuig an nDr. Ó Catháin dul go dtí na hAcraí le cóir leighis a chur ar an dtriúr. Chuir an tAth. Tomás an ola dhéanach orthu agus d'fhan Neans ina gcúram. Cé gur dhein sí a dícheall cailleadh Tomás timpeall a haon a chlog an oíche sin. Ní raibh aon chomhra ar fáil ach chuaigh Robert Thomas go hAbhainn an Scáil mar a bhfuair sé bosca adhmaid oiriúnach ó Phadraig Breathnach, agus déanach go maith san oíche tugadh corp Thomáis go reilig Bhaile na Cúirte mar ar cuireadh go sealadach é i dtuama folamh leis an aibhéardaí Eagar. Athadhlacadh Tomás i dtuama a mhuintire féin i reilig Chinn Aird ar an 1ú Eanáir 1922.

Bhí a fhios ag na hÓglaigh go mbeadh na tithe sa cheantar á gcuardach go luath ag fórsaí na Breataine, agus an lá dar gcionn tugadh Tomás Ó hÁille agus Jimí Ó Dálaigh i gcairt chapaill faoi chúram Neans Ní Scolaí agus Phádraig Uí Uallacháin chuig tithe feirme de chuid mhuintir Iarlaithe agus mhuintir de Lóndra i mBaile an Huntaigh -- baile a bhí cuíosach iargúlta, mar a mbeadh sé éasca súil a choimeád amach do na fórsaí cuardaigh. Bhí Ó Dálaigh i dtigh de Lóndra agus Ó hÁille i dtigh Uí Iarlaithe, mar ar fhanadar ar feadh roinnt laethanta faoi chúram Neans Ní Scolaí. Agus aothó tagtha ar Ó Dálaigh tugadh thar cnoc ó thuaidh é go tigh mhuintir Dhónaill i nGleann Tí an Easaigh, áit níos sábhailte agus níos cóngaraí dá mhuintir. Cuireadh Ó hÁille ar thrucaill bheag a bhíodh in úsáid le haghaidh deisiúcháin ar an mbóthar iarainn, agus tugadh soir go dtí an gCom é, agus as san siar go Duibhlios sa Leitriúch. Tugadh i gcairt chapaill as san é go tigh mhuintir Chathalláin i gCoill Bhaile Uí Fhlaithimh. Bogadh ar aghaidh as san arís é go tigh mhuintir Dhónaill i nGleann Tí an Easaigh, mar ar cuireadh é féin agus Ó Dálaigh faoi chúram an Dr. Ferris ó Chaisleán Ghriaire. Bhí an Dálach tagtha chuige féin

chomh mór sin tar éis roinnt laethanta go raibh ar a chumas dul abhaile. Lean an Dr. Ferris agus altra dá gcúram don Áilleach ach cailleadh é timpeall sé seachtaine ina dhiaidh sin. Cuireadh i reilig Eanaigh i ngiorracht do Thrá Lí é, agus tamall ina dhiaidh sin aistríodh go Láthair na bPoblachtánach i reilig na Rátha i dTrá Lí é.

Plate 12: Gregory Ághas (Buíochas le Eileen Quinn).

Tháinig buíon Dúchrónach, póilíní agus gardaí cósta amach go Lios Póil déanach tráthnóna an luíocháin, ach bhí na hÓglaigh bailithe leo faoin dtráth sin. Chuireadar tine le tigh mhuintir Chatháin, ach mhúch baill de Chumann na mBan an tine sar ar deineadh puinn díobhála. Tháinig na fórsaí céanna amach ón nDaingean an lá dar gcionn agus chuardaíodar tigh na nGearaltach i Lios Póil. Cheanglaíodar máthair agus deirfiúr Jimí agus bhagraíodar tine a chur leis an dtigh mura neosfadh sí dhóibh cá raibh a beirt mhac a bhí páirteach sa luíochán. Thógadar roinnt bia agus airgid leo ón dtigh.

Ar aghaidh leo ansan go tigh Shéamais 'Táilliúir' Uí Chatháin, agus arís bhagraíodar an tigh a dhó nó go bhfaca an ceannaire, Hamilton, grianghraf saighdiúra ar crochadh ar an bhfalla. Nuair a fuair sé amach gur uncail d'fhear an tí é a chaith seal in arm na Breataine d'imigh na fórsaí leo gan aon díobháil a dhéanamh. Bhíodh Hamilton de shíor ag maíomh nár dhóigh sé aon tigh cónaithe riamh.

Ní hann d'aon chuntas ar bhall ar bith d'fhórsaí na Breataine á mharú sa luíochán, ach deirtear gur maraíodh fear amháin agus gur leonadh roinnt acu – idir triúr agus cúigear go dona. Seoladh i mbád iad ón nDaingean chuig ospidéal i gCorcaigh de réir nuachtáin na linne.

Cé gur thángthas aniar aduaidh ar na hÓglaigh agus gur cuireadh scaipeadh orthu i Lios Póil, ní raibh an luíochán gan iarmhairt. Thug an eachtra le tuiscint go soiléir do na húdaráis go raibh ógra Chorca Dhuibhne ullamh le dul sa bhearna bhaoil ar mhaithe le neamhspleáchas na tíre a bhaint amach in ainneoin anfhorlainn. Is de thoradh na heachtra seo agus tuilleadh nach í a dúnadh roinnt mhaith beairicí póilíní sa cheantar agus thairis amach.

Roinnt laethanta tar éis an luíocháin fuair na hÓglaigh amach cad faoi ndeara nár tháinig an patról ar an nDomhnach mar a bhí ceaptha. Seo mar a tharla: Thagadh leoraí ón nDaingean le soláthairtí le haghaidh fórsaí na Breataine i mBaile na nGall in Iarthar Duibhneach gach Aoine. Ar an Aoine, an 18ú Márta, stop buíon Óglach an leoraí ar Mhám Bhaile na nÁth agus thug a raibh d'earraí ann leo – ní raibh aon ghunnaí ná armlón sa leoraí. Thug fórsaí na Breataine ó Bhaile na nGall agus ón nDaingean an Satharn agus an Domhnach ag cuardach tithe agus bothán i gcomharsanacht Bhaile na nÁth ar thóir lucht an fhuadaigh agus na n-earraí. Bhí sé díomhaoin acu a bheith ag cuardach. Dá thoradh seo ar fad níor ghaibh aon phatról ón nDaingean go hAbhainn an Scáil ar an nDomhnach, an 20ú Márta.

Plate 13: Óglaigh Lios Póil

Buíochas le:

Breandán, Paudie (RIP), Bridie agus Tommy Mac Gearailt, John Harrington, Billy Brosnan, Tony Barrett, Tommy O'Connor (Ardamore), Noel Ó Murchú, Siobhán and Paddy Kennedy, Eileen Ashe Quinn, Tommy O'Connor (County Librarian), Paddy O'Mahoney, Shane Mulvihill, Dr. Tim Horgan, Risteard Mac Eoin, Tony Bergin, Marie Uí Ghrifín, Roibeard Ó Brosnacháin, James Brosnan, Roibeard Ó Cathasaigh, Eoin Ó Loinsigh, John Hartnett, Eoin O'Shea, Bríd Uí Dhubháin, Cairíosa agus Máirín (Ní Ghrifín) Uí Mhuirthile, Áine Ní Fhearghaíl Uí Shúilleabháin, Dermot, Caitlín agus Mícheál Ó Cíobháin, Mary, Tomás & Séamus Ó Dubháin, Maria Uí Chíobháin, Helen Ní Ghráinne Uí Fhearaíosa, Foireann Chorca Dhuibhne Beo - go háirithe Mossy Donegan, Mícheál Ó Deargáin, Joan Ó Nuanáin, Mary Theresa Uí Ghealbháin, Matthew Seán Ó Grifín, Cathy Ní Ghrifín, Tom Fox, Mary Uí Shiochrú, Joe Ó Brosnacháin, Pat O'Connor, Siobhán Mhic Gearailt, Jon Wright, Caoimhín Ó Grifín, Muiris Ó Maoileoin (RIP), Aeilín agus Brian, Mícheál Ó Gráinne, Caoimhín Ó Catháin, Joan Uí Mhóráin, Risteard MacEoin, Tony Ó h-Aimhirghín, Marie Uí Grifín, An Dr. Tim Horgan, Roibeard Ó Brosnacháin, An Dr. Breandán Ó Cíobháin.

Faoin tÚdar

Tá Micheál Ó Móráin ina chónaí i mBaile Riabhach, tamall siar ón nDaingean. Thug sé blianta ag múineadh i bParóiste Lios Póil. Tá ana shuim aige sa stair áitiúil, go háirithe sa stair shóisialta agus is ball é don gCoiste Cuimhneacháin an pharóiste.

Foinsí

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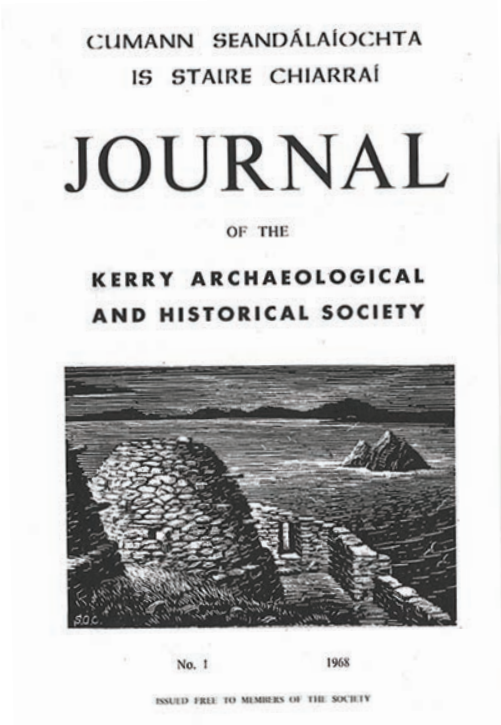


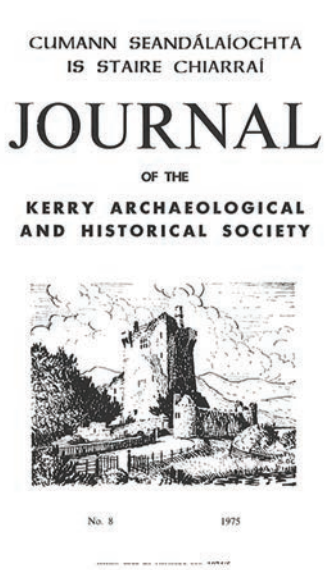
Plate 1: Cover of first edition of the Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society. Series 1, Volume 1 (1968).

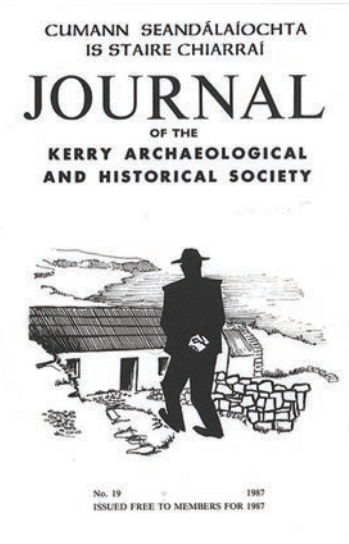
A quintet of editors – celebrating the first 50 years of the publication of this Journal

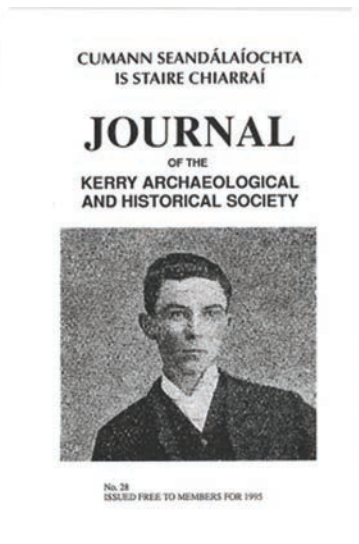
By Isabel Bennett

How wonderful it is to be able to celebrate the 50th volume of our Journal being published. Great credit must be given to the Council of those early years, and particularly to the first editors, in the days when printing and publishing were very different to what they are today, with challenges which would now be considered most unusual.

This article gives a short insight into the editors and others who helped bring these 50 volumes to our members and is partially based on a talk given to members of the Society in 2016, at a celebratory event held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the KAHS.







Plates 2-5: Journal covers from Series 1 - Volume 8 (1975); Volume 13 (1980); Volume 20 (1987); Volume 28 (1995)

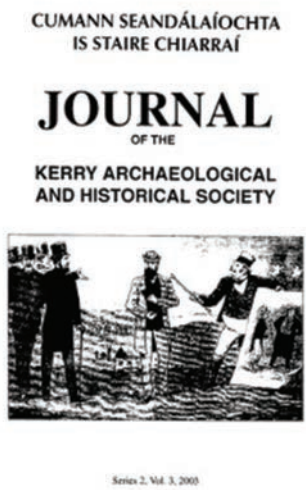
Editors

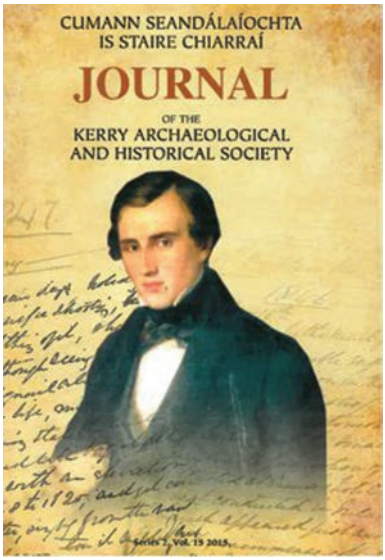
Five editors have taken the helm since the first volume of our Journal was published for the year 1968, with Pádraig de Brún as editor. The Society had been founded the previous year. Apart from one or two small hiccoughs, a volume of the Journal has been published almost every year since then, and it is still going strong. Each individual brought their diverse talents to the position, but the overall aims of the Society, "the collection, recording, study and preservation of the history and antiquities of Kerry, including the preservation of historical and antiquarian remains, the promotion of scientific excavation and the publication of a journal" have continued to be fulfilled. To our joint credit, every issue of the Journal has an index, something that is not found in the majority of similar local publications.

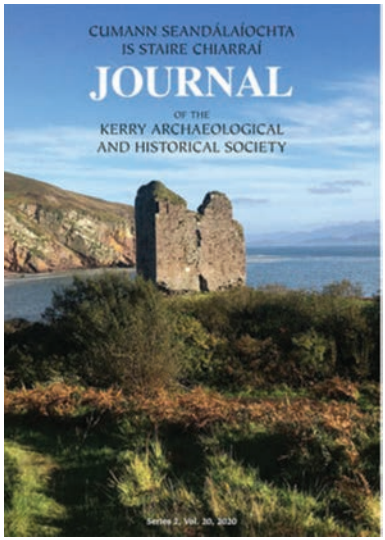
The first editor, Prof. Pádraig de Brún, worked on the volumes from 1968-1971. Prof. de Brún is a distinguished academic, having spent his career in the School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. He was elected as a Member of Royal Irish Academy in 1994, and has published widely on matters of Celtic scholarship, including in our Journal. The School of Celtic Studies is dedicated to the study of Irish and the other Celtic languages, both written and spoken, throughout their history, as well as related areas of cultural, social and legal history. https://www.dias.ie/celt/.

Prof. de Brún was succeeded by Listowel man, Fr Kieran O'Shea, who was editor from 1972-1990. Born in Listowel in 1937, and ordained in 1961, during his career he worked in England, then in Eyeries, Causeway and Knocknagoshel. Fr O'Shea was very interested in local history, including Kerry Diocesan history, and published on these topics both in our Journal and elsewhere. He published *The Diocese of Kerry, formerly Ardfert Working in the Fields of God* in 2005, and sadly died in 2006, only a few weeks after his formal retirement.

The volumes from 1991-2001 were co-edited by Fr Tomás Ó Caoimh, from Tralee, and the writer, originally from Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford. This proved to be a good double act as Fr Ó Caoimh's strengths lay in history, with a particular interest in Irish saints, and in pilgrimage, and my own are in archaeology, especially that of the Dingle Peninsula, where I live. A big challenge at this time was trying to catch up the volumes with real time, as during the final years of the 1980s there was a slowdown in the production of the Journal, partly through shortage of suitable material being submitted as well as due to a hiatus between editors (and the journal







Plates 2-5: Journal covers from Series 2 - Volume 3 (2003); Volume 13 (2013); Volume 15 (2015); Volume 20 (2020);

was now being published several years in arrears). The Journal volume for 1991, for example, was published in 1995. Around this time the Society began to publish the *Kerry Magazine*, which at the time was seen more as a newsletter, to act as a stopgap until the Journal got back on track. This publication too, has gone from strength to strength.

Slowly but surely the gap began to be bridged, with a Millennium issue (officially for 1997, but printed in 2001) being produced, which re-printed some articles from the Kerry Archaeological Magazine (published between 1908-20), and included a very useful index of all volumes published up to then. This was the 30th volume of the Journal to be published, and brought Series 1 to an end. Since that time the Journal has been published about a year in arrears, which is fairly typical of most local journals. During this time Inné/Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh (based in Dún Chaoin) did the typesetting/layout work, and assisted greatly in the transition to fully computerised productions. Professional copy editor, the late Terry Fitzgerald, also living in Dún Chaoin, was also a huge asset at this time, ensuring that very high standards were kept.

A new series then began from 2001 and continues to date. The writer continued to edit the journal from 2002 until 2014, during a period which saw the increased use of computerisation, which was both a boon – and a challenge, with more PDFs of articles now being sent to contributors by email, which greatly facilitated speeding up production and the final proofing process, particularly when authors were based in far-away countries like Australia and the United States of America, and we were no longer dependent on the vagaries of the postal system. Colour was also introduced during this period, with colour images first used in 2006, and the first coloured cover was in 2007.

The current editor is Laois man, Tony Bergin, who took over the role in 2015. Tony is based on the Dingle Peninsula and is Group Internal Communications Manager for the Kerry Group. A graduate of University College Galway, Tony's professional qualifications are in chartered accountancy, but he has always had a great passion for local history and archaeology. He completed a Certificate in Arts (Archaeology) as part of University College Cork's Adult education regional outreach programme in 2005 and was awarded a Masters' Degree in Local History from the University of Limerick in 2010. He has contributed articles to our Magazine and Journal, to the Journal of the Laois Heritage Society and compiled and edited the book 'Pike of Rushall, Historical Review' in 2018.

Printers
Several different companies have printed for us over the five decades, chosen for reputation, quality, price, and location (with preference given to those within the county). Vols 1-12 were printed by the Leinster Leader, in Naas. The following two volumes were printed locally, by The Kerryman, in Tralee, but the contract went back to Naas again for volumes 15-25. From Vol. 26 of the first series, to Vol. 5, Series 2, Kingdom Printers in Tralee were our printers, and we moved to KC Print, in Killarney, for Vols 6-11, with the work returning to Kingdom Printers again from Vol. 12 to date.

Articles
A complete list of all articles published in the Journal to date is available through a link on our website at
https://www.kerryhistory.ie/purchase/journals/, but, to show how the range and scholarship has not changed over the years, these are the titles and authors from the very first volume:

- County Kerry's historical societies (Thomas Armitage)
- Castleisland Charter School (Michael Quane)
- Beaker pottery in Ireland (Aedeen Cremin Madden)
- Philip Ronayne, Gent. (F.M. Hilliard)
- Studies in West Munster History I: The Regnal Succession in Ciarraighe Luachra, 741-1165 (Donncha Ó Corráin)
- Some travellers in Kerry (Seán Ó Lúing)
- Charles O Brien's agricultural survey of Kerry, 1800 (M.G. Moyles and Pádraig de Brún)

The first article *as Gaeilge* appeared in Volume 2, and there have been several articles published in the Irish language through the years, including in this our 50th edition.

Cover images
For the first decades of publication line drawings of a site/topic referred

to within the volume provided the inspiration for the cover illustrations. These were drawn by Seán O'Connor (Vols 1-12) and then by Seán O'Shea/Ó Sé (Vols 13-18). From then on various 'guest' artists produced the drawings, until the first photograph was to appear, of Jeremiah King, which was on the cover of Vol. 28, and it is now the convention to use a photograph (again relating to an article within) on each cover.

Conclusion

The current editor, Tony Bergin, is ably seeing the Journal into its second half century of publication. No doubt, as time passes, further digital developments will take place, but the Journal, in the capable hands of its various editors, has always embraced such changes and will, no doubt, continue to rise to all such challenges and to uphold the very high standards as set from the very beginning.

CUMANN SEANDÁLAÍOCHTA IS STAIRE CHIARRAÍ
KERRY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOUNDED 3 MAY 1967

Council Members and Officers elected at 2021 Annual General Meeting.

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Enquiries to: Hon. Secretary, c/o Kerry County Library, Tralee, Co. Kerry, Ireland, or to info@kerryhistory.ie

Articles for publication should be submitted in digital format to:
The Hon. Editor, c/o Kerry County Library, Tralee, Co. Kerry, Ireland,
or to journal@kerryhistory.ie

* Denotes: Retired during 2021.

PROCEEDINGS 2021

January 26	Annual General Meeting (WEBINAR)
February 9	*Unveiling Female Monasticism Excavations at St Catherine's Nunnery, Shanagolden, County Limerick* Dr Tracey Collins, Aegis Archaeology (WEBINAR)
March 11	*Headford Ambush* Senator Mark Daly, Cathaoirleach, Seanad Éireann (WEBINAR)
March 30	*Conservation at Muckross Bookbindery* Paul Curtis Paper Conservator, Muckross Bookbindery (WEBINAR)
April 6	*Militancy, Violence, and Trauma; Experiences of Women in Kerry during the War of Independence and Civil War, 1919-1923* Dr Mary McAuliffe, Assistant Professor in Gender Studies, UCD (WEBINAR)
April 13	*Kerry's Downton Abbey: Pierce Mahony and the Kilmorna House Visitors Book* Thomas Dillon, Historian (WEBINAR)
April 20	*Muintir Chiarraí agus Craobh an Chéitinnigh* *Kerry and the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League, 1901-1921.* Dr Mary MacDiarmada, School of History and Geography, UCD (WEBINAR)
May 25	*Tralee 1700-1850* *Evolution of a County Town* Dr Marc Caball, Historian, UCD (WEBINAR)
June 15	*Mapping South Kerry* Dr Arnold Horner, Geographer (WEBINAR)

June 29	*Ardfert Cathedral: The History and Archaeology of a significant Medieval Town as Revealed through Excavation and Documentation* Dr Fionnbarr Moore, Senior Archaeologist, National Monuments Service (WEBINAR)
August 17	*Maritime Derrynane* Dr Connie Kelleher, National Monuments Service (WEBINAR)
September 17	*The Big House in Kerry during the War of Independence and Civil War* Dr John Knightly, Historian (WEBINAR)
September 26	Exploration of Archaeological Sites at and near Kilmalkedar, on the Dingle Peninsula. Isabel Bennett, Archaeologist (FIELD TRIP) (In association with Architecture Kerry 2021)
October 13	*The Effects of the Pandemic on Kerry* Moira Murrell, Chief Executive, Kerry County Council (WEBINAR)
November 16	*Bonane Heritage Park Boat Project - New Insights in Dugout Boat Manufacture and Use Through Experimental Archaeology?* Dr Niall Gregory, Gregory Archaeology (WEBINAR)

ABOUT THE SOCIETY JOURNAL

The *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* is issued free to members and is published annually. It generally contains a variety of academic articles on topics relating to the history and archaeology of the county and nearby regions, and also sometimes carries articles about the exploits of Kerry people outside of their own home area. It is highly regarded, both at home and abroad. The journal is noted for the fact that it contains an index in every issue, and a full index to all Journal articles is available on our website, www.kerryhistory.ie.

All volumes of the Journal are available for reference in Kerry County Library, Tralee and many back issues are available to purchase from the Society.

For any queries in relation to the Journal please email journal@kerryhistory.ie or contact:

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Tralee, Co. Kerry,
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OF THE

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