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XIX.

NOTES ON THE LESSER CASTLES OR "PEEL TOWERS" OF
THE COUNTY CLARE. BY T. J. WESTROPP, M.A.

(PLATES XVI. AND XVII.)

[Read APRIL 24, 1899.]

TRAVELLERS in Ireland are often impressed by the great number of "peel towers,"¹ grandiloquently called "castles," which abound in many districts of this island. This is especially the case on the line of railway from Limerick to Athenry, along which nearly thirty of these buildings are visible, several so close to the line as to be very well seen in all their principal features.

Despite the interest of the structures as a class, and their similarity to the peel towers of Scotland and northern England,² few detailed accounts are accessible to students in the journals of the various antiquarian societies, or the county histories. Yet, when we consider their many points of architectural interest, and that they probably owe their origin to the great alterations in society and land tenure (which evidently changed the tribal lands to practically personal properties during the fifteenth century), we may well be astonished at the paucity of students in this important field of Irish archæology.

This paper does not aim at more than a general account of the "castles" of a single district. It treats mainly of the towers built in such numbers especially by the Dalcassian tribes of county Clare, mostly (as shall be seen) during the period from 1430 to 1480. This synchronises with the great change above alluded to, which is strikingly marked by the difference between the two valuable "rentals" of the Macnamaras and O'Briens, about 1380 or 1390,³ and the Inquisition taken at Galway on the death of John Macnamara Finn in 1585. This change is far too important to be discussed in a brief paper on an

¹ The name "peel" tower is not in use in Ireland. I merely employ it here to equate these little turrets with those of Great Britain. Pill or Pele is a Welch and Manx term for a tower.

² "Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century," by D. Mac Gibbon and T. Ross, p. 143. "Pele Towers of Northumberland," by Charles Clement Hodges. *Reliquary*, Jan. 1891, p. 1.

³ *Transactions R.I.A.*, vol. xv., p. 45.

architectural subject, and requires deeper and wider research and knowledge of the records, laws, and tribal customs than the author of this paper can claim.

The castles in the districts once held by the Macnamaras in the baronies of Bunratty and Tulla are no less than eighty in number. Such instructive records of their origin remain that, by combining these with the study of the structure and ornament of the towers to which they refer, we may use the facts for the purpose of dating similar features, not only in the other "castles," but also in the monasteries and churches of the locality in which similar details occur.

Antiquaries in Scotland consider that the building of "peel towers" in that country commenced in the unsettled times of Robert Bruce, but in Ireland, at any rate in the western counties, the date of such strongholds is usually in the following century. The Irish towers were very probably imitated from the English, and succeeded the earlier raths and cahers which had continued in use till the fourteenth century and often later.

THE EARLIEST CASTLES.

There were several early castles in the county Clare. One of the earliest seems to have been a wooden castle "near the Borowe" (that is to say the great earthen fort of Boromha), close to Killaloe; it was made by the English in 1207.¹ License was given to Robert de Musegros, in January 1248, to build castles in Tradree² (Lower Bunratty); of these we find possible remains at Clare Castle, and perhaps in the unrecorded and nearly unknown fortress of Knockanoura, near Ennis. Quin, whose massive corner turrets, gate and curtain walls are embedded in the Franciscan Friary, was built by Sir Thomas De Clare during an interval of peace in 1279.³ The masons were at work there in 1280, when one of them assassinated Prince Donall O'Brien. This formidable fortress, "round-towered, stone-substantial" Cuvea Macnamara "attacked. Its ditch was crossed, earthworks carried, great gate battered in and hewn down; its strong walls were breached . . . and in the actual castle a huge pile of stuff was given to the flames that ran riot till the whole became a black vaulted hideous cavern." This took place about 1285 or 1286, in revenge for

¹ Annals of Clonmacnoise. The history of the De Clares is given in the Journal R. S. A. I., 1890-91, "The Normans in Thomond."

² "Calendar of Irish State Papers," 1248, p. 465.

³ "Annals of Inisfallen," and "Wars of Furlough," p. 30; the latter by the kindness of Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady.

another murder. It was so completely defaced that we do not find it again inhabited till the Friary was founded in the following century.¹

The most southern of the English fortresses—Bunratty—was built by Robert de Musegros before 1253, repaired by Thomas de Clare in 1276, destroyed by O'Brien and Macnamara in 1333, and does not re-appear till Tudor times. We hear vaguely of "many towers" destroyed in the eastern parts of county Clare by Prince Turlough O'Brien in 1281, and that brave soldier built two stone castles, one on an island in Inchiquin Lake, of which the base and portions of doors and windows were recently unearthed by Dr. George U. Macnamara and another at Clonroad, of which we only possess a sketch by Thomas Dyneley in 1681 showing it to have been a peel tower. Finally, the same "Wars of Turlough" mentions "a massive fighting stockade of felled trees," called the "Dangan" of the O'Gradies, signalled by a ghastly massacre of the women and children of that tribe by the Macnamaras in 1314. It will be noticed that during all these wars only actual strongholds were built, while in the fifteenth century (which in county Clare at least was less war vexed) a number of these strong houses was constructed.

THE RENTALS AND INQUISITIONS.

The very important rentals made for O'Brien and for Maccon (great grandson of Cuvea) Macnamara about 1380 do not suggest, still less record, the existence of a single tower, though several cahers are named. The list of founders of castles in that part of Clare seems, on the other hand, to commence with Rossroe at about that very date, and must be in the main reliable, for whatever diminution we make for the inaccuracies apparent in our copies (in which several of the entries are contradictory), the architectural features, and the negative evidence of the elaborate rental coincide with its testimony. In the early rentals we have theoretical assessments in ounces of silver for the support of the chiefs and their wives, but in the later document the "Inquisition" of 1586, we find the old tribal lands are now Macnamara's "lawful inheritance," while mention occurs of "his owne towne of Quin, gardens, &c.," lands subject to the support of his horses and grooms, and "to Mac Namara's rent"; lands acquitted of rent

¹ Waste, in 1287, Inquisition post mortem of Thomas de Clare. Richard de Clare occupies Quin Church (not castle) on his way to Dysert, 1318. There is a plan of the Norman Castle of Quin in "The Story of an Irish Sept" (by Dr. N. C. Macnamara).

and yearly head rents to Macnamara and the Earl of Thomond, the latter being a faint and last definite relic of the older "kingdom" wherein the house of Blod sat above the house of Cassin for over eleven centuries. But in all other respects the tribal period had apparently vanished though the Brehon laws subsisted for a generation longer.

THE FOUNDERS OF THE TOWERS.

Bearing in mind the possible mistakes in the lists of castle-founders and omitting the entries where the date is doubtful, the copies divergent or the buildings totally destroyed, we can make the following table:—

1380–1402.—*Dangan Iviggin*, by Cuvea, grandson of Lochlain (1310), *circa* 1380. *Neadanura* (Newtown, Cloulara) by Lochlain, son of Maccon, *circa* 1380. *Rossroe* and the body of Quin Abbey, built by Sioda Macnamara before 1402.

1430–1450.—*Ballymarkahan* by Donall (1430), son of Shane an Gabhaltais (1400). *Bunratty* built (*i. e.* repaired) by Maccon, son of Sioda (1433), chief of Clancullen. *Firtane* (Rosslara) by Rory, son of Maccon Ceanmor, 1440 (or perhaps as late as 1480).

1450–1480.—*Ballymulcassell* (Mountcashel) by Conor na Srona O'Brien, who died 1470. *Dromline* by John, son of Maccon, who died 1467.¹ *Garruragh* by Donchad, son of Rory, son of Maccon Ceanmor (1440 or 1480). *Knappogue* and the transept of Quin Abbey, by above John, who died 1467.

1480–1500.—*Ballintlea*, by Sioda, son of Philip mor, his brother Aedh died 1487.² *Ballyhennan* (Castlefergus), by Aedh, grandson of Maccon, *circa* 1490. *Bealnafrivera* (O'Brien's Castle), by one of the Bishops of Killaloe, named Turlough (1460–1480). *Bunratty*, further repaired by the above John, who died 1467. *Coolreagh*, by Philip, son of Rory (1487). *Danganbrack*, by John, grandson of Lochlain, 1480. *Moghane*, by Donall, son of Rory, *circa* 1490. *Ralahine*, by Teige, grandson of Maccon, 1490.

1500–1520.—*Ballymullen* (Miltown, Tulla), by Donall, son of Aedh, *circa* 1520.

ELIZABETHAN.—*Enagh* (Stacpole's Court), by Sioda, grandson of Mahon, grandson of Teige (1380), consequently not earlier than 1560. *Lisoffin*, built (repaired) by Rory, son of Mahon, after 1600. The castle was standing, at least in 1584; and seems to date from the previous century. "The Annals of the Four Masters" show that it

¹ Ann. Lough Cé.

² A. 4 M.

was taken and restored to its rightful owners by the Earl of Thomond in 1599, when, or at an earlier period, it may have received injuries which necessitated extensive repairs.¹

The architecture of the towers corroborates many of the previous statements. The rude and plain castles of Dangan and Kossroe, and the late insertions in Newtown (implying need for considerable repairs, about 1530) equally tell of early foundations.

A group which dates from about 1410 or 1420, containing Lecarrow, Lismehane, Mountallon, Doon, and Trough has nearly perished, probably from want of experience in the builders; the masonry of the remaining, though prostrate, angle of Lismehane being very coarse. Roslara is different in plan, though not in features, from other early towers.

The large group, from about 1450 to 1500, and including such fine specimens as Knappogue, Ballyhenon, Ralahine, Mountcashel, Dromline, Moghane, and Danganbrack, enables us to date others of equal merit, such as Ballygriffy, the side tower of Lemeneagh, Derryowen, Dysert O'Dea, and the slightly later, but fine and perfect, towers of Moyree and Ballygriffy, near Corofin. Indeed, that period was the "golden age" of castle-building in Thomond.

The towers of South-western Clare are in nearly all cases identical in design, but so rudely built, and, as a rule, so devoid of ornament that we can only conjecture their dates. The features of Tromra possibly date about 1490, and those of Carrigaholt, from the reign of Elizabeth. However, the plainest towers are very deceptive as to their age; and that we can easily fall into error is shown by the stump of the castle on Scattery Island, which is late Elizabethan, though apparently very old.

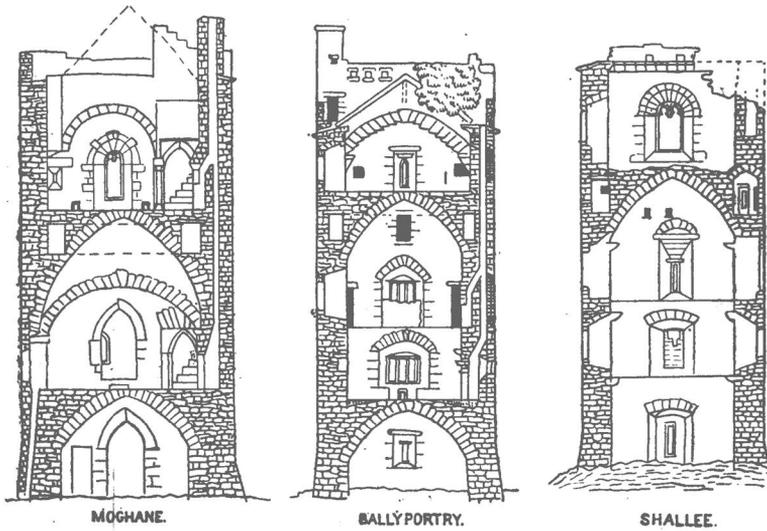
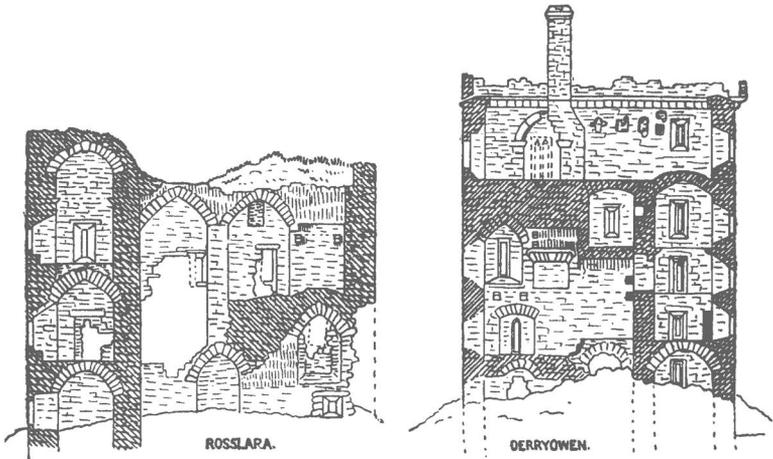
THE DESIGN.²

Omitting for the present the circular towers, we find a noteworthy similarity of design in the vast majority of the existing "castles"

¹ There are illustrations of Bunratty and Dysert O'Dea Castles in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1890, p. 292; of Lemeneagh, in Mr. James Frost's "History and Topography of the county of Clare," p. 130; and of the Cratloes, Danganbrack, and Ralahine, in "The Story of an Irish Sept," pp. 138, 139.

² In the longitudinal sections here given I may note that the hatching shows the walls and vaults actually cut by the line of section. The perpendicular shading marks the curve of vaults and arches. The lower parts of Roslara and Derryowen are deeply buried in fallen debris.

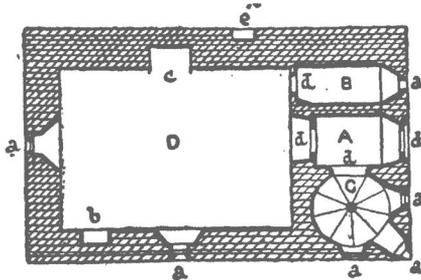
(some 80 of which I have sketched or examined, out of about 100), and the 10 shown in Dyneley's sketches in 1681.



Longitudinal Sections of the Castles of Rosslara (Fertane) and Derryowen.
Cross Sections of the Towers of Moghane, Ballyportry, and Shallee.

The ground floor (usually of oblong plan about 30' × 40') consists

of a badly lighted room, entered through a short passage, with two doors, the space between them being commanded by a "murdering hole."¹ To one side of this porch (usually the left) is a spiral stair, lit by window slits, often neatly moulded (one or more being cut in the angle quoins); to the other side stands a small guard room. The staircase,² except where ruined deliberately, or by the fall of the building, is in excellent preservation; it usually consists of 60 to 100



TYPICAL GROUND-PLAN.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| A. Porch. | a. Windows. |
| B. Porter's Room. | b. Ambrey. |
| c. Staircase. | c. Fireplace. |
| D. "Cellar." | d. Doors. |
| | e. Drain. |

(B frequently opens into A.)

steps, with a rounded newel for a hand rail; landings seldom, if ever, occur. In (I think) only one instance (Ballygriffy) does a door lead directly from the stairs to the open air.

The tower above this consists of two sections: a narrow one over the porch and guard room, including the staircase and a series of small rooms: and a broader section containing, as a rule, two rooms under one vault,

and an unvaulted upper room. In the case of the Clonlara castles, the whole of this wing has only one vault, and that one under the roof. Inchovea has two stories above the upper vault. In a few examples there is no trace of vaulting anywhere.³ As a rule the bottom story is always vaulted; the top story is very rarely so.

Several towers are built high enough to command the level country over an intervening ridge; as Teerovannan and Dunbeg, whose heads are just visible over many miles of bogs, and Magowna, which, even in its truncated condition, overlooks the ridge of Cappanakilla, towards Corofin.

EXCEPTIONAL IN DESIGN.

Gragans Castle has three cross vaults in the lower story, and a straight staircase in the wall. Castletown, near Spancel Hill, has also a straight staircase up the south wall, and a side stair in the east wall which gives access to the roof, which is of stone, there being no other main vault. Bohneill, Lissylisheen, and "De Clare's House"

¹ This is an old term, *e.g.* it occurs in Elizabethan documents.

² See plan.

³ As at "Rath" or Scool, Dough and Rockvale or Clondooan.

(an absurd misnomer for the late "court" at Kilnaboy) have large court-yards.

Rosslara had three cross vaults: one over the other, at the inner end; and, so far as can be seen, two longitudinal vaults near the door. But the lower stopped short of the middle space, which was only covered by the upper vault.

Lemeneagh and Urlanmore have large Elizabethan houses attached to the older turrets. Lemeneagh has also a court and porch, with elaborate coats of arms of Conor and Sir Donat O'Brien; the inscription dates 1643, and commemorates the first, and his wife, the notorious Maureen Rhue. There is a large bawn, with corner turrets to the west, and a long garden, with a fish pond and a turret at one angle, to the east. Side buildings were attached to Tomgraney, Colmanstown, Smithstown, near Kilfenora, and many others. Gleninagh has a side wing contemporaneous with the main building, being almost the only example in county Clare of the familiar "L plan," though a few others (like the Castletowns) have slight projections.

ROUND CASTLES AND FORTIFIED HEADLANDS.

Three curious towers remain at Doonagore, Faunaroosca, and Newtown,¹ all three in the old district of the Corcomroes. They are circular, and consist of three stories, two under a beehive vault and an upper one, formerly roofed. A staircase winds round the curve of the wall to the upper room, and thence to the top; the two first have got bauns. Faunaroosca has a door seven or eight feet above the ground leading to the stair, the ground floor being reached by another door, defended by a machicolation. The bawn is of dry stone walls.

There is a doorway or opening at Doonagore 15 feet above the ground: it is 6 feet long, and 3 feet high. On either side are stone holdfasts, grooved, as if to let down a cover from above. Above it is another aperture of equal width, but only a foot high. Doonagore is about 24 feet in diameter and 50 feet high.²

There is one example of a headland fortified in mediæval times, Dunlecky. This consisted of a long wall, with loopholes and gate. Access to the parapet was given by a small oblong tower, which probably contained ladders.³ The place seems (like several other

¹ The photographs of Newtown and Muckinish are by Messrs. W. Lawrence, of Sackville-street, Dublin.

² "S. F." in the Dublin University Magazine, vol. xli., p. 89, compares it with Coucy in Picardy.

³ See Paper by Mr. George Hewson in the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, 1879-82, p. 267.

headlands in the neighbourhood) to have been entrenched in primitive times.

EXTERNAL FEATURES.

The chimneys and fireplaces are usually, if not always, afterthoughts, and sometimes close up older windows.¹ There is a triple chimney at Miltown, near Tulla. The four gables capped with lofty chimneys, which form so picturesque a feature in many of the castles in other parts of Ireland, are nearly absent in Clare: Danganbrack, near Quin, being the best example. The latter castle has also circular machicolated parapets at the angles—these being usually oblong—as, *e.g.*, Derryowen, Moyree, Ralahine, etc. A row of corbels runs round the three remaining sides of Kilkeedy Castle.

As a rule a small machicolated gallery, on the parapets, defends the door; and a second outer door scarcely ever occurs. A few castles (*e.g.*, Ballyportry, Moyree, Mountcashel, Dysert, Moghane, and Edenvale) have an outwork or bawn; that at Ballyportry has been nearly levelled; and a newer outwork, with circular turrets at the angles, was constructed near the tower: it has some curious shot holes. Coolistiege has a corner window modified for a later shot hole.² The windows are usually mere slits, unless when later ones, with several lights, have been inserted.³ The upper room has usually one or two large ones, with a central shaft; these have ogee or trefoil heads, and sometimes a hood-moulding. The spandrels are, at times, decorated with flowers, leaves, or knots. Most of the windows were glazed; but some have sockets for shutters, and a drain and hole in the sill to let out any rain that blew in through their opes.

Turrets occur at one angle, as at Tromra, Dunmore, Mountcashel, Dangan, near Fortfergus, and others.

Some of the towers have small circular (or more rarely square) “squints” or shot holes running aslant through the wall on a level with the head of anyone standing at the door.

As a further protection, a long horizontal slit, probably for pouring boiling water on to an assailant, exists above the door, as at Coolistiege, Moyree, and Ballyportry.

Carvings are rare in the outer walls, except on the windows. There is a very well-cut head on a projecting stone at Castletown, at Tullycommane. I know of no instance of a “sheelanagig” now remaining *in situ* in Clare, but a mutilated example set in Clonlara

¹ See section of Ballyportry. They also occur at Moyree.

² See p. 358, figs. 5 and 6.

³ See p. 358, figs. 1, 2, 3, and 5.

bridge was probably brought from one of the neighbouring towers of Aharinagh or Newtown.¹

Finials to the gables are very rare in county Clare. Two occur at Cleenagh Castle.²

INTERNAL FEATURES.

The fireplaces are usually quite plain, save for a cornice and chamfered edges.³ Several are dated,⁴ or display initials and even sentences. As at Carrigaholt, "D. B. (Daniel O'Brien) 1603." At Castlefergus, "H. T. E. 1576." At Moghane, "T. M. M^o M. N. (Mac Namara) ME FIERI FECIT A.D. 1610." At Dromore, "THIS CASTLE WAS BUILT BY TEIGUE SECOND SONNE TO CONNOR THIRD EARLE OF THOMOND AND BY SLANY WIFE TO THE SAID TEIGUE A.D. 15" (now removed). At Ralahine (I am told, for it is now inaccessible), "Fear God, remember the poor." At Cahercorcran, "1627." At Moyhill, "1637." At Ballinalackan "1644" on a handsome fireplace.⁵ One at Inchovea has spiral pillars. There are small passages and recesses along the haunches of the vaults, and sometimes in the thickness of the wall. These often have ambreys and "cupboard holes." Garderobes often occur in similar recesses of the lower stories, and have "down-puts" in the thickness of the walls.⁶ I am not aware of any well existing inside the tower or outworks of these castles.

The doors are pointed or round headed, at the most chamfered or slightly moulded; there is a neatly dressed cross, picked on the soffit of an arch, on the stairs of Lemeneagh.⁷ The main vaults in all cases seem to have been turned over wicker work. At Urlanbeg and Mountcashel I have found the osiers embedded in the mortar, and apparently sound; but they fall to dust when handled.

The catches for the bolt, lock, and bars of the doorways are often very neatly cut, most of the doors turned in neat sockets.

In a few cases, a passage crosses the building at the staircase end of the main vault. This rests on arches at Ballyportry, Magowna, and (I think) Ralahine, but on very massive corbels at Kilkeedy.

¹ In county Limerick, such figures are found on Tullyvin and Dunnaman "Castles."

² See p. 358, fig. 4.

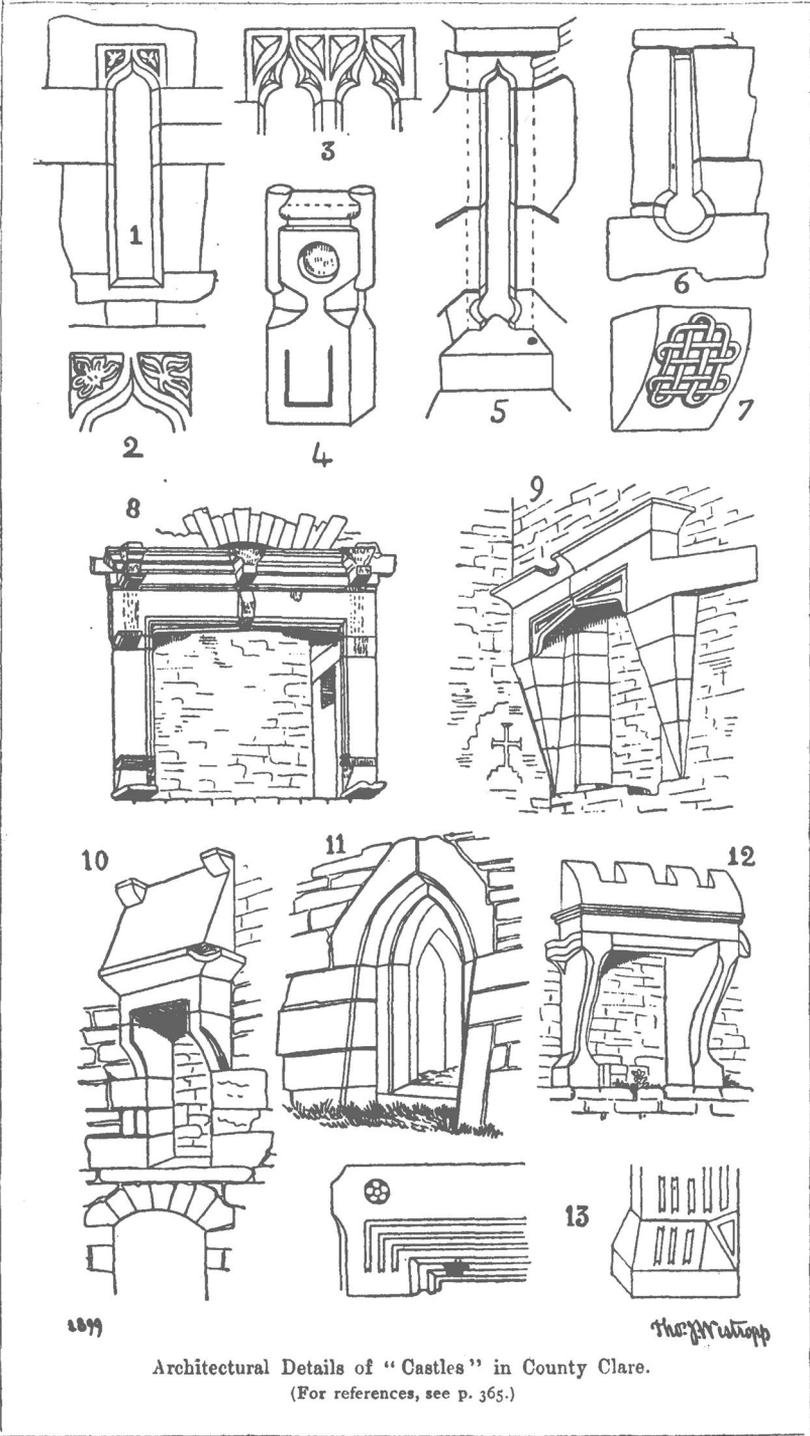
³ See p. 358, figs. 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13.

⁴ Whence some local "authorities" have dated the castles themselves. The curious slab, 1587 (?), at Bunratty was read 1187, and theories founded thereon.

⁵ See p. 358, fig. 8.

⁶ One is shown in the section of Moghane.

⁷ See Plate XVII., fig. 2.



FALL OF CASTLES.

Strange to say, most of the towers that have fallen (several in the last twenty years) have broken across the vaults and not (as one should expect from the thrust of the arch) along the crown. The staircase angle has fallen in many others. So solid are the walls that the side of Dough fell out in one piece, and the huge fragments lie or lay on the shore of the creek in the order in which they once stood. The top turret of Dangan, near Ballynecally, is so undercut that it seems to rest only on a core of masonry and some steps, and yet has defied the storms and frosts in this condition as long as human memory extends, and even resisted a recent effort to pull it down with a rope attached to several horses. The whole side slipped out of Shanmuckinish on to the beach.

Lightning has also played its part in the ruin of our castles, especially (it should seem) in cases where animals were kept in the lower rooms. In the opening months of the present year, for example, lightning passed down the chimney of Moyree Castle, burst asunder the massive blocks of an arched fireplace, flinging masses of masonry about the second floor. It then passed through the bottom vault, killing several pigs in the lower room, and struck a farm-house near the castle.

An angle of Lemeneagh also shows several cracks, which tradition attributes to a similar cause.

The tower of Inchiquin Castle was thrown down many years ago by some mischievous pleasure seekers, one of whom borrowed a sledge-hammer and broke a stone beside the door. The greater part of the turret immediately collapsed, though without avenging itself on its destroyers.

THEIR OCCUPANTS AND DESTROYERS.

A French traveller, M. Bouillaye le Gouz, travelling in Ireland during the Civil War of 1644, thus describes the Munster Peel Towers:—"The castles or houses of the nobility² consist of four walls, extremely high and thatched with straw; but to tell the truth, they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of

¹ Edition published by Crofton Croker.

² I suppose rather "aristocracy" for *noblesse*.

which they make their beds in summer, and straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floor and on their windows, and many of them ornament their ceiling with branches." This corresponds with Cuellar's account, that in 1588 the Irish had no furniture and slept on the ground, on a bed of rushes, wet with rain or stiff with frost.

After the reign of Elizabeth more than one family often occupied a tower. To select from many examples. The Patent Roll of 1605 contains a grant to John King of "the upper chamber and a moiety of the cellar and bawn of Castletown Mogrossy, near Spanceil Hill." Conor O'Brien held other portions of the same castle from 1604. In 1606 Daniel O'Connor died at Glen Castle, near Ennistymon. He was found to hold "the cellar, chamber, middle room, and half the porter's lodging" (probably the small room near the porch). In 1615 Cumarra Macnamara and James Roche held Cratloekeel and the custom continued till the civil war.

During the latter period we get some curious accounts of the occupants of the Clare castles, but none that throw much light on the buildings. Tromroe was taken by Captain Edmund O'Flaherty, in a sea excursion, from Aran, and its owner and his wife were slain,¹ while Ballyalla stood two sieges of six weeks each, and only surrendered to hunger and thirst. It seems wonderful how this little turret could defy a considerable force of Irish for so long, until we see the great hesitation of the besiegers to approach its walls, and the childish apparatus brought against it, including a "sowe" (or testudo), with augers to bore holes in the door, and a "lethren goon," which "only gave a great report, having 14 pounds of powthar in her and let fly backward, the bullet remaining within."²

After the war, the Cromwellian Commissioners dismantled the majority of the towers in 1654. Daniel O'Brien, for example (whose humanity saved many of the settlers twelve years before this time) petitions that his little castles of Dough and Ballinalacken may be spared, "your petitioner is afeared that the said masons out of malice or gain will fall doune the sd stearcase of Dough." This method of dismantling the castles accounts for the almost invariable destruction of the spiral stairs. Indeed it has even been carried out in several, which were retained as barracks by the Puritans.

The following among the peel houses were used for garrisons at

¹ See Appendix to H'Iar Connaught.

² Cuffe's Journal of the siege; Camden Society's Publications.

that time :¹—Ballyalla, Ralahine, Cloghenaghbeg, Danganbrack, Brian's Castle, Inchicronan, Inchiquin, Dysert, Smithstown, Moghane, and probably Carrigaholt and Ballycarr.

After the restoration many were used as dwellings, both by the native gentry and the new settlers; but the darkness and inconvenience led to the erection of lowlier but more habitable additions, or the plain but very comfortable houses now occupied by the county families. At the beginning of the century seven towers were inhabited; I can only recall less than half a dozen now in occupation, such as Knappogue and Creggane. A few very poor families inhabit Dunbeg. A cottager dwells in Dysert. A game-keeper lived in Moghane not many years ago; and Ballyportry is occasionally occupied by travelling tinkers.

LEGENDS.

Legends are rare and seldom tally with history. Omitting the purely supernatural ghost and banshee tales—legends of the violence and cruelty of Maureen Rhue (Mary MacMahon, wife of Conor O'Brien, 1641-51), hang about Lemeneagh, and corbels are shown on which she hanged her retainers, the men by their necks, the women by their hair. The weird and beautiful legend of the swan maiden of Inchiquin, and her marriage with the owner of its castle can only be alluded to here. Moyree has a tradition of a fratricide O'Brien, who there defended himself against his avenging kinsman, Sir Donat O'Brien (1660-80). Dunlecky and Carrigaholt have legends of ill-starred chiefs and ladies; the "Seven" (recte four) castles of Clonlara, of seven hostile brothers.

It only remains for me to thank a few of the many kind friends who have helped me in this subject—Dr. George Macnamara, whose notes on the "founders," and help on the ruins themselves were of the greatest assistance; the late Dr. W. Frazer, whose helpfulness and sympathy with all archæological field work (now, alas, at an end) deserve the fullest recognition; my sisters, Mrs. O'Callaghan and Mrs. Stacpoole; Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady, who freely gave me extracts from his still unpublished "Wars of Torlough"; Mr. James Mills, and Mr. Robert Cochrane, Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

LIST OF TOWERS.²

BURREN.—*Ballymurphy, Ballyvaughan, Ballyganner* (in a caher),

¹ Diocese of Killaloe, pp. 300-313.

² Mere sites and foundations given in italics—*p* means nearly perfect; *f*, fragment.

Binroe, or *Ballymahony*, *Cahercloggan* (in a caher), Cappagh, Castle Mael, Castletown (at Tullycommane) *f*, Crughwill *f*, Faunaroosca (round) *p*, *Glencolumbcille*, Gleninagh *p*, *Glensleade* *f*, Gragans *p*, *Lisdoonvarna* (has a court), *Lissylishreen* (has a court), Muckinish, Newtown *p* (round), Shanmuckinish, *Turlough*. (20.)

CORCOMROE.—Ballinalacken *p* (with court), Ballyshanny (in a caher), *Beancorrois*, 1584, *Caherminane*, Cashlaunawogga, Doonagore *p* (round), Doonmacelim, Dough, Ennistymon (portion forms end of the modern house), *Fanta*, Glen, Inchovea, *Kylemna*, 1584, Liscannor (nearly *p*), *Loughbulligan*, 1584, *Roughan*, Smithstown *p*, *Toomullin*, 1584, Tullagh. (19.)

INCHIQVIN.—Ballygriffy *p*, *Ballyhogan*,¹ Ballyportry *p* (has court), *Ballytiege*, *Belnalicka*, *Bohneill* (has a court), Bunnakippaun, *Cahercorcaun*,² Cahermacrea, *Carrowduff*, Carrownagowl, Cloondooan, Cloonseherny, Cragmoher *f*, Derryowen, Dromore, Dysert *p*, Inchiquin, Inchiquin Island,³ *Kilkea*, Kilkeedy, *Kilnaboy*, Kilnaboy Court (called in Ordnance Survey "De Clare's house"), *Lackareagh*, Lemeneagh *p* (with court), Maghera, Magowna, *Moyhill* (called "Coort an woyle," Moyree *p*, *Portlecka*, *Ruth*,⁴ Scool, Shallee, Tirmacbrain, Turkenagh (late house). (35.)

IBRICANE.—*Caherrush*, Doonbeg *p*, Doonmore *p*, Doonogan, Finnor, *Freagh*, *Knockanalban*, Moy, Tromra *p*. (9.)

MOYARTA.—Ballyket, Carrigaholt *p*, *Cloghansavaun*, Dunlecky (fortified headland), *Kilkee*, *Knocknagarhoon*, *Moyarta*, 1584, Scatterry Island. (8.)

CLONDERLAW.—*Cahercon*, Cahermurphy (with court), *Clonderlaw*, Colmanstown, *Crovraghan*, Dangan *p*, Derrycrossaun, *Inisdadrum*, Inismaconey, *Kilmurry MacMahon*, Knockilough (on an islet in a lake). (11.)

ISLANDS.—*Ballymacooda*, 1584, Bealacorick, Clare Castle *p*, *Clonroad*, Cragbrien, *Edenvale* or *Killone* (with a bawn), Inch *f*, *Islandmagrath*, *Tirmaclane*. (9.)

BUNRATTY UPPER.—*Ballyalla*, Ballycarroll, Ballymarkahan, *Castletown*, Castletown *p* (near Spancel Hill), Clooney *p*, Cloonmore, *Cor-*

¹ Named by Bruodin in "Propugnaculum Catholicæ veritatis."

² Has got the date, 1627, on part of a fireplace.

³ Found and excavated by Dr. G. U. Macnamara.

⁴ About eighty yards S. W. from the church, used with the stump of a round tower to build the grave-yard wall.

bally, Cregganeowen *p*, Danganbrack *p*, Dangan Iviggin (with court), Deerpark, *Doonmulvihil*, Inchieronan, Inchieronan "Island," Knapogue *p*, Knockanoura (early site), O'Brien's Castle, Quin (Norman fortress), *Quin*, 1584,¹ *Toonagh*. (20.)

BUNRATTY LOWER.—*Ballinaclogh*, or *Stonehall*, Ballingown or Smithstown, Ballintlea, *Ballyareela* or *Mount Ievers*, *Ballycarr*, *Ballyconneely*, Ballyhennan or Castlefergus *p*, Ballymulcashel or Mountcashel *p*, *Ballynecragga*, Bunratty *p*, *Cappa*, *Castledermot* (on an islet in a lake), *Castledonnell*, Cleenagh *p*, *Clonloghan*, 1584, *Clonmoney*, 1584, Cratloemoyle *p*, Cratloekeel, Dromline *p*, *Dromoland*, Dromullan, Drummin, Feenish, Granahan, Kilkishen *p*, Moghane *p*, Ralahine *p*, Rossmanagher *p*, Rossroe *p*, Urlan, Urlanbeg. (31.)

TULLA UPPER.—Ballinahinch, *Bunnavoree*, Caherhurley *f*, Coolreagh *f*, *Fomerla*, Fortanmore or Roslara, Garruragh *p*, Lecarrow, *Lismehan* or *Maryfort*, Lissoffin, Miltown or Ballymullen *p*, Moynoe *f*, *Scariff*, 1584, Tomgraney *p*, *Tulla*,² Tyredagh. (16.)

TULLA LOWER.—Aharinagh *f*, Ballykelly, *Boruma*, 1207, Caher, Castlebawn (on an islet in L. Derg) Coolistiegue *p*, *Drimmeen*, Elmbill (or Doonass, or Rinroe or St. John's), Enagh or Stackpoole's Court, *Glenomra*, *Killaloe*,³ *Monogeanagh*, *Mountallon*, Newtown or Neadanura, *O'Brien's Bridge*, Teerovannan *p*, *Trough*. (17.)

In all 195 ruins and known sites.⁴

¹ Possibly the friary which was held by a garrison about that date.

² A portion stood in human memory in the market-place, touching the N. W. angle of the graveyard; the door faced the east.

³ Its foundations were removed from near the Clare end of the great weir.

⁴ The following unidentified names appear in the "Castle list," 1584 (MSS., T. C. D.), Scartcashel, Castlecattagh, Sewarro, Bodevoher in Tulla; Ballycasheen in Bunratty; Balhanire (? Ballyganner), Tulowmore (not Tullagh), Beancorroee, Beallagh and Kylemma in Corcomroe; Cabirnally, Ballymonaghan, Nacknasse, Neassalee and Rughaine (not Roughan) in Burren; Carrowduff, in Inchiquin; *Enerishy*, *Inishnawar* and *Maghowny* (not Magowna) in Islands.

Monykippaun, Tulla, Tyredagh, Formerla and Moymore were in ruins in 1613. Patent Rolls, 11 James I.

Dutton states, that out of 118 castles, the following were inhabited in 1808:—Castletown in Burren, Smithstown, Dunmore, Ballyportry, Dysert, Bunratty, Castle Fergus.—(Statistical Survey of Co. Clare).

APPENDIX.

MACNAMARA'S RENTAL in Vol. XV., Trans. R.I.A., p. 45 (Antiquities). 1390.

"This is the sum of the Lordship of Macnamara—*i.e.* Maccon (*circa* 1390), mac Connheadha mac Maccon (living 1333), mac Loghlan (executed 1313), mac Connheadha more (died 1306); according to the testimony of the stewards of the Rodan family, and of the marshal of the country, and to the will of their father and grandfather out of Tuathmore; and the said stewards are Philip O'Rodan and Conor O'Rodan, descendants of the red steward." In the abstract we may state that the Tuathmore (most of the baronies of Bunratty) rents are 168 ounces,¹ and food to Macnamara, and 31½ ounces to his wife ("Lady's rent"). In Tuathnahavon (district near Sixmilebridge) 56 ounces (the stewards being the posterity of Mahon Finn O'Rodan). In O'Flinn (district near Kilkishen) 105 ounces and 1 groat to Macnamara, 1 ounce to his wife (stewards, the Lavelle family). In Glen (Glenomra) 126 ounces and food on the free land once a year. In Congalach (Ogonnelloe) 112 ounces; food between Christmas and Shrove on 5 townlands, and once a year on the free lands (stewards, the O'Rodans). O'Rongaile (Kilnoe and Killuran) 112 ounces; food between Christmas and Shrove on 7 townlands, and food once a year on the free lands. In Eactaoi (Feakle district) 140 ounces to Macnamara, 1 ounce to his wife, and food from Shrove to Easter. Total, Macnamara's rent, 819 ounces 1 groat, and food rights as above; "Lady's rent," 33½ ounces.

INQUISITION taken at Galway, 27th January, 1585, before Sir Richard Bingham, Knight, Chief Commissioner of Connaught (Chief Remembrancer's Rolls), on the death of John Mac Namara Fynn.

Macnamara and his ancestors received yearly rents on specified lands in Clare and on Moyluin Island, "near Limerick, the freeholder whereof was always to maintain and keep a cot or boat upon his own proper cost, and charges to serve the same Macnamara up and down the river Shannon"; or failing this, 12 shillings per annum. The Inquisition then gives a long list of lands on which the Chief's rent was chargeable. Macnamara's ancestors always took, from certain

¹ Silver, probably paid in cattle.

villages, 20 cows (or 30 pence sterling in lieu of each cow), when their eldest sons were married. They also took food for horses and boys from other villages when they kept Christmas or Easter in their house of Dangan, "and not else." Twenty-seven townlands paid certain quantities of oats in lieu of "horse and boy's meat." Macnamara and his "kearntyes and huntsmen had duties off other specified lands." Macnamara himself had all felon's goods, and kept courts baron, he held as his own inheritance, "in the town of Quin, 20 tenements and gardens, many now fallen to ruin and decay." The Earl of Thomond and his ancestors had certain charges on specified townlands in the Barony of Dangenysvigen; also, a compulsory rent called a "borome"¹ of certain cows (or 30 pence for each cow) on the death of each Macnamara. The said Earl, "what tyme he wolde go of a forrey," could claim a footman for each quarter of the said Barony, with food for two days, after which the Earl had to support them. Macnamara could claim one-third of all booties. Other lands are now acquitted of all rent, and the headship and land are now held by English tenure, and not by Irish custom.

CORRECTION.

The lower part of Shallee Castle was blocked up by a haycock and thatched shed in 1894, when I made the sketch section given on p. 353, *supra*.

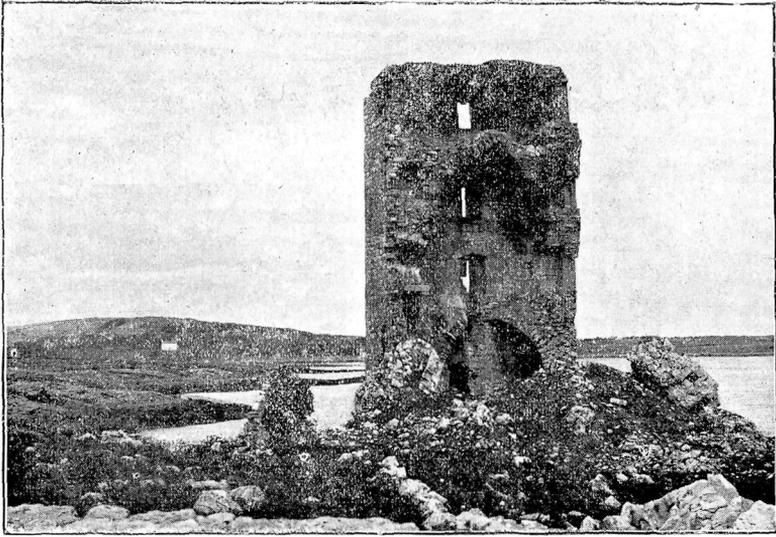
Since this was engraved I find that the obstacles have been removed, and that the lower story is *vaulted* (as in the other diagrams on same page).

The wicker marks on the vaults made a pleasing fishbone pattern, which is not common in these structures.

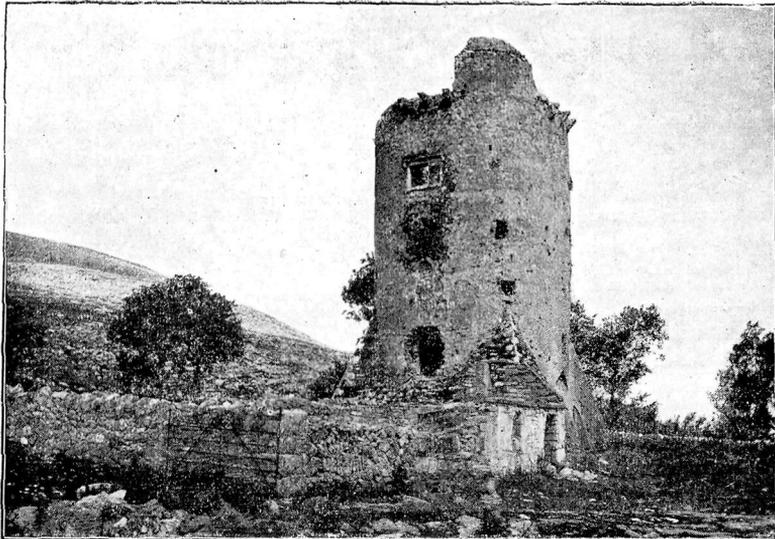
EXPLANATION OF FIGURES (p. 358).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1, 2. Window; Newtown, Clonlara.
 3. Typical Upper Window.
 4. Finial of a Gable; Cleenagh.
 5. Window modified by a "shot hole"; Coolistiegue.
 6. Late "shot hole"; Ballyportry.</p> | <p>7. Corbel; Lemeneagh.
 8, 9, 10, 12, 13. Fireplaces; Ballinalacken, Moyree, Lemeneagh, Teerovannan, and Ballyportry.
 11. Typical Door; Moghane, &c.</p> |
|---|---|

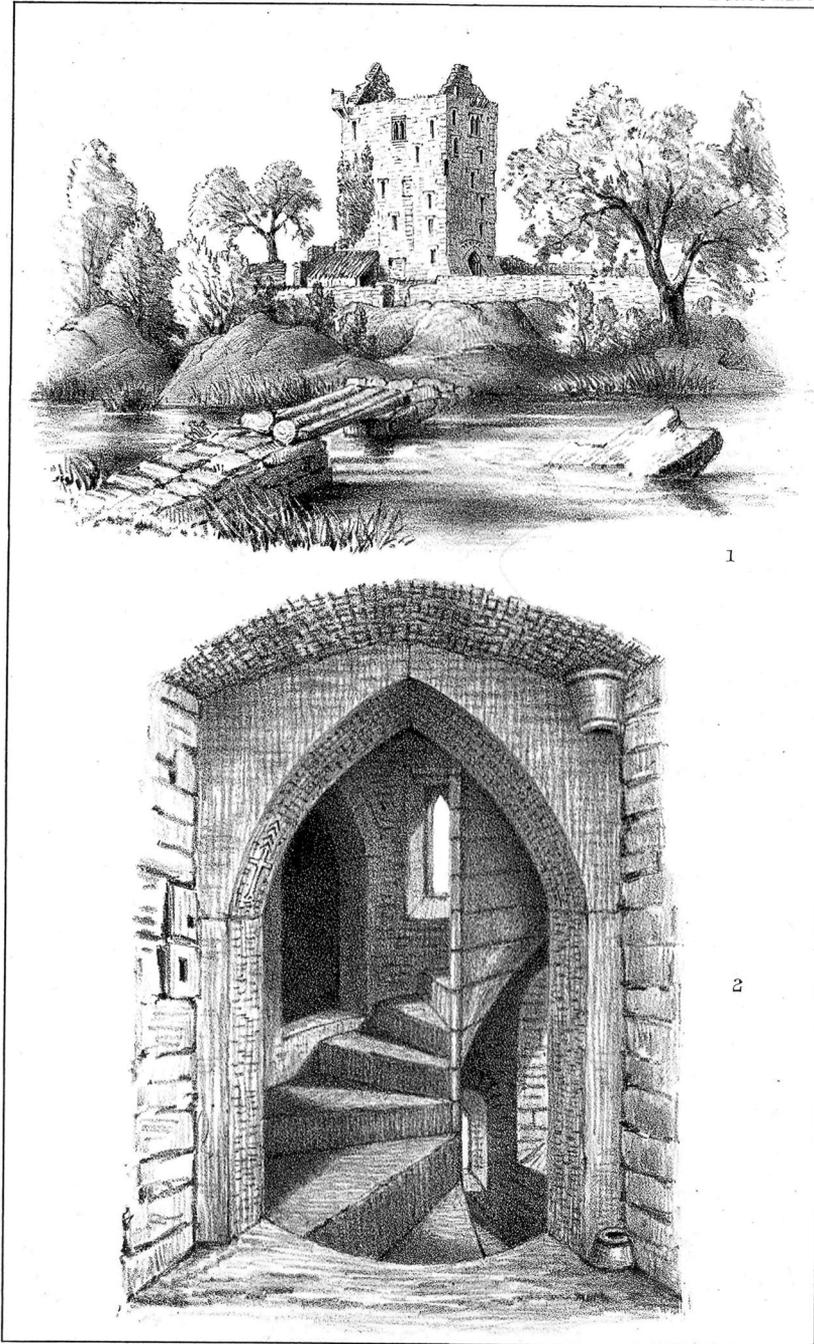
¹ When the Macnamaras (following the example of O'Brien) made terms with the English Government in February, 1542, they were granted back their lands, exempt from all "boroughs" hitherto paid to the king. Probably, as Dr. G. Macnamara suggests, their relations with the O'Briens were left unaltered.



MUCKINISH CASTLE.
(From the East.)



NEWTOWN CASTLE, BALLYVAUGHAN.
(From the South.)



T.J. Westropp del.

Geo. West & Sons lith.

1. MOYREE CASTLE COUNTY CLARE
2. STAIRCASE LEMENEAGH CASTLE COUNTY CLARE.

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DATES OF THE PUBLICATION

OF THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THIS VOLUME.

PART 1.	Pages	1 to 210.	October, 1898.
„ 2.	„	211 „ 328.	April, 1899.
„ 3.	„	329 „ 476.	October, 1899.
„ 4.	„	477 „ 666.	March, 1900.
„ 5.	„	667 „ 854.	May, 1900.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 352, line 20, *for* "Ballygriffy," *read* "Ballyportry."
 „ 370, lines 12 and 15, *for* "planes," *read* "lines."
 „ 374, *for* "Plate XVII.," *read* "Plate XVIII."