

A Visual History of St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe,
Co. Mayo.



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Declaration

I hereby declare this dissertation is entirely my own work. Neither the work nor parts thereof have been published elsewhere in either paper or electronic form unless indicated otherwise through referencing.

Averil Dolan 2010

Averil Dolan.

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All photographs are by the author unless otherwise stated:

Appreciation to the National Gallery of Ireland, The National Library of Ireland, OSi, the Representative Church Body Library for permission to use their material.

While spellings are variable, for the purposes of this thesis, the originals have been used where possible throughout this work particularly in direct quotations.

North and **south** of the River Robe while not geographically correct, are used to distinguish the sides closer to Galway in the south and Castlebar, Westport and Ballina to the north. Also **Tempall** v. Temple, **Tempall Ruadán** v Rudan, Ruadhan and **Tempall Mór** v Templemór are used.

Abbreviations:

RCBI	Representative Church Body Library
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
NAB	National Archives, Kew, England
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
NGI	National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin
BML	British Museum, London
OSi	Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Dublin
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
NUIG	National University of Ireland, Galway
NUIM	National University of Ireland, Maynooth.
GMIT	Galway Mayo Institute of Technology
GCL	Galway County Library, Galway
RSAI	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin
BLL	British Library, London
MCC	Mayo County Council
MCL	Mayo County Library
COI	Church of Ireland
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
OPW	Office of Public Works
RSIAI	Royal Society of Architects of Ireland, Dublin
UCD	University College, Dublin.
JGAHS	Journal-Galway Archaeological & Historical Society

Textural Notes and Abbreviations

IGS	Irish Georgian Society
SMFRC	The South Mayo Family Research Centre, Ballinrobe
PRONI	Public Records Office of Northern Ireland.
GCL	Galway County Library.
IER	Irish Ecclesiastical Records.
BL	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
AU	Author Unknown

A Visual History of St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe Co. Mayo explores the history of this previously under-researched ecclesiastical site in the west of Ireland. This project has uncovered the complex history of the church, tracking the significant changes to the architecture and use of the established ecclesiastical sites in the town which occurred following the Reformation. While the primary focus has been on a visual exploration of the material environments of St. Mary's Church and its graveyard, there is also an examination of the social milieu of the vanished Protestant community of Ballinrobe, which centred on the town's former function as a garrison town.

As part of this research, the previous suggestion that St. Mary's was a 19th century structure has been disproven, and the site is now placed as reflecting the Tudor conquest in the region.

In addition to this written thesis, the project includes a digital archive, created with the assistance of the National Museum of Country Life, the development of a website exploring the heritage and history of Ballinrobe and the creation of the Ballinrobe Archaeological and Historical Society. As such, this thesis is part of a broader project using primarily visual means to explore heritage.

Contents

Acknowledgments

Textural Note and Abbreviations

Abstract

Figure Numbers

Introduction- Literature, Source Review and Methodology.	1
0.1 Methodology	3
0.2 Review of Sources	5
1.2.1 Secondary Sources – Theoretical	5
1.2.2 Secondary Sources – Irish Studies	10
1.2.3 Secondary Sources – Architectural and Local	11
1.3 Primary Sources	13
1.3.1 Original Manuscripts	14
1.3.2 Artworks	16
1.4 Digital Archiving	23
1.5 Thesis Structure	24

Chapter 1- Ballinrobe.

1.0 Introduction – Image Ballinrobe Town	27
1.1 Introduction	28
1.2 Location of Ballinrobe Town	29
1.3 The origins.	32
1.4 Killeenatrave Church.	35
1.5 Killoshine Church	35
1.6 St John’s House.	35
1.7 Tempall na Lecca	37
1.8 St. Columbcille’s Church.	38
1.9 The Augustine Abbey.	38
1.10 Tempall Mór Carnalecka Church or Holy Rood	39
1.11 Tempall Ruadán (later becoming St. Mary’s.)	41
1.12 Medieval Fragments at St. Mary’s.	48
1.13 Tracing the oldest sites and ruins in Ballinrobe.	52
1. 14. Conclusion	

Chapter 2 Ballinrobe and St. Mary’s from medieval times to the late 18th century.

2.1 Introduction	62
2.2 The Cambro-Normans	64
2.3 Pre-reformation Irish Churches	69
2.4 The impact of the Reformation on Art	72
2.5 Prayer Books, Pulpits, Preaching and Bibles.	76
2.6 Altars, Rood Screens, Chancels, Naves and Communion	78

2.7	The New English – conquest to colony.	81
2.8	Tombs and Gravestones	86
2.9	Parish Boundaries	98
101	Conclusion	101

Chapter 3 - Life at St. Mary's since the late 18th century

3.1	Introduction	102
3.2	St. Mary's Church	104
3.3	Life in the Town	116
3.4	The Congregation	122
3.5	Seating arrangements within the Church	127
3.6	Other Church of Ireland Families not mentioned on list	145
3.7	Schools	146
3.8	Property and Glebes	154
3.9	Records	158
3.10	Vestry Minute Book	158
3.11	Visitation Questionnaire	159
3.12	Birth/Baptismal Records	160
3.13	Preacher's Book	161
3.14	Marriage Records	161
3.15	The Clergy	162
3.16	Conclusion	169

Chapter 4 – St. Mary's today.

4.1	Introduction	172
4.2	The Graveyard	173
4.3	Architectural Style of current building.	175
4.4	The Commemorative Plaques	178
4.5	The Ruttledge Plaque	179
4.6	The James Cuff Plaque.	181
4.7	Asst. Surgeon G. R. Watson and H.S.G. Bowles	181
4.8	Richard Humphrys Garrett Plaque.	182
4.9	Mary Anderson Plaque.	182
4.10	James Cuff d 1851.	183
4.11	Courtney Kenny died 1863 and his wife Louisa 1841.	184
4.12	Miss Dorothy Hearne d. 2002 plaque.	184
4.13	Christopher Bowen and Anne Bowen (Allen)	185
4.14	Memorial stained-glass windows.	186
4.15	Conclusion	192

Conclusion	193
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Appendices	
Pull out Map	
Bibliography	
Web Pages.	

List of Figures

	Introduction
i.	Plan of Kabyle House
ii.	Interior of vernacular Irish cottage
iii.	Cover of Knox Estate Map Book MS 22014 NLI with a map detail
	Chapter 1
4	Aerial photo of Ballinrobe c. 1950.
5	Location of Ballinrobe and water access.
6	Ballenerob [Ballinrobe] John Browne's Map of Mayo 1584
7	Mayo Baronys
8	William Bald's Maritime Map of Co. Mayo 1809-1830
9	George Taylor's Map.1778 Headford by Shrule.
10	Shroule [Shrule]- detail from Petty's 1685 Map
11	Castlebar - detail from Petty's 1685 Map
12	Croa [Crough]. Patrick detail from Petty's 1685 Map
13	Ballinrobe detail from Petty's 1685 Map
14	Killeenatrave Church
15	Killoshine Church
16	Shield of the Knights Hospitallers
17	Tempall na Lacca & detail of entrance doorway.
18	Map Innish Robe in Lough Mask
19	Note of Ballinrobe Seal from Detail from <i>Rees's New Cyclopaedia</i>
20	The Mill by James Arthur O'Connor
21	Detail of Augustine Abbey doorway
22	Carrownalecka Church
23	Holy Rood detail from Knox Map
24	Details from OS/ Historical Map 1837-1842 Historical Map
25	Copies of three details from Michael O Duígeannáin article
26	Copy of H. T. Knox as to the original name of St. Mary's
27	St. Ruadán's copper alloy bell
28	St. Ruadán's Church at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary.
29	Ruin of Augustine Abbey, Ballinrobe
30	Lough Mask and Partry mountains.
31	Death notice for James Lardner 1894
32	Two images of detail of townland of Ruane in Ballinrobe
33	Photo of old Gothic arch in \St.Marys
34	Piscina x 2
35	Burriscarra Piscina and sedilia.
36	Rosserk double piscina with detail of carving over one arch.
37	Drawing of piscina at Cunmore Church, Berkshire, England
38	Photo of piscina and sedilia at Augustine Abbey, Ballinrobe c 1933.
39	Hole design in piscina
40	Symbol of Medical profession & 12 th century scene of Tau mark
41	An example of a 12th century scene from St. Denis
42	Photo of ruin of Infantry Barracks, Ballinrobe
43	Detail from Knox Map of Infantry Barracks and bridge over Robe River.
44	Detail from Knox Map showing Military and Infantry Barracks.
45	Photo. The New Castle, Ballinrobe renovated by James Cuff, Lord Tyrawly in 1752
46	A view of the interior of the Castle
47	Plaque in Ballinrobe Castle
48	Photo of plaque rubbings
49	Close up of dates on plaque.

List of Figures

50	Photo of Cherry Castle, Abbey Street.
51	George Petrie Pencil drawing c 1820 of Bridge, Ballinrobe
52	Clapper Bridge at Louisburg.
53	Photo. Seven Bay Bridge similar to old Ballinrobe Bridge.

	Chapter 2
54	Detail from painting of Augustine Abbey by James Arthur O'Connor.
55	Adrian IV (1154-1159) grants the Kingdom of Ireland to Henry II
56	The Hag's Castle, on Hag's Island
57	The MacWilliam Burke territory in Mayo
58	Portrait of Captain Thomas Lee 1594.
59	Portrait of Elizabeth FitzGerald
60	Carran/Carron Medieval Church in Co. Clare
61	Laying a damp proof treatment in St. Mary's c. 1993
62	Decorated Church interior
63	Example of Angels over painted with Psalms after the Reformation.
64	Hans Holbein's (1497-1543) <i>Noli me tangere</i> c.1532
65	Johannes Vermeer 1632-1675. <i>The Milkmaid</i>
66	Albrecht Dürer (1471 -1528) <i>The Large Passion: The Last Supper 1510</i>
67	The Last Supper 1523 by Albrecht Dürer
69	Triple Decker pulpit. The lowest level. Moved to follow
70	Thomas Cranmer 1489-1556 & detail.
71	Memorial plaque of William Bedell.
72	Interior at Rosserk Abbey, Co. Mayo
73	Communion Table by Richard Day.
74	Congregation around a Communion Table.
75	Cranach the Elder's (1472-1553) Altarpiece at Wittenburg Castle Church
76	Detail of centre panel
77	Detail of predella
78	Detail – left panel of painting
79	Detail – of right wing of painting
80	Copy of extract of Grant of Fair and Markets to Thomas Nolan 1605
81	Detail of Mrs. Cuff's 1660 letter to her children.
82	Details of and from John White's 1667 diary.
83	Ballinrobe is mentioned on the left page of this 1667 diary
84	An 8 th King's Royal Irish Hussar
85	Old image of Market House
86	Sapper's Mark on Market House.
87	<i>At the Police Court, Ballinrobe. Magisterial Examination of Rioters</i>
88	Doorways on Bridge Street
89	Another doorways on Bridge Street
90	Paper rubbings being researched on one of the Knox chest tombs
91	Holcroft Arms on Monument
92	Photo Katherine Holcroft Plaque 1668
93	Script on Holcroft Plaque.
94	Photo of the original location of the Evans 1718 ledger stone.
95	Photo of Smith 1719 grave slab within the Church
96	Photo of stone on right side of Library door
97	Photo of stone on left side.

List of Figures

98	Table of oldest burials pre 1799
99	Title page of <i>Association for the Preservations Memorials of the Dead.</i>
100	Photos of Cuff Tomb on North side of St. Mary's.
101	Photo close-up of Cuff recumbent stones.
102	Photo of Cuff Ledger stone on pathway beside Church.
103	The Knox Table/Chest within their walled enclosure.
104	Photo of Knox Memorial Tomb at Belleek, Ballina, Co. Mayo,
105	Photo of railed in plot on south side of Church – Gildea Family.
106	Photo of beautifully inscribed plain stone – shoe maker's daughter Serah
107	Photo of some of the older gravestones
108	Photo of a Ruttledge Memorial plaque.
109	Photo of Ruttledge walled-in plot.
110	Photo of a fallen four sided column (obelisk)
111	Photo of an example of a Table Tomb
112	Photo of another design for table tombs
113	Photo of Beaumont grave plot.
114	Photo of Kenny Plot with Chest and Table Tombs.
115	Photo of view of East end of Graveyard.
116	Irish Diocesan boundaries in middle ages.
117	Old boundaries of CoI.
118	Boundaries after 1833 of CoI.
	Chapter 3
119	St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe c 1899.
120	Detail from James Arthus O'Connor's 1820 painting of <i>The Mill, Ballinrobe</i>
121	Outline of Church building within its graveyard
122	Photo of right corner of East end on south wall.
123	Photo of interior roof with repaired cut-out hole.
124	Photo of roof with cowl and chimney.
125	Detail of interior prior to renovations in 1990 with plaster stripped away.
126	Photo of details within Church. A & B.
127	
128	Photo - outside St. Mary's prior to insertion of stained-glass window on south.
129	Photo within Church with elevated remains of raised timber floor.
130	Photo of Church with scaffolding and slates removed.
131	Photo of relocation of Finial Cross on East Gable
132	Photo of Interior of Church after alterations for a Library.
133	Photos x 2 of hammer beam roof and detail of corbels
134	Welland drawing of Box Pews with triple tiered Pulpit
135	Box pews in Killala CoI.
136	Alternative view of box pews.
138	Detail from Welland's drawing of old pulpit
139	Detail from Welland's drawings for alterations of pulpit and altar rails.
140	Drawing of proposed new Pulpit
141	Drawing for The Altar rails
142	Rails from Ballinrobe were moved to St. Michael's COI . Ballina.
143a	Reading desk at St. Michael's Ballina.
143b	Detail of side elevation of reading desk
144	Photo - Neale Church ruin - in The Neale, Co. Mayo
145	Interior of Tower at the Neale Church ruin.
146	Photo - Gabel end of The Neale Church
147	St. Mary's Church & Tower from west with outline on plaster near small window.

List of Figures

148	. Extract from <i>Pigot's City of Dublin and Provincial Directory, 1824</i>
149	Detail from <i>By the Fireside, Co. Mayo 1875</i> by Francis Livesay (1869-81).
150	Pencil drawing by Mrs. Anderson c. 1851
151	An early image of the start of the Bowers Walk
152	A later phot on the same area
153	Detail from <i>The Pleasure Ground</i> by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820
154	Photo of the old metal
155	Part of the plans for deepening of the river Robe
156	Photo Race day 1933 at Ballinrobe race course.
157	Socialising outside Church – 18 th century British painting
158	Hunting related scenes.
159	Sporting activity
160	Richard Ropers (1730-1775) <i>Sporting Screen</i> c.
161	Various images of <i>Life at a Country House</i> . Punch 1860
162	Bookplate of Cranmore House Library
163	Captains quarters at the Cavalry Barracks.
164	Fireplace at Ballinrobe Castle
165	Architectural drawings by Welland after alterations. No 4206.
166	Numbered seating plan
167	Portrait of 1802 James Baron Tyrawly, Barrack-Master General, Ballinrobe
168	Detail from Knox's Map of Cuff House and Gardens, Creagh.
169	Detail from Knox's Map of Cavalry Barracks
170	Photo of Cavalry Barracks
171	Photo of Cast Iron Plaque of Gerald Cuff 1728
172	Photo of entrance to the Cuff/Knox estate at Creagh
173	Photo of remains of the cut stone Coach House
174	Front of Creagh House, built 1875 by Col. Charles Knox
175	Back of Creagh House as it was c 1899 overlooking the Deer Park
176	Photo of Bell tower at side of Creagh house.
177	Photo of Cranmore House ruin and waterfall to Robe River.
178	Photo of Cranmore House before the roof was removed c 1950s
179	Photo – aerial view Cranmore House
180	Detail from Knox Map of Cushlough Estate c 1825
181	<i>Lough Mask</i> by James Arthur O'Connor
182	Detail of Kenny home from Knox map c 1828
183	Photo of Stanhope William Fenton Kenny
184	Photo of Mrs. Maeve Kenny.
185	<i>Robe Villa</i> by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820
186	Detail from <i>Robe Villa</i> by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820
187	Photo of Mr Courtney and Mr. Frances Kenny Feb 2010
188	Photo of Interior of the dining room of Kenny House, High St. c 1970
189	Some local RIC members
190	Market Day at Ballinrobe 1880
191	Previously estate office of Knox family on Bridge Street.
192	Front of envelope addressed to Mr. R. Caldwell
193	Back of envelope addressed to Mr. R. Caldwell
194	Detail from envelope.
195	Prisoners charged with shooting Mr. Hearn at Ballinrobe.
196	Photo of Springvale House, Ballinrobe.
197	The 3 rd Earl of Lucan.
198	The 4 th Earl of Lucan 1908
199	Photo of Partry house.

List of Figures

200	Photo of Altar Cloth donated by Mrs. Blossie Lynch
201	Photo of Cloonee House sometimes called Lakeview
202	Major Robert Francis Rutledge.
203	Photo of Cloonagashel House.
203a	Photo of Ruins of Cloonagashel Tower House.
204	Front entrance to School House and Church.
205	1896 Photo of Old School House spanned the entrance arch to St. Mary's Church.
206	Map of site of Church Mission School
207	Photo of The Courthouse which was the old Market House, Ballinrobe
208	Knox 1825 Map of Ballinrobe Town.
209	Title page of the Incorporated <i>Society for promoting English Protestant Schools</i>
210	Rev. Daniel A. Beaufort
211	Detail from Beaufort's Map
212	Charter School detail from Taylor & Skinner map of 1778
213	Common layout for a Charter School taken from J. Aheron's <i>A General treatise of architecture. 1754</i>
214	Christian Brother School c 1935
215	Detail of The School on Dean's Land with entrance from Fair Place.
216	Detail of Market House -Church of Ireland School was located overhead.~
217	Detail School House on Glebe Lands behind the ruins of "Carrownalecka"
218	Detail of the Kenny House "Robe Villa"
219	Detail of extract of Church account from Rent Book.
220	Detail from accounts – extract for Creagh Road.
221	Knox Map detail - William Levingston Esq. No 1 Creagh Road
222	Detail of Creagh Road which led to the Main Entrance of the Cuff/Knox estates.
223	Garden or Lawn to rear (East) of Church with Pig Market to its rear
224	Detail of Castlebar Road from Knox Map with RC Chapel.
225	Detail of Glebe House facing Main Market Street.
226	Copy of pages from the <i>Visitation Questionnaire</i>
227	Table Baptisms.
228	Table of Marriages 21 marriages that took place between 1809 – 1820
229	A 1964 Wedding photo.
230	Thomas John Burg (b. 1786 d 1845).
231	Photo. Campbell de Burgh OBE and his wife 2009
232	Glebe House, Main Street, Ballinrobe Jan 2009
233	Arch Deacon James Treanor outside the Rectory 1915
234	Rev Robert Francis Ballinrobe 1923-1949 and Mrs. R. Francis wife of Rev. Francis
235	Table Archbishops of Tuam.

	Chapter 4
236	Plan of profile of Church and Tower from east end.
237	Reredos at east end of Church.
238	Original information board.
239	Plan for the fitting out of the Church as a library
240	Photo – interior of Church with original placement of Memorial Plaques
241	Table of Plaque Owners
242	Photo – detail from a Rutledge Memorial Plaque
242a	Photo of Rutledge plaque and inscription
243	Photo - Plaque of James Cuff d. 1828 with detail of centre section
244	Photo of sculptor Thomas Kelk's signature

List of Figures

245	Photo - Asst. Surgeon G. R. Watson, 83 Regiment' plaque
246	Photo - Richard Humphrys Garrett Esq. M.D. - Plaque
247	Photo – Memorial Plaque of Mary Anderson
248	Photo – Memorial of James Cuff d. 1851
249	Photo – Plaque in memory of Courtney Kenny and Louisa his wife
250	Photo – Memorial plaque to Miss Dorothy Hearne
251	Photo Bowen plaque.
252	Photo - Main Memorial Window on East end of Church
253	Photo – Centre panel of main window.
254	Photo – Right hand panel of Main window.
255	Photo – Left panel of main window.
256	Copy of painting of <i>The Light of the World</i> , 1853, by Holman Hunt
257	Photo of St. Mary's prior to insertion of some of the stained-glass windows
258	Photo of memorial window Major W. Cuff Knox on left d. 1910
259	Photo of window on right of Charles Howe Cuff Knox d. 1921
260	Photo of window in Reading with detail of signature below.

1.0 Introduction - Literature, Source Review and Methodology.

The object of this research is to compile a comprehensive and accessible body of information relevant to the *Visual History of St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo*, to raise awareness through the dissemination of this research and produce a comprehensive and accessible working archive for the local community, visitors and future researchers.

An interdisciplinary approach was used drawing on Visual Culture, Oral and Written History, Archaeology, Architecture and Heritage to produce one body of work.

As this is a first attempt at recording the history of the Church of Ireland in Ballinrobe through visual culture, establishing the fact that an earlier Medieval Church existed on the site will facilitate future research and record information for the first time which will add to the body of knowledge in the community.

Inspiration to initiate this work arose after having experienced first hand the number of people that called into the Church building, which is now the local Library, seeking information and nobody knowing, or having any information to share.

Curiosity started the search for this information and I was surprised at the paucity of primary or secondary sources for the Church's history, its congregation and their community's impact on the social, material and cultural fabric in and around Ballinrobe itself and the Church's associated properties.

Visual artists like Anthony Haughey in his work *Remembering to Forget the Past: The Destruction and Recovery of Archives* has engaged the archive as site, form and source to appropriate, reconfigure and interrogate it, as historians have used archives and archival practices in their work. The destruction and recovery of archives has been one of the features and legacies of conflict.

Dr. Kemal Bakarsic, librarian of Bosnia's National Museum writes on the firebombing of the National and University Library during the bombing of Sarajevo when;

*fragile pages of grey ashes, floated down like a dirty black snow. Catching a page you would feel its heat, and for a moment read a fragment of text in a strange kind of black and grey negative, until, as the heat dissipated, the page melted to dust in your hand.*¹

It was a reminder of our particular inheritance in Ireland with the conflicts that surrounded us for centuries, including the loss of our own archives in 1922.

Making visual material central to the process of developing this thesis was chosen because of the range of possible theories included within the subject like aesthetics, perception, representation, visual rhetoric, cognition, semiotics, reception theory, narrative, media aesthetics, ethics, visual literacy, and cultural studies. The accessibility of the new technologies and digital aids, including interactive tools, which could encourage the general

¹ Haughey, A., *Remembering to Forget the Past: The Destruction and Recovery of Archives*, DIT, Dublin, Dec 2009.

public become more engaged in their own heritage through exploring the aesthetic and visual history of Ballinrobe was a contributory factor.

Adopting the visual to interpret this monument provides and enhances information that could be accessible to the whole community and not only academics and, having witnessed a distinct decline in civic engagement among young adults, the research presented here seeks to provide visually enhanced material which it is hoped can effectively engage more than traditional literary methods alone. Visual learning has long been recognized as an excellent way to address the many and varied learning needs of individuals. Research suggests that the use of graphics improves learning and interest, in all areas, for all age groups. This has been experienced firsthand from a twenty question survey conducted during Heritage Week in August 2009 after two lectures on a Visual History of St. Mary's Church of Ireland with approximately one hundred participants.

Some have been slow to recognise the visual as an important primary source for research. Images have often been used to enhance the written word and used only as an embellishment on completion of the work. However, images can be forensically and systematically examined for information as a primary source or used in conjunction with other sources to compound a finding.

In Ireland historians still regard images as sideshow to the main task of interpreting written documents from the past... Images are rarely treated as evidence in themselves..... Visual images can be a powerful tool for understanding the past and deserve to be treated not merely as illustrations or appendages to a text but as documents, to be read in conjunction with other contemporary material...²

While it may be true that not all images will yield evidence or information useful to the researcher one can also say the same about manuscript documents or any other type of primary sources.

St. Mary's secrets appear to have lain hidden in spite of two Archaeological surveys, Moytura I & II, two other pre planning archaeological surveys and Mayo County Council's own refurbishment plans. Catherine Holcroft's 1668 Memorial, while mentioned briefly by some, does not appear to have raised any questions whatsoever about the possibility of there being an earlier Ecclesiastical Monument on this site.

A medieval piscina was removed without authorisation in September 2009 from the graveyard of St. Mary's. No record of this existed in any source but, fortunately, it had just been photographed the week before (see Chapter 1). This relevant piece of sculpture belonging to the Church fabric and was on site, although removed like the two grave slabs from their original location within the Church to the outside. The piscina is significant in establishing the presence of an earlier ecclesiastical community with its social and cultural presence in the Cornaroya, Ballinrobe area which could contribute to information on the later Church of Ireland, its size and design.

² Kennedy, B. P. & Gillespie, R., *Ireland – Art into History*, Town House & Country House, Dublin, 1994, p.7.

What follows is an examination of the methodology chosen and its rationale, together with a review of the sources used in the compilation of this thesis. These are followed by a brief outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Methodology

A visual approach to studying St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe was chosen for this work as little documentary information exists on its history or the social or cultural impact it had on the community within which it is located. A visual methodology allows research into the many aspects that contribute to an overall conclusion. We can look at the *locale*, a socially constructed and socially relevant space within which human interaction take place and demonstrate how places and buildings tap into the culture, values and ideologies in which they are situated.

A depiction is never just an illustration... it is the site for the construction and depictions of social differences.... To understand a visualisation is thus to enquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of inclusion and exclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises³

A semiologic methodology was chosen, as it confronts the question of how images make meaning as human culture is made up of signs. While it focuses on the composition of images it also pays attention to the social modality, fulfilling the criteria for a critical visual methodology.

With the suspicion of there having been an earlier Church on the site of St. Mary's, an extensive study of maps was undertaken with William Petty's 1685⁴ map taken as a base line. Ballinrobe was compared with other towns for size and habitation patterns in their area together with other ecclesiastical sites. Four religious establishments were indicated on Petty's map in Ballinrobe together with a new castle, extensive secular buildings for the time, the River Robe and a bridge. This was compared with later maps to indicate the probable size of Protestant development in the area and establish why this site was chosen for the Church of Ireland.

The location and impact of the Church, on this elevated site, right at the heart of the town was researched through Maps, Photographs, Prints, Architectural Drawings, Records and Manuscripts. These were also used to develop a visual culture and time line for the study, together with archival material and various calendar references. Their relevance to the history of the town of Ballinrobe contributed to an overall context, with maps proving to be of central importance. They were compared with contemporary directories, such as Lewis's *Topographical Directory* and the *Parliamentary Gazetteer*.

³ Fyfe, G. & Law, J., *Picturing power: visual depiction and social relations*, Routledge, London, 1988, p. 1.

⁴ *Book of Survey and Distribution – being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of Title 1636-1703 with Maps of the county from Petty's Atlas 1683 and of Tirawley barony from the Down Survey 1657*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1956.

Maps, being works of art and social documents in themselves, are extensively used to establish a Visual History of St. Mary's. Petty's 1685 map, OSi 1836 Historical⁵ and OSi 1894 Rural maps⁶, William Bald's 1809⁷ Maritime Map, the Knox Estate maps⁸ of 1825 and Taylor and Skinner's⁹ 1778 map were forensically examined and used in a comparative study to trace the developments both of the Church, Churchlands, Rectory and the Graveyard over a 200 years period. Detailed images of relevant locations were extracted to enhance visually the information extracted from a rare rent book for 1854/5. All these maps were used as an essential tool in researching the extent of Glebe Lands in Ballinrobe together with original names of streets, parks and gardens and housing which in turn were used to cross reference the rents received by the Church of Ireland from the 1850 original and rare Rent Book. They also include the sites of other Ecclesiastical buildings, fairs and markets, town pump, courthouse and jails together with schools, indicating development of the English establishment and settlers in the region.

Primary Research on manuscripts MS 2040 at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin included diaries of a commercial traveller to the area c1667 with names of the traveller's business contacts in the region. An article in 'A Frenchman's tour of Connacht in 1791'¹⁰ provides a description of artwork in a Ballinrobe Hotel.

Primary research on records at the Representative Church Body Library (RCBL) in Dublin, was carried out including the only surviving Vestry Minute Book, a Visitation Questionnaire and the Preacher's book for Ballinrobe. Rubbings from gravestones were completed and information examined for this research together with a complete list of all gravestone inscriptions being compiled together with the names, year of death and embellishments or inscriptions. This was compared with a listing from Mr. Gerry Delaney of The South Mayo Family Research Centre and records from the National Archives of Ireland to try and establish if worn inscriptions could be retrieved. A survey of the memorial plaque styles inside the Church was recorded and it emerged that some patrons had both a Plaque and Gravestone and that two plaques came from another Church. A photographically recorded data base of these plaques was also established as material culture includes all of the physical objects that people create and give meaning to. The original drawings of the Church both before the proposed alterations were researched at RCBL and were invaluable in displaying the layout of the Church before 1864. Detailed drawings of the furnishings and fixtures were also included. A brief look at the way cultural systems could be encoded into the built fabric was examined taking Pierre Bourdieu's classic essay on the *Kabyle House*¹¹ into consideration. Emmison and Smith suggest that semiotic methodology can be used as "we can decode places because they are, in some ways, texts just like pictures and objects. In assessing these sorts of things we

⁵ Cartographic Dept., Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Phoenix Park, Dublin.

⁶ Cartographic Dept., Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Phoenix Park, Dublin.

⁷ Bald William, *Maritime map of County Mayo* in 25 Sheets, 1830 (Sheet 19).

⁸ NLI Ms 22014

⁹ Taylor, G. & Skinner, A., *Maps of the Roads of Ireland surveyed 1777*, G. Terry, London, 1777.

¹⁰ Ni Chinneide, S., 'A Frenchman's tour of Connacht, 1791' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, No. 35, 1976, pp 52-66.

¹¹ Emmison, M. & Smith, P., *Researching the Visual*, Sage, London, 2004, pp 153-54.

can use methodologies ranging from direct observation in naturalistic settings to the study of architects' drawings."¹²

A number of interviews took place with visitors who were descendants of Clergy of the Parish who had called into the current library seeking information. Information on some of these families is included in Chapter 3. Mrs. Elizabeth Ormsby and Mr. Courtney Kenny were very helpful also in providing images and information. Unfortunately, very few members of this community remain in Ballinrobe.

At this stage it was decided that a wider trawl for information on the Church, its activities, its impact on the community, and on the social, cultural and material culture of the Ballinrobe congregation was required. As outlined below, the research undertaken encompassed a variety of sources, but it was felt the voice of more personal inputs were required and this culminated in the creation of a digital archive/history of St. Mary's Church of Ireland and the Town (see below).

1.2 Review of Sources

The following review of the sources is broken into several sections, beginning with an exploration of the theoretical background, followed by the secondary and primary sources.

1.2.1 Secondary Sources - Theoretical

Emmison, Michael & Smith, Philip's *Researching the Visual*¹³ is a comprehensive introduction to the entire field of visual research. This book reviews the contributions of traditions as diverse as semiotics, ethno-methodology, symbolic interactionism and material culture studies and demonstrates their potential application for the visual researcher.

The first part of Emmison and Smith's *Researching the Visual*¹⁴ publication deals with the more traditional themes in visual research. These centre on the use of photographic images in ethnographic enquiry and the cultural interpretation of texts such as advertisements. It then goes on to show how visual research should also embrace the analysis of everyday objects, places and forms of social interactions. With the relevance of leading theorists such as Foucault, Bourdieu, Goffman and Hall discussed, this book is solid and practical as it grounds the practice of visual research in everyday use. There are numerous practical exercises which draw together the theoretical concepts, connecting the rational and empirical elements throughout the book. Emmison and Smith include in their approach the descriptive discipline of Ethno-methodology, which does not, however, engage in the explanation or evaluation of a particular social order - the focus of this study. While it is the study of the methodology people use for producing recognisable social order, the approach differs from the sociological approach, as sociology does for psychology, even though both speak of social action. Combining the sociological and the visual, however, is a method for understanding the social orders people use to make sense of the world through analysing their descriptions of their day-

¹² Ibid., p. 153

¹³ Emmison, Michael & Smith, Philip. *Researching the Visual*. Sage Publications, London 2000. p. 33.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

to-day experiences. These theories have contributed an overall basis on which to strengthen and compound the argument for the use of the visual in this thesis.

In Michel Foucault's 1926-1984 *Of Other Spaces – Heterotopias*¹⁵ he contests the nature of linear time and proposed a way of dealing with time in relation to space and history. He used theories of structuralism and defines them as “an effort to create an ensemble of relations between single elements which have been spread out in time and space to made them appear as connected, contrasted, and implicated by each other.”¹⁶ Foucault argued that the structures that organise the beliefs of a culture are historically conditioned, and that these are determined by the social rules and practices that regulate discourse. He argues that the human sciences which emerged in the 18th century can be used as aids to resist the image conferred upon us by the controlling orders of previous generations, and so forge new ways of living.

Sociology could not fail to reflect the effects of this revolution on the world of thought, which became more politicised and orientated towards social criticism. It was at that time when a greater importance of space was called for against time. Foucault's ideas correspond with our understanding of space over time. He established two unique sites; utopias and heterotopias which are linked to other spaces, yet are also in contradiction to those other sites to which they are linked. He talks of utopias being an unreal space, giving the example of a mirror and its reflections, while the heterotopia by contrast is an interface between reality and unreality, and therefore really exists.

He goes on to define the six principles of heterotopias as having three forms- crisis, deviance and illusion – in combination with three spatial systems - placement, extension and relations. The first three refer to sacred and forbidden places and to places where people are placed when they do not conform to the norm, including hospitals and prisons. He suggests that all cultures contain heterotopias, that they can change function within a single society, and that they may take the form of contradictory sites, such as the representation of a sacred garden as a microcosm of the world in a Persian rug. He suggests that heterotopias are linked with a break in traditional time identifying spaces that represent either a quasi-eternity, like museums are temporal yet are representations of ‘fixed time’, as are cinema and the new virtual worlds of computer games. Heterotopias are not necessarily freely accessible, some are entered into by compulsory means like jails or their entry is based on ritual or purification.

One can interpret Foucault's text based on new conditions which prove its timelessness. We detect contemporary “heterotopias”, counterpoising real spaces with imaginary ones and we imagine new spaces of the future.

My encounter with Foucault's work is relatively recent but it seems that he continued to question his own work and his theory on space; knowledge and power interested me as it can be related to the power and social impact of the congregation of the Church of Ireland on the

¹⁵ Foucault, M., *Of Other Spaces*, based on a lecture given by Michel Foucault in March 1967, translated from the French by Jay Miskowicz, *Journal Architecture/Movement/Continuité*, 1984. (Although not reviewed for publication by the author and thus not part of the official corpus of his work, the manuscript was released into the public domain for an exhibition in Berlin shortly before Michel Foucault's death.)

¹⁶ Dehaene, M. & deCaulter, L., *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Post civil Society*, Routledge, London & New York, 2008, p. 153.

town and people of Ballinrobe as “it is somewhat arbitrary to try to dissociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand”.¹⁷ Foucault underlines for example that just as the museum is a heterotopia, so is a library. However in the end, it is the work of art that becomes a heterotopia. It is the creation of a space within the real one, a space that borrows elements from the real space, situations and actions, archives and drawings in order to offer, in the end, a strange reflection of the real space.

Richard Jenkins’s book on *Pierre Bourdieu*¹⁸ introduces Bourdieu’s sociology clearly and concisely, and emphasises his contributions to the theory and methodology, while dealing with his substantive studies on educations, social stratification and culture. Bourdieu’s work is important as he makes a major contribution to the debate about relationships between structure and action which re-emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s as the key question for social theory. Bourdieu’s notion of habitus, that people tend to create and recreate the physical environment around them according to implicit notions of cultural norms, has informed the analysis of secular buildings such as raths and tower houses. From generation to generation or from one class to another, these ideas can change according to the different material conditions that people experience.¹⁹

An interesting comparison can be made with Anthony Giddens whose contribution²⁰ has consistently been framed by an engagement with systematic empirical works, whether relying on the ethnography of social survey approaches or reflexive theorising.

It is the tension between the empirical and the theoretical in Bourdieu’s work that makes it so interesting, as “theory without empirical research is empty, empirical research without theory is blind”²¹. Bourdieu studied the floor plan of the Berber Kabyle House²² in Algeria and linked it with his ethnographic knowledge of Kabyle life to demonstrate that the house is structured by a number of binary oppositions. These link built form, gender roles, agricultural cycles, human reproduction and cosmology in complex ways... “whilst the organization of the Kabyle house, and its social meanings, might appear to be just the product of an undifferentiated tradition or way of life to an outsider, Bourdieu’s detailed decoding shows it to be an environment through which we can read the deep structures which pattern Kabyle life as a whole”.²³

As Bourdieu’s prose is obtuse and his conceptualisation dense, Richard Jenkins does a wonderful job of simplifying his work and shows the importance that lies in his significant

¹⁷ Foucault, M., ‘Space, Knowledge and Power’ (an interview with Paul Rabinow) in Rabinow, Paul (Ed), *The Foucault Reader*, Pantheon, New York, 1984, p.246.

¹⁸ Jenkins, R., *Pierre Bourdieu*. Routledge, New York & London, 1992, pp 26-63.

¹⁹ O’Keefe, T., ‘Space, place, habitus: geographies of practice in an Anglo-Norman manor’, in Clarke, H.B., Prunty, J. and Hennessy, M. (Eds), *Surveying Ireland’s past: multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms*, Dublin, 2004, pp 73-98.

²⁰ Giddens, A., *Sociology*, Polity Press, London, 2006 (5th Edition).

²¹ Bourdieu, P. & Syad, A., *Le deuil de l’agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie*, Les Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964.

²² Jenkins, R., *Pierre Bourdieu*, Routledge, New York & London, 1992, pp 26-63.

²³ Bourdieu, P., ‘The Berber House’ in Douglas M. (Ed), *Rules and Meaning: the Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp 98-110.

contribution to the debate concerning the relationship between structure and action and social anthropology, his reflexive engagement with empirical research and the epistemological questions he raises about the adequacy of social scientific knowledge.

One aspect of Bourdieu's work that I was particularly interested in was his use of the visual as a means of recording social facts and for the close study of details within his images.

Photography gave him the extraordinary possibility to have an extremely precise record of his work, with only 2,500 of the original photos shot in Algeria surviving, including all the details of the house, its interior and surroundings, with the camera as a perfect complement to his sketchbook. Acting as steps towards the conceptualisation of the objects and items shown, rather than as simple illustrations of a textual analysis, the visual data, photographs as well as sketches of the house, ground plans and maps of the village, constitute anthropologically readable primary data themselves.

With his photographs of the Kabyle House serving as a kind of externalised memory Bourdieu wrote his books at his desk at home rather than on location. The precise visual recording of objects, as well as the interior design of the house let Bourdieu draw the conclusion that they were arranged in a specific order corresponding to social structure as well as to a larger cosmological order. Without his camera it would have been much more difficult to gain such a precise recording. The layout of the St. Mary's Church and graveyard can be analysed in a similar way, particularly as there were many changes both within and outside the present structure. Indeed the byre dwelling type of vernacular Irish cottages are very similar to the Kabyle house layout.

Fig. i. Plan of Kabyle House of the Berbers. The interior of the Kabyle house is rectangular and divided into two parts, one third of the way along its length. The larger part is approximately 50 centimetres higher than the other and covered by a layer of lay and cow dung which is polished with a stone and reserved for human habitation with the smaller part by the animals.

f/n Mayor M & Pugh, A. K. *Language, communication, & education: a reader* Open University Press. 1989 Pages 231-237

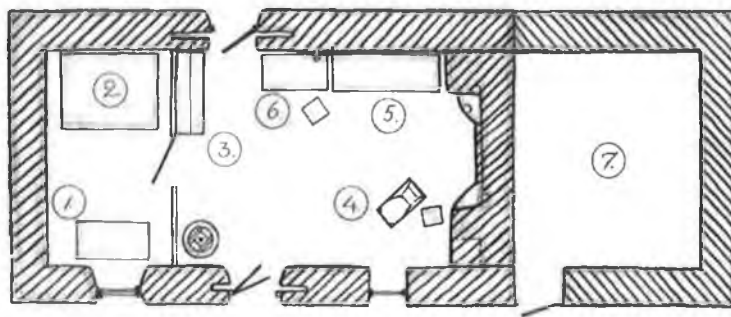
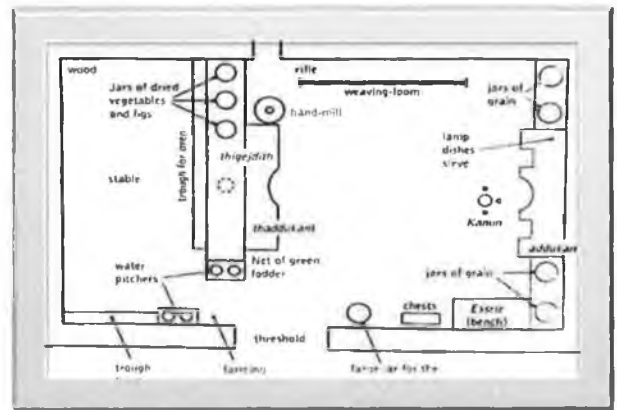


Fig. ii.

Rialaigh, Co. Kerry, Ireland. Key - 1. Table, 2 Bed, 3 Dresser, 4 Cradle, 5 Bench, 6 Table and 7 Cowhouse. In the background, near Table 6 is an iron fastening for a cow. Drawn by Ake Campbell, a visiting Swedish scholar in 1935. Most cottages had similar layout. National Museum of Ireland, Folklife Dept.,

In Susan Sontag's (1933-2004) book *On Photography*²⁴ she suggests that analysis of photographs have made profound changes in our way of looking at the world and at ourselves over the last 140 years and she cites W.H.F. Talbot's comment that "photographs are especially suited for recording the injuries of time"²⁵ which, unfortunately proved very true in St. Mary's case with the removal of some artefacts which are discussed later.

In *Photographs and Photography in Irish Local History*,²⁶ Liam Kelly suggests that people have been slow to recognize photographs as important primary sources for research and it is only in recent years that photographs are being taken seriously as historical documents in their own right. He gives a brief outline of the history of photography from the daguerreotype camera of early Victorian times to the digital camera and traces the development of photography in Ireland. He shows how a vast number of photographs have been accumulated in Ireland, and where the best collections are held and how they may be accessed. He also suggests ways in which photographs may be examined to see what information can be extracted from them in a very interesting chapter on 'reading photographs', i.e. analysing them in the same way as a document or manuscript. (Is it authentic? Where was it taken? Who took it? When was it taken? Why was it taken? What information does it contain?) Photographs are a very useful source for primary research when compared to the traditional written sources - meriting equal attention when undertaking historical research in particular. One chapter contains a list of about 200 major collections of Irish photographs, and how they can be accessed.

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) approach in his *Camera Lucida*²⁷ is somewhat similar to Sontag's, with his emphasis on death, intimating that photographs ultimately serve as reminders of human mortality. This morbidity not only overwhelms his notion of the referent (which should give the viewer a chance to at least study and enjoy the image in the moment it was taken), but it pervades virtually all other aspects of his thesis, save perhaps for the studium, which allows for a general, cultural appreciation of the photograph's contents: "to recognize the studium is inevitably to encounter the photographer's intentions, to enter into harmony, disapprove or approve, but always to understand them."²⁸ Barthes' efforts at defining photographic meaning in structuralism and semiotic terms are worthwhile.

While any single documentary source, photographic or otherwise, is a shaky foundation upon which to build a thesis, if used alongside evidence gleaned from several sources a strong piece of research can be constructed. The context of the photograph is not just about time and place, it is also about the social, cultural, political, religious and intellectual world in which the image was created. Once the photographs have been analysed and placed in context, they may well prove to be a document of considerable historical importance. This can be seen below in an Irish context in Claudia Kinmonth's books.

²⁴ Sontag, S., *On Photography*, Picador, New York, 2001.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁶ Kelly, L., *Photographs and Photography in Irish Local History*, Four Courts Press, Dublin 2008.

²⁷ Barthes, R., *Camera Lucida*, Vintage, London, 2001, pp 27-28

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 27-28

1.2.2 Secondary Sources- Irish studies

Claudia Kinmonth's approach in her *Irish Country Furniture 1700-1950*²⁹ is an example of emphasising visual sources in an attempt at addressing the imbalance in published work on Irish material culture. Her work was innovative in locating and photographing furniture in the settings for which it had made. The result retrieved a largely unknown material world, in danger of extinction before it had been documented. This ensured that the skills and ingenuity present in remote and impoverished communities are preserved.

On the other hand her *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*³⁰ relies on original works of art to offer a comprehensive look at Irish art from the 19th century, and well into the 20th century. It demonstrates her ability to analyse the context of the scene, tells stories and takes the reader through all the paintings with commentary on individual paintings which is perceptive and revealing. She can find a society's entire cultural heritage in just a few paintings. Kinmonth has also researched and written a chapter of social history on the subjects covered in the book from The Hearth, Beds and Ways of Sleeping, Women at Work, The Dresser, Pubs and Shops and Health Education and many others.

This is a work of scholarship in both art and sociology and is an exemplary illustration of the ways in which different disciplines can learn from one another. It also clearly displays the way forgotten information on rituals and customs, can be reignited and restored before all traces are extinguished from living memory.

*Ireland, Art into History*³¹ sprang from a Dublin conference of Historians and Art Historians in 1990 and combines the illustrated essays of thirteen contributors and demonstrates "the incontrovertible point that the images of the past are at least important as the oral or written evidence and stressed the importance of the oral compared with the written evidence"³².

The authors explore how people in Ireland tried to use visual images for expressing ideas about their society, themselves and the world around them. Images made a great impact because of the limited literacy. Three broad themes were chosen in this book; the use of images to reconstruct the material world of the past, images as a reflection of political life in the past and images as evidence of public and private fashions and it creates windows through which the reader can view Ireland's past. The authors challenge the approach of conventional historians to Irish history by using a broad range of examples of paintings, sketches, photographs, book illustration and other visual images and explain how visual evidence may be used to enhance our understanding of the past, an understanding normally derived from documentary evidence alone. This book shows how important the visual is for the study of history, which, particularly as an indicator of a changing society, is so often difficult to follow from documents alone. It implies that no serious historian of the period from the seventeenth century on can ever get away again without using his eyes as well as his documents and his brains.

²⁹ Kinmonth, C., *Irish Country Furniture 1700-1950*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1993.

³⁰ Kinmonth, C., *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*, Yale University Press, London, 2006, p. 4.

³¹ Kennedy, B. P. & Gillespie, R., *Ireland – Art into History*.

³² Kinmonth, C., *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*, p. 4.

Compared to this publication Claudia Kinmonth focuses on a framework of furniture from different locations in Ireland and confines herself to vernacular furniture in *Irish Country Furniture 1700-1950* and avoids politics in *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* whereas Kennedy and Gillespie include authors writing on such diverse subjects as politics, biographical accounts, domestic evidence for Dublin in 19th century to an exploration of 'Child-rearing in Ireland' together with the 'Rural Landscape to Provincial Town Life'. All these publications include stunning images.

The book *Whipping the Herring*³³ provides a visual record of everyday life in the towns, villages of the Irish countryside two centuries ago and is the result of an exhibition that took place at the Crawford Art Gallery, Cork. The themes covered are Famine and Emigration, Social occasions, Education, Working life and Funerals and Weddings amongst others.

The above new approaches which address the imbalance in published work on Irish material culture and have led to the development of a visual methodology in Irish Studies have been adopted as the basis of this Thesis. This methodology aids in the analysis and in-depth examination of the subject and has been adopted on available sources for St. Mary's, Church, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo.

1.2.3 Secondary Sources- Architectural and Local

The discovery of a document referring to the enlargement of a similar type of Church³⁴ at The Neale, only 6 miles away and now a ruin, led to an examination of the skeleton of the building type and sparked research on the architecture of Churches of Ireland. This was essential for the dating of the current Church. Investigating whether its origins might be from medieval times led to Maurice Craig's *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880*³⁵ which sets out the standard design of a typical Church of this period and included lots of photographs and wonderful illustrations. As a general guide this is an invaluable book. He devotes, however, only three paragraphs on the Board of First Fruits Churches' architectural styles in provincial towns which is, in fact, the style of the current Church.

*Towers, spires and pinnacles – a history of the cathedrals and churches of the Church of Ireland*³⁶ by Sam Hutchinson discusses a variety of styles, history and architecture both in cities and rural areas and tells the story of over 1,100 Churches. He suggests that the Anglo-Irish aristocracy in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries "had their faults, but lack of taste was certainly not one of them"³⁷. This is reflected in the many lovely churches handed down to us today. He devotes a fourteen page chapter to the study of early 19th century Board of first Fruits Churches as a link between the Georgian and Gothic revival periods of the Church of Ireland. This period relates to the basis of Church of Ireland visual culture and includes a large number of the private homes of the community. He cites

³³ Crawford Art Gallery, *Whipping the Herring: Survival and Celebration in Nineteenth Century Irish Art*, Gandon, Kinsale, 2006.

³⁴ From interview with Mr. Dermot Keane, Principle Neale National School. Sept 2009.

³⁵ Craig, M. J., *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880*, Batsford/ Eason London/ Dublin, 1982.

³⁶ Hutchinson, S., *Towers, spires and pinnacles – a history of the cathedrals and churches of the Church of Ireland*, Wordwell, Dublin, 2003.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p 23.

Churches as being worthy of special attention both inside and outside for historic reasons, as some occupy prominent locations, and the associations of these churches with distinguished architects of the time.

Alister Rowan in *Irish Victorian churches – Denominational differences*³⁸ deals with the architecture from a political point of view and suggests that building phases often reflects this climate. His conclusion is that the Church of Ireland's building blitz was mostly a symbol used by the ascendancy to reiterate their position in Ireland after the Act of Union in 1801.

No research on ecclesiastical architectural history could be completed without having a basic knowledge of the history of the Reformation and its impact on the changed art forms and its material culture. In *A History of Religion in Britain – Practice & Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*³⁹ twenty four scholars focus on the worship and beliefs of the British people, the queries they had and the degree to which belief and practice were changed by institutional reforms and upheavals in the Church and State. The history is divided into four parts with part 2 describing the Reformation and its effects in the 16th century. The diversity of religious experience in the past emerges and the great varieties of approaches that can aid ones understanding of this turbulent time and thus the consequences for Ireland.

By comparison Kenneth Milne's book *A short History of the Church of Ireland* traces Irish history back to the coming of Christianity to in the fifth century and outlines briefly and simply that history from the beginning, down through the Reformation period when the Church was established as the State Church. There follows centuries of plantations and penal laws until eventually, in the nineteenth century, the Church was disestablished. The final chapter brings the story through changing times to our own day. This is a very readable account, in a nutshell, for a basic knowledge of the Church of Ireland and a springboard to more in depth studies.

In *Irish Churches and Monastic Building*⁴⁰ Harold G. Leask presents a complete description and discussion of the ecclesiastical buildings of Ireland from the earliest phases through the Romanesque and Gothic. Leask's knowledge and research combined with his drawings and photos create a most satisfactory and complete corpus. His work is a complete reference manual for Irish ecclesiastical architecture, both early and medieval and in volume III he is concerned with Gothic buildings in Ireland from A.D. 1400 to the middle of the sixteenth century e.g. the architecture of the Gaelic resurgence in which Irish and Anglo-Irish, notably clerical and lay, display their devotion and generosity. What is less well known is the broad scope of his involvement in other areas of heritage during his twenty six-year career as Inspector of National Monuments from 1923 until his retirement in 1949. Leask's primary function as Inspector was the conservation of the National Monuments in State care but, following the introduction of the National Monuments Act of 1930, he was responsible for the implementation of preservation orders and the introduction of licensing of archaeological investigations. He was also a passionate proponent of the need for a nation-wide

³⁸ Rowan, A., 'Irish Victorian churches – Denominational differences' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 40, 1997, pp 1-23.

³⁹ Gilley, S. & Sheils, W.J. (Eds), *A History of Religion in Britain*, Blackwell, Oxford & Cambridge, 1994.

⁴⁰ Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, Dundalgan Press, Dundalk, 1990, Vol. iii.

archaeological survey. In order to discuss the likelihood of an earlier Church's existence and its context on this site, his in-depth surveys of similar type buildings was essential to gain an understanding of the layout of these earlier churches. His work does not compare with the other authors above as it is of earlier date.

This led to seeking histories of Churches specifically in the Ballinrobe area and J. F. Quinn in his *History of Mayo*⁴¹ includes a lot of local detail in Vol 2 on Ballinrobe Churches. His son Brendan Quinn edited and republished this colossal body of work which was based on a series of hundreds of articles J.F. contributed to the *Western People Newspaper* in the 1930s. He relates his ideas with infectious enthusiasm and demonstrates his love of place and origin through a broad range from ancient to modern, from politics to personalities between Church and State. Although I do not agree with some of his conclusions this book was useful for a comparative study with Hubert T. Knox's work. It is a very conservative work with very little awareness of the visual. However, it is an excellent reference book laid out in accessible chapters with a good index. Cross referencing, however, with his other volumes is essential for a complete picture of the Ballinrobe area.

Hubert T Knox's *Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*⁴² is the result of information collected over the three dioceses during a study for the early history of Co. Mayo and not with the object of writing their history. St. Patrick and his companions are included in the Tuam Diocese and there is a section on Monastic Houses which were not part of the ordinary Diocesan organization. Patience is rewarded eventually, but a forensic examination of almost every page is required for the jewels that eventually surface. This was a most revealing history on the early history of Ballinrobe Churches and the most useful, if frustrating, book of all. Knox's *History of the County of Mayo To The Close Of The Sixteenth Century* was useful as it contains an enormous number of facts which must have been sourced from many primary sources but which remain relatively undigested. However, in his unpublished, incomplete manuscript on *The History of Ballinrobe*⁴³ which I discovered in NLI Manuscript Dept., lies the most important confirmation of St. Mary's original location, which appears on a loose leaf page at the back of this manuscript. He states, written in his own hand, that "St. Mary's, the current Church stands on the earlier site of a Church called St." Ruadán".

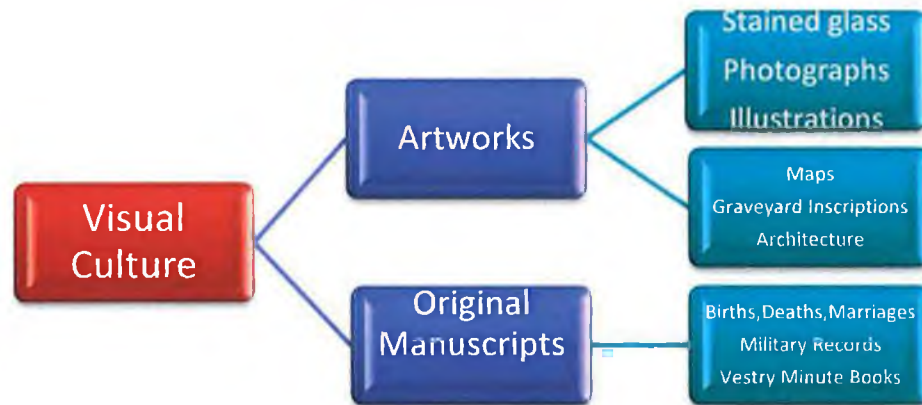
1.3 Primary Sources

Because of the nature of this project, with its emphasis on the visual, a wide variety of primary sources were examined. Their relationship with one another may perhaps be best clarified through the following diagram, breaking the research process into the main strands of original documents and artworks

⁴¹ Quinn, J. F., *History of Mayo*, Western People, Ballina, 1993, Vol. ii, pp328

⁴² Knox, H. T., *Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*. Hodges Figgis, Dublin, 1904.

⁴³ MS 2061NLI, Dublin : A typescript account of the History of the Parish of Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo, unfinished and unpublished – 19 pages.



1.3.1 Original Manuscripts

As secondary sources were not producing some of the required information, a guide by Dr Raymond Refaüssé, Librarian and Archivist for the Representative Church Body Library in Dublin was useful. His *Guide to the Church of Ireland Records*⁴⁴ focuses on the records of what was for 500 years the established Church in Ireland and therefore as much a governmental as a religious organization. This guide provides practical advice regarding the study of specific collections of historical material and covers all aspects of the records of the Church of Ireland. Having been written by the acknowledged specialist, Dr Refaüssé, it guides one through the various archives of the Church and how access can be gained. He also gives information on published catalogues and printed editions of archives and manuscripts. This allows one the freedom to pursue independent research. No words are wasted yet it is a detailed, comprehensive and scholarly work and its style holds the reader's attention. The illustrations have been carefully chosen and are very informative. There is a wealth of useful footnotes and Dr Refaüssé includes many amusing asides. One of the problems with the Church records is that the state of the resources makes researchers too dependent on the small archival community who professionally service Church of Ireland collections and this book contributes to solving this problem. A huge increase in demand has developed for information on the Church of Ireland Churches, as indicated by the staff at the Archives, together with the realisation that this body of our history has remained somewhat hidden till recent years, together with the communities it supported. One reason may be that it is no longer felt that the Church represented the affairs and thus the arrogance of the former ascendancy. In Sept. 2009 the *Church of Ireland Notes* in the *Irish Times* released information about a new online source for researches on Theological studies, which will make it easier for distance learners to access RCBL if required. However to-date, no comparative book to Dr. Refaüssé's *Guide to the Church of Ireland Records*⁴⁵ exists.

A key source of primary research for information on St. Mary's was provided by the *Vestry Minute Book* which led to the painstaking copying of extracts from the only VMB available from Ballinrobe at the RCBL, with all notes of relevance transcribed. No photography or

⁴⁴Refaüssé, Raymond, *Guide to the Church of Ireland Records*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2006.

⁴⁵Ibid.

mechanical copying is allowed and some of the script is very difficult to decipher. There is no comparable manuscript and this book was the major source of information on the Church, its congregation, its social history and material culture. The Vestry Minute Book was a hard covered book in good condition but the Accounts and Vestry notes were jumbled up and not in chronological order. Some of the script was difficult and tedious to decipher and slow to extract, and as no photocopying was allowed many visits were required to complete the task. Details of Baptisms and Marriages were squeezed in on the inside the front cover in tiny hand drawn sections. A chronically ordered, extracted copy is included at appendix 1. Landowners and merchants were frequent represented in the VMB. A handwritten loose leaf list of Chef (Tax) contributors⁴⁶ in 1824 was also transcribed as this gave the size and value of the tenant's holdings outside the town. It had been casually insecurely placed into the book.

A rare opportunity arose to research briefly a *Visitation Book* and *Rent Book*⁴⁷ from the 1850's for St. Mary's and information was extracted, with permission of the owner, which is included in the relevant Chapters. This gives a glimpse of the size of the congregation at that time and the size and location of Glebe lands, some of the activities within the Church and an indication of the income of the Rector.

The Births, Marriage and Death records at the back and front covers of the VMB records were compared with the National Archive's records for cross checking. Again this information will be available within the relevant Chapters.

Due to the scarcity of original manuscript sources, a number of interviews were held with visitors to Ballinrobe who were descendants of the Clergy of the Parish or members of the congregation whose families live 20 miles outside the town which unfortunately, were very few. These included the Kenny, Ormsby, Treanor, deBurg families and Francis Families.

Finally, a cross section of the congregation was researched with *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory from 1844-1928* which was useful for officials and people of status within the community, together with records of Royal Irish Constabulary and some of the Irish Revenue Police⁴⁸ who were responsible for the prevention of illicit distilling and Irish Excise Men⁴⁹ together with Custom Officer⁵⁰ officers would also no doubt have been members of Ballinrobe's congregation. Various Journals were researched with the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* contributing significant information from papers by Hubert T. Knox^{51, 52} C.C. Ormsby,⁵³ G. V. Martyn,⁵⁴ Sile Ni Chinneide,^{55 56 57} Martin J.

⁴⁶ List of Persons in Parish of Ballinrobe who have been charged and have paid County Cefs, charges or Grand July Rates for any land not being Tithed free within the said Parish in the year ending on the 1st day of 1824. An Original handwritten Document.

⁴⁷ Private Collection.

⁴⁸ Records from 1830-1857 CUST 111, available at the National Archives, Kew, London

⁴⁹ Records from 1824 - 1833 CUST 110 available at the National Archives, Kew, London.

⁵⁰ 1682-1826 CUST 20. National Archives, Kew, London.

⁵¹ Knox, H. T., 'Fortification of Ballinrobe' in *JGAHS*, No. 7, 1911-1912, p. 204.

⁵² Knox, H. T., 'The Growth of the Archdiocese of Tuam' in *JGAHS*, No.3, 1903-1904, pp 136-141.

⁵³ Ormsby, C.C., 'A Petition for the Fortification of Ballinrobe' in *JGAHS*, No.7, 1911-1912, pp168-170.

⁵⁴ Martyn, G. V., 'Random Notes on the History of the County Mayo and with special reference to the Barony of Kilmaine' in *JGAHS*,

No.12, 1922-23, pp 85-109 & 'Random notes on the History of the County Mayo (continued)' in *JGAHS*, No.13, 1924-1926, pp 23-49

⁵⁵ Ni Chinneide, S., 'Coquerbert de Montbret's impressions of Galway City and County in the Year 1791' in *JGAHS*, No. 25, 1952-1953, pp 1-14

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p 1-14

⁵⁷ Ni Chinneide, S., 'A Frenchman's tour of Connacht in 1791 Part 1' in *JGAHS*, No. 35, 1976, pp 52 - 66.

Blake⁵⁸ and Michael Ó Duígeannáin. Many other publications contributed useful information like Patria McWalter's work for Mayo Co. Council Library in Castlebar on the Kenny Papers MP/03.

Primary research at the National University of Ireland Galway whose archives include an integrated resource guide to landed estates and gentry houses in Connacht, c. 1700-1914, and assists and support researchers working on the social, economic, political and cultural history of Connacht from c.1700 to 1914, contributed to the building of biographies of Church of Ireland families around Ballinrobe with Ms. Brigid Clesham, Archivist on this project being very helpful in answering queries.

Manuscripts and diaries were researched at the Manuscript Dept., at National Library of Ireland with some contributing to movement around Ballinrobe c. 17th century with Grogan's, diary⁵⁹. More may come to light over the next few years with the work of Professor Jane Conroy of NUIG who says:

In a way, travel accounts were the Lonely Planet or Rough Guide of their day, often containing drawings or sketches of the scenery and people. Quite scarce in the 1600s, accounts from that century portrayed a wild land, with quite an uncivilised population. From the late 1700s on, manor houses, estates and towns attracted more attention and a different image of Ireland began to filter through.⁶⁰

By the 19th century attention was also focused on the ordinary people, as can be seen in F. B. Head's *A Fortnight in Ireland*⁶¹, an account of his travels while inspecting the RIC Barracks around the country, which gives a graphic account of conditions in the workhouse, school and a poor Ballinrobe home in 1852.

1.3.2 Artworks

A search for images of Ballinrobe in a variety of archives both in Ireland and England resulted in information on four paintings of James Arthur O'Connor from the National Gallery of Ireland painted around 1820. These had been commissioned by the Kenny Family and sold to the National Gallery of Ireland in c.1968. The four paintings are views of *Robe Villa*, *Lough Mask*, *The Pleasure Grounds* and *The Mill* and have been used throughout this thesis. Two of the paintings include the steeple of the Church and one the Rectory and the Augustinian Abbey. While painted in a Romantic style, they are useful as being the only colour representations of that period. Despite their obvious value, painting, (possible more than topographical sketches) should not be regarded as an exact factual record of a place's appearance at a particular time. As Patrick Duffy points out:

From the point of view of the historian... the canvas as a document must be cross-checked against the often dry and tedious written word. A patron's wishes to omit some unimpressive

⁵⁸ Martyn, G.V. 'Random Notes on the History of the County Mayo and with special reference to the Barony of Kilmaine' & 'Random notes on the History of the County Mayo (continued)'.
⁵⁹ 'The Archives of Ballinrobe Poor Law Union' in *Journal of the Irish Society for Archives*, Mayo Co. Council, 2000, Vol. 7, pp 37-40.

⁶⁰ Grogan's *Diary* MS 2071. NLI.

⁶¹ Conroy, Jane. Humanities Secretary with the Royal Irish Academy and currently working on a project *Texts Contests Cultures: Research on Cross-Cultural Travel* at NUIG.

⁶¹ Head, F. B., *A Fortnight in Ireland*, Murray, London, 1852.

*physical feature may have influenced a painter's final creation or a landscape may have been influenced by prevailing stylistic conventions. It is, therefore, important to consult other sources in tandem with extracting information from sketches and paintings.*⁶²

However, John Berger in his book *Ways of Seeing* says of paintings that "no other kind of relic or text from the past can offer such a direct testimony about the world which surrounded other people at other times".⁶³

Copies of portraits of some of the community emerged from the British Museum and relations of the congregation and clergy kindly supplied photographs of their ancestors.

During further research a very interesting pencil drawing by George Petrie (1790 – 1866) was also discovered at the National Gallery and again used for researching sites of earlier inhabitation and establishing the importance of Ballinrobe as an important location on the River Robe and giving power and status to whoever controlled this fording site. This appears to be the earliest known image of Ballinrobe which has come to light to date. This drawing of the Bridge in Ballinrobe confirmed my suspicion that there had been a lot more activity in earlier times, that the river at this point was a *passé* and that the town straddled the territories of two Irish Clans with castles and many ecclesiastical sites located here. In particular, the drawing's depiction of an early Clapper Bridge together with a much longer main bridge opens a door for a further glimpse of the past which is all one gets of Ballinrobe at present.

Photographs from various archives were researched, with one result from the Wynn collection of the Church in c 1890s. A notice in the *Church of Ireland Gazette*⁶⁴ requesting information on St. Mary's was successful and further images of the interior of the Church emerged. These provide a rare glimpse of the rather lovely and beautifully decorated Church for two occasions, one being a wedding and one for Christmas, which are inserted in their relevant locations. After further research some others were found in the National Archives and the National Library.

The importance of maps to the project will be briefly examined here, beginning with a look at some secondary literature on Irish maps. This is followed by a brief discussion of the architectural drawings, archaeological surveys, graveyard inscriptions and stained-glass windows.

As an early primary source of information maps are essential. Purposes for which maps were created included the marking of territorial boundaries for defence, parliamentary and municipal government or ecclesiastical administration, the identification of roads, trade routes and later railways and canals as guides for visitors, aids for land reclamation, population density, education, and many other uses. *Maps and Map-making in Local History*⁶⁵ by Jacinta Prunty is an introduction to the world of maps. She outlines the historical background to map creation in Ireland, the cartographic and associated material and the Archives within which they might be found. She examines the character of maps as a

⁶² Duffy, P. J., 'The changing rural landscape 1750 – 1850: Pictorial Evidence' in *Ireland- Art into History*, p.27.

⁶³ Berger, J., *Ways of Seeing*, Penguin, London, 1972, p 10.

⁶⁴ Published monthly in Belfast.

⁶⁵ Purdy, J., *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, Four Courts Press, Dublin., 2004.

historical source. A section on essential map reading skills, including matters of scale, representation and accuracy helps to explore this coded world. Case studies of working with maps in local history are offered as practical examples of what can be done, and guidelines for map-making are also included. This is essential reading for any student considering use maps as a primary source and is a comprehensive volume packed with useful sources, archives and contact references to Maps on Ireland. A useful conversion for older measurement to a modern one include, one quarter is 120 modern acres.

By contrast the content of John Andrew's book *Ireland in Maps*⁶⁶ ranges from early times as he aims to address what he perceives is a deficit in the study of old maps. He points out that much study has focused on the cultural, social and ideological aspects of mapping; little attention has been paid to "what early cartographers actually did." Andrews brings researchers into the world of the early cartographer and explains how these multitiered individuals produced these works of art, often in very challenging circumstances. Early maps are particularly useful in showing early placenames. This is important for Ballinrobe as old placenames can be shown with the names of the landowners in some cases. This is a short 36 page booklet and has a catalogue of an exhibition mounted in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, 1961, by the Geographical Society of Ireland in conjunction with the Ordnance Survey of Ireland listed on page 21 to 33 under a variety of headings e.g. County Surveys and Grand Jury Maps, Estate Maps 17th to 19th century, Military Surveys, Social and Economic Maps. A comprehensive list of useful maps can be found in this one publication for primary research.

His book *Shapes of Ireland – Maps and their Makers 1564-1839*⁶⁷ examines nine early maps of special importance, each epitomising the best geographical knowledge of its day. The maps span the period from the mid-sixteenth century, when Ireland's internal geography first became the subject of a general consensus, to the arrival of the Ordnance Survey in the early Victorian period. He discusses well known cartographers and their professional mentors and each map's construction, subject-matter and style are analysed in detail. Apart from their technical interest, maps in general are revealed as products of social and economic forces, and as expressions of a country's geographical personality.

Dr. (later Sir) William Petty's Down's Survey are the earliest large-scale maps which were of special interest and were used for land transfers for the plantation period. The Down Survey was preceded by the Strafford Survey of Connacht amongst others and the Gross Survey (1653-40 and the Civil Survey 1654-56 and covered 27 counties.⁶⁸ Extracts from these maps were used for comparative purposes and were useful in establishing the size of early urban centres.



⁶⁶ Andrews, J., *Ireland in Maps*, Dolmen Press, Dublin, 1961.

⁶⁷ Andrews, J., *Shapes of Ireland – Maps and their Makers – Maps and their Makers 1564-1839*, Templeogue, 1997.

⁶⁸ Andrews, J., *Shapes of Ireland. Shapes of Ireland – Maps and their Makers 1564-1839*, pp 67-69.

Fig. iii. On left cover of Knox Estate Map Book MS 22014 NLI and above a tiny detail from on of the maps with the cartographer's name inserted into a title on one of the maps. © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.



The Knox Estate Maps are a beautifully hand drawn watercolour bound set of maps indicating the property of the Knox Family, who succeeded the Cuff Family as the local landlords in Ballinrobe. The Knox Estate Maps “of the Estates of Charles Nesbit Knox Esq., Situat [Situat] in the County of Mayo, Ireland 1824” has an introductory page to the lands in the Ballinrobe region located within the atlas pages stating that “Maps of the Ballinrobe Estate belonging to Ch. N. Knox Esq., Surveyed by Henry Joynt 1825 & copied by David Vaughan 1833”. This vital piece of evidence shows that these maps are in fact a copy of earlier 1825 maps surveyed when Mr. J. Cuff was alive (see Chapter 2). The fact that David Vaughan, the cartographer, was from Athboy was also discovered. Henry Joynt⁶⁹ (1784-1852) the earlier cartographer was connected with the Knox family and was probably a civil engineer from Crossmolina in North Mayo, another seat of the Knox Family. Parts of some areas have been copied from earlier maps of 1719 but no trace of these can be located at this time despite an exhaustive search.

The power of great art often lies in the way that it can make us see the familiar or mundane in entirely new ways and this is why the Knox Estate Maps springs to mind above all other maps of Ballinrobe. On aesthetic grounds alone they qualify as a beautiful work of art, for this atlas is a thing of true beauty. They are the main primary source of visual information on Ballinrobe in or before 1825. There are maps of the general area, the town itself and all the townlands owned by the Knox family together with the name of the occupier with the size of his holding and remarks on the quality of his land in a key on separate pages. Each townland has a separate page and is titled in a large hand printed banner with its clearly defined boundaries. The neighbouring townlands are printed in smaller hand print in their respective locations relating to the one displayed. Within each map the holder of a plot is either named or is numbered and an index of the names are listed separately together with a detailed list of the type of land holding and its value and cost per annum.

Many of the ecclesiastical sites are drawn with an indication of their condition giving their names at that time. Rivers, bogs and elevations together with planting is also decipherable. They provide invaluable primary source materials for the study of the history of cartography, architectural history, genealogy, military history, environmental history and archaeology, amongst many other disciplines of Ballinrobe town and its environs. Name changes of sites occurred plus developments of new streets, Catholic Church building projects, schools, locations of markets and fairs, and these are all indicated, together with other Churches on the

⁶⁹ *Knox Estate Maps* MS22014 NLI Manuscript Dept., Dublin.

outskirts of the town. The number of large gardens and other establishment types emerged too. The ecclesiastical sites are marked on the enclosed pull out map at appendix 6.

William Bald's (1798-1857) *Maritime Map of County Mayo 1830*⁷⁰ was printed in 25 sheets in 1830 and was actually surveyed between the years 1809-1816. The publication of the map aroused a certain amount of controversy locally because of what was perceived as being its exorbitant cost of £6372, which was a considerable sum in 1830. However, it is considered to be the finest example of Irish cartography prior to the Ordnance Survey maps. Apart from the detailing of the physical features, a very important aspect of the map from a historical perspective is the fact that it contains nearly 5,000 place-names. Of significant importance for Ballinrobe is the fact that New Street had not been built at that stage, contributing to the notion that modern Ballinrobe was a town planned by its Landlords.

*The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*⁷¹ 1844-45, Vol. I, A-C presented the results of the 1841 census and was compared with that of 1831 with results extracted and assigned to relevant chapters and was a very useful document for comparative purposes with Samuel Lewis's (d.1846) *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*.⁷² This describes St. Mary's Church as "being a neat plain edifice" and refers to the number of infantry and cavalry soldiers and staff stationed here at the two barracks. First published in 1837 in two volumes, with an accompanying atlas, it marked a new and significantly higher standard in such accounts of Ireland, it is extremely useful in identifying places, and filling out the history. The Editor noted in 1837 that:

The numerous county histories, and local descriptions of cities, towns, and districts of England and Wales, rendered the publication of their former works, in comparison with the present, an easy task. The extreme paucity of such works, in relation to Ireland, imposed the necessity of greater assiduity in the personal survey, and proportionately increased the expense.

Lewis relied on the information provided by local contributors and on the earlier works published such as Coote's *Statistical Survey* (1801), Taylor and Skinner's *Maps of the Road of Ireland* (1777), Pigot's *Trade Directory* (1824) and other sources some of which are used in the main text. He also used the various parliamentary reports and in particular the census of 1831 and the education returns of the 1820s and early 1830s. He gave local contributors proof sheets for final comment and revision. Places names are those in use prior to the publication of Ordnance Survey Atlas in 1838.

The 1839 6" Ordnance Survey Historical maps are the most detailed and very useful for comparison with the Knox 1825-1833 maps of Ballinrobe and the surrounding townlands. John O'Donovan in his letter of August 6th 1838 says of the Ballinrobe Parish that "this is by

⁷⁰ Available on line at www.mayolibrary.ie.

⁷¹ *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, 1844-45*, Ganesha, London, 1998, Vol. I, A-C.

⁷² Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland with Historical and Statistical Descriptions and Appendix*, London, 1839, 2 Vols.

far the most interesting part of the County of Mayo, and still historical references to it are very meagre.”⁷³

Another source for primary research was the Architectural Drawings⁷⁴ by Joseph Welland for a major alteration within the Church around 1860. They included drawings for the furnishings and placement of seating, altar and pulpit etc. However, a vital piece of information regarding an earlier Church was revealed in the drawings for the layout of the Church prior to this alteration, see Chapter 3. These drawings are in a fragile state and could not be photocopied so a staff member kindly offered to photograph them with an ordinary digital camera for me at the Representative Church Body Library in Dublin which was much appreciated. While the Tuam Diocesan documents, of which Ballinrobe was a part, are uncatalogued at present and access is very restricted, they may well produce much more information in the future. The help and assistance from Dr. Refaussé, archivist and his staff at the Representative Church Body Library for the permissions is greatly appreciated.

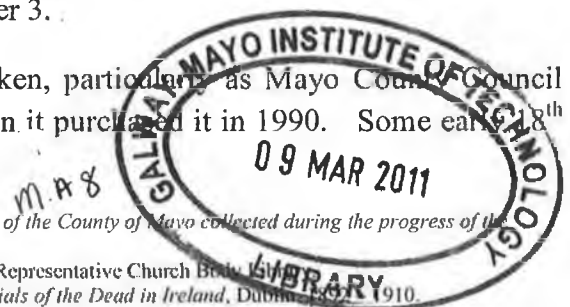
A survey of the graveyard was conducted in early 2009 and further work will be completed in 2010. The location of some of the graves was interesting and it emerged that a large number predated 1799 giving a better picture of the Church of Ireland population at the time, with prominent family names becoming obvious. Some causes of death were discovered in the records. A selection of gravestone types has been examined, with examples included in Chapter 2. This may contribute to the social history of the congregation. While time-consuming, this work was worthwhile both as a data collection project and as an extension of the genealogical record of families and individuals involved with the Church. Comparisons with the archives from the RCBL, the National Archive and South Mayo Family Research records were used to build a profile of those graves that were in fact marked at all. Ms Phillipa Knox’s contributions to the *Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*⁷⁵ journals from 1892 – 1910 were very helpful for both cross-reference and descriptive purposes. Interesting in itself in that it was written by a female member of one of the Knox families, her choice of burials to record is also of significance. As these were recorded over 100 years ago they are useful for confirming what would otherwise be illegible inscriptions in some case. The *Journal of the Association for the preservation of the Memorials of the dead in Ireland*, was published annually between 1888 and 1934 and contains details of gravestone and inscription throughout Ireland. Journals for the years 1892, 1898, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1907, 1910 and their extracts were cross referenced with the tombs in question. The inscriptions had been submitted by voluntary contributors and entries are arranged alphabetically by county and subdivided by parish, also in alphabetical order. Further research on a selection of names or families concerned resulted in gaining information on some of these families, which is included in Chapter 3.

A search for archaeological surveys was undertaken, particularly as Mayo County Council undertook extensive alterations to the Church when it purchased it in 1990. Some early 18th

⁷³ O’Donovan, J., *Letters containing information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Mayo collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1838*, Dublin, 1928, Vol. ii.

⁷⁴ Permission kindly given to reproduce these drawings, by Welland by the Representative Church Body Library.

⁷⁵ Knox, P., in *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, Dublin, 1910.



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century grave slabs were removed from the nave and resited outside. Unfortunately, MCC does not appear to have published, as yet, any findings in relation to the Church fabric prior to the redevelopment which must have obviously been of a medieval date or earlier.

Parking was required at a later date in town so the graveyard was considered as a possible location. Mr. B. Guinan's excavation survey conducted on a small section inside the back gate on Church Lane required by Mayo County Council prior to providing this car parking facility for Ballinrobe resulted in bone fragments being sent for carbon dating. They may prove to be some of the paupers buried "under the lawn" mentioned in the VMB.⁷⁶ These findings have not been published as yet.

Some other published surveys include the Moytura Surveys I & II which were surveys of sites in South Mayo. Unfortunately St. Mary's was not included as it was deemed post 1800 by the archaeologists, but they were useful for understanding the historical context of other ecclesiastical sites in the area. Mr. Richard Crumlish conducted a published survey on behalf of a developer for apartments to the east of the site for pipe laying only, but no archaeological artefacts were discovered.

Research on the stained-glass windows in the Church began with the Museum of Stained-glass at Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire whose curator suggested contacting Dr Nicola Gordon Bowe, an expert on this glass in Ireland. Following Dr Bowe's suggestion contact and correspondence with Dr David Lawrence, who developed a data base for stained-glass windows in Churches of Ireland open for worship throughout Ireland, was established. However, he was unable to throw any light whatever on St. Mary's windows. This data-base is available for viewing at the RCBL in Dublin and while useful for finding the makers of other windows, St. Mary's are not included. Finding a similar window in Reading and a follow up on the relevant archives produced no result.

1.4 Digital Archiving.

Due to the lack of documentation available for St. Mary's and, the subsequent experience of missing artefacts, it was decided to create a Digital Archive for St. Mary's. Hundreds of photographs were taken and, as this is also a photo essay, a sample of some of the images has been downloaded to the attached DVD, using Vista Windows 2007, (if anybody has a problem viewing them go to the web site) which included photos on both the Church itself and the graveyard. Some other images which were used throughout the essay are also included. For the benefit of future researchers, those not used in this Thesis are also included. This archive is a coherent narrative that can be shared, and will be available to the public at the Library. By creating this archive, which will be available to the public at the Library, it is hoped the community can rediscover the people and events that shaped their past and present, bringing together otherwise dispersed records into a coherent narrative that can be shared with friends and family around the world. Young and old can build and share their heritage together, bridging gaps between generations, different members of the community e.g. the Active Retirement Group and the local Students. It was felt that producing easily

⁷⁶ See Appendix 1.

accessible archives, which can stimulate discussion over the precise details of particular incidents being recorded, which in turn can be shared and viewed or heard in a public place like the Ballinrobe Library or Credit Union gallery space, encourage people to react and contribute to the content. It is proposed to hold free Ballinrobe history mornings once a week from September to December at the Library to share and collect further images.

Following an application to the National Museum of Ireland, Castlebar, Ballinrobe and St. Mary's were chosen for a pilot project through the Education Dept., which commenced in Oct. 2009. This entailed a fortnightly training visit to the Museum in Castlebar. This will support other community groups in the west of Ireland who wish to set up a digital archive. Over 150 images of St. Mary's Church and Graveyard, some of the Church of Ireland community, with various other images and recordings have already been downloaded to this site at the Museum, and will be shared on a worldwide basis. This software contains a fully searchable database that serves as a record of a community's cultural heritage, and can be published as a local CD-Rom and on the Internet. The liaison continues with the National Museum of Ireland with training still ongoing at its Castlebar branch and should be completed by April 2011.

New technologies were researched, especially the software Microsoft *Photosynth*, one of the most recent projects to emerge from Microsoft Live Labs. It is a great example of the ability to incubate transformative web experiences and infuse new ideas, people, and new ways of thinking. *Photosynth* allows one to stitch digital photos together into comprehensive 3D models and enables others to virtually explore them in vivid detail. A photo archive of the Church will be viewable on this latest sync software release for Windows mobile-powered device⁷⁷ from Jan 2011, enabling distant visitors to have a virtual tour of Church and Graveyard and carry out their own research. This work may be extended to photographing each headstone in the graveyard, and combining it with the inscription on the tomb. A measuring rod would be included in each photo and a plan of its location. A full plan of the graveyard could then be mounted on an information panel within Church grounds in due course.

Following a visit of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society to view the Church, it was decided to form the Ballinrobe Archaeological and Heritage Society as there was no similar group in Ballinrobe and whose aim is to promote the history of Ballinrobe and its surroundings. This will assist in creating a community archive with editorial control over it and supervising the copyrights of donors of documents or artefacts. Guest speakers will be invited to share their knowledge with the community and the first speaker Mr. Gerry Delaney, of the South Mayo Family Research Centre, gave a lecture on Griffith's *Valuation*.

As a direct result of this work a new web site www.historicalballinrobe.com will be going live in Jan 2011 and will be updated on a weekly basis with its main aim to seek further information and sharing of memories. When the digital archive in association with the Museum, and the local web site, are up and running, together with the results from the history

⁷⁷ <http://photosynth.net/view.aspx?cid=da3ac453-010e-4ba8-b59f-eaf344cae9f8>

mornings, the entire collection will be available on the web site. To see an example of something like the proposed web site, visit www.mybrightonandhove.org.uk.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is set out in four chapters with a short introduction and conclusion to each chapter. In addition to being a written text, this project is also a picture essay, where the images are an extension of the text, placing an emphasis on the reader looking at the images in order to learn about the past. The basic structure of the thesis was originally envisaged as a reflection of the research process; however, following comments by the external examiner, Dr Olivia Horsfall Turner, it has been decided to adopt a more conventional chronological structure. Dr Turner's comments and suggestions are much appreciated.

Chapter 1 outlines a short history of Ballinrobe for a contextual background of St. Mary's Church of Ireland. It also includes all ecclesiastical sites in the area so the actual location of the church can be verified. An attempt is made to establish the Church's old name, which involves a forensic examination of maps and images together with primary sourced information to back up the findings. There is also a detailed examination of the piscine found in the vicinity of the Church, which is invaluable evidence that St. Mary's at the least occupies a much earlier ecclesiastical site. In order to establish the significance of Ballinrobe as an early settlement, the oldest sites around the town are also explored.

Chapter 2 covers the period from medieval times to the late 18th century, and looks at the impact of the arrival of the Cambro-Normans into the area. The basic structure of pre-Reformation Irish churches, with a view to further confirming the suggested early dating for St. Mary's. There is also a brief look at the changes that occurred because of the Reformation and the influence of the new liturgical requirements on architecture, decorative and visual arts and material culture generally, in particular attitudes towards the burial of the dead and the act of worship. Awareness of these changes is vital to any understanding of the progressive changes in the fabric of St. Mary's itself. The Tudor conquest led to the rapid expansion of the town, especially after the establishment of a permanent garrison occupying the strategic height overlooking the river crossing. This led to a major increase in the importance of the Church, and this chapter examines the results from a survey of the graveyard. Pre 1799 graves were examined in detail, yielding a lot of primary information which has been examined in relation to the status, social and cultural history of the congregation. Unmarked graves are also commented on and compared with results from other Archives. There is also a brief discussion of the structure of the Church of Ireland, with the development of a new system of diocesan and parish boundaries.

Chapter 3 covers life at St. Mary's since the late 18th century, and is, of necessity, by far the longest chapter, as this is the period for which the overwhelming bulk of evidence survives. The overall aim of the chapter is to examine the visual culture of St. Mary's through the material culture of its patrons e.g. landlords, army personnel, freeholders, paupers and business people and gives an insight into the social structures within the community. It begins with an exploration of the Church itself outside and in, with its entrance, tower,

architectural style and alterations through the years being looked at. Its furnishings, gallery and roof are examined and research on the removed pieces traced and photographed – although the baptismal font has not been traced. Architectural drawings by Joseph Welland are examined for major changes to the internal fabric of the Church which took place c. 1863. There is also an examination of travellers' accounts and trade directories to gain a glimpse of life in the town more generally, in order to situate St. Mary's in the local context. The architectural drawings are then linked to a seating arrangement from the VMB to look at the social stratification of society within the Anglican Church. A key element in this chapter is the creation of a picture essay exploring the families listed as holding seats in the Church, with, where possible, images of their properties being displayed in order to gain an understanding of their wealth and social status. Other available records e.g. a Visitation Questionnaire, Preacher's Book Birth, Marriage Records are examined. A chronological sequence of extracts from the Vestry Minute book is followed to plot alterations, repairs and payments by the Vestry on behalf of the congregation and contributes information of the business of the Church, some of its employees, its commercial activities and those who participated in Church affairs.

Clerical appointments, particularly the early ones, help establish the political transfer of power and property to the Anglican community. This suggests that activity at a Protestant Church in Ballinrobe is much earlier than realised and contributes to the social history of the Church and Ballinrobe. Information on each clergyman is provided, and a rare Rent Book will be examined to investigate the extent of ownership of Glebe property.

Chapter 4 concentrates on what is left of St. Mary's today. It begins with an exploration of the graveyard in its current state, where it functions as a monument to a vanished community. There is then an examination of the current building, which has successfully masked its past in the veneer of a Board of First Fruits style. The relics that survive internally are explored, with a photographic record of the memorial plaques and stained glass being provided. These provide us with further clues to the cultural location of the former community within the vanished British Imperial scene.

Conclusions are drawn, in particular with regard to the effectiveness of the methodology used, the dating of the church and the need for further research, together with observations and suggestions for the future of St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe, which is now the site of a Mayo County Local Library. The entire body of work when finished, including extracts of this thesis, will form the basis for a booklet on St. Mary's.

The underlying philosophy of this thesis is "Capture it before it disappears".

Chapter 1 - Ballinrobe: location, origins and ecclesiastical sites.

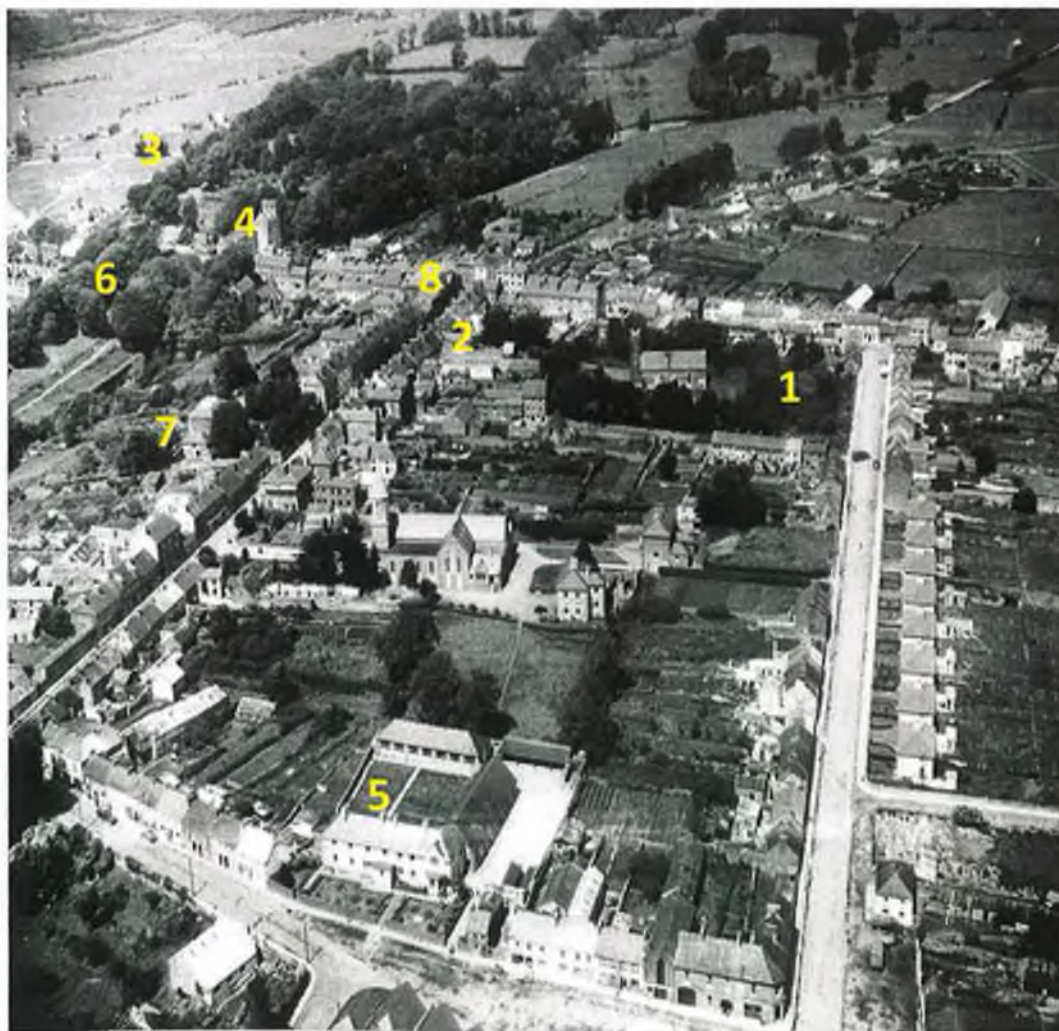


Fig. 4. Aerial photo of Ballinrobe c. 1950

1. St. Mary's Church of Ireland and graveyard.
2. Main entrance to Church from Main Street.
3. Caranalecca Church and current graveyard.
4. Kenny's Home and Mill close to Bridge on Bridge Street.
5. Site of Charter School.
6. Entry to Cavalry and Infantry Barracks after 1833.
7. Entrance to Barracks after 1833.
8. Market/Court House.

1.1 Introduction

In order to put St. Mary's Church of Ireland in context, a focus on the ecclesiastical history of the area, the arrival of the English and the local impact of the Reformation is useful. While a complete history of Ballinrobe is beyond the scope of this thesis, some clues will be available for future researchers to enable a more in-depth examination.

Ballinrobe's strategic importance, offering a gateway to both Connemara and east Mayo from Galway and the Atlantic beyond through Loughs Corrib and Mask made it a target for the Cambro-Normans and proved vital in later centuries for the British Army. We first look at Ballinrobe by examining its location and physical features, through John Brown's 1584 map followed by George Taylor's 1778 map and Bald's map of 1830.

Asking what are the oldest sites in and around the town enables us to trace previous communities and their structures of power and status, religious, social, cultural and economic, and their impact on the development of the town. By examining Petty's 1685 map and comparing its Church sites with other ecclesiastical sites within a 20 mile radius we get an idea of Ballinrobe's importance both religiously, economically, and politically. Each of the seven earliest ecclesiastical sites are examined individually, in order to establish the correct historical name of St. Mary's and its location, as it differed from one commentator to another. Each site was photographed and relevant old documents, prints, paintings, letters and architectural plans researched. OSi maps are combined to give an overall picture on one fold out page with all sites highlighted in appendix 6.

Evidence derived from the material culture of the area is used to develop the chronology of the arrival of the Cambro-Normans and the new English to the area. The political and military upheavals of the Reformation in the Tudor period are examined through historical public buildings, the Church and graveyard and the few archaeological remains. These visual signs are linked to the few manuscripts sources available, e.g. the townland maps with their street names and layout. The key discovery of a piscina in the vicinity of the church, together with photographic evidence of a possible piscina niche in the fabric of the building are used to attempt to arrive at a dating of the earliest part of the structure. There is a further examination of the development of the town, up to and including the 19th century, in order to attempt to gain an understanding of how the early town may have been shaped.

strong defensive advantage. George Taylor's 1778 map⁸³ shows us a good road system with Lough Sly [Lough Shine] to the South of the town near the Kilmaine Road on route to Shrule.

Ballinrobe, named as such in John Browne's map of 1584⁸⁴ was the largest town in South Mayo, and was to be a market town, a garrison town, a post town, and contained the regions' workhouse.



Fig. 6. Ballinrobe [Ballinrobe] on John's Browne's Map of Mayo 1584. He also identifies a large number of towns with Abbeys around the West. They were important landmarks for travellers but, also noted, for possibly use or adaptation for secular activities by the British.

Fig. 7. Detail of Mayo Barony with Kilmaine surrounded by Carra, Clanmorris, Clare, Ross Kilmainemore from Barony map of Ireland. Google



Back Street, which later became New Street, does not appear on Bald's 1830 map as it may not have been in existence until the arrival of the Nolans or Cuffs in the 17th century. It does appear on the Knox Estate Maps of 1833, which may lend credence to suggestions that

George Taylor's 1778 map above shows a Charter School and the estate of the local landlord, James Cuff at Creagh - see chapter 3 for information on the Cuff Family. Taylor calls the turlough Lough Sly and indicates a route between Ballinrobe and Castlebar between Loughs Mask and Carra.

Pigot's *Directory* of 1824 states that, "Ballinrobe possesses great claims to antiquity and was formerly considered of much more importance than it is now"⁸⁵.

1.3 Origins.

Divisions of different Clan/Sept lands and ecclesiastical sites are indicated in historical maps, physical remains and placenames both south and north of the River Robe. These ecclesiastical sites have been identified in appendix 6, and this may be of benefit for future research and certainly to cut down on confusion in this Thesis between the various old names of sites. An examination of all the listed old sites both inside and outside the town boundaries was an aid in establishing the location of St. Mary's as some confusion had appeared in the past which resulted in the following names being extracted:

Extracts from the Calendars of the Entries in the Papal Registers consulted with reference to churches identified in the Ballinrobe Town area on Petty's 1685 Map:

South of the River

Roba in Conmacnycule.

Roba in Conmacniculi (Rodbha in Conmaicne Cuile) in the deanery of Shrule, Co. Mayo.

Roba in Conmacnicule, South side of River.

Roba in Conmacarerule.

Augustinian Friar's House of Ballinrobe (Roba) dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin Conmaicne Cuile Tola (the parish in part of Ballinrobe south of River Robe, vicarage.

Ropba in Concnecule Obeara

North of the River

Roba in Quera.

⁸⁵ Pigot, J., *Pigot's City of Dublin and Provincial Directory*, London, 1824, p. 218.

Fig.12. Croa [Crough] Patrick near Westport on top of the peaked mountain.



Fig 13. Ballinroab [Ballinrobe] with four Churches, large bridge and many secular buildings.



Seven early ecclesiastical sites in the Ballinrobe area have been identified: Killeenatrave, Killoshine Church, St. John’s House, Tempall na Lacca, St. Columbcille’s, the Augustine Abbey, Tempall Mór . A ver

. It also eliminates the confusion that could arise about the various titles of the early Churches. Further information was extracted from *An Archaeological Survey of Ballinrobe and District including Lough Mask and Lough Carra* which gives precise locations, sheet numbers and other identification numbers for these sites, (see OSi 1836 Historical Edition, Six-Inch at appendix 6).

1.4 Killeenatrave Church.

Killeenatrave is an Early Christian site in the Creagh Demesne which is just inside the main entrance gates to the old Cuff/Knox state and beside the Robe River, just a half a mile outside the town of Ballinrobe.

Fig. 14. Well maintained ruins of Killeenatrave Church at entrance to Western Pride holiday homes and close to entrance to the Cuff/Knox Estate about half a mile outside town on the road to Lough Mask. It is on the banks of the Robe River.



1.5 Killoshine Church

Killoshine Church is on the left side of the Kilmaine Road and is now almost extinct. It would have been close to Lough Shine (Turlough O'Shyen- see Bald's *Maritime Map*, fig. 8) and lies behind Dorothy Hearne's thatched cottage.

Fig. 15. Ruin of Killoshine Church which was located beside Lough O'Shyen see fig. 8. Just off the Galway – Kilmaine Road about one mile outside town.



1.6 St John's House.

St. John's House, also extinct, was close to the river Robe on the Claremorris Road. It was founded by the Knights Hospitallers, brought to Ballinrobe by the Cambro-Normans. "One of their numbers, Stephen de Fulburn became Archbishop of Tuam in 1286 while still King's Viceroy and died in 1288."⁸⁸ Following enquiries, Fr. David Kelly OSA, Augustine Archivist very kindly shared a handwritten manuscript from 1939 by Louis W. Carr, OSA, about St. John's House in which he states that:

⁸⁸ Gunnigan, Msgr T., 'Ballinrobe through History' in *The Bridge Magazine*, Easter 1966, p. 14.

James Walsh of Ballinrobe, died 1929, remembers "St. John's House" standing – 200 yards (roughly) from North Gable of his - John Welsh's - son's house. There is an old well, still in use, beyond the house. James Walsh when building his stable found the old road from St. John's - it led to the Convent of Mercy Road – notice old boreen going out at Mrs. Moran's which is a part of the old road. The road had to make this circuit on account of the swampy ground. He also writes that

Col Knox while alive would not let the old ruin of St. John's be knocked – a man named Morahan then knocked it and didn't go to Mass for 40 years. Mrs James Walsh said the house was burned down ... time and thus stood a ruin.⁸⁹



Fig. 16. Copy of the Shield of the Knights Hospitallers. The House of St. Johns is marked on the 1838 25" OSi survey map. Research on the Knights Hospitallers in the Ballinrobe area would be an interesting research project.

St. John's was on two acres with a mill and watercourse according to Knox⁹⁰ and was part of "the old Abbey's property which was not in existence in 1306" when the Ecclesiastical Taxation was settled. However, according to Leyden⁹¹, St. John's had a house, a chapel and a small farm and probably served as a rest house for old and ailing members of the Order and c 1580 a quarter (120 acres) of land. This passed to the Augustinian Friars in 1529 - hence the name Friars Quarter.

1.7 Tempall na Lecca

The Church⁹² ruins are located on the mainland beside the River Robe within its walled graveyard. Access is through Mr. J. Sheridan's land.

⁸⁹ David Kelly OSA of the Augustinian Archive, Dublin kindly gave me a copy of and permission for *Louis W. Carr's observations on St. John's House written in 1939* to be included.

⁹⁰ Knox, H. H., *The Parish of Ballinrobe*, Unpublished Manuscript, NLI 2061, p. 22.

⁹¹ Leyden, J. J., 'Ballinrobe Abbey' in *The Bridge Magazine*, Easter 1966, p. 29

⁹² Fás, *An Archaeological Survey of Ballinrobe and District including Lough Mask and Lough Carra*, Lough Mask Lough Carra Tourist Development Association, 1994, p. 86.



Fig. 17. Tempall na Lecca on the banks of the river Robe (see arrow) near Cushlough is enclosed by its own cut stone wall which contains a graveyard.

The Church itself is in very bad condition and has been allowed to become completely overgrown and contains a very large tree within the Church itself which is damaging the remains of this beautiful little Church. The lack of care and maintenance is clearly obvious within its walls. The outside of the



Fig. 18. Innish Robe Island at mouth of Robe River as it joins Lough Mask. Ruins of St. Columbcille's Church can be found on at south of the island, see map appendix 6. © Permission of the NLI, Dublin.

1.8 St. Columbcille's Church on Inish Robe Island.

This small ruin located on Innish [Inish] Robe is mentioned in an extract from the *Ordnance Survey Letters* of 1838 by John O'Donovan,⁹³ where he comments that:

A.D. 1195 Cathal, the son of Dermot (O'Connor) marched from Munster into Connaught, and passed victoriously through the province until he arrived at Lough Mask and Inis Rodhba where he seized upon all vessels (boats/) of Charles the Redhanded O'Connor and brought them to Caislean na Caillighe [Castle Hag] where....

1.9 The Augustinian Abbey.

There can be little confusion about the name of the Augustinian Abbey on Abbey Street, within the town boundaries of Ballinrobe, which is in good condition following conservation work which Fás, completed on the site in 1994⁹⁴. Friars were in occupation in 1574 and again after the rebellion of 1641⁹⁵

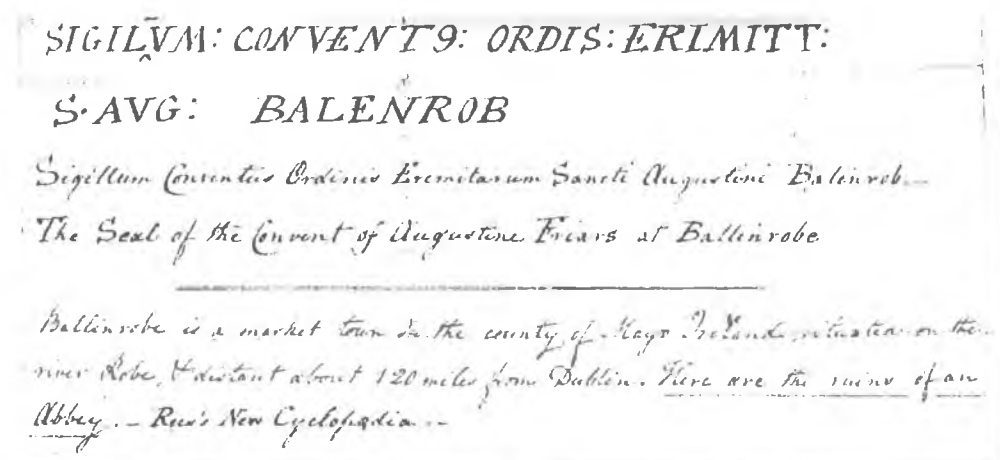


Fig. 19. Note of record that appeared in *Rees's New Cyclopaedia* from the archive of the Cumbria Record Office Carlisle. D/AYS/13/viii. *Rees's Cyclopaedia, or The New Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* was edited by Rev. Abraham Rees (1743-1825). It appeared in parts between January 1802 and August 1820, and ran to 39 volumes of text, 5 volumes of plates, and an atlas.

⁹³ O'Flanagan, Rev. M., *Extracts from the Ordnance Survey Letters 1838*, O'Donovan, Bray, 1927, p.79.

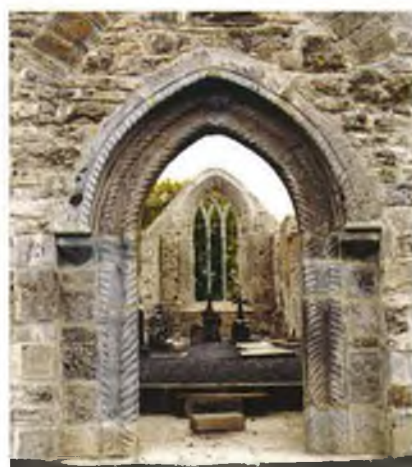
⁹⁴ Mulloy, B., *The Restoration of the Ballinrobe Priory (Abbey)*, Fás, Ballinrobe, 1994, pp 1-8.

⁹⁵ Gwynn A. & Haddock, N. R., *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, International Specialized Book Services, 1988, p.296.



Fig. 20. James Arthur O'Connor's 1820 painting of the back of Kenny's Mill (the Kenny Family commissioned the painting) with the ruin of the Augustinian Abbey on the left beside the River Robe. Notice the Steeple of St. Mary's Church of Ireland at centre on top of the hill. ©Permission of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Fig. 21. Photo of South doorway to the Augustinian Abbey provided by Mr. Pat Bergan of Fás. There is a large window at the east end with some doorways and a piscina on the right hand wall. A new housing estate recently built surrounds this ancient site on two sides with a roadway on the third. And private home on fourth. It appears that no archaeological survey was completed prior to building and results from any monitoring during constructions was either not carried out, are not or presently available at MCC or published for future researchers.



1. 10 Tempall Mór, Carnalecka Church or Holy Rood .

The ivy clad Carrownalecka [Carnalecka] Church⁹⁶, also known as Holy Rood, Holy Cross or Tempall Mór, just outside the town on the Ballyglass Road is in ruins. It adjoins the old and current graveyard. At one stage this was on Glebe lands and a school existed beside the Church (fig. 22). Recently work on the old graveyard adjoining the Church has been partly completed and a complete list of burials is available for the South Mayo Family Research office. The earliest dated burial found within this Church was 1741.

⁹⁶ Fás, *An Archaeological Survey of Ballinrobe and District including Lough Mask and Lough Carra*, LM & LCTDA, 1994, p. 84.

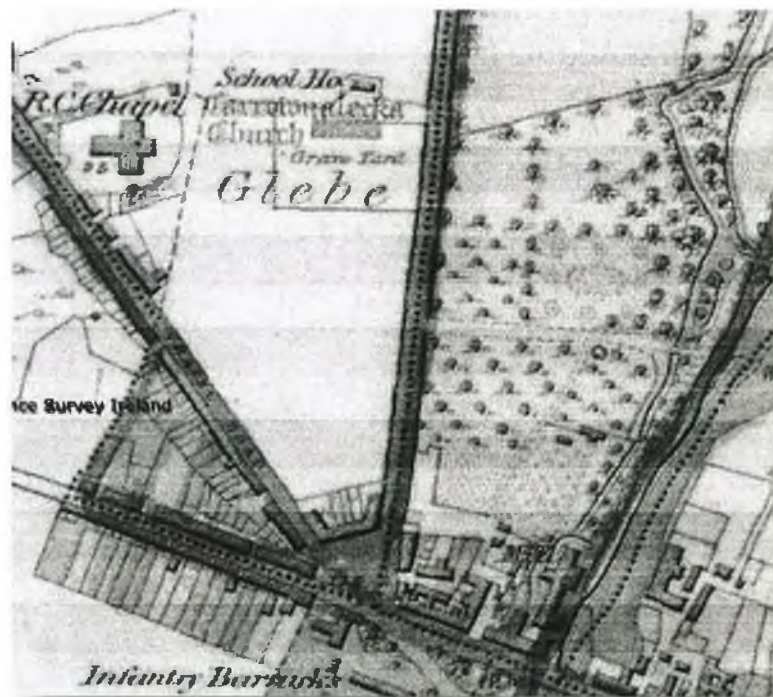
Fig. 22. The ivy clad badly maintained ruins of Carrownalecka Church with the steeple of the old RC Church in the background.



Fig. 23. Holy Rood lies to the north of the River Robe on an elevated site with the Augustine Abbey on the opposite side of the River. Various commentators have called it Templemor, [Tempall Mór] Carranalecka or Holy Rood Church. In this 1833 Estate Map of Knox MS 22014 it does not appear to be marked unlike the OSi Historical Map below. ©Permission of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin



Fig. 24. Details from OS/ Historical 6" Map greyscale 1837-1842 with Carrownalecka's [Carnalecks] Church, the Graveyard now called the Old Graveyard, a School house and the Glebe on north side of the River are indicated, together with the Kenny Robe House with its large pleasure gardens and part of the Infantry Barracks. The new graveyard is to the South adjoining the old one and work was under way recently to clear this section. This work had to cease when it was discovered that no Historical Architect was employed to supervise it according to a County Council spokesman. A complete list of graves with a plan is available from The South Mayo Family



1.11. Tempall Ruadán (later becoming St. Mary's).

Having examined all these ecclesiastical sites in and surrounding Ballinrobe it is clear that none of them is Tempall Ruadán, a name frequently mentioned in the early sources, and clearly a site of some importance. It is the contention of this thesis that St. Mary's is built on the site of Tempall Ruadán, and what follows is an attempt at demonstrating this. It is essential therefore, to attempt to establish the original name of St. Mary's before it became Anglican. Various publications are first compared, followed by evidence of either names or locations from unpublished manuscripts. This will add weight to the argument that the title and location of St. Mary's was originally that of a medieval Irish church called Tempall Ruadán not Tempall Mór. As was mentioned earlier, commentators differ on the names and location of ecclesiastical sites and to clarify this, details of primary and secondary documents will first be examined followed by a site visit, and the photographing of each to distinguish between them, in order to establish the respective locations of Tempall Mór and Tempall Ruadán. Extracts from various publications and journals are first compared followed by evidence from unpublished Manuscripts and legal documents to support this argument.

It would be very easy just to accept Quinn's statement in his *History of Mayo*⁹⁷ that *Tremleruan Church* (Tempall Ruadán) may have been marked as Tempallmór [Tempall Mór] on old maps. He writes that in 1591,

Queen Elizabeth was set down as technically "Rector" of Roba, or Templeruain, but John Óg O'Cleally, most probably a Catholic priest, as were most of the Vicars of that date, and was recorded as Vicar. The valuation was £2, but it was usurped since 1585 by Lord MacWilliam Burke and his brother, David, so that the Vicar must have had a precarious existence between Elizabeth and these two sharks.

He also asserts that another Church, "Holy Rood, or Church of the Holy Cross, Ballinrobe, was a building of considerable importance."⁹⁸ The question that arises from this is, was Temple Ruadán actually Holy Rood or was it a different Church?

Quite a number of secular buildings, which would have been of stone, are indicated on Petty's map (fig. 13 above), one of which is probably Tempall Mór. In his *History of Mayo*⁹⁹ Quinn infers again, without citation, that "*Tempelmore*" on the north of the River Robe was probably "*Templeruan*" but does not support this with a valid argument. He goes on to say that this was probably founded by the Ruane family of Liskillen Castle. However, later he states that William Boy Ó'Duffy was Abbot of Cong and, in preparing an account of the Rentals of Cong, included "Item, church in Ruan, in the Town of Robo – a half-town in the

⁹⁷ Quinn, J. F., *History of Mayo*, Brendan Quinn, Ballina, Vol. ii, 1996, p. 328.

⁹⁸ Quinn, J. F., *History of Mayo*, p. 328.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

town of Ballinrobe.” The Cong properties were on the south of the River not in Carra Barony which was on the north side.

Mícheál Ó Duígeannáin¹⁰⁰ in his article in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, it being a half town. This could suggest that half of Ballinrobe was on the South side of River on the Cong side and in that case the following images from his article are worth noting.

**On the Temporalities of the
Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary
the Virgin
Cong, Co. Mayo**

By MÍCHEÁL Ó DUÍGEANNÁIN, M.A.

**Item Templum de Ruan in villa de Robo etc., semivillam
in villa de Ballinrobe etc.**

**XXI. Item Teampall Ruadháin in the townland (*baile*) of
Robe (? Ballinrobe) etc., a half-townland (*leath-baile*) in the
townland (*baile*) of Ballinrobe, etc.**

**IX. Item the stewards [] de Burgo gave the Canons'
field in the townland (*baile*) of the Robe (*i.e.* Ballinrobe ?) to
the aforesaid monastery.**

Fig. 25. Copies of extracts from *JGAHS* Vol. 18 (see f/n 35) mentioning the Canons' field in the townland of Robe and Ballinrobe being a half town.

Monsignor D'Alton's *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish* (1931)¹⁰¹ is very useful for a quick overview of the history of the parish and mentions all the Churches. He suggests that "Templeruan" was so named as "no doubt because it was founded by the chief of that name

¹⁰⁰ O Duígeannáin, M., 'On the Temporalities of the Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary's the Virgin, Cong Co. Mayo' in *JGAHS*, Vol. 18 (1938-1939).

¹⁰¹ D'Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe*, Berry's, Westport, 1991(1931), p. 50

who lived at Liskellen”¹⁰² but gives no reference as to where he got this information. However, he suggests earlier that the Cornaroya townland is “Cor-na-Ruaidhe “meaning the round hill of the red cow” in Irish. This is the townland in which Tempall Ruadán, St. Mary’s is situated.

In an original death notice for Mr. James Lardner aged 94 (who was involved in the building of the Spire on the Catholic Church c 1850s) and whose family were stonemasons that worked around Ballinrobe and would be very well acquainted with the various churches and their titles in the 1800’s, it is suggested his burial took place in 1894 in the “Big Graveyard at Templemór” and not Ruadán (fig. 29).

Mr. Hubert Knox (1845-1921), who was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1886, made many contributions to both *The Journal of the Royal Antiquaries of Ireland* and *The Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*. Churches in Ballinrobe appear in his *Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*¹⁰³ and in his *History of the County of Mayo to the close of the Sixteenth Century*.¹⁰⁴ They contain an enormous number of facts which must have been sourced from many primary sources, but “it is however unfortunate” according to Monsignor D’Alton that:

Mr. Knox, while sparing no pains to accumulate facts never digested his material. He has no idea of order or sequence and no capacity to give suitable expression to these thoughts. He throws his facts together in a jumbled heap, overlaps, repeats himself, seems quite incapable of evolving order out of chaos and the result is that his two volumes are altogether unworthy of the labour and time expended on them.

However, within an unpublished manuscript by Knox on *The History of Ballinrobe*¹⁰⁵ written c 1910 lies the most important clue to St. Mary’s old name. This appears on a loose leaf page at the back of this manuscript. Knox states in his own hand that “St. Mary’s, the current Church stands on the earlier site of a Church called St. Ruadán”. In conclusion, on the point of Mr. Knox’s accuracy Monsignor D’Alton’s view later is that:

*Mr. Knox made himself thoroughly acquainted with every book that could throw light on the history and antiquities of his native county. He was a very diligent student of the various State Papers, taking little at second hand, and always preferring to go to the original sources, and he visited every parish and indeed every part of every parish, every ruined church or abbey or castle, every old fort, every holy well, every old monument, even those of pagan times he personally inspected and examined*¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰³ Knox, H. T., *Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*, Hodges Figgis, Dublin, 1904.

¹⁰⁴ Knox, H. T., *History of the County of Mayo To The Close Of The Sixteenth Century*, Hodges Figgis, Dublin, 1908.

¹⁰⁵ Knox, H. T., A typescript account of the History of the Parish of Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo (unfinished and unpublished – 19 pages), MS 2061. NLI, Dublin, n.d.

¹⁰⁶ D’Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe*, p. 49.

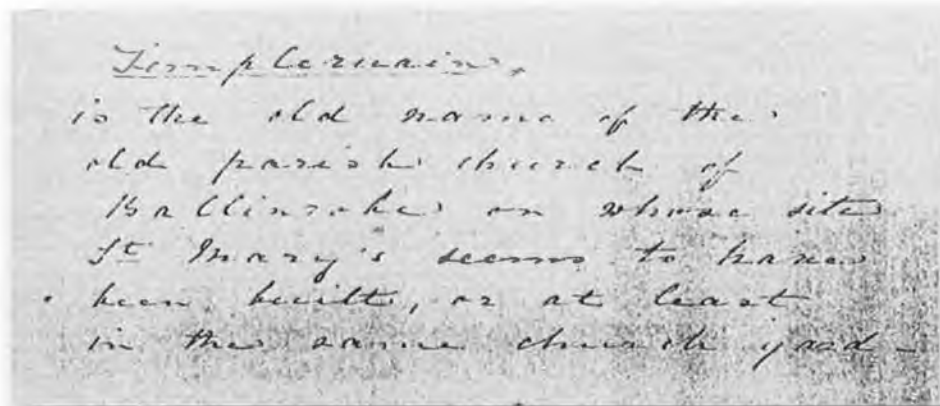


Fig. 26. Handwritten testament of H. T. Knox as to the original name of St. Mary's which appears in MS 2061 after page 22.

It may be accepted that (the Irish version of which will be taken for consistency), is more than likely named after St Ruadán, whose alternative names or spellings are St. Ruadan, Rodan, St. Ruan,¹⁰⁷ Rodanus, Ruodanus or Ruadanus¹⁰⁸ (of Lorrha).¹⁰⁹

6th century is unknown. However, it is thought it might be Connaught as, according to Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturge*,¹¹⁰ "St. Patrick predicted the enjoyment of a Kingdom and a numerous pos, King of Connaught, who was a son of Birrus who descended from the noble family of Duach, surnamed Galach¹¹¹. He was educated in Clonard Co. Westmeath by St. Finian, Bishop of Clonard and at some stage "went out from the northern parts of Ireland, where he wrought many wonders, and he acquired a large parish¹¹². Brendan, The 'Navigator' in due course at Lorrha who proceeded to cross the Shannon and set up his monastery at Clonfert Co. Galway. Colgan¹¹³, and at some stage was based in the monastery of Drumcliff.

He died at the monastery he had founded on 5 April 584. The ancient manuscript, the *Stowe Missal*,

the "Twelve Apostles of Ireland".¹¹⁴ It is quite possible that this is the Saint that established a Tempall [Church] on or close to the site of St. Mary's in Ballinrobe and while outside the scope of this research, Daniel Papebroke's (1628–1714) work on the could be studied for more information on this Saint's travels in Connaught.

¹⁰⁷ O'Cleary, M., *Transcribed from an Irish Original*, Burgundian MSS Public Library, Brussels.

¹⁰⁸ Butler, A., *The lives of the fathers, martyrs and other principal saints*, Kessinger, Dublin, 2006, p.116.

¹⁰⁹ Plummer, C., et al., *Betha Ruadhain Bethada Náemh Éirenn*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1922, p 317.

¹¹⁰ Colgan, J., *Trias Thaumaturge*, Edmund Burke, 1819, xxvi, pp 203-204.

¹¹¹ O'Hanlon, J., *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Dublin, 1875, Vol. iv, p. 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹¹³ Colgan, J., *Trias Thaumaturge*, xxvi, pp136 -141.

¹¹⁴ Byrne, F., J., *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, B.T. Batsford, London, 1973, p. 75.



Fig. 27. Copper alloy bell of rectangular section, tapering sides, animal terminal, detachable iron clapper. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig.28. , Co. Tipperary. Sketched in 1856 by O'Hanlon, John. *Lives of the Irish Saints*. day is April 15th

It is possible to speculate that this location was a sacred place of significant power from an earlier date than suggested, and that an Early Irish Church might have been destroyed in the 9th century with the arrival of the dreaded Vikings.

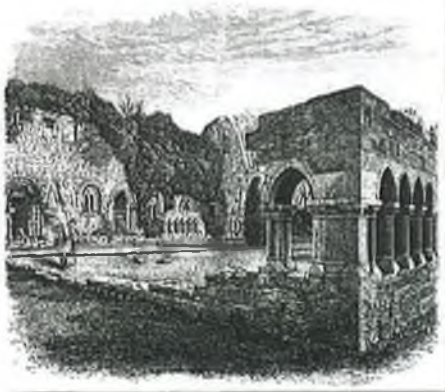


Fig. 29. Cong Abbey - the Irish name for Cong, Cunga Feichin means a narrow strip of land with Cong being situated on a narrow isthmus between Lough Mask and Lough Corrib. In 1010 Cong was the seat of a bishopric, and there are still extant the ruins of a very fine abbey dating from the twelfth century. It belonged to the wealthy order of St. Augustine. The Annals of the Four Masters record that in 'A.D. 1150 Muireadhach Ua Dubhthaigh, Archbishop of Connaught, chief senior of all Ireland in wisdom, chastity, in the bestowal of jewels and food, died at Cong in the 75th year of his age.' This man's name is inscribed on the well known processional Cross of Cong currently on display at the National Museum of Ireland, Castlebar, Co. Mayo. Roderick O'Connor, described as 'the last King of Ireland,' died here in 1198.

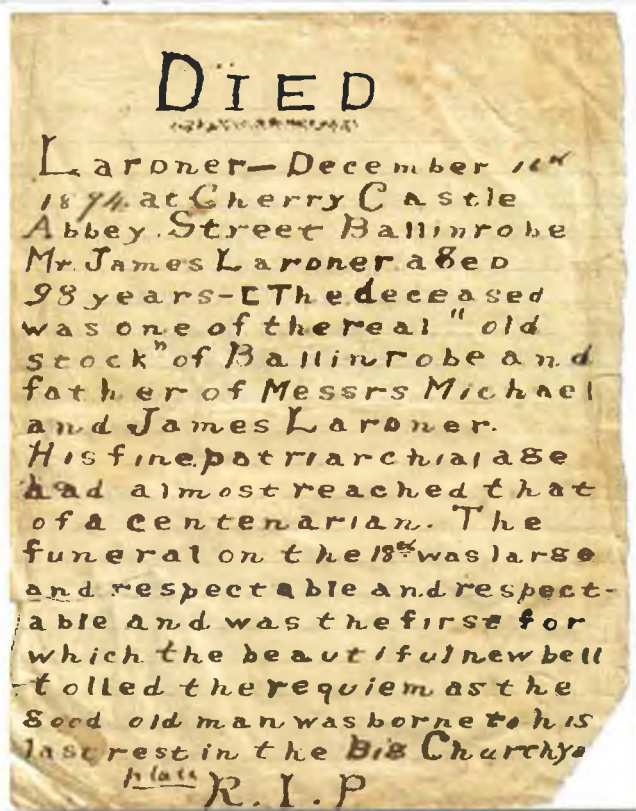
As said earlier, Ballinrobe occupies a strategic location with easy access by water, close to the ancient site of Cong Abbey which lay between Lough Corrib and Mask en route to Connemara and other ecclesiastical sites in Mayo, and home territory of the powerful O Conchobair clan. Precious possessions of its Churches including chalices and shrines may have made it a target for the Vikings en route to or from Cong and followed by the Cambro-Normans at a later date.

Fig. 30. Lough Mask with the Partry Mountains to the west with Ballinrobe to the plains on the east within easy reach of Cong close to Lough Corrib.

Image from
www.lakedistrictheritage.ie



Fig. 31. An original death notice for inclusion in the papers. It reads:



Dec. 16th 1894 at Cherry Castle, Abbey Street, Ballinrobe, Mr. James Lardner died at 98 years [the deceased was one of the real "old stock" of Ballinrobe and father to Messrs Michael and James Lardner. *His fine patriarchal age had almost reached that of a centenarian. The funeral on the 18th was large and respectable and was the first for which the beautiful new bell tolled the requiem as the good old man was borne to his last rest in the Big Churchyard.*

I was later told by Mr. J. B. Staunton that the Big Churchyard mentioned above was at Tempall M .

Finally, to indicate that many names have been lost or changed primary research was done on documents at the Law Society's Archives at Blackhall Place in Dublin and permission was also obtained to peruse a private collection. It appears that a townland called Ruane existed in Ballinrobe town but no trace can be found at the present time. It would be interesting to research this townland and the other lost names like Lovesgrove and Newcastle townlands, at a future date, that appear on Bald's 1830 *Maritime map* (see fig.8) and Petty's 1680 map (fig.13).



Fig. 32. Detail of two separate entries of the townland of Ruane in Ballinrobe in legal title documents. P.Collection.



All other ecclesiastical sites have been examined and have been ruled out. The early illustration of Churches at the centre of Ballinrobe in Petty's 1685 Map an

river Robe with Carranalecka, Holy Rood or Templemor, depending on commentator, located on the north and in Carra Barony. The evidence of an old townland called Ruane contributes to this argument together with further evidence from Chapter 3 *In Memory Of* which will back up this argument further.

1.12 Medieval Fragments at St. Mary's.



Fig 33 Traces of an old gothic arch can be seen on left (north) wall of church interior after old plaster had been removed and prior to refurbishment as a Library. This corresponds to Welland's drawings with niche at this location. The Cuff wall memorial can be seen where it is still located to-day.

A comparison with a nearby Church at the Neale can give some idea of the building techniques used in the construction of St. Mary's, but when the Church was finally closed for Services and bought by Mayo Council there was an opportunity to get a closer look at the stripped interior walls of St. Mary's. On studying the 19th century plans and 20th century photos taken during the reconstruction of St. Mary's one can clearly see the outline of a niche and gothic arch on the north wall of the Church interior close to the large east window. Two other infills were revealed on the south wall, leaving room for further research. On further investigation, no evidence of this feature has been retained in the current Library.



Fig. 34 A medieval piscina on left with bowl hidden by grass and right the emergence of a seven holed bowl. These were the original holes and not additions as the middle one is not centered in a usual position of a single

On a closer visual inspection outside the front the door of the Church a square cut stone was discovered. This stone measured 45 cm wide by 45cm by 20 cm approximately. An attempt to remove some grass, without damaging the stone, was unsuccessful and after returning a few weeks later this artifact appeared to have had weed killer applied by someone else.

The appearance of this square stone was in excellent condition and further research indicated that it was a Medieval Piscina. This was a basin with a drain set in the wall and water was poured from a jug over the sacred vessels with the water draining away into sanctified ground outside, usually within a graveyard. In pre-Reformation parish churches Mass was celebrated several times a day at altars in the Chancel. Part of the Mass requires the ritual washing of vessels, which meant that most altars had a piscina beside them. They were usually at a convenient height above the floor where the priest washed his hands¹¹⁵ too. According to Leask if there was a pair of piscinas, with one lacking a drainage hole “it may be inferred that the bowl (lavabo) was a movable utensil, was emptied into a drain somewhere else in the Church.¹¹⁶” Parker suggests “that there was often a wooden or stone shelf, which served the purpose of a credence-table to receive certain of the sacred vessels that were used in the service of the Mass, previous to their being required at the Altar”¹¹⁷ close by.

Most piscinas were simple affairs, but some were very elaborate with carved hooded mouldings and ogees - see below. Piscinas were usually located on the south side of the church. However, “*in Normandy it is not uncommon to find it on the north side, when the situation of the altar is such as to render that more convenient than the south.*”¹¹⁸ There are very few piscinas from before 1200, but from the mid 13th century through to the Black Death in the mid 14th century almost every parish church was furnished with a piscina, with those built after 1350 usually being an addition to those already in a church or as a replacement. Some churches built in the 15th century do not have a piscina, and some architectural historians have linked their demise to a change in social, religious and cultural thinking in the post-Black Death period with some falling into complete disuse after the Reformation.

As suggested by John Parker¹¹⁹ some piscinas have a credence shelf set above them in the alcove, and some have been converted into cupboards, which may be confused with ambries (ambury), a cupboard in the wall of the main part of the Church or the Vestry used to store chalices and other sacred vessels. After the Reformation these fell into disuse, mainly as sacred vessels were stolen and melted down or hidden in safer locations. Piscinas are often associated with adjacent sedilias, such as the one pictured below (fig. 35) at Burriscarra

¹¹⁵ Parker, J. H., *A Concise Glossary of Architectural Terms*, Studio Editions Ltd, London 1994, p. 203.

¹¹⁶ Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, Dundalgan Press, 1990, Vol. ii, p.140.

¹¹⁷ Parker, J. H., *A Concise Glossary of Architectural Terms*, p. 204.

¹¹⁸ Parker, J. H., *A Concise Glossary of Architectural Terms*, p. 204.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Abbey¹²⁰ near Lough Carra, Co. Mayo where those participating in the Mass would sit when not performing a duty.

Fig.35. An example of Burriscarra's piscina located beside a sedilia in the Abbey or Priory of the Carmelites which was founded in 1298 probably by Adam de Staunton of Castlecarra. This piscina is beside a trefoil-headed sedilia whose back wall is pierced by a small lancet. This is the lower of the two churches at Burriscarra which occupies the site of a Carmelite Priory which became Augustinian in 1413.



Fig. 36. Left Rare double Piscina at Rosserk Abbey, Killala, Co. Mayo divided and flanked by fine columns extending to the ground. Inside each arched division is a small round window and over one of the piscinae are two carved figures.



Fig. 38. Piscina on the south wall of the Augustine Abbey, Ballinrobe set into a niche with pointed plain arch. Some of the stone work has been replaced. There are no ornamentations or carvings on its arch. Photo c 1933.



Fig. 37 Cunmore Church, Berkshire with the bowl of its Piscina clearly illustrated by John Henry Parker in 1846 see f/n 33 above.

¹²⁰ OSi Discovery Map Series 38. 18/77. 1:50000.

The most unusual aspect of St. Mary's Ballinrobe piscina is its five holes in the bowl when there are normally only one. These holes seem to correspond with the shape of a early Tau cross.



Fig. 40. Symbol of the Medical Profession. The serpent of Moses on a tau cross denotes healing, the shield divided vertically, is half for surgery and half being for medicine. The Hippocratic Oath, which is sworn by all doctors, begins with the invocation: "I swear by Apollo the Physician. By Aesculapius, Hygeia and Panacea, and I take to witness all the gods and goddesses... use the image of a TAU cross with an entwined snake as its symbol.

Fig. 39. The Cross of Tau named after the Greek letter it resembles dates back to the beginning of Christianity and is often used as a variant of the Latin, or Christian cross and sometimes called the Tau Cross, St. Anthony's Cross, the Old Testament Cross, the Anticipatory Cross, the Cross Commissee, the Egyptian Cross, the Advent Cross, Croce taumata, "Saint Francis's Cross"



117 La Tau est le signe des penitents. Abbaye de Saint-Denis, 1177, ms. B. 22, fol. 100 v.

The Tau Cross appears in artworks depicting Moses when God told him to "Make a poisonous snake and set it on a pole. When anyone who is bitten looks at it, he will live."¹²¹ There is also a reference to the Tau from Ezekiel 9:4: "Go through the city of Jerusalem and put a Tau on the foreheads of those who grieve and lament over all the detestable things that are done in it."¹²² The Tau is the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet and during the Middle Ages; the Tau cross became associated with healing and St. Anthony. It was considered the most likely form of cross on which Christ was crucified.

Fig. 41. Example of A 12th century scene from St. Denis with the mark of the Tau on the foreheads of believers. Jean Danielou, *Primitive Christian Symbols*, (Baltimore, 1964), trans. Donald Atwater, p.141

¹²¹ *The New English Bible (Numbers, Chapter 21)* Penguin London, 1974, , p.173.

¹²² *The Book of Ezekiel* was likely written between 593 and 565 B.C. during the Babylonian captivity of the Jews. The prophet Ezekiel was a contemporary of both Jeremiah and Daniel.

1.13 Tracing the oldest sites and ruins in Ballinrobe.

While the piscine find is the most obvious evidence of a medieval origin for St. Mary's, it is important to support this with an exploration of the environs of the Church at this period. Unfortunately much of the medieval fabric of Ballinrobe has been overlaid by more recent developments, so a bit of detective work was required to uncover the history of the town's growth. This section will therefore attempt to build a picture of early Ballinrobe with an obvious starting point being an understanding the development of the town by looking at the oldest sites. We will begin with a look at the impact the British Army, particularly as Ballinrobe was to develop as a garrison town.

Significant developments would have occurred following the Jacobite Wars with the arrival of the first permanent regiment, the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars,¹²³ nicknamed The Cross Belts, stationed full time in Ballinrobe in 1700. This regiment, first raised in 1693, would have been composed originally of loyal Protestants who had fought at the Battle of the Boyne.¹²⁴ The regiment's title from 1693 would have been Colonel Henry Cunningham's Regiment of Dragoons, the title later changing with the regiment's Colonel's name, which was normal procedure at that time. A Captain Kenny, of Roxborough, Ballinrobe (b. 1702) was later in Colonel Cuff's Regiment of Militia Dragoons.



Fig. 42 Infantry Barracks on High Street opposite Kenny's House

The army would have stamped their power and status on Ballinrobe through, among other things, Church attendance and promotion of their Protestant ethos. Some of

their soldiers were buried in St. Mary's graveyard. Their barracks had a high perimeter, battered masonry wall with bastion-shaped projections at diagonal corners (one was removed and is buried under the current Mound). It was built on a prominent defensive site on high ground and controlled the strategic *passé* and Bridge on the River Robe. This is now the site of the Telecom Tower and offices and its high mast that can be seen from many miles away. Msgr. T. Gunnigan suggests that close to this site the Fitzgeralds had built the first of the

¹²³ Swinson, A.(Ed), *A register of the Regiments and Corps of the British Army*, The Archive Press, London, 1972, p. 29 & p. 212.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Norman Castles in Ballinrobe¹²⁵c1350 and the deBurgos either purchased it or acquired it by marriage.

Fig. 43. Detail from Knox Map
Location of Infantry Barracks
and possible site of old Norman
Tower House beside the River
Robe and Bridge which it
controlled. © Permission of the
National Library of Ireland,
Dublin. MS 2014



Mr. C. Ormsby supplies a list of the 45 Freeholders of the County of Mayo assembled at the General Assizes held for the said County at Ballenrobe [Ballinrobe] on 20th July 1716 to petition King George to secure for the Militia and other Protestants, an increase in height of 7 or 8 feet of the outward wall of the Barrack “which is now erecting in this Town in and near which place is a good stand of Protestants”.¹²⁶ He goes on to say that: “this Town was made a Garrison and more particularly taken care of by the late King James in the late Warrs [Wars] as being the principal place of securing this County”.¹²⁷

Hubert T. Knox in his article *Fortification of Ballinrobe*¹²⁸ argues that this petition was not for the fortification of the town, but of the barracks then being built. This is useful in establishing a date for the increase of the development of an Infantry and Cavalry Barracks in the town, whose officers and soldiers would have made up a part of the congregation of the Church. Further evidence for this is provided by the fact that the first English burials since Katherine Holcroft’s in 1668 occurring at St. Mary’s graveyard were those of Hugh Evans in 1717 and William Smith’s in 1719.

¹²⁵ Gunnigan, T., ‘Ballinrobe through History’, p. 13.

¹²⁶ Ormsby, C.C., ‘A Petition for the Fortification of Ballinrobe’ in *JGAHS*, No. 7, 1911-1912, pp 168-170.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 168-170.

¹²⁸ Knox, H. T., ‘Fortification of Ballinrobe’ in *JGAHS*, No. 7, 1911-1919, p.276 .

Fig. 44. Detail showing the Military barracks on the right with its Tower, Riding house terret [turret], gardens and bridge over the River Robe leading to the Barrack Grounds. The main entrance is from Market [Main Street].

On the left is the infantry Barracks dominating the area of the Bridge at Bridge St. St. Mary's. the Rectory and Court House are close by. . © Permission of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin. MS 2014



Fig. 45. The New Castle, Ballinrobe renovated by James Cuff, Lord Tyrally in 1752 containing the plaque translated below later as a British Cavalry Barracks.

From the late sixteenth century more English and Scottish settlers acquired land, bringing in mercenaries and probably their own skilled trades people including stewards, stonemasons, thatchers, millers and gardeners. James Cuff renovated Ballinrobe Castle in 1752 and converted it to a manor house. The site for this Castle was called Newcastle on Petty's map fig.13 suggesting that an older Castle previously existed.

In an article¹²⁹ on Lord Tyrawly's Castle it is stated that: "*Formally this town and vicinity had many attractions...*" This article gives a translation from Latin by Rev. James Anderson, the Rector of the Church of Ireland c 1840, of the plaque within the Castle see below:

This Castle now the residence of the Lord of the Manor, was commenced, built and inhabited by the head of the deBurgo Family in the electoral county of Mayo and in ancient times dominated Mac William's country; it having gone to ruin from various casualties and because of having often changed hands. Sir. J. Cuff (knt) caused it some time ago to be repaired; whose grand-son, James Cuff Esq., inheritor of the estate in the order of succession, when it was at length sadly dilapidated, ordered it now to be restored anew, as well as the neighbouring town to be enlarged, when its market was well nigh extinct and also that the demesne lands should be ornamented in the year of our Lord 1752.



Fig. 46. A view of the interior of the Castle showing the old main entrance in the background where the plaque is located.

¹²⁹ C.E., 'Lord Tirawley's Castle, Ballinrobe' in *The Irish Builder*, April 1, 1874 No. xvi, p. 95.



Fig. 47. Plaque in Ballinrobe Castle.

Blake's translation from Latin of the script on stone plaque situated inside the Newcastle, Ballinrobe (later the Cavalry Barracks) close to where the original entrance may have been is as follows:

Glory to God, the best and greatest favouring the undertaking. This Castle was begun erected and possessed by the elective Chief anciently styled MacWilliam of the family of DeBurgh in the County of Mayo. Then after various chances and various ownerships, when ruinous, the late Sit James Cuff, Knight, caused it to be rebuilt as the Dwelling house of the Manor: His grandson, and in order of succession surviving heir, James Cuff Esquire took care to have it, which had afresh unhappily become a wreck, as well as the neighbouring market-town almost about to perish, and the Demesne lands, restored enlarged and ornamented. Not far from the Castle, where the river Robe flows along, the foundations works of the old Tower were dug up.

According to Blake¹³⁰ the lettering of the date should read thus: CI□ represents (M), I□ represents (D); CCL11: and signifies 1752 which date would certainly fit in with James Cuff's ownership.

Msgr. D'Alton's translation of the same script from his *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish* reads

With the blessings of the great and good God on the undertaking this castle was begun, completed, and dwelt in by the elected chieftain of the de Burgo clan in the County of Mayo,

¹³⁰ Blakc, M. J., 'Notes on the Place Names mentioned in Brown's Map of Mayo, 1584' in *JGAHS*, No. 6, 1900-1910, p.39.

called by the title of the MacWilliam. The manor-house, which through various vicissitudes and a succession of owners was falling into ruin, was formerly restored by James Cuff, a soldier. His descendant in the line of succession (who was the sole heir), James Cuff, High-Sheriff, restored, enlarged, and beautified the manor-house, which was again in a wretched state of collapse, and was falling down, and also restored the adjoining farm building and the market-house, which was on the point of falling into ruin, and the manor lands. Not far from the castle on the banks of the Robe the foundations of an old tower were unearthed". This tower was one of the bastions of the ancient walls which surrounded the castle.¹³¹



Fig. 48. Chalking had occurred shortly prior to a less damaging paper rubbing being taken from the Latin Inscription on the plaque within the New Castle, Ballinrobe with kind permission of Mr. J. Daly, owner. This paper record will be available at the Mayo County Library, Ballinrobe. It really is necessary to visit the site with required permission to study this inscription in detail.

This is quite a large plaque with the inside measurements without the



Fig. 49. Close up of the date from the paper rubbing of the plaque.

¹³¹ D'Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish*, p.36.

He goes on to say¹³² “The stone slab bears the date of 1752, and shows that there was then, a market-house and of course, markets and fairs, and some sort of town in which the fairs were held” The old Market House and the oldest known building in Ballinrobe prior to 1752, when the new market house/courthouse was built was Cherry Castle on Abbey Street¹³³ (see below). Both Blake and D’Alton in their translation mention a tower. This could have been part of a bawn wall or part of an old castle as described here:

in the rear of the old castle... a structure called the False Bridge, with about a dozen semi-circular arches, only wide enough to carry one pedestrian abreast, without any parapet whatsoever, and leading from the paddock on the pigeon-hole side to the fish pond on the south side¹³⁴

However, Rev. Anderson makes no reference to this tower in his translation above



Fig. 50. Cherry Castle, Abbey St. c 1980 once owned by Lord Tyrawly. A shallow, one room deep, stone building with three floors reached by a ladder stairs. It adjoins the old potato market.

This building was demolished and the stone used for the front wall of the new community school.

A pencil drawing by George Petrie from the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin in 1820 fig.51 shows that the river Robe was much wider prior to the redevelopment by Kenny’s c 1820 to 1849. The significance of a clapper bridge¹³⁵ fig.56 in Ballinrobe indicates that this was an old and well used river crossing.

¹³² D’Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish*, p.36.

¹³³ In an interview Mr. John B. Staunton born 1880 and owner of Cherry Castle which has since been demolished, described the old layout. It was located beside the 20th cent potato market.

¹³⁴ CE., ‘Lord Tirawley’s Castle, Ballinrobe’, p.95.

¹³⁵ Cox, R., & Gould, M., *Ireland’s Bridges*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 2003, p. 5.

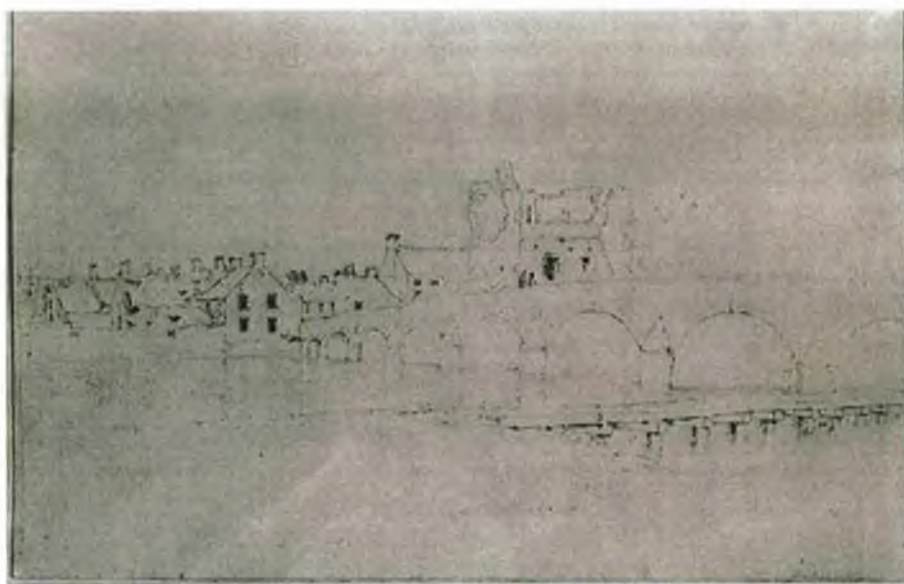


Fig. 51. George Petrie Pencil drawing c1820 – National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin and while faint clearly shows an eight arch bridge with a Clapper Bridge in the foreground. © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.

Fig. 52. A surviving narrow Clapper style Bridge on the Bunleemshough River near Louisburgh, Co. Mayo. The term clapper is used because of the flat slabs used to span the piers which could be arched or flat. They were often associated with a ford close by. Photo Michael McLaughlin.



In the background of Petrie's image one can see an old ruin of a possible Cambro- Norman Tower House, perhaps the old Castle of Ballinrobe. On the other hand a tower house may have been on the other side of the river where the present site of Telecom is, within the old Infantry Barracks (fig.42) as suggested by Msgr. T. Gunnigan.¹³⁶ No trace of the clapper

¹³⁶ Gunnigan, T., 'Ballinrobe through History', p. 13.

bridge survives to-day and the stone was probably reused around the Bower Walk, which dates back to the 1800s.



Fig. 53. Detail of Burrishoole Bridge from photo by Michael McLaughlin, Photographer Westport, of a seven bay bridge which may have been similar to Ballinrobe's old bridge. It appeared on Mayo County Council's 2010 calendar. *Bridges of Mayo.*

Thus, while medieval remnants in Ballinrobe are scanty, there is sufficient evidence to be able to assert that there was at the least a defensive structure, probably a tower house, overlooking an old river crossing, an Augustinian Abbey and, further up the hill, a medieval parish church.

1.14 Conclusion.

We have looked at the location of Ballinrobe with its strategic site on the River Robe at the gateway to Connemara, offering easy access through the Loughs Corrib and Mask to the Atlantic. Its proximity to Galway City to its south, with Castlebar, Westport and Clew Bay to its north marked it out as a favourable site, while its elevated position gives excellent views of the surrounding areas. It is within a short distance from Cong, and other early ecclesiastical sites like Aughagower.

An examination of all the ecclesiastical sites within or near the town was carried out to establish the history of St. Mary's Church, and in doing so the discovery of a document at the Manuscript Dept of the National Library written by Hubert Knox, a local historian and archaeologist, drew attention to the old name Tempall. Variations in site names given by different commentators over the years for the ecclesiastical sites were closely examined together with any archaeological findings. Further research confirmed early Anglican activity in the region, especially through Clerical appointments, and legal

documents indicated old townlands that have long since vanished, with the most important being Ruane.

Following its early ecclesiastical establishments and sites, the arrival of the Cambro-Normans to Ballinrobe, and their subsequent establishment of garrisons, helps emphasise the importance of the area as a buffer zone between the territories of some of the ancient Irish clans with the river Robe being an important fording site. The changes imposed by the arrival of the Cambro-Normans were examined through Petty's and Bald's maps, together with the examination of ruins for possible alterations or rebuilding and developments of Norman style structures, in order to confirm the documentary evidence. An old tower house and building of an Abbey also confirmed the Norman presence.

Having exhausted the paper sources, a close examination of the walls and grounds turned up the most important piece of evidence for dating St. Mary's original structure. While recording information for a visual data base, a piscina bowl was discovered hidden in the high grass. This stone had been removed from the church according to a MCC spokesman. This was no ordinary piscina as it had a rare design arrangement of seven holes.

The most unfortunate incident is that, after noticing this artifact but before an archaeologist could examine it, it was removed from its location. This was a planned removal in September 2009 as somebody had gone to the trouble of spraying it with weed killer first. While one suggestion was that it was stolen, others argued that it was removed to cover up evidence that this protected structure had not been adequately examined prior to its refurbishment, leading to the actual niche being completely covered. This theft delays further study being done on St. Mary's medieval heritage and, as a result, not only has St. Mary's community vanished but major evidence for the heritage of this Ballinrobe Church has been lost. Fortunately, photographic evidence remains as a source for future research.

Chapter 2:

Ballinrobe and St. Mary's from medieval times to the late 18th century.

2.1 Introduction

Having established the name and location of Tempall Ruadán, and the existence of a defended medieval settlement at a fording point on the Robe, we will examine the arrival of the Cambro-Normans and their impact on Ballinrobe. The Cambro-Normans' political, economic and material culture will be examined for evidence of an active and vibrant area during the 13th to 15th centuries. We will look at the style of ecclesiastical buildings found in the area before the Reformation process, followed by an examination of the impact of the Reformation on various aspects of religious material culture. There is a brief exploration of the impact of the Reformation on artistic developments in the 16th century, with religious art in particular being drastically altered due to the new Protestant agenda. As part of this, there were major changes in the development of Church architecture in Ireland, much of which is poorly documented- particularly the changes in church interiors. Religious reform was integral to civil reform and involved adherence to the virtues of common law, along with the accepted norms of the English settlers as to how people should dress, build houses, practice agriculture and, finally, industry. Religion played a central role in the social and cultural discourse of the period, with the church, according to Loeber, being "the only ordinary means to reduce the people to civility and religion"¹³⁷ This chapter focuses on the impact of these political and theological changes on the material culture of Ballinrobe, in order to gain a deeper understanding of St. Mary's.

While the Irish cultural heritage had been dominated by monastic artistic traditions in the centuries prior to the arrival of the Normans, this disruption heralded a period of relative stagnation. Local craftsmanship reached its apogee in the Cross of Cong (c 1125AD), made for King Turlough O'Connor, reflecting the rich material culture of Gaelic Ireland. The centuries after 1200 witnessed severe fluctuations in Gaelic cultural activity, with the territories around Ballinrobe subjected to the upheavals caused mainly by the colonial ambitions of first the Norman, and then the English and Scottish settlers with their Reformed religion. As a result parish Churches were neglected and allowed to fall into ruin and there was a great shortage of clergy in Ireland, with the same man often holding several parishes.

After various power struggles and battles over territory, the arrival of the New English is traced with one of the earliest pieces of evidence being the granting, after a long decline, of a Market and Fair charter to Sir John King in 1605. The wealth of this new community is attested to through the Holcroft memorial, while the existence of an English Pale with an Anglican community around Ballinrobe is reinforced by the setting up of a permanent garrison for protection of these new settlers and their property. This contributes to the

¹³⁷ Loeber, R., 'Sculptural memorials to the dead in early seventeenth-century Ireland: a survey from Monumenta Eblanae and other sources' in *PRIA*, 1981, pp 267-298.

redevelopment of parts of the town and the emergence of a planned town in the early 19th century.

The liturgical principles of the Anglican Reformation included an English liturgy with visible action and more frequent communion. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 obliged clergymen in the Church of England to assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles. These central tenets of Anglican belief are based on a version drawn up by Thomas Cranmer in 1553 and modified years later, in Elizabeth's 1st reign, to try and accommodate Catholics who might be willing to give up Rome together with five of the seven sacraments and Puritans who might tolerate bishops. Their intended effect was to enforce a uniformity of culture and practice on the church. This re-identification and physical separation of Anglicanism from Catholicism and the various forms of Dissent initiated a period where new architecture, ceremony, music and clothing evolved, characterised by an increased focus on preaching at the liturgy. Certain theological themes regarded as un-scriptural, such as priestly sacrifice, transubstantiation, and invocations of saints were eliminated from the new liturgical texts. The concept of the church as auditorium and theatre was derived from early Calvinist buildings which were designed to enable people to see and hear the preacher. As was typical across much of Ireland, the Rectors in Ballinrobe probably did not live here initially but allowed their curates to organise the parish.

The impact of the arrival of new landlords, settlers and the permanent army in the late seventeenth century can be drawn from the formalised layout of the current town of Ballinrobe, as the majority of these people were the descendants of a colonial elite belonging to the established Protestant Church and would have had their own cultural and political ideas on anglicising Ballinrobe. The landlords probably financed buildings within the town and saw this as adjuncts to their own estates rather than contributing to the growth of urbanisation. Due to the paucity of muniments, these and the few primary sources for evidence on Ballinrobe have been merged to try and give a chronological timeline of the town's development. There is a particular focus on the graveyard, as providing the clearest physical evidence of the lives and social structure of those who used St. Mary's from the mid-17th century on, while tensions between the clergy and the landed gentry over property are briefly examined.

2.2 The Cambro-Normans.

A few of the towns in the West of Ireland were completely newly built by the Cambro-Normans, while others were established on the sites of previous castles and lands. In Ballinrobe, where there was already a settlement with early Irish Parish Churches in existence, the monastery the Normans introduced was built outside what would be perceived as the central core of the original town and close to the river. We know that the Augustinian

friars founded a monastery here¹³⁸ sometime prior to 1337. It has been suggested that Elizabeth de Clare, granddaughter of Edward 1 and wife of John de Burgo, son of the Earl of Ulster, ordered the building of an Abbey¹³⁹. This was in honour of the birth of their son William (b. 1312) as at this time Connaught was in turmoil and the de Burgos had thrown in their allegiance to England and changed their name to Burke. However, in an unpublished history of the Augustinians in their Archives at St. John Lane, Dublin,¹⁴⁰ it is claimed that the Abbey was founded for the order in 1337 by Roger Taffe. It may well have been on behalf of the Burkes and must have been a very wealthy monastery due to gifts of land and family treasures donated by young men who joined the order. According to tradition, only men of noble birth were admitted into the Augustinian Order.

Fig. 54 Detail of the Augustinian Abbey outside the town boundaries from James A. O'Connor's painting c 1820 of *The Mill, Ballinrobe*. With permission from NGI, Dublin.



Fig. 55. Adrian IV (1154-1159) grants the Kingdom of Ireland to Henry II, King of England (1154-1189) on the payment of an annual income. The Vatican Secret Archives preserve a "cartulario cartaeco" containing the transcription. Vatican Archives. Location of image within Vatican on right.



In the wake of the Cambro-Norman conquest, Richard de Burgo received a grant of Lands of Connaught in 1224 from the King of England, with the title Lord of Connaught. De Burgo concentrated on strengthening his military power and building castles. One of his properties

¹³⁸ *Registry of the Dominican friary of Athenry, Co. Galway* (under the name of Monastery of de Roba).

¹³⁹ Gwynn & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, p. 296

¹⁴⁰ Personal correspondence with David Kelly OSA Archivist (Dec 08)

was Hags's Castle¹⁴¹, Caislean na Caillight, on Hag Island in Lough Mask which he was granted in 1247 together with the islands. According to Wilde¹⁴² Castle Hag "can be regarded as the earliest castle in Ireland..."¹⁴³ "O'Donovan stated many years ago that this fortress has cyclopean foundations raised on a stone circular base which was thirty feet high with walls from eight to nine feet thick."¹⁴⁴ Its image was drawn by Wakeman¹⁴⁵ (b.1822) and engraved by Shepherd.¹⁴⁶

Fig. 56. The Hag's Castle, on Hag's Island controlling the entrance to the mouth of the Robe River. This site was to feature later in 1586 when Bingham attacked the Burkes.



Feidlim O'Conchobair seized the Kingship of Connaught in 1316 "... and he slaughtered unnumbered of people... and plundered and burnt the countryside from... to the Robe both Church and lay property." Ballinrobe is recorded as a small town when Margaret de Badelesmere, co-heiress with her brother Thomas (killed in 1318), "held a messuage and a garden and half of a weir in Ballinrobe... by unrecorded means the whole came into possession of MacWilliam."¹⁴⁷ As this was a substantial property, it adds weight to Pigot's¹⁴⁸ later statement of Ballinrobe being an ancient town.

When the de Burgos switched allegiance, Ulick Burke became known as MacWilliam Eighter (of Galway) and Edmond as MacWilliam Oughter (of Mayo) with his official residence at Ballinrobe.

¹⁴¹ Petrie G. & O'Malley D. J. S., 'Aspects of George Petrie. An Essay on Military Architecture in Ireland Previous to the English Invasion' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Vol. 72, 1972, pp 219-269.

¹⁴² Wilde, Sir W. R., *Lough Corrib*, The Sign of the Three Candles, Dublin, 1936 (3rd Ed.), pp 260-61.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p 260.

¹⁴⁴ Gunnigan, T., 'Ballinrobe through History', p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Conway, R. P., *From genesis to prehistory: the archaeological three age system and its contested reception in Denmark, Britain, and Ireland*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p 231.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1792 to 1864).

¹⁴⁷ Freeman, M. A. (Ed.), *The Annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224-1544)*, The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1970.

¹⁴⁸ Pigot J., *City of Dublin and Provincial Directory*, p. 218.

His manor house on the Robe was a strong stone castle with a surrounding wall, having bastions at the angles, and enclosing houses for his retainers... here he held his baron's court... and his steward, acting in his name and with his authority tried both civil and criminal offences...and were assembled his armed retainers who for the lands they held not only paid rent, but were also liable when called upon to follow their lord into battle¹⁴⁹

Fig. 57. The MacWilliam Burke territory in Mayo and MacWilliam Burke – later titled Clanricard Burkes – in Galway. Ballinrobe is located between these two Clan territories with MacWilliam Burke establishing his headquarters at Ballinrobe.



The many branched de Burgo family¹⁵⁰ “adopted the Irish language and Irish ways, and from c 1350 it was the Burke writ and not the King’s that held sway in most of Connacht”.

Activity continued in Ballinrobe and in 1390¹⁵¹ King Richard II’s Justices in Connaught, the Bishop of Clonmacnoise, Milo Cory and T. Hill, held a session or sessions there and it became a renowned hanging centre with public stocks for punishing offenders. An event in 1431 is important in establishing that Ballinrobe was titled Roba, which was in the Diocese of Tuam, and therefore, on the south side of the river Robe in a correspondence about the Abbey:

...to those during said octaves... who give alms for the completion, decoration and fabric of the church of the Augustinian friars’ house of Ballinrobe (Roba) in the diocese of Tuam, which house lately begun to be constructed with cloister, refectory and other offices and whose said church dedicated to St. Mary’s the Virgin, lacks a bell-tower and is very destitute of books, chalices and other ecclesiastical ornaments¹⁵².

¹⁴⁹ D’Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁰ Gunnigan, T., ‘Ballinrobe through History’, p. 15.

¹⁵¹ Knox, H. T., *The History of the County of Mayo*, p.144.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

There is a long break in historical sources for Ballinrobe from 1431 to 1574 and this may have been caused by the retreat of English power and the Black Death which had been seen as creating a series of religious, social and economic upheavals which had profound effects on the course of history. It took 150 years for the population to recover but this plague returned at various times, resulting in a larger number of deaths. The English policy by 15th century was to allow local powers to rule hence no official records were kept. In spite of the drawbacks local rule created it did bring stability to Ireland and the amount of building that occurred suggests that this was a time of economic growth and modest prosperity.

The next mention of the area is in a reference to Ballinrobe Abbey in 1574 when "... so as her Majesty hath no commodity by the same"¹⁵³ and may have owned a large acreage and when confiscated in 1585 under Elizabeth consisted five quarters of land and the tithes of the same plus four messuages, also a water mill¹⁵⁴.

Sir Edward Fitton was appointed Lord President of Connaught in 1569 with extensive powers, both civil and military, "with orders to gradually establish English law in the province"¹⁵⁵ and was resisted with changes which were unacceptable to the Burkes. Fitton, when entering Mayo won a decisive battle, putting to death a garrison on the Galway side of the Black River in Shrule and the following year captured the MacWilliam's property in Ballinrobe. The Burkes submitted in 1572 following sessions in Galway, and Connaught was divided into counties in 1574. Burke was knighted and returned to Mayo as Sir John Burke d.1580 while still remaining 'The MacWilliam'. It was during these times that Ballinrobe was attacked, captured and recaptured on a number of occasions from 1571. The town was rebuilt, which suggests it had been destroyed in 1574 and may indicate the remains of a Borough surviving into the 16th century:

...the names of certain castles and market towns which were built by Englishmen in the County of Mayo [including Ballinrobe] which were all good market towns, and for the most part were ruled by portriffes, (saving the bare castles in some) but now the towns are all destroyed, whose broken gates and ruinous wall are this day to be seen¹⁵⁶

Sir Nicholas Malby, (d.1583), Governor of Connaught who replaced Fitton was in turn succeeded by the notorious St. Richard Bingham who had marched towards the county of Mayo in July 1586 with "100 footmen and 50 horsemen and came to Ballinrobe on 14th... and in three weeks had taken four to five thousand head of cattle."¹⁵⁷ Some land in Ballinrobe had "fallen into her majesty's hands... and four quarters given to the custodian John Henry, an old servitor in this province."¹⁵⁸ The emergence of a permanent body of Englishmen around Ballinrobe can be seen around this time when an English Pale near Ballinrobe is mentioned in 1589.

¹⁵³ Carr, L. W., *Notes on the Augustinian Convent of Ballinrobe*.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ D'Alton, Msgr., *A Short History of Ballinrobe Parish*, p 21.

¹⁵⁶ Brewer and Bulthen (Eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth 1601-1603*, London, 1870, p.476.

¹⁵⁷ Hamilton, H.C. (Ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the reign of Elizabeth 1586-1588*, Kraus, Liechtenstein, 1974, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 140.

Sir Richard Bingham destroyed Castle Hag in Lough Mask at the mouth of the Robe River, after the sons of Edmond, Tánaiste to Sir Richard Bourke (the last Mac William who died in 1585), occupied the castle in rebellion. When the rebellious Bourkes abandoned Castle Hag and fled to the eastside of the lake, the Lord Deputy restrained Sir Richard from pursuing the rebels and endeavoured to induce them to accept terms. These negotiations failed and with the rebellion spreading, Sir Richard arrived in Ballinrobe with his council and was joined by the Earl of Clanrickard, Sir Hubert Burke of Glinsk. The rebels asked for peace, but when that failed the Bourkes' three hostages, who were kept at the Neale by Mr. John Browne, the Sheriff, were hanged. They were only 14, 9 and 7 years old but this act was perceived by the English as being strictly in accordance with the terms upon which their parents had lodged them. By the autumn he had hunted down all rebels and brought them to submission.

An English presence was again confirmed in Ballinrobe with activity occurring on the North side of the River Robe in 1597 when Warham St. Leger and Anthony Brabazon came to treat with the O'Donnells and Mac Williams who were camped there¹⁵⁹. According to Knox, St. Leger wrote "I have never in my life endured greater peril than I had in my late conference with O'Donnell, having my bridle laid hold on at my departure"¹⁶⁰.

The Nine Years' War (Tyrone's Rebellion) took place from 1594 -1603 and was fought between the forces of Irish chieftains, Hugh O'Donnell of Tir Chonaill, Hugh O'Neill of Tir Eoghain and their allies, against the Elizabethan English. The war was fought in all parts of the country, but mainly in the northern province of Ulster. However, O'Donnell and MacWilliam then went to the relief of Kinsale in the south which ended in defeat and led to their exile in the Flight of the Earls and the subsequent Plantation of Ulster. They fled to Spain afterwards, leaving the Irish unprotected which gave free access to the English to establish new communities in the whole of Ireland. The Tudor conquest in the 16th century, and the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations (1650s-90s), undermined civil society in Ireland and also badly affected both the creation and survival of many records.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266

¹⁶⁰ Knox, H. H., *Parish of Ballinrobe*, p. 15.



Fig. 58. Fantasy example of Irish costume - Marcus Gheeraerts II 1561-1636. *Portrait of Captain Thomas Lee 1594.*

Thomas was related to Sir Henry Lee, Elizabeth I's champion and creator of imagery for her annual Accession Day celebrations. Henry may have helped devise the complex symbolism of this portrait.

Thomas served in the English colonial forces in Ireland. His bare legs are a fantasy evocation both of the dress of an Irish soldier, and that of a Roman hero. Thomas was suspected of treachery to Elizabeth and visited London in 1594 partly to refute this. The Latin inscription in the tree refers to the Roman Mucius Scaevola, who stayed true to Rome even when among its enemies. Lee implies that he too is faithful. The same could be suggested for some of the Anglo-Normans.

Fig. 59. Portrait of Elizabeth FitzGerald by Steven Van der Meulen 1560 indicating the some of the Irish adopted wearing formal English style Dress. Tudor clothes and fashion varied according to whether the person was a member of Royalty, the Nobility, Upper Class or one of the poor, working class. But whether a man was wealthy or poor he was not allowed to wear whatever he liked due to the Tudor Sumptuary or Statutes of Apparel. Colours, styles and materials were dictated by class and rank. The higher the rank the more choice of materials styles and colours that could be worn. The rank and position of Tudor men and women



2.3 Pre-reformation Irish Churches.

Medieval Irish Churches, frequently converted to suit the practices of the new Protestant religious requirements, had been built of roughly coursed limestone. These were oblong, gable-ended structures, with a tendency towards simplicity. Decorative embellishments were confined solely to door and window openings in Gaelic areas, and rarely guided by Gothic

structuralism.¹⁶¹ In other parts of the country they were decorated internally with wall mural paintings.

Fig. 60. Carran/Carron Medieval Church in Co. Clare is a good example of a medieval parish church which has a fine 15th-century south doorway, and a contemporary east window. An upper storey at the west end may have been used as a fortified residence.



Fig. 61. Laying a damp proof treatment in St. Mary's c. 1993 allowing an insight into wall structure and foundation if any.

There is little understanding of how these church spaces were transformed during the Reformation in Ireland.. We do know that prior to the 15th century, Churches in Ireland been extensively decorated internally both for aesthetic and devotional reasons.¹⁶² These paintings could have included floral motifs, geometric patterns and scroll-work with symbolic images of crosses, saints, angels, heraldic devices, ships, real and imaginary beasts, and sometimes biblical scenes, prior to being destroyed or over-painted.¹⁶³ However, in England by contrast,

¹⁶¹ Craig, M., *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880*, Portrane, 1989, p. 18.

¹⁶² Morton, K., 'Irish medieval wall painting' in Ludlow J. & Jameson, J. (Eds), *Medieval Ireland, the Barrycourt Lectures 1 – X*, Kinsale, 2004, pp 314-5.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 334-42.

many Churches still exist with pristine Reformation-era interiors¹⁶⁴. Few depictions of Church interiors in Ireland survive apart from some documented in *Monumenta Eblanae*¹⁶⁵ but an example of how a pre-reformation interior might have appeared, can be seen in St. James the Great Church at South Leigh, Oxfordshire which was probably built after the Normans arrival. These painted scenes of Resurrection, Judgment, Heaven and Hell might seem over the top to 21st century viewers but were intended to arouse strong feelings. A comment in the Church Times of 1872 noted “This was the most awful scene which the mind of man could contemplate, caricatured by Papist superstition for the edification of our benighted forefathers”¹⁶⁶. It is important to remember the setting in which these paintings were viewed, as most parishioners were illiterate. Printed books would have been rare and only the very wealthy would have had a Bible or Book of Hours.

Fig. 62. Church interiors were frequently highly decorated and this painting of *The Doom* covers the chancel arch of St. James’s Church, Oxfordshire, showing two angels ushering the newly arisen souls to their Judgment.

Notice the Chancel Arch and Rood Screen.



The Mass was celebrated in Latin by priests in the chancel, hidden from view of the congregation in the nave who would probably be standing or kneeling on the floor. The actual meaning of the words meant very little, so the wall murals would have conveyed the main theological messages. Some scenes, like *The Doom* above were painted over the chancel arch, marking the transition between the laity and clergy, and confronting the

¹⁶⁴ Addleshaw, G.W.O., & Etchells, F., *The Architectural setting of Anglican worship*, London, 1948, p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Loeber, R., ‘Sculptured memorials to the dead in early seventeenth century Ireland: a survey from *Monumenta Eblanae* and other sources’ in *PRIA*, Vol. 81, 1981, pp 267-293.

¹⁶⁶ Ashby, J., ‘Medieval Doom paintings in an Oxfordshire Church’ in *The Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 3, 1979, p. 54.

congregation with a constant spectacle of the ordeal through which they would have to pass in order to reach the presence of God. The consequences of the pain and suffering of living a bad life were obvious. Early Reformers viewed these murals as idolatry and covered them with a veil of lime and water mix.

Fig. 63. Example of Angels over painted with Psalms after the Reformation.



2.4 The impact of the Reformation on Art.

Fig. 64. Hans Holbein's (1497-1543) *Noli me tangere* c.1532 is a relatively rare Protestant oil painting of Christ. It is generally naturalistic in style, avoiding iconic elements like a halo. However, if one looks closely you can see traces of an over painted halo on Jesus. The amount of religious art was greatly reduced and led to the diversion of artistic work into secular forms like Landscape, Portrait and Genre painting. There was also an objection to images from classical mythology and other manifestations of high style.



During the Middle Ages art had focused almost exclusively on religious content and often employed symbolism instead of depicting realistic scenes. The Catholic Church had encouraged private patrons to financially support the institution and commission works of art that would as Harbison says “instruct and impress the faithful,”¹⁶⁷ a policy seen as contributing to the corruption of the Church. The new Protestant religion emphasised the individual relationship between God and the worshiper and one of the main differences with the Roman Catholic Church was the Roman Catholic need for intermediaries such as the Saints and the Virgin Mary. This veneration of images extended to relics, as it was believed God’s power resided in them and this sparked the Iconoclastic Movement of Protestants away from sacred images, as the heart of the issue and the different views about the human relationship with God. This was reflected in the new ordinary day-to-day scenes in art.

Fig. 65. Johannes Vermeer 1632-1675. *The Milkmaid*. As Church patronage was dissolving every-day scenes and people were becoming subjects for the artist. By creating art with secular subjects, therefore, the Reformation artists could glorify God by portraying the natural beauty of His creation and by depicting people who were created in His image.



It was taught that God created man in his own image. Salvation was portrayed, not by old religious iconography, but by stories and scenes that emphasized it through divine grace and not through personal deeds or intervention of Church bureaucracy. Scenes of Christ, the Passion, the Saints and clergy became less frequent and moralistic portrayals of life became more popular. Narrative scenes from the Bible, and later, moralistic depictions of modern life were preferred. Some scenes showed sinners accepted by Christ, in accordance with the Protestant view that salvation comes only through the grace of God.

The Reformers targeted religious art, as it had become a symbol of power, and its rejection was one way of subverting this power which had a profound effect on the direction in which artists creatively turned in order to sustain a living. Whereas once religious art was deemed as the method used for educating the illiterate masses, it was now seen as the epitome of the exorbitant corruption in the Church. The other problem that arose was the use of

¹⁶⁷ Harbison, C., *The Art of the Northern Renaissance*, Orion, London, 1995, p.17.

iconography which was seen as leading to the idolisation of the image, instead of representing a religious idea¹⁶⁸.

Martin Luther condemned idolatry as it was not just devotional images but according to Arnold Hauser¹⁶⁹ extending it to all artistic externalisation of religious feelings such that the adornment of churches was unacceptable to the new religion. As a result, the display of religious images was curtailed in Protestant churches and only permitted if it was clear that these images were symbolic of the divine, and not holy in themselves.

Harbison states that one of the continual criticisms of religious art was its ostentatious nature and was perceived as gaudy and often illustrated the skill of the artist rather than piety.¹⁷⁰ As it was a “distracting accessory usually indicative of wealth and social prestige”¹⁷¹ Reformers wanted art to portray imagery that allowed the “study and learn from, rather than to adore.”¹⁷²

Albrecht Dürer, whose images were previously filled with the high contrast of light and shadow and elaborate detail as in the Last Supper, retreated from such excesses with clean lines and angles and his pieces were laid in simple straightforward terms. He reconsidered and achieved a “renewed sense of honesty and dignity”¹⁷³ Because of this, the gradual secularisation of art following the Reformation should be viewed as a fundamental stage in the development of art.

Fig. 66. Albrecht Dürer (1471 -1528) *The Large Passion: The Last Supper* 1510 Woodcut. Christ 's disciples react to his pronouncement, 'One of you will betray me - one who is eating with me'. Judas (in the right foreground) turns his face away and clutches a purse containing the thirty silver coins he has been paid to hand Christ over to his enemies. The knife on his plate points ominously towards Christ.



¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Hauser, A., *The Social History of Art*, Routledge, London, 1999, Vol. ii.

¹⁷⁰ Harbison, C., *The Art of the Northern Renaissance*, p.113.

¹⁷¹ Harbison, C., *The Art of the Northern Renaissance*, p.112.

¹⁷² Ibid. p112

¹⁷³ Ibid p116.

The protestant meaning¹⁷⁴ that Dürer intended to give to his 1523 Last Supper is noticeable in that the presence of both Eucharistic elements, bread and wine, the emphasis on the sacramental cup and the absence of the sacrificial lamb, the emphasis on Christ's establishment of the evangelical community and the de-emphasis of the traditional drama of betrayal (Judas, like the lamb is absent now) all clearly indicate that he sought to instill his work with a new Lutheran point of view rather than traditional Catholic one.



Fig. 67. The Last Supper 1523 by Albrecht Dürer (1471 - 1528). Judas is now absent.

However, not all art was condemned by the Protestants, rather Catholic religious art, which had been treated with great reverence and portrayed the martyrdom of ideal-looking saints and painted Jesus and the Virgin Mary as ideal humans. This is particularly noticeable in the Dutch Genre secular paintings where the new systems of patronage placed artistic content in the hands of lay consumers and artists.

Fig. 68. Brugel, Peter (1525-1569) *Wedding Feast*. No religious, classical or historical event suggested here.



¹⁷⁴ Harbison. C., 'Dürer and the Reformation: The Problem of the Re-dating of the *St. Philip* Engraving', in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 58, No. 3, Sept, 1976, pp 368-373.

2.5 Prayer Books, Pulpits, Preaching and Bibles.

The opening up of the 'sacred' areas of the church to the parishioners revolutionised the relationship between the congregation and the clergy, as the mystery of the Sacrament was removed. To accommodate the new way of doing things, a reading desk for the clergy to read the service was put at the east end of the nave. This was often combined with a pulpit for sermons and/or a desk for the parish clerk to make up a double or triple-decker pulpit



Fig. 69. The lowest level of a triple-decker pulpit was reserved for the reading desk, at which the lay clerk led the singing and verbal responses of the service. Above the clerk's desk was the minister's reading desk, where a Bible was usually placed. Above the desk was the top deck which could be 2 meters or more above the floor where the minister preached his sermon. This is the type of pulpit suggested in Welland's drawing prior to the refurbishment of St. Mary's Ballinrobe in 1866.

The battle for supremacy between these directly opposed ideals of secularisation and sacralisation was resolved during the English Civil War, when even more radical ideas about church-based religion (including the complete secularisation of places of worship) were aired. From 1645 to 1660, when Oliver Cromwell controlled the English government, the Prayer Book was banned. Since there were no Anglican confirmations during this time, the rule that only confirmed Anglicans could take communion had to be relaxed. In 1662, as part of the restoration of the monarchy and a conservative reaction against Cromwell's period, a new statute of uniformity was passed, requiring the use of a new revision of the Prayer Book.

While Henry VIII was actually more concerned with replacing the authority of Rome than with doctrine and theology, it is Edward VI's changes that still guide worship in Anglican churches today, and it was he who had the liturgy translated into English as the Book of Common Prayer in 1549. This was the first to contain the forms for service of daily and Sunday worship and within a single volume. It contained evening prayer, the litany and Holy Communion. The third revision of the Prayer Book in 1552 required that services, except the Eucharist itself, were to be performed where the people could see and hear. The celebrant was to come out of the chancel into the east end of the nave for prayers and readings at the beginning of the service, and the people were to go into the chancel during the Communion. There was the elimination of ceremonies and practices regarded as un-scriptural, such as Masses for the dead, and the blessing of most objects (such as ashes on Ash Wednesday) and a new penitential rite was added to the beginning of Morning Prayer. It also required the simplification of the vestments of the clergy - only the surplice would be allowed, except in colleges and cathedrals, and the ending of Communion of the Sick from the reserved sacrament, and of provision for a celebration of the Eucharist at burials.

As a direct consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, the secularisation of hospitals, schools and almsgiving meant that local administration evolved as the parish started to become an extension of the state, with the introduction of parish registers to record 'the journey of life', a direct forerunner of civil registration of births, deaths and marriages.

During the next century with the accession of James I in 1603 and the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the ongoing struggle between extreme Puritans and Episcopalians smouldered continuously and the new Prayer Books, unlike Books of Prayers, contain structured services of worship. The Hampton Court (1604) and Savoy (1661) conferences were held in an attempt to resolve the matters at issue. In the end, relatively few changes were made and the 1662 Act of Uniformity introduced a third Book of Common Prayer that was basically that of 1552 in its theological emphasis.



Fig 70 Thomas Cranmer 1489-1556 & detail from image.



Because of advances in engraving and printmaking the public was provided with accessible and affordable images. Wide production of printed material meant that religious and philosophical literature was available, which allowed for the widespread availability of visually persuasive imagery. The Protestant church was therefore able, as the Catholic Church had been doing since the early 15th century, to bring their theology to the people, and religious education was brought from the church into the homes of commoners, thereby forming a direct link between the worshippers and the divine.

However, despite the literature of reform being widespread, the peasantry remained illiterate. Protestant churches, devoid of visual didacticism, became abstract so the spoken words of the preacher became central to Church liturgy. The Bible was not translated into Irish until 1629 by William Bedell, who was Bishop of Kilmore, and a previous provost of Trinity College Dublin, and had undertaken an Irish translation of the Book of Common Prayer in 1606.¹⁷⁵ An Irish translation of the revised prayer book of 1662 was effected by John Richardson (1664-1747) and published in 1712. It has been revised several times since then.

¹⁷⁵ Milne, K., *A Short History of the Church of Ireland*, The Columba Press, Dublin, 2003, p. 42.

Fig. 71. A memorial plaque to William Bedell (1571-1642) in both Irish and English on the gate pillar beside Kilmore Church of Ireland Co. Cavan in the Diocese of Kilmore, Elphin and Ardagh.



2.6 Altars, Altar Pieces, Rood Screens, Chancels, Naves and Communion.

The Anglicisation of the liturgy necessitated a complete rethinking of church interiors, because the benefit of having the service in English was lost if the people couldn't hear the words of the Eucharist. As a result, the most dramatic effect of the Reformation in Ireland, according to the Dominican priest Richard Bermingham, was that "the Protestants have broken up the stone altars that were in our churches and altered the arrangement of the church in order that the marks of their original delineation should disappear"¹⁷⁶ Rood screens were removed as images, ornament and any object tinged with special curative or tutelary abilities was regarded as suspect by the Protestants as the ignorant were likely to indulge in idolatry.¹⁷⁷ This gave rise to the removal of statues, icons and relics from Churches.¹⁷⁸

Altars were the holiest part of a church. In the medieval period the altar was a table or rectangular slab made of stone or marble, often set upon a raised step below the East window of the Church.

Fig. 72. Interior at Rosserk Abbey, Co. Mayo with example of the stone altar located at East end below window and would have been hidden behind a Rood Screen and perhaps Chancel Arch.



¹⁷⁶ Addleshaw, G.W.O & Etchells, F., *The Architectural setting of Anglican worship*, London, 1948, p. 3

¹⁷⁷ Tarlow, S., 'Reformation and transformation: what happened to Catholic things in a Protestant world?' in Gaimster, D & Gilchrist, R. (Eds), *The archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, Leeds, 2003 pp108-21.

¹⁷⁸ Newman, R., Cranstone, D. & Howard-Davis, C., *The historical archaeology of Britain, c 1540-1900*, Sutton, Stroud, 2001, p. 33.

After the Reformation the stone altars were replaced by wooden communion tables. During the Communion Service this could be moved into the middle of the chancel for everybody to gather around as illustrated below.

Fig. 73. Richard Day from *A Booke of Christian Prayers 1578*. Note the location of the table: it is not longer adjoining the East wall of the Church and the Communion Cup is larger.



Fig. 74. Another example of a congregation around a table/altar at the centre of the room from Richard Day, *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, 1578.



Communion should never be restricted to the priest alone, which was a radical change where the primary focus of congregational worship was attendance at the consecration and adoration of the elevated Host. The cup would be larger than earlier chalices in contrast with pre-Reformation practice, as all the communicants would drink from the same cup and the only decoration on that table is the bread (ordinary loaves). The table itself is probably placed length-wise, rather than across the width of the chancel. In the parlance of the time, it was 'table-wise' rather than 'altar-wise'. The service is in English, the Prayer Book (1662) being almost identical to the present Book of Common Prayer although some alternative liturgies are permitted. Laud also wanted to surround the altar with a set of rails at which people would kneel during communion.

An altarpiece is a picture or relief representing religious subjects and suspended in a frame behind the altar. This piece is often made up of two or more separate panels creating a technique known as panel painting. It is then called a diptych, triptych or polyptych for two three or multiple panels respectively. Groups of statuary can also be placed on the altar. Sometimes the altarpiece is set on the altar itself. If the altar stands free in the choir, both sides can be covered with painting. The screen, retable or reredos are also commonly decorated. The reredos in St. Mary's is carved and was installed c 1895 to match the altar rails. In the early 17th century, the position of the altar table continued to cause considerable controversy, as more extreme Protestants or Puritans wanted to move it into the nave. This was in direct contrast to the desires of a more conservative faction, embodied by Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645) Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645.



Fig. 75. Cranach the Elder's (1472-1553) Altarpiece at Wittenburg Castle Church. An early Protestant work depicting leading Reformers as Apostles. Luther often preached standing in front of this piece.



Fig. 76. In the centre panel, Jesus feeds a morsel of bread to Judas (reception by the unworthy!) while Luther, shown as one of the 12 Apostles is depicted as Junker Georg, receiving the communion cup from a servant, who shows considerable likeness to Cranach.



Fig. 77. In the predella, or bottom panel, it shows Martin Luther preaching Christ crucified to his Wittenberg congregation. Luther stands in the pulpit with his left hand laid upon an open book of scripture and with the right gesturing to a central crucifix. The Wittenberg congregation faces the crucifix (and Luther) and responds in prayer. It represents the *message* drawn from scripture, not the utterance that conveys that message Luther insisted, whether it is drawn from the Old Testament or the New, it always points to Christ crucified.



Fig. 78. Left In the triptych's left wing, Philip Melanchthon (not ordained) baptizing his own baby in a large font with lots of water.



Fig. 79. Right Detail of the right wing, Johann Bugenhagen exercises the power of the keys in confession

2.7 The New English – conquest to colony.

A reference to English activity in Ballinrobe in 1625 indicated that a Samuel Dyer in a brief to Charles 1st says that he found "...the foregoing letter on the road near Ballinrobe. As it was not addressed he had opened it and going to Clounygashell [Cloonagashel] had forwarded it by Sir John Gardiner to Dublin¹⁷⁹. As the purpose of the essay is simply to establish the presence of the English around Ballinrobe at an early date the full contents of the above brief is not included.

In the early 17th century according to Msgr. T. Gunnigan, John King, an Englishman, came into possession of lands around Ballinrobe as well as other territories in the area and that "John Milton is cited as writing his famous elegy 'Lycidas' as a lament for his son [John King's] who died in the Irish sea."¹⁸⁰ He acquired the rights to markets and fairs in Ballinrobe in Dec. 1605 together with Thomas Nolan.

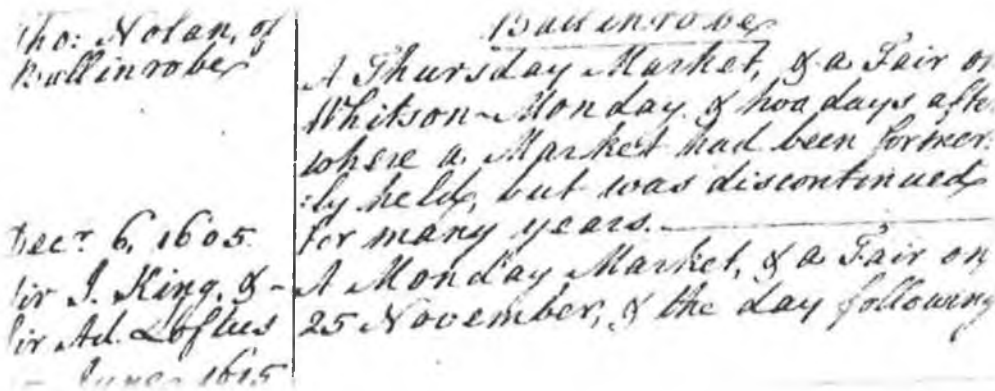


Fig. 80.	Ballinrobe.
Thomas Nolan of Ballinrobe 1605	A Thursday Market and a Fair on Whitson-Monday and [other] days after where a Market had been forever: be held, but was discontinued for many years-----
Dec. 6, 1605 Sir J. King, of- Sir. Ad. Loftus 15 June 1615	A Monday Market and a Fair on 25 November and the day following.

Control of Ballinrobe had passed to the Nolan Family after the Nine Years War (1594 – 1603)¹⁸¹ with Sir Richard Bingham, the third President of Connaught, making over lands to Thomas Nolan who had acted as sub-sheriff to John Browne of the Neale during the Elizabethan wars. When he died his son Gregory inherited his property in Ballinrobe. Thomas Nolan and his other son James fell into conflict with the authorities in 1629 as they:

¹⁷⁹ Brewer and Bulthen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth 1625-1632*, p16.
¹⁸⁰ Gunnigan, Msgr. T., 'Ballinrobe through History', p. 15.
¹⁸¹ Ní Cheanainn, Á., *The Heritage of Mayo*, Western People, Ballina, p.128

sent back to Mayo from the Castle Chamber in Dublin after being fined £200 in a dispute over assaulting Edward Fitzgerald. They were also to stand upon the Pillory in Dublin with papers on their heads declaring their offences and to have each of them one of their Eares cutt of, [ears cut off] And Agt the nest Assizes to be houlden from the County of Mayo to be sent thether to stand likewise upon the Pillory and to have their other Eares cutt of [ears cut off]

182

The arrival of Oliver Cromwell's saw the transfer of lands held by the Royalists and Roman Catholics with the Nolans suffering this fate and in 1663 the estate of the above Thomas Nolan, were confiscated, and granted in 1655 by the Cromwellian Commissioners to one of their own Commissioners James Cuff. We see the first evidence of Cuffs being in residence in Ballinrobe in a copy letter dated 1660 from Ms. Cuff to her children Theresa and John Cuff¹⁸³.

Fig. 81. Detail from letter of Ms. Cuff's letter of 1660 from Ballinrobe to her children. *Kenny Papers*, Mayo County Library, Castlebar, Co. Mayo.



Fig. 82. Black leather bound 1667 diary of John White an English speaking travelling salesman who traded in Ballinrobe. Written on a bookplate inserted into the inside front cover "John Knox Grogan read this book in 1802 and he believes it was wrote [written] by John White Esq., father to John Jervis White."

¹⁸² Crawford, J. G. *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland – the Court of Castle Chamber 1571-1641*, Four Courts Press, 2005, p. 362.

¹⁸³ McWalter, P., *Kenny Papers 1730-1939*, MP03, Mayo County Library, Castlebar, 1999.



Fig.83. Ballinrobe is mentioned on the left page of this 1667 diary. MS 4701 NLI

By 1640 small corporate towns had become an established feature of Irish life¹⁸⁴. While some like Ballinrobe were ancient many of these were recent creations, stemming from the plantation and colonisation schemes of the early seventeenth century. John White¹⁸⁵, a visiting English speaking travelling salesman, lists the places he visited in Ireland and on what dates. He also lists the people he did business with and the names of his contacts, who they represent, and the costs of some goods. He records the cost of his board in Ballinrobe, where he stayed in 1667 and the stabling costs for his horse together with the wages of his scribe. Other information is available but that would be a study in itself. He records that it took him 22 hours from Mullingar to Ballinrobe by horse on 19th April that year. On June 20th he stayed in Ballinrobe again for 2 nights this time and one of his contacts in Ballinrobe was a John Bell. A selection of his stock is listed below:

Cinnamon	110 Deale Boards	3 Waiscoats	1 fatt of Whalebone
Cloath	Candles	Rope	Stick of Ebony
Lace Bands	Grey Hats	Baggshot	4 prs. Drawers
Cambric	Coats	Parrott?	1 pr Stockings
Silk	1 Morning Gown	Bound Books	Box of many Cloath 15 pieces
Leather	1 wax coat	Gloves	2 pr. Breechy

1668 saw the death and burial in Ballinrobe of Katherine Holcroft, wife of Sir Charles Holcroft, an English Loughrea Commissioner for setting out lands to the transplanted in Connaught. The Holcrofts were certainly known, and probably friends of fellow Commissioner *James Cuffe* of Ballinrobe, who was also a "*Commissioner and Secretary; with*

¹⁸⁴ Gillespie, R., 'A Mullingar election of 1637' in *Riocht na Midhe*, NUIM, 2007, p. 132.

¹⁸⁵ MS 4701 NLI

six Clerks, Messenger, and Doorkeeper”¹⁸⁶.

, now St. Mary’s leaves no doubt that the Anglican Church was in use as such at this time.

Fig. 84. An 8th King’s Royal Irish Hussar by Robert Richard Scanlan sometimes known as R. Scanlan (1801 – 1876). The Regiment would have served at Ballinrobe



The current Market House was built c 1752 by the English and has a Sapper’s mark fig.51 on the exterior which also has a Victorian post box now over painted in green. British authority was displayed here through the ritualised power of law courts. Symbols and practices of the extension of English rule and laws would have impacted on Ballinrobe and what was left of its original community. Here freeholders as jurors, local notables as sheriffs and local magnates as members of presidential councils learned the practice of English law as indeed did the rest of the population who were affected by the courts decisions. These laws impacted on Gaelic Ireland which had operated separately, with political rituals reflective of an indigenous legal system. Members of the Grand Jury and Judiciary would have had significant status within the Church of Ireland community in Ballinrobe.



Figs 85 & 86. Image from the Wynn Collection of the Market House (current Court House) with the lower loggia open to the elements. On the right a Sapper’s mark that appears close to one of the installed windows



¹⁸⁶ List taken from *The State of Protestants of Ireland under King James Government London 1691*, MS Vol. F 1.14 Trinity College, Dublin, cited in O’Hart, J., *The Irish & Anglo Irish Landed Gentry*, Irish University Press, Shannon, 1969, p. 235.



Fig. 87. *At the Police Court, Ballinrobe. Magisterial Examination of Rioters on a charge of threatening Captain Boycott. Interior of upper floor of Market House c 1880.*¹⁸⁷

On his many journeys between Galway and Castlebar John Wesley (1703-1791) preached regularly in Ballinrobe and in 1775 at the assembly room (which would have been the upstairs room in the market house). He describes Ballinrobe: “as a small town at least as attractive as any other county capital with a good hotel, two sessions of the assizes and military barracks: the markets of many towns throughout Ireland benefited from military appetites.”¹⁸⁸

Coquebert de Montbert¹⁸⁹, a visitor to Ballinrobe town in 1791, mentions a remarkable well executed engraving by George Bickham (1684–1758) in a hotel in Ballinrobe. It was an allegorical illustration of the contrast between episcopacy and presbytery. Apparently the number of pages given over to this description reflects “the measure of a Frenchman’s surprise at finding the like on display in an Irish hotel.”

Around the year 1818 there seems to have been an increase in new buildings in Ballinrobe which had some particularly handsome door-cases¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁷ *The Graphic*, London, Dec. 1880, p.584.

¹⁸⁸ Gillespie, R. G. & Moran, G., A (Eds.), *A Various County – Essays on Mayo History 1500-1900*, FTN – Mayo News, Westport, 1987, p. 75.

¹⁸⁹ Ni Chinneide, S., ‘A Frenchman’s tour of Connacht in 1791’ in *JGAHS*, 1976, pp 52-66.

¹⁹⁰ Curwen J.C., *Observations on the State of Ireland*, London, 1818, Vol. i.



Figs. 88 & 89.

Two doorways on Bridge Street which can be seen on the right side of the Street down towards the Bridge. The one on the left was the entrance to the old Victoria Hotel. It is just possible to see the later additional building with no quoin stones to the right.



2.8 Tombs and Gravestone

Fig. 90. Paper rubbings being researched on one of the Knox chest tombs in graveyard. This top slab is badly worn but traces of the Knox crest emerged following this work.



Significant burial sites are indicated on the north side of the Church, a pattern in contrast to early Christian burials which were rarely on the north side. All of these tombs were possibly constructed by local craftsmen, in limestone which is abundant in the area. Other types of stone would have become available with the appearance of the railways.

The oldest grave memorial is an elegant wall mounted grave slab or tablet for Katherine Ormsby of Tobervaddy in Co Roscommon on the north exterior of the Church. She was married to Charles Holcroft or Holcrosse who was one of the Loughrea Commissioners at the time of the Acts of Settlement and Restoration,¹⁹¹ who died 20th January, 1668. One of the earliest references to Charles Holcroft,¹⁹² appears with reference to his membership of a special commission for Galway that was issued and directed to Sir Charles Coote, President of the Connaught Presidency Court and ten other commissioners (including Holcroft)

¹⁹¹ Mrs. Brigid Clesham, (nee Willoghby) Archivist, NUIG, kindly gave me this information.

¹⁹² Burke, O. J., (1825-1889) *Anecdotes of the Connaught Circuit from its foundation in 1604 to close upon the present time*, Hodges Figgis, Dublin, 1885, p 33.

to try Lord Mayo, Theobald, third Viscount Mayo for the murder, and being an accessory to the murder of divers persons on the Bridge of Shruel Co. Galway on Sunday 13 Feb. 1641/2. The prisoners Counsel, having commented on the total lack of evidence called for acquittal.

Seven were in favour of conviction with Charles Holcroft amongst one of the only two that voted for acquittal. Execution was carried out in January that year.

According to Sam Hutchinson,¹⁹³ memorials to women were very rare at this time and this compounds this lady's importance within the community. The plaque was mentioned in the "*Memorials to the Dead*"¹⁹⁴ in 1898 written by Miss Philippa Knox, of Cranmore House, Ballinrobe, sister of Hubert T.Knox, who contributed many articles to the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society. It is of limestone approximately 6' high by 3' wide. There is little sign of erosion or wearing and, as the prevailing wind is southwest, this may explain why. There are small amounts of white lichens at the bottom. The coat of arms is clearly that of a Knight. The script is inscribed in English with the ribbon below inscribed in Latin. It has rope in scrolls on both sides which end in a tassel under a coat of arms. The crest is a bird on a helmet with a closed visor.



Fig.91.Left detail of Holcroft Arms on Monument at Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo 1900. Right from a drawing by the Rev. William Falkiner, Killucan Rectory, Co. Westmeath 1900. He was elected a member of The Society of Antiquarians of Ireland in 1888.

¹⁹³ Hutchinson, S., *The Light of Other Days*, Wordwell, Dublin, 2008, p 18.

¹⁹⁴ *Journal of the Association for the preservation of the Memorials of the dead in Ireland*, Vol. iv, No. 1, 1898, pp 283-285.



Fig. 92. Katherine Holcroft Plaque 1668 on left with script on right.

*Wite Blessed Are the Dead Which Die In
 the Lord In hope of a Joyful
 Resurrection Hee Under:
 Lyeth Buried The Body Katharine
 Holcroft second Daughter to Edward
 Onf by Late Of Ibandubly In The
 Courty Of Roscommon Esquire and Late
 Wife to Charles Holcroft of Clonriggell
 in the Courty Of Mayo Esq Third Son to
 Sir Henry Holcroft Late Of Hillham in the
 Courty of Essex Knight She Was
 Married Seven Yeares An Thirty Four
 Day And Died The XXth of Jan
 MCLXXIII
 Coat of Arms
 (Mitt)
 Fide Et Caritativa
 Verid Of The Earth To Heaven Elef sui
 That Goe
 Angels Rejoice Hee We Our Loffe
 Beneare*

As indicated earlier, traditionally Christian headstones and coffins face east to the rising sun awaiting the Day of Resurrection, but a Minister or Priest faces his congregation and so faces west. This orientation of a grave plot was standardised in Early Christian times¹⁹⁵ unlike in modern graveyards where this may not apply but rather suits the contemporary topography of to-day Katherine Holcroft's memorial however, is on the north side, which may have faced an entrance to the Church and graveyard from Glebe Street at some stage, taking a dominant position.

Apart from Katherine Holcroft's 1668 Memorial the next earliest Grave Slabs are of Mr. Hugh Evans 1718 and Mr. William Smith 1719. Both of their slabs were removed from the interior of the Church at the time of Mayo County Council's renovations for the new Library in Ballinrobe c1993/4. O'Sullivan, Roberts and Halliday (2003) writing on their recent excavations at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare, reject the practice of removing grave memorials from medieval churches on the grounds that they supposedly interfere with appearance.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Timony M.B., *Had me Made – a study of the Grave Memorials of Co. Sligo from c 1650 to the present*, Tasks, Sligo, 2005, p. 126.

¹⁹⁶ O'Sullivan, J., Roberts, J., & Halliday, S., 'Archaeological excavation of medieval, post-medieval and modern burials at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol.43, 2003, p. 40.



Figs 94 & 95. The original location of the Evans 1718 and Smith 1719 grave slabs within the Church. It has been suggested that other slabs may have been left in situ.





Fig. 96. On right side of door reads

Blessed Resurrection Here Lyeth The Body of William Smith Who Departed This Life The 15th Of March 1719 Aged 46 Year-es



Fig .97. On left side beside bin Here Lyeth The Body of Mr. Hugh Evens Who Departed This Life The Sixth Of March In The Year Of Our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred Seventeen Eighteen

These stones are now situated on either side of the entrance door to the library beside

the waste bin. An opportunity to make a feature of these early slabs within the Church in their original location was missed here. They could have been covered by plate glass and highlighted with some under floor lighting thus retaining their historical context. Unfortunately, we are sadly lacking in preserved historical artefacts in Ballinrobe. Having the slabs outside, and beside the bin completely undermines their significance to the heritage of the town.

Apart from these slabs there are approximately 44 remaining grave markers pre 1799 and a complete list by dates with notes on occupations etc., has been provided below. Original spelling of names has been retained throughout. The names with asterisk are mentioned by Ms. Phillipa Knox in various publications of the *Memorials of the dead in Ireland*¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁷ *Memorials of the dead in Ireland, Journal of the Association for the preservation of the Ireland Journal for the year 1898, Vol. iv, No. 1, p 98*

Fig. 98. Table of oldest burials below.

	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	NOTE	REF
1668	Katherine Holcroft*	--	Wife of Loughrea Commissioner		132
1718	Hugh Evans	--	--	Stone moved to outside Church	134
1719	William Smith	46		Stone moved outside the Church	133
1723	Thomas Kenny*	--			100
1738	John Mooney	--	--		82
17??	Ruth Mason*	73	Wife of Stanhope Mason		99
1754	Joseph Richison*	62			110
1761	Elizabeth Buchanan*	36	Wife of George Buchanan	nee Hill	68
1763	George Duell*	--			--
1764	Jean Bowen	--	Wife of Oliver Bowen	Nee Tyril	110B
1766	Francis Kenny*	86	Wife of Thomas – 100		100
1767	Thomas Cuff*	71	Of Creagh	Flat stone on Walkway	131
1769	George Gildea*	--	Esquire	of Coslough	
1770	George Buchanan*	65			69
1771	William Darling	7m	Son of Serj. Darling		81
1771	Michael Flynn	58	Apothecary		89
1772	John Hughes	63			103
1773	Patrick Kelly	37			53
1776	Mary Brown*	28		nee Dormond	76

1777	Elizabeth Brown*	18	Eldest Daughter of James Cuff		140
1779	John Hughes*	60			???
1779	Courtney Kenny*	77			100
1780	Mary Gale	71		otherwise Cuff	51
1781	Elizabeth Brown*	18	Daughter of James Cuffe		140
1782	Anne Kenny	--	Wife of Courtney – 100		100
1783	George Hughes	67		Late of Bawn	104
1785	David Hamilton				70
1787	Thomas Cuff*	68	Esquire	of Fonthill	146
1788	David Courtney*	73			97
1789	-----Galbraith	38	Wife of Thomas Galbraith		111B
178?	James Hughes	46	Son of John 103		103
1790	James Gildea*	6-	Esquire of Clonigashi?		63
1790	James Gildea*	75	Father of Mary see 67.		67
17??	Mary Gildea*	--	Wife of James above	nec Rutledge	63
1793	Edmond Wheylan	30			80
1795	Matt Sweeney	--	Lieutenant	Light Dragoons	18
1795	Thomas Tunbridge	30	Son of Peter – 42		42
1796	Margaret Courtney*	33	Wife of David Rutledge		97
1797	Thomas Cuff	--	Esquire	Of Creagh	145
1797	Andrew Houston	34	Captain Roxburgh & Fencible Dragoons		17
1798	Peter Rutledge*	40		Of Bushfield	106
1799	James Hamilton	40			56
1799	Ann Flynn	77	Wife of Michael, Apothecary		89
1799	Peter Tunbridge	58			42



Fig. 99. Title page of *Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*. Trinity College Library, Dublin. The society initiated the study of memorials with their recordings of inscriptions and occasionally the artwork in the 1880's. Increase self conscious of these monuments might have lead to this development together with their being previously inaccessible either by distance, or simply by lack of knowledge of the information they contained.

The large imposing Cuff Family Mausoleum on the north side is freestanding on a low cut stone plinth and, while unfortunately damaged, had a beautifully carved crowning stone which is now lying close by on its east side, to the left at ground level. It is a square cut limestone structure of revival style with square pillars at the four corners. The cap stones which are two lines of reversed concaved curved limestone in turn support a square fluted edged base for the base of the crowning stone fig.160. At the western base of this mausoleum lie two slightly angled recumbent grave slabs. According to Philippa Knox one of these may have been a replacement for a slab situated on the path on the North side of the Church simply to retain symmetry. It is worth noting the original placement of this grave slab may have been in sacred ground directly outside wall of the Church where the piscina was located or indeed there may have been some other social reason for this.



Fig. 100. Location of Cuff mausoleum and recumbent slabs.



Fig. 101. Two Cuff recumbent slabs

Fig.102. Cuff ledger slab on ground on pathway beside Church.





Fig. 103. Knox Chest Tombs on North side of St. Mary's within their own walled enclosure. Note Holcroft memorial on wall of Church photo taken from west side. Box tombs, also know as chest tombs, are four sided rectangular structures with a lid. The coffin is not placed within the box but is buried as normal underneath or it can

On the west side of the Cuff mausoleum is the walled-in site of the box tombs also known as chest tomb (where the coffin is buried as normal underneath) ,of the Knox family who lived at Creagh and Cranmore Houses¹⁹⁸. Mr. Knox married Jane Cuff, daughter of James Cuff. Compared with Knox relatives of theirs in Ballina, this walled compound contains very sombre plain Chest Tombs. All are of a similar design and size.¹⁹⁹

Fig. 104. Belleek, Ballina, Co. Mayo, memorial to Francis Arthus Knox-Gore, died 1873 by J.F. Fuller. This is a typically flamboyant Gothic Revival style monument unlike the earlier sombre Knox tomb chests.



The East side of the Church has the latest burials while the south hold the largest number of grave stones including the railed in plot of Gildea family and the walled in plots of the Kenny family²⁰⁰, together with a selection of other grave types. Each graveyard has its own special features and most have memorable memorials and could even be described as an Art Gallery in stone. The following are examples of some of the memorials.

¹⁹⁸ Ruane, P., *Mayo Country Houses before 1840 – Vernacular country houses in the classical tradition* (M.U.B.C.), unpublished Thesis, UCD, 1996, Appendix vi.

¹⁹⁹ Timony, M. B., *Hud me Made – a study of the Grave Memorials of Co. Sligo from c 1650 to the present*, p. 141.

²⁰⁰ Mr. Courtney Kenny, Personal Interview, March 2010.



Fig. 105. Cast Iron railed in Plot on South side of Church of the Gildea Family. Railings surrounding memorials were generally imported to Ireland. Many were made by Walter Mac Farlane & Co, Glasgow (1817-85), the firm opened its first premises in 1850, in Saracen Lane, Gallowgate. . The down turned torches design at the top of these railings represent the end of life. There are fluted columns with carved rope detail on top and bottom of these columns on either end.

Here Lies the Remains of James Gildea Esq of Clonigashil [Cloonagashed] Who Departed This Life the 8th Day of August 1790 in the 6.. of His Age. When Living he was Respected by All Who Knew Him and When De.. Regretted by Numerous and Respectable Acquaintances.

His wife Mary Gildea (otherwise Ruttledge) died 1788 and Anthony Knox Gildea DL of Port Royal and Clooncormack who died Feb 1888 are also buried here.



Fig.106. This beautifully inscribed plain stone is in memory of:

*Serah daughter of
Thos Henry Mastr
Shoe Maker 12th R. Lancers Aged
2 years Died Septr 21st 1822*





Fig. 107. Some of the older gravestones read:

1. *Here Lies the Body of Patraich M B....N Lieutenant In His Majesty...Fencible Regiment of Highlanders Who Died on the Day of June 1700 Aged... years.*
2. *Here Lies the Body of Andrew Houston Esq of Calder Hall Captain of the Roxburgh & Fencible Dragoon Who Died Here The 31st December 1797 aged 34 years*
3. *Lyeth the Body of Math Sweeney Lieutenant in the 23rd Regiment of Light Dragoons Who Departed This Life the 5th Day of July 1795*



Fig.108 & 109. A Rutledge Memorial plaque to left : *To the Memory of Maria, The Beloved Wife of, James Rutledge Esq of Loughmask, She Departed This Life On The, 21st Day of May 1858, In the 32nd Year of Her Age, She Died As, She Lived, Trusting in the, Lord Jesus ,Hope And Salvation. Enclosure to right.*



Fig. 110. A fallen four sided column (obelisk) was a feature of Neo-Classical architecture and favoured by the Victorians as grave memorials. This one appears to have fallen over perhaps in a storm and fortunately did not fracture, its base appears intact. It reads:

Sacred to The Memory of MARY Hamilton, Who Died On The 7 May 1862 aged 33 years, Also Their Daughter Ellen Hamilton Who Died On The



Fig. 111. While not the best example above this would have been a Table Tomb which is a horizontal stone supported by four corner stones. There may also be two supports at centre.

The vast majority of churchyard chest tombs are believed to date from the 17th century onwards. Many are simply but elegantly detailed, like fine joinery, sometimes with fielded panels. Others are much more elaborate.



Fig. 112. Another design for table tombs when the sides are in filled with small undressed stones.



Fig.113. Beaumont grave. It has been suggested that Mr. Beaumont died in a drowning accident and reads:

*In Loving Memory of William Beaumont Died 7th
October 1898 aged 39 years. And Of His Wife Helen
Mayne Died 8th May 1918 Aged 54 Years. Nothing
In My Hands I Bring Simply to They Cross I Cling
Rock of Ages Cleft For Me*

Let Me Hide Myself In Thee

An Article in the Ballinrobe Chronicle on Oct. 15th 1898 says that William was drowned in the canal on Saturday night aged 38 and was a native of Limerick. He worked in the land agency office of Burke and Darley of Abbey St for 12 years and leaves a wife and five children. A Presbyterian Minister from Castlebar officiated.



Fig. 114. Kenny Family Plot on South side of Church with large chest tomb at centre. This plot also contains a table tomb and some headstones.



Fig. 115. View of east end of Graveyard where there are later burials than the west and north sides.

Each graveyard is a record of the social, political, economic and cultural history of its parish, documenting those who lived, worked and died in the locality. Some tell the story of the great and some the ordinary. Many memorials are the surviving document of people who were born or living in the country and are now buried here.

The actual graveyard at St. Mary's commemorates the vast numbers not remembered by a memorial, the paupers. This site and its memorials have to be cared for so that future generations can also enjoy them. A selection of some of the legible names and dates of burials is available. This is in alphabetical order, has dates of death, age, occupation and relationships which is cross-referenced with other family members.²⁰¹

2.9 Dioceses and Parish Boundaries.

From the time of St. Patrick in the 5th century to the Synod of Rathbrasail in 1111AD, monastic settlements, rather than dioceses, characterised the organisational structure of the Irish Church. Medieval diocesan boundaries were largely based on the territorial boundaries of Irish dynasties and were centred on well known monastic sites, many of which were first established in the 6th and 7th centuries. The church maintained these traditional structures, and established a system of geographical parishes organized into dioceses which survived

²⁰¹ Gerard Delaney, Supervisor of the South Mayo Family Research Centre kindly donated their listing for cross-checking, in a personal interview in 2009. (Tel/Fax: 353 (0) 94 9541214 e-mail: soumayo@iol.ie website: www.irish-roots.net/mayo/Mayo.html).

until the *Irish Church Measure* was enacted in 1833 to reduce the 22 archbishops and bishops to a total of 12.

According to J. McCracken “four archbishops presided over the provinces of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam together with eighteen bishops held dioceses, many composed of unions of formerly independent units.”²⁰² Being the established Church, government obligations were adhered to, with the Bishops involved in politics, with their aim of maintaining British influence and strength. Therefore, senior ecclesiastical appointments were a prime consideration as the Church of Ireland was a part of the British patronage system. A detrimental effect on the Church was caused by the appointment of Englishmen which created friction as “it is a miserable thing to see men who have spent their strength and youth in serving the church successfully left destitute in their old age, and others, who never served a cure, have heaps of benefits thrown upon them.”²⁰³

Fig. 116. Irish Diocesan boundaries in the middle ages.
<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlkik/ihm/diocese.htm>



²⁰² McCracken, J.L., “The ecclesiastical structure, 1714-60”, in T.W. Moody & W.E. Vaughan (Eds.), *Eighteenth Century Ireland, 1691-1800*, Vol. iv in *A New History of Ireland*, (10 Vols), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986, pp 84-90.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.



Fig. 117. Old Church of Ireland Parishes in Ireland prior to *Irish Church Measures enacted in 1833* to reduce the number of parishes. © Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc.



Fig. 118. Church of Ireland Dioceses boundaries after *Irish Church Measures enacted in 1833* to reduce the number of parishes.

However, by the 18th century the interests of the clergy and members of the Ascendancy did not always coincide and in 1736 the landed gentry “used their control of the House of Commons to pass a resolution against the clergy’s attempt to collect the tithe of agistment – the tithe on pasturage for dry and barren cattle²⁰⁴,” used for the maintenance for Church property. In other words, landlords were an indifferent lot and mainly concerned with their own incomes, with many of the higher ranks discounting all religion by entirely neglecting public worship.

According to McCracken in the Georgian period the Church itself was “singularly lacking in proselytising zeal”²⁰⁵ and Mant²⁰⁶ had suggested in 1724 “it is plain to me by the methods that have been taken since the reformation and which are yet pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that there never was nor is any design that all should be protestants.”

In spite of the wealth, these activities left the church badly scarred and many of its buildings, glebes and lands had fallen into disrepair. By 1801 Ireland was incorporated into a United

²⁰⁴ Newman, Cranstone & Howard-Davis, *The historical archaeology of Britain, c 1540-1900*, p. 88.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Mant, Rev. R., *History of the Church of Ireland from the Reformation to the Revolution; with a preliminary survey from the Papal usurpation, in the twelfth century to its legal abolition in the sixteenth*, Parker, London, 1841 (2nd Ed.), p. 230.

Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, with the Church here united with the English one to become Church of England and Ireland. Today, a seminary for the training of Church of Ireland clergy can be found at the Church of Ireland Theological College, Terenure with the Representative Church Body Library close by.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the changes that occurred in the environs of St. Mary's with the arrival of the Cambro-Normans and the establishment of the Augustinian Abbey. Further progress occurred in the town with the arrival of the New English following the Tudor conquest and Reformation, and this is reflected in the increased quantity of physical evidence from this time. The Reformation led to the stagnation of much indigenous religious culture, and saw the arrival of the new style ecclesiastical culture. This led to two contrasting world views, with the Protestant view recognizing that people could now approach God directly. The Catholics however, saw a need for intermediaries, and revered saints and images rather than God alone. In addition, Protestants seemed to recognize that the division between "sacred" and "secular" was artificial, whereas the Roman Catholics maintained the tradition of separation between the two. These two world views clashed during the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, creating art that focused on different themes and that demonstrated that ideas have consequences in the lives and actions of people. These ideas were the product of political religious, social and economic changes, and are clearly reflected in the windows, graves and architectural detailing of St. Mary's.

Finding out about life in the town remains difficult, although the graveyard does provide us with many important clues. The graves and monuments provide a visual testimony of earnest aspirations and religious beliefs, and show a stratified society. Both the location and size of tombs are, like language, implicit in shaping the order of a society that was undergoing political, economic, cultural and social transformations. The location and site of this graveyard, right in the heart of Ballinrobe, remains like a 'secret garden' only visited by those using the library facility with little, or indeed no information at all, available on this heritage site. It is hoped that this research will address this issue.

The style of the artworks examined indicates adherence to British imperial culture with rapid access to international connections. After the Battle of the Boyne, the town had a permanent garrison, leading to the construction of the Market-house and ultimately the reconstruction of St. Mary's in something like its present form. The Army personnel would have served all over the world, confirming Ballinrobe as having links to London, with the garrison being an outpost of the British Empire.

Chapter 3: Life at St. Mary's since the late 18th century

3.1 Introduction

Why examine St. Mary's through visual culture? Our environment is a visual culture. Our homes, places of worship, recreation and workplaces are visually saturated environments and our dominant pastimes (films, television, video games, and the internet) are visual media. Moreover, we communicate visually when we are trying to cross over cultural boundaries; for example the graphics devised for international signage (no parking, stop, airport directions etc). Knowledge is often communicated visually: scientists chart brain activity, economists graph market trends, geographers map territory and detectives photograph evidence. The growth of the web as an information distribution system has made an understanding of visual design factors indispensable in every field of study. More importantly the visual around Ballinrobe can be our access to the past. After all the earliest recorded communications are pictorial, and archaeological artefacts are central to the reconstruction of history.

In traditional humanistic scholarship, as well as traditional studio training, the study of visual material has been narrowly focused on mapping the visual within the boundary of 'high culture'. The concept of "high" or "fine" art has, however, come under critique in these fields, and there are other disciplines that have studied the visual in a less bounded fashion. Historians and practitioners of design (in industrial and interior design, architecture, furniture, and landscape architecture, for example) reach more into everyday life. For cultural anthropologists and archaeologists, culture is also broadly defined. The new paradigm of "Visual Culture" represents a more holistic and encompassing approach to the visible world. Anything visible is a potential object of study for Visual Culture, and the worthiness of any visual object or practice, as an object of study depends not on its inherent qualities, as in the work of art, but on its place within the context of the whole of culture.

The primary focus of this chapter is on life at St. Mary's since the late 18th century, with an emphasis on its heyday from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. It begins with a detailed examination of the building, from the existing fabric through photographs taken during the reconstruction in 1993 to plans for a renovation drawn up in the 1860s by William Joseph Welland. This was not the first renovation of St. Mary's, as there had been a great boom in church-building in 1818, when Parliament voted a million pounds for new Anglican churches, most of which were in the newly revived Gothic style. For another century, the Gothic Style held the field for churches of all denominations, but in the 20th century more original ideas of design appeared. The later style of the building is a version of Perpendicular known as Gothic Revival. This term does not really explain the significance of the architecture. It was not an accidental hangover of Gothic styles, but a deliberate looking back to the traditional symbolism of the old order. It is important to note that Gothic had never been completely lost in the Anglican Churches, as a lot of the medieval parish churches remained in use. Therefore, there were plenty of original medieval buildings for later architects to study.

New churches were often in response to the Industrial Revolution in England which increased the population of towns, and also created a depth of poverty and need that provided a wake-up call for the Church of England. The Church of Ireland following suit, also had to respond to the burgeoning non-conformist movements, as well as the return of the Catholic Church after an absence of some three centuries.

When the Hanoverian George 1 (1660-1727) came to the throne in 1714, the gradual weakening of the monarchy was leading to the modern system of cabinet government with a prime minister. In Ireland the Church of Ireland had grown wealthy by its support of tithes from the entire population. As the Church had been partially funded by these hated tithes imposed on all subjects whatever their religion, a Tithe War of 1831 – 36 erupted. This did a great deal of damage to the reputation of the Church of Ireland in various Irish communities. As a result of these events, in 1838 the Tithe Rentcharge Act was passed which reduced tithes by one-quarter and made rich landlords and long term lease holders responsible for paying tithes to the Established Church. This was designed to place the burden of supporting the Church on the landowners rather than the tenants, as many of the landowners were members of the Established Church. But, since the tenants supported the landowners, the tenants continued to indirectly support the Church. These tithe rent charges were not abolished until disestablishment in 1871.

Controversies like these led to attempts at renewal in the Church, spearheaded by the Oxford movement, which began in c 1833, Cambridge University's similar Camden Society, with the likes of Keble, Newman and Pusey fearing that it was becoming sidelined. These movements sent out a great wave of ideas, many of them concerned with the connection between architecture, liturgy and doctrine.

The role of the Church of Ireland as State Church was finally terminated following the *Irish Church Act 1869*, which took effect in 1871 and stated that the Irish Church should cease to exist as an established Church and should become a Free Church. The settlement was generous; churches and schools presently in use were handed over to the Church, Glebe houses could be purchased on favourable terms, and £500,000 was granted to make up for recent private endowments. The British government took everything else. This was one of the political aspects of disestablishment. Parishes faced great difficulties following the loss of revenues for rent-generating lands and buildings. During 1870 the Church made provision for its own government led by the General Synod with financial management by the Representative Church Body. The new thinking, as mentioned above, led to alterations of the way Anglican churches were designed and how they were used. The ecclesiastical world had finally succumbed to the secular one, and now the state gained complete control of people's hearts, minds and souls as they progressed through the journey of life.

Travellers' accounts, material remains and maps and images can be used to track something of the atmosphere around the town in the 19th century, dominated as it was by the garrison and the local gentry. The material culture of the Ascendancy will be examined to enquire into the wealth, culture, and social status of some of St. Mary's congregation. The subjects for this

enquiry are drawn from the names listed in The Vestry Minute Book No. 17 during the interior alterations of 1864. The "*Vestry meeting of March 1864 was held in the School Room as Church is under repair and the important decision of the allocation of places and seats in the Church by the Churchwardens was resolved*", with some of the seats being available for sale to holders of unappropriated seats. The plans by William John Welland (c1832-95) will be numbered to correspond with the VMB list and give a visual structure. These architectural plans for the major restructuring of St. Mary's - completed in 1866 - can also be examined in the context of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological work on social stratification and the relationship between structure and social anthropology. As with the Kayble house which has everything in its allocated space, once seating in St. Mary's was allocated, one did not move position unless a 'higher place was purchased or earned' through the Church and its activities. Information on many families' properties in the vicinity was examined, where possible, as a contribution to the overall wealth of the congregation, their impact on local society and the political climate of that time. This information has been collated into a picture essay, documenting many of the houses and people concerned. Further information has been gathered through records of the schools, glebe rental information and specifically church records such as the preachers' book, baptismal and marriage registers, the Vestry Minute Book and a Visitation Questionnaire in order to get a picture of the life of the church itself. There is detailed profile of the clergy of St. Mary's over the years, which is intended to complete our understanding of the congregation.

3.2 St. Mary's Church, Ballinrobe.

At the present time we know that the Church of St. Mary's in Ballinrobe was in existence as a Church of Ireland c 1689, but little indicates its previous interior layouts. There is a raised incline outside at the east end of the Church, within the graveyard, which may cover the ruins of an earlier extension. On the other hand, it may well be part of the original foundations. The burials in this location are of a later date than the ones on the north and south of the Church, and according to Mr. Peadar O'Dowd²⁰⁷ this maybe worth investing at some time.

²⁰⁷ Mr. Peadar O'Dowd was a Lecturer in Heritage studies at GMIT and is a well known historian with many publications around Galway.

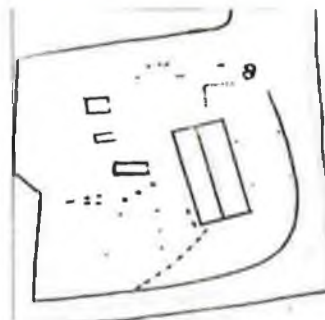
Fig.119 St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe c 1899.



Fig.120. Detail from James Arthus O'Connor's 1820 painting of *The Mill, Ballinrobe* of the Church of Ireland steeple on tower at the East end rather present West end. As artists took licence to alter views to suit the balance of the paintings this reversal



Fig. 121. Outline of Church building within its graveyard showing two entrances, one a path to Main St. and the other a roadway from Church Lane.



West s end with footpath leading to Main Street under the arch.

East end with road for vehicles from Church Lane.

Fig.122. East gable of Church. Ground here is raised higher than its surroundings. Burials in this location are of a later date and slanting to fit the contours.



Heating arrangements²⁰⁸ were altered during World War II but little evidence exists of the old arrangement, apart from indications that a pot belly stove was formerly in place somewhere on the centre aisle. A filled hole in the roof, visible from inside, may indicate its location (see below). There are mentions of the purchase of turf and there is evidence of a fireplace in the Vestry Room from both the VMB and Welland's plans.



Fig.123 &124. Left Infilled hole in ceiling which corresponds to outside flue for pot bellied stove. **Below** Chimney Pot on East end of Church



Fig.125. Interior of St. Mary's after removal of plaster etc c 1993 facing east window.

²⁰⁸ Mr. Courtney Kenny mentioned this in an interview May 09.



Fig. 126. (A) Interior facing east. On left side; arched recess or doorway see detail below and right side; two openings both blocked up, one being the site of a memorial window now. Note original placement of memorial plaques. Note masonry size.



Fig. 127 (B) While barely visible from only available photograph there was a arched recess or doorway on north side of Church at the east end prior to alterations in 1990. Lightened image to right below.



Fig.128. Exterior of south side of Church and Tower prior to the insertion of memorial stained-glass memorial windows.





Fig. 129. Church interior prior to renovations in 1990. The raised timber seating areas can be seen together with the Chancel layout and the original location of the memorial plaques, the readers desk, pulpit and the outline for wainscoting. The 1890 Reardos can clearly be seen under stained-glass main window. Dampness is extensive at the east end.

Fig. 130. A Scaffold clad St. Mary's prior to re-slatting c 1993. Note the chimney plus traces of a finial at east end. Detail below.



Fig.131. Left and right relocation of part of now broken Finial Cross on East Gable after refurbishment in 1993.





Fig. 132. Interior of Church after alterations to a Library. The carved façade of the gallery which matches the pulpit at opposite end is visible and is supported by two cast iron columns and cut stone corbels on either side of wall.

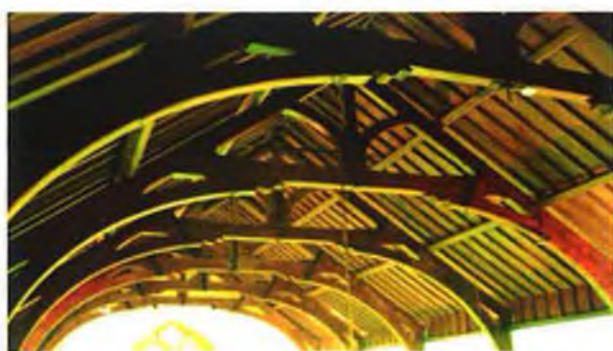


Fig. 133. Interior of Church roof. In order to give greater stature in the centre, the ordinary tie beam is cut through and the portions remaining, known as hammerbeams, are supported by curved braces resting on cut stone corbels as seen above.

The first recorded repairs, alterations and changes to the Church of Ireland, Ballinrobe can be found in the Vestry Minute Book.²⁰⁹ The earliest activities of the Church Wardens, who were elected to run the affairs of the Church, recorded on behalf of the congregation was “the selling of slates to George Gildea Esq. in June 1809, and 18 trees were sold from the Churchyard for £56 . In 1811 there was a payment to Mr. Ryan and Mr. Hannon for the supply of glass and repairs to the windows.”²¹⁰ In 1814 Mrs. Anne Gildea, otherwise Nash, in a letter to James Cuff Esq. “resigns to him the right and title in and to the Pew No 11 next to the Communion Table at the North side of the Church.”²¹¹ These give us a clue that the Church had been slated, the windows repaired and the interior had box pews.

A major decision was made in 1815 to get estimates for the building of a Tower and Vestry Room and that “£300 pounds be levied by the Clergy upon the Parish by such instalments as the Board of First Fruits shall direct.” The Churchyard wall was repaired in 1816, paving installed at the entrance gate and more glass was purchased for windows. A copper gilt bull was acquired for the spire plus a table for the Vestry Room. The interior walls and ceiling were coloured, as were those outside the Church Gate.

Stormy weather caused damage to the roof in 1817 and “good ton slates and strong sufficient laths”²¹² were chosen to roof the church and prevent further destructive effects from future storms. The Church was extended and the Vestry room and Tower finished. A Mr. Martin

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 1 for completed dated extracts.

²¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

²¹¹ See Appendix 1.

²¹² See Appendix 1.

Barrett received payment for same. 1821 brought a decision that “James Cuff and Courtney Kenny Esq will have the power to erect a stove in each of their respective pews at their own expense but if the smoke is not drawn properly it can be voted a nuisance and they must be moved by act of Vestry.”²¹³ A subscription was set up to erect a public stove in the centre of the isle between Pulpit and the Communion Table. There was a fireplace in the Vestry room as turf was purchased for same in 1821, see plan below.

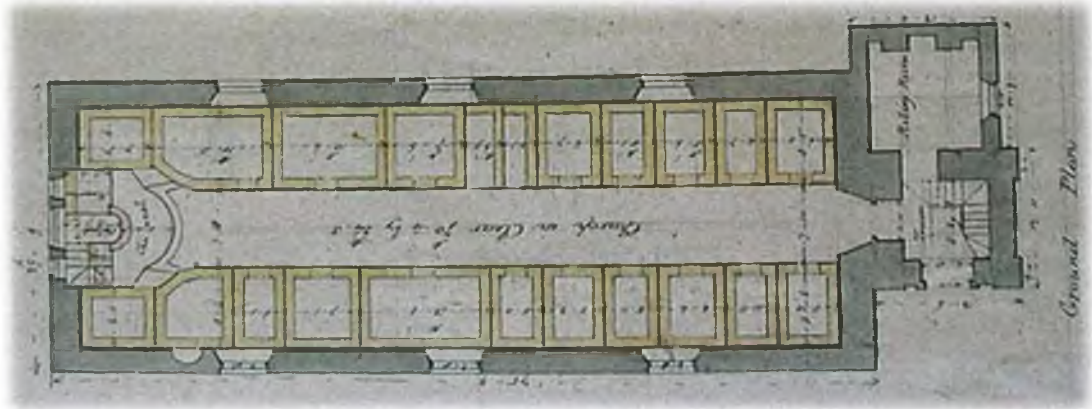


Fig. 134 Plans of original interior of Church with east end on left of image, prior to the Welland alterations showing Box Pews layout of altar with triple tiered Pulpit with steps on its left side, Reader's desk and Communion table. A robing room with fireplace is also shown together with a niche on the north wall towards the altar end. The entrance remains as it is to-day with the steps removed and a metal spiral stairs inserted instead. Notice oval shaped niche on North wall. There is no sign of the blocked up, rounded headed doorway on the right side on South wall at this time, which can be seen in the current library.

Fig. 135 Box Pews in Killala Cathedral with two supports for galleries.



Fig.136. Interior view of the box pews currently in use at Killala Cathedral, Co. Mayo which was built in 1670 using the rubble and stone from the remains of the ruined medieval Catholic Cathedral which stood on the same site. There are different size box pews on either side.

It appears that something happened to the spire in 1823 as it was in a dangerous state and some immediate alteration was necessary. Furthermore the location of the pulpit was to be

²¹³ See Appendix 1.

removed from wherever it was to the East end of the Church²¹⁴. A resolution in 1824 concerning “the alteration of the pulpit and reading desk be carried into effect forthwith and the works to be commenced immediately. The steeple was to be taken down forthwith. The Dean of Cloyne, Rev. John Burgh was on this committee and the Rev. Robert Potter stood in for him.²¹⁵ Services were often long events with sermons spanning a number of hours and there was no guarantee that you could get a seat with the old arrangements. This necessitated seating for the congregation and contributed to the installation of box pews, with each section being assigned to particular families with proximity to the preacher graded on social standing.²¹⁶ The appearance of the seats within these boxes took three basic forms. Single pews possessed a seat along one side, with a passage in front of it usually arranged so that the congregation faced the pulpit. Double pews had seats facing each other, with a walkway in the middle, and the largest pews were square enclosures with seats facing each other with a walkway in the middle. The largest pews were square enclosures with seats on three to four sides. As well as location, the scale and refinement of these private spaces within St. Mary’s communal space of worship articulated the social standing of their occupants.²¹⁷

There may have been galleries along the sides and back of the nave for free seating to try and cope with the less wealthy patrons but even this was insufficient to meet the expanding population. In Ballinrobe a note in VMB appendix 1 suggests “building steps on the outside to accommodate access to the new gallery which had been built”. This may have been because of health concerns or for social reasons but no reason is given other than access.

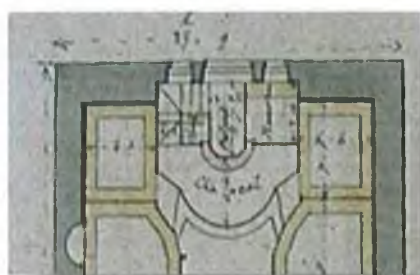


Fig. 137. Detail from Welland’s drawing of old layout of St. Mary’s prior to alterations. The stairs to the upper level of the pulpit is on the left. Note from VMB in 1823 says “the Pulpit was to be moved to the East end of the Church to comply with the suggestion of the Rev. John Burgh, Rector” See Rev. Burgh in Chapter 3



Fig. 138. Detail from Welland’s drawings for alterations to the Chancel, with pulpit on right and readers desk to the left. The altar is now back under the east window.

²¹⁴ See Appendix 1.

²¹⁵ See Appendix 1.

²¹⁶ Dolan, A., ‘The large medieval churches of the dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory: a study of adaptation and change’ in O’Reilly, S. (Ed) *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies- The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* – Parts 1 & 11, Vol. iii., 2000, p. 43

²¹⁷ Personal interview with Church of Ireland Rev. Neal O’Raw, Killala, Co. Mayo, October 2009.

Fig. 139. To accommodate the new way of doing things, a reading desk for the clergy to read the service from, was put at the east end of the nave. This was sometimes combined with a pulpit for sermons and/or a desk for the parish clerk to make a double- or triple-decker pulpit in previous decades.

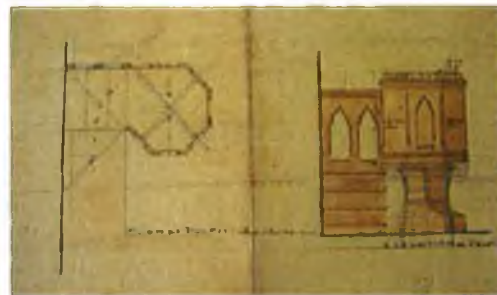


Fig.140. Welland's drawing of plan for altar rails.



Fig. 141. The Altar rails from Ballinrobe were moved to St. Michael's COI , Ballina, Co. Mayo. Photo as they are at present time.

As with other objects, such as mural tablets, stained glass, moveable furniture, statues and paintings, once they are removed from the setting for which they were designed and demoted from their original functions, they forfeit much of their meaning. An important job for historians of material culture is to record what can be retrieved about the provenance and purpose of objects, and to ponder how they were regarded as symbols, as well as their functions as utensils. Fortunately, St Mary's Altar rails were removed to St. Michael's Church, Ballina, Co. Mayo and the organ to Whitechurch Dublin. Unfortunately, no trace of the baptism font can be found at present but according to Mr. Courtney Kenny, his son Francis was the last child Christened at St. Mary's in c 1975²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Interview with Mr. Courtney Kenny in Feb. 2010.



Fig. 143a. Reading desk in St. Michael's COI Ballina. Co. Mayo



Fig. 143b. To accommodate the new way of doing things, a reading desk for the clergy to read the service from, was put at the east end of the nave.

The steeple erected around 1815 lasted only 9 years and must have sustained serious damage, perhaps from a great storm. . The current newer tower at the west does not appear to have the necessary support for a steeple as, for example can clearly be seen in a similar tower in the Neale (see below).



Fig. 145. The ruin of a Church of Ireland, close by at the Neale with a similar plan and size to St. Mary's.

Fig. 144. Interior of Tower at Neale Church Neale, Co. Mayo which is close by and very similar to St. Mary's. While difficult to see there are four stone supports for a steeple within this tower.



Fig. 146. Similar in size and shape to the now ruined Church at the Neale built by the Brown Family. One can, on close examination, see possible traces of a rood screen support on the east side, crossing the large window opening, which, together with a smaller window above indicate a medieval style. This small window might be for a loft, one of the four habitation types where religious lived



Once again in 1824 the possibility of erecting a stove for the whole congregation was examined. This public stove was to be “erected Between No 5 and No 20 and the two flues to recommunicate with the vestry room chimney” but the actual location is not known. As Mr. Cuff’s and Mr. Kelly’s stoves were causing problems they had, at their own cost, to carry up their flues and unite them in one chimney at the top of the barge of the eastern gable. Mr. Wall Perrie & Co. (Glasgow) subsequently received payment for supplying a stove and pillars (collonnets) for the Gallery £18.19.0 and Mr. Alex Gillen was paid for labour and materials for setting up stove and carrying up the flues - £12.8.10. A payment for carrying the stove from Westport was made to Pat Loghan, and the cost of raising the Vestry Room chimney was £8.15.0. £6.4s.0d was received in 1824 for old lead and gates sold at auction. A note in the VMB²¹⁹ saw a resolution by the Churchwarden

to get the new entrance complete forthwith and that the Vestry reimburse Mr. Glendining whatever he maybe out of pocket in the necessary excavations. The walls built on each side... The large gate and the side railings and the cut stone pillars and the corrular wall all which has already got done.

The state of the galleries required the renewing of the timbers or a supporting beam to “enlarge the galleries to such an extent as will afford the necessary accommodation for the poorer members of the congregation... expenses having been caused by the change of the pulpit and the two enlargements and improvements of the gallery”²²⁰.

In October 1826 the churchyard wall was “further repaired and coped and dashed and a new Gate was placed in the West wall”²²¹. While it does not let us know which location, a resolution that “the old iron gates be replaced and that new gates be made to replace present wooden ones”²²² indicates that this was where the current entrance exists and there might have been three entrances. The 1826 accounts show a new road to the Church of 21 perches (and Irish perch being 5 yards) cost £17.12s.9d and Alexander Glendining supplied a new Church gate. Pat Dea received money for raising the yard walls.



Fig. 147. South gable end of Church beside tower with the outline of what might have been an old roof or a trace of the outside

²¹⁹ Appendix 1.

²²⁰ Appendix 1.

²²¹ Appendix 1.

²²² Appendix 1.

On Easter Monday 1829 the VMB says it was decided that “a new door be opened into the gallery from the outside of the Church with stone steps leading thereto”²²³. This may have been because of the fear of plague spreading through the congregation. No evidence for its location can be found now, but an outline as indicated above could be a clue. An entry in the Ecclesiastical Commission²²⁴, Ireland Report c 1832 states:

One Church capable of accommodating 350 persons, built about 95 years ago, (from 1832) but at what cost unknown. A Tower was added to the Church in 1816 at an expense of and Granted in way of loan by the late board of First Fruits; of which loan there remained £120.7s.3d chargeable on the parish in 1832, repayments by annual instalments of £7.2s.2d.

A source from around 1839 for St. Mary’s is Lewis’s *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* which lists all parishes in Ireland in a set format i.e. geographical location, population and size of parish, gentlemen’s’ seats, the state of agricultural lands and improvements, dates of fairs, details of Church of Ireland parish churches, including glebes and tithes, and Roman Catholic Churches and associated Schools. Lewis also provides a short brief cost of construction and whether it is by loan or gift from the Board of First Fruits. He²²⁵ describes St. Mary’s as

a neat plain building, was repaired in 1815, towards which the Board of First Fruits granted a loan of £300; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have lately granted £251 for its further repair. There is only one entry for 1834 and nothing further till 1846 and that is that coffins be allowed to be buried under the Lawn for paupers.

James Anderson, Rector and Vicar in July 1846 refers to his predecessor, Dean Bourgh, giving permission for James Cuff Esq.’s., newly built coach house to have a door giving direct entry to the Churchyard. He required Mr. Cuff to make an entry in the Vestry Book to the effect that he claimed no rights over this doorway.

In April 1850 representation was made to the Ecclesiastical Commission of Ireland for improvements due to the dilapidated state of the Vestry Room, the damp of the tower generally and also the south angle of the Church adjoining. Also “as Mr. Murray had not stopped up the window broken into the Churchyard that he be reported for same as a nuisance, and shall not be allowed and request the Ecclesiastical Commission to have same stopped up”²²⁶. On April 13th 1857 sanction was granted to allow the large pew lately occupied by the Cuff Family be divided.

Consent of the Parish was requested in July 1863 for new arrangements within the Church. The removal of internal fittings and setting up the Church with single sitting, pulpit desk and

²²³ Appendix 1.

²²⁴ *Ecclesiastical Commission Ireland – Revenues and Patronage of Benefices*, 1833, p. 512.

²²⁵ Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1839, p. 117.

²²⁶ Appendix 1.

Chancel Rail according to plan 4053 was sought. They also planned to alter the position of the fireplace at the entrance of the Church.²²⁷

During the 1860's plans (no exact date on plans) for alterations in St. Mary's were drawn by William John Welland (c.1832–95) and William Gillespie (d. 1896) who had been appointed joint architects to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the Church of Ireland. They had taken over the business on the death of Welland's father, Joseph Welland (1798–1860, a pupil and assistant of Bowden, who became architect to the Board of First Fruits for the Province of Tuam in 1821. When the Board was reconstituted as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1833, Joseph Welland retained his position, but his duties were expanded in 1843 to take over responsibility for all Anglican Church work in Ireland. Thus, during the early and mid-Victorian Period he became the most important architect working for the Church, designing 100 new churches and supervising alterations, repairs, and enlargements to many buildings.

The Vestry meeting of March 1864 was held in the School Room, probably located over the front main entrance archway, as the Church was under repair and the important decision of the allocation of places and seats in the Church by the Churchwardens was resolved. The congregation went back to the Church on April 2nd 1866 after the repairs.

3.3 Life in the Town

As we have seen, following the Williamite war, Ballinrobe became a British Army garrison town, with large redevelopments taking place. The material culture of this new community can be traced through property ownership, and the development of large estates with 'Big Houses,' and the impact this had on the local communities through their change in status as tenants servicing the new landlords estates. Landlords contributed further to the development of urban spaces, with Ballinrobe becoming essentially a planned town. Evidence for life around the town in the 19th century can be gleaned from travellers' accounts, local newspapers, maps and images, and especially the remains of developments such as the Bower Walk.

According to Lewis²²⁸ in 1831 "*the town consisted of one principal street, from which two others diverge and contained 441 houses.*" These were of handsome appearance, well built and slated with 488 houses being inhabited. Some of the Church of Ireland congregation would have been made up from the lower middle class business population, among them the, feather dealer, ironmongers, apothecary, tallow chandlers and their candles, brewers, tanners and their tan yards, millers and millwrights, plus the working class saddle makers and harness makers, coopers, shoe and boot makers, blacksmiths tailors, seamstresses and laundresses.

²²⁷ See Appendix 1.

²²⁸ Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1839, 2 Vols.

BALLINROBE,

In the county of Mayo, is 120 miles west of Dublin, 14 south by east of Castlebar, 15 south-east of Westport, 21 south-east of Newport, 30 south of Ballina, and in the patronage of Colonel Cuff, M. P. It is a

a plain neat edifice, but has little else to recommend it to public notice; the incumbent is the very Rev. Thos. John Burgh, Dean of Cloyne, and the Rev. Robt. Potter is Curate. The Roman Catholic Chapel in Bridge-street is tolerably well and substantially built; the duty is at present performed by the Rev. Michael Green. The Market and Court House is a plain stone building, in which are held quarter sessions, besides weekly petty sessions. Ballinrobe possesses great claims to antiquity, and was formerly considered of much more importance than it is now; as a

small neat town, consisting of several streets, pleasantly situated on a considerable eminence, and commanding from all points extensive prospects of a delightful and richly-ripened country. The church is a garrison-town it has long been distinguished, and is at present the head quarters for a regiment of cavalry. The barracks (once the residence of Lord Tyrally) stand unequalled, for their beautiful, healthy, convenient and romantic situation on the banks of the river Robe, from which the town derives its name. The market is held every Monday, and is generally well attended; a linen market is also about to be established, which will be held on the same day. Ballinrobe has a fair on Whit-Tuesday, and another on the 5th of December. The population is about 1000.

POST OFFICE, Bridge-street. *Post Mistress*, Bridget Kelly. The mail from Dublin, &c. arrives at twenty minutes before seven every evening, and is despatched every night at eleven.

GENTRY AND CLERGY.

Ash Rev. John, Neale-glebe
Bingham Right Honbl. Barry, Clau-
morris, Newbrook
Blake Eldore, esq. Lakeview
Blake Maurice, esq. Tower-hill
Blake Richard, esq. Garuelona
Brannick William, esq. Newbrook
Brown Arthur, esq. Glencorrib
Brown Dominick, esq. Ashford
Brown Dominic, John, Neale-park
Burgh very Rev. Thomas John,
Dean of Cloyne, Glebe-house
Burke Rev. William, P. P. Bridge-st
Cleandine Alex. esq. Market-st
Crampton Rev. Cecil, Synnott's-field
Cromie Charles, esq. Green-lodge
Cromie George, esq. Green-lodge
Cromie John, esq. Green-lodge

Cuff Colonel Jas. M. P. Deal-castle
Cuff James, esq. Creeagh
D'Arcy Martin, esq. Houndswood
Elwood Bowen, esq. Annfield
Elwood Widow, Strand-hill
Flinn John, esq. Ballymoghobon
French James, esq. French-grove
Gilldae George, esq. Cloona-castle
Gorges Rev. John, Glebe-house
Green Rev. Michael, P. C. Bridge-st
Huston George, esq. Glebe-st
Jennings Rev. esq. Mount-Jennings
Jennings Theobald, esq. Fountain-
hill
Keany Courtney, esq. barrack mas-
ter, Ballinrobe
Kirwan Martha esq. Dalgin-park

Knox Arthur, esq. Bushfield
Lambert Joseph, esq. Brook-hill
Lindsay Michael, esq. Gardenfield
Lindsay Thomas Spencer, esq.
Hollymount-house
Lynch Arthur, esq. Petersboro'
Lynch Craun, esq. Hollybrook-house
Lynch John, esq. Parry-house
Lynch Peter, esq. Ballycurran
Moore George, esq. Moore-hall
Potter Rev. Robert, High-street
Routledge Rev. Francis, Cornfield
Routledge Robert, esq. Bloomfield-
house
Smith Henry, esq. chief constable
of police, Market-street
Vacey —, esq. Farn-hill

MERCHANTS, TRADSMEN, &c.

PHYSICIAN.
Hamilton Patrick, Glebe-street

APOTHECARIES.
Moran Michael, Market-street
Ralph Peter, Market-street

BAKERS.
Egan Patrick, Market-street
Monaghan William, Market-street

BOOT AND SHOE MAKERS.
Egan William, Market-street
Fair William, Glebe-street

**GROGERS AND DEALERS
IN SUNDRY ARTICLES.**
Fleming Bridget, Market-street
Fleming Patrick, Market-street
Keary Patrick, Market-street
Kelly Bridget, Bridge-street
Miller Bridget, Bridge-street
Wilson John, Glebe-street

HOTEL.
Smith Richard, (Tyrally hotel)
Market-street

**IRONMONGERS,
HARDWAREMEN &c.**
Heavis Joseph, Market-street
Manion Nicholas, Market-street
Martin John, Market-street

**LINEN AND WOOLLEN
DRAPEERS.**
Graven James, Market-street
Moran William, Glebe-street

**SADDLERS AND HARNESS
MAKERS.**
Carr Peter, Market-street
Kelly Charles, High-street
Redington Francis, Bridge-street

**SPIRIT STORES AND
PUBLIC HOUSES.**
Carr Martin, Bridge-street
Clarke John, Bridge-street
Dempsy Bridget, Glebe-street
Egan Patrick, Market-street
Monaghan Peter, Market-street
Monaghan William, Market-street
Walsh David, Bridge-street

TAILORS.
Joyce John, Market-street
Maley John, Market-street

TOBACCONISTS.
Hearne John, (& tallow chandler)
Market-street
Keary Patrick, Market-street

Miscellaneous.
Burke Mary, haberdasher, Market-st
Burke William, woollen draper,
Market-street
Duffy Mary, druggist, &c. Glebe-st
Feeney Alicia, haberdasher and per-
fumer, Market-street
Kelly John, carpenter, &c. Bridge-st
Rozzcraft Edward, brewer & tanner
Market-street

**STAMP OFFICE,
MARKET-STREET.**
Henry Carter, distributor

No regular conveyance passes between
this town and Hollymount.

Fig. 148. Extract from *Pigot's City of Dublin and Provincial Directory, 1824* of merchants and trades in Ballinrobe. Main St. was then Market St. Many could have been of the Church of Ireland congregation.

Patrick F. Wallace²²⁹ in his essay *Ballinrobe and its environs in the pre-famine Half Century* suggests that while it is sketchy, there is plenty of information to describe the general social climate in and around Ballinrobe between the 1798 rising and the famine years. French and German visitors flocked here in the post-Union decades but very few recorded their impression of Ballinrobe. Wallace²³⁰ feels that this might not be indicative of its lack of appeal, but rather that it lay off the beaten track.

²²⁹ Wallace, P. F., 'Ballinrobe and its Environs in the Pre-Famine Half Century' in *The Bridge Magazine*, No. 3, Christmas 1972, pp 51-66.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 51-66.

Sir F. B Head on his tour of Ireland c 1852 inspecting R.I.C offices, as he was conveyed from Hollymount to Ballinrobe, observed

*a sudden and most remarkable difference; for instead of unroofed houses and frail stone-wall boundaries I saw before me a considerable expanse of land well cultivated, covered with green and cereal crops, and divided by substantial straight walls into large square or rectangular fields*²³¹. He discovered that this change had been effected by Lord Lucan.

He also visited the “enormous” workhouse in Ballinrobe (no doubt containing the evicted people from Lord Lucan’s estates) where he states there had been 4,400 inmates in 1850 reducing to 1,670 in 1852. He goes on to describe the process of evictions and the men employed “to take off the roofs in the neighbourhood of Ballinrobe as levellers.”²³² Sir Head stayed at Monaghan’s Inn²³³ and on his visit to the police station he found seven sub-constables, well dressed and in a building “as clean as the barrack at Hollymount,”²³⁴ and afterwards

took a stroll through the poorest part of the town, and as almost all the doors were open I walked into one, and uninvited sat down on a low stool, close beside a young woman, who was feeding a child. For some time I could not see her face from smoke.... I at last gazed through the dark atmosphere for other objects, I cared not what. A great pig was lying on his side close to me, but...I perceived a sort of cheap bell-rope that by the wind or some other cause occasioned kept vibrating a very little. On watching it attentively I discovered that it was the tail of a donkey... What a contrast said I to myself to the bright steel scabbard I was looking at five minutes ago in the police station.



Fig. 149. *By the Fireside, Co. Mayo 1875* by Francis Livesay (1809-81). Watercolour of a typical byre dwelling with people living amongst their cattle, donkeys and pigs. The family's clothes were stored on the rope high above the damp floor. The better off had chimneys as displayed. Kinmonth Claudia *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*. Yale University Press p 46.

²³¹ Head, Sir F. B., *A Fortnight in Ireland*, John Murray, London, 1852, p.120.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 123

²³³ *Ibid.*, p.125.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.122.

The Cuff estate passed to the Knox family through marriage and it was this family who laid the foundation for the present town.²³⁵ A new bridge was built at Bridge Street in 1845 in which the width of the old Bridge span was significantly decreased, and the level of the river was deepened. This was possibly intended to increase and harness water power for the Kenny mills that were close by or, it could have been initiated due to damage to the old bridge. This new bridge coincided with perhaps the most ambitious development project of the 19th century in Ballinrobe; the Bower Walk, which is a two-mile walkway from the town along the River Robe, past historic sites like the old Castle/Cavalry Barracks, Cranmore House and the old Rectory and was probably the original tow path for the new canal.



Fig.150. Pencil drawing by Mrs. Anderson c. 1851 wife of Rev. Anderson of the rear of the rectory with its garden sweeping down to a path on the river Robe. (in the foreground). Private Collection.

This walk, part of which is on both sides of the river, was created as part of a plan to link Ballinrobe to Galway by means of canals between the River Robe and Lough Mask and a further large channel linking Lough Mask and Lough Corrib. This would allow trading between Galway, Ballinrobe, Castlebar and the hinterlands. This scheme was abandoned in 1856 due to the lack of funding from the government as the railways were fast replacing the waterways as a means of transport. The present structure was built in 1849 and is currently experiencing renovation and repair. The bollards and mooring rings are still in situ. Control of the Robe was an important factor in the commercial and military life of the town.

²³⁵ Quinn, J.F., *History of Mayo*, Vol. iii, p. 332

Fig. 151. An early image of the start of the Bowers Walk beside the River Robe with its bollards for boats. The Kenny home, the old Mills and Brewery visible in the background.



Fig. 152. A later photo on the same area with some of the town in the background.

Wynn collection, c 1899 Mayo County Library, Castlebar.



Fig. 153. Detail from *The Pleasure Ground* by James Arthus O'Connor c 1820 showing the Robe river near the bridge prior to remodelling as the Bower Walk. © Permission of the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



Fig. 154. Photo of the old metal footbridge leading from the town to the military parade grounds now known as the Green taken from North side. Lawrence Collection Mayo County



Fig.155. Part of the plans for deepening of the river Robe by Mr. Courtney Kenny to provide extra power for the mills on his property. Kenny Papers, Mayo County Library, Castlebar c

When the military were in Ballinrobe according to Mr. J. B. Staunton²³⁶ the soldiers were a formidable sight marching from their two barracks on the Green on the North side over this bridge and up Bridge Street, in uniform, to St. Mary's Church of Ireland, on the South side for Sundays service. A military band often accompanied these formations. There would be little doubt as about who held power with this colourful sight! The Military left Ballinrobe in 1922 and this led to a decline in business in the town. The Calvary barracks was burned and remains a ruin to-day, and the Infantry barracks site was taken over by Eircom, a telephone communications business, with its outer walls remaining intact. Most of the Church of Ireland congregants had given their allegiance to the British Monarchy and, once the political support with its military backup was withdrawn, the decline of the Protestant community began. Many of the landed gentry sold their properties and moved abroad, with the Knox estate being sold in 1921, part of which was purchased by locals. This holding's first title was the Ballinrobe Sports Ground which was later developed as a race course.²³⁷ This is the only course in operation in Mayo, and has undergone extensive development in recent years, with the latest extension opening in June 2010. Almost all traces of the Ascendancy families have vanished.

²³⁶ Mr. J. B. Staunton 1880 – 1994, Personal Interview, June 1973.

²³⁷ Mr. John F. Staunton, current Chairman of Ballinrobe Race Committee, Personal Interview, 2009.

Fig. 156. Photo. Race day 1933 at Ballinrobe race course. Notice the old stand in the background. Photo J. Mills, New York.



Although some of the Church of Ireland community remained after the British Army's withdrawal in 1922, the collapse in numbers led to the eventual sale of St. Mary's to Mayo County Council circa 1990, which has ensured its survival as a monument to a vanished community.

3.4 The Congregation.

We know little about the size of the congregation before 1834 when the numbers of the Church of Ireland population in Ballinrobe amounted to 372.²³⁸ This congregation was varied and from a large hinterland around the town. It would be composed of members of the gentry, landlords, medical personnel, school teachers, land agents, auctioneers, traders, widows, army officers and other personnel, members of the R.I.C, government representatives, staff and servants and various other members of the Church.

The gentry's family identity and their wealth relied on their maintenance and preservation of their acquired status and influence. They were constantly concerned with the continuity of the family with the preservation of its wealth. The families' status were enhanced by long residence in a particular locality and as

*landed gentry derived their income mainly from the land, therefore the estate had to be safeguarded from excessive burdens of debt; and moreover, if financial pressures demanded sales of land, then it was the detached or outlying portions of the estate that went, not the main core around the estate residence.*²³⁹

Although the word gentry originally meant noble, by the 15th century a gentleman was one who was superior to a Yeoman but inferior in status to a Baron. The term gentleman was applied loosely to one who did not work with their hands. Both the richer members of rural society and the urban professionals were known to their neighbours as gentry. In Ireland the term 'Ascendancy' is a phrase used when referring to the political, economic, and social

²³⁸ *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1843-44*, Vol. A-C, Fullarton & Co., London, 1844, p. 144.

²³⁹ Mingay, G. E., *The Gentry, Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*, Longmans, London, 1976, pp 108-109.

domination of Ireland by a minority of landowners, Protestant clergy, and professionals, all members of the Church of Ireland during the 17th through 19th centuries. Their 'Big House' and vast tracts of land represented in a very concrete way the comparative wealth and power of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy as a class as they straddled the chasm between the colonized, impoverished, predominantly Roman Catholic. Interestingly their demesne walls, which had no equivalent in England, insulated the owner from his tenant's landscape²⁴⁰.



Fig.157. Church services offered an opportunity for socialising, an important part of communication between the congregation outside a Church. British 18th century AU.

They were a narrow social and political elite “and could be defined as comprising those who themselves sat in the Irish Parliament or who exercised significant influence of the return of 300 members of the House of Commons.”²⁴¹ They were expected to dispense patronage and justice, to arbitrate in local disputes and to perform their functions at the leading figures in an unwritten but acknowledged “*moral Economy*”²⁴². This point is confirmed by L.P. Curtis Jnr²⁴³ who concludes that the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy comprised between 2,000 and 3,000 families.

Viceregal visits to the town included a visits by Lord Lieutenant Earl Spencer in 1869²⁴⁴ to Cranmore House, where he spent some time, and a Vice Regal party²⁴⁵ who arrived in 1902 in three motors and had luncheon at the Valkenburg Hotel, and another visit in 1903 by the Lord Lieutenant to Ballinrobe Races. In a welcome speech it was remarked that “Ballinrobe once had a population of 500 with two corn mills, a tannery and a tobacco factory”.²⁴⁶ Such visits would have reinforced the association with the British Crown. This exclusive social circle that formed political, social and cultural ties with England would have been particularly evident around towns with a military presence, as was the case in Ballinrobe. John Bernard Trotter, who was born in 1775 and was intended for the church by his father, a Protestant clergyman who came to Ireland from Scotland, travelled the country, and on his visit to Ballinrobe, c. 1814, he stayed “in a small quiet inn ... a great number of the military are generally stationed

²⁴⁰ Duffy, P.J., ‘The Changing Rural Landscape 1750-1850: Pictorial Evidence’ in Kennedy, B. & Gillespie, R., *Art into History*, Town House & Country House, Dublin, 1994, p. 38.

²⁴¹ Malcolmson, A., *John Foster: the politics of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy*, Oxford, 1978, pp xvii-xix.

²⁴² Butler M., *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*, Oxford Press, Oxford, 1972, p. 78.

²⁴³ Curtis, L. P. Jr. (Ed), *The historian's workshop; original essays by sixteen historians*, Knopf, New York, 1970, p. 37.

²⁴⁴ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, Sept. 4th 1869.

²⁴⁵ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, 23rd October 1902.

²⁴⁶ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, June 4th 1903.

here, who circulate a good deal of money”²⁴⁷. He also remarks on James Cuff’s house at Creagh being “a charming cottage on the edge of Lough Mask and this charming cottage is joined to some new building which has a pleasing effect”²⁴⁸ Trotter was educated in the grammar-school at Downpatrick, under a Mr Wilde and in 1790, entered Trinity College, Dublin, under Dr. Stack.

Sport can tell us a great deal about how societies are organised by class, gender, religion and social status.²⁴⁹ Equestrian events featured prominently around Ballinrobe and its hinterlands as most of the upper classes and gentry supported large stables with the required attendant staff of coachmen, jockeys, stable hands, veterinary personnel, farriers, harness makers, and breeding experts.



Fig.158 Hunting, shooting and racing were some of the sporting activities of the Ascendancy class involving high maintenance of horses, hounds and dogs thus involving a large number of staff.



Fig.159. Shooting was both a sport and provided useful produce for the table.

Cricket, tennis, archery and bowls were also popular sporting activities and golf courses “operated as part of a nexus of political, social and economic forces.”²⁵⁰ Social integration including political interaction and marriages were some of the social events as were the hunts, shooting events, balls, dinners and musical soirees. The prosperity of Anglo-Ireland after 1750 allowed for the dramatic expansion of provincial cities, and market towns. This prosperity enabled architects of style and vision to execute works of permanent distinction. Unfortunately, one of the only remaining houses in Ballinrobe is the Kenny Robe Villa which will be mentioned below. The size of the estates of some of the St. Mary’s congregation can give a glimpse into what must have been a lifestyle of privilege, wealth and glamour.

Fig.160. Richard Ropers (1730-1775) *Sporting Screen* c.1759 for the Knox Family in Mayo. While there is no evidence that this screen was in their home in Ballinrobe it displays the level of artistic quality that the families both aspired to and were surrounded by. It is also displays the value and how important their horse breeding activities were to Estates owners.



²⁴⁷ Trotter, J. B., *Walks through Ireland in the years 1812, 1814 and 1817 described in a series of letters to an English gentleman*, Phillips Richard, London, p. 448.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

²⁴⁹ Higgins, R., *Heritage Outlook – The Magazine of the Heritage Council*, Winter 2009/ Spring 2010, p. 62.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*



Fig.161. Various images of *Life at a Country House*. Punch 1860 -1899 illustrating various pastimes fishing, tennis, snooker, chess, music, painting, parties and balls.

The furnishings of the grander Ballinrobe Houses have been sold and it would be difficult to know exactly how they were furnished. Furniture was generally purchased on the continent; however, native Irish furniture existed and has since become increasingly popular on the antiques market. In pieces created between the years 1725 to 1775, before artisans adopted English Sheridan styles, exuberant carvings on dark wood often featured grimacing human, satyr, or animal faces reminiscent of the figures decorating pages of the Celtic medieval *Book of Kells*.

One of the cultural possessions of the landed gentry was usually their collection of books with most of the grander houses having a substantial library covering a diverse range of subjects from Literature, Art, Wildlife and Travel. Both Creagh and Cranmore Houses in Ballinrobe had such a library with the Cranmore Book Plate illustrating the initials of C.W.Knox.

Fig.162. Bookplate of Cranmore House Library in Ballinrobe home of the historian and archaeologist H. T. Knox.



The large presence of military personnel from the Cavalry and Infantry Barracks must have contributed to the political, economic, social and cultural life of Ballinrobe. This is evident from the number of marriages that took place between military personnel and local girls and the subsequent number of baptisms and burials at St. Mary's, see later. The Army contributed personnel for their band who marched to Church on Sunday's and no doubt provided music for special occasions. This must have been an imposing and colourful sight. Many social events took place on a circuit of large homes and at the Military barracks where the Officers enjoyed a good standard of living and in latter years the 11th Hussars gave a concert in the Barracks with Mr. Edward Hearne singing and accompanied on the violin by one of the Hussars.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, Jan 12th 1889.

Fig.163. An article in *The Graphic* states "we have the Captain's quarters, an apartment in the Cavalry Barracks, Ballinrobe, a building which was formerly an old turreted mansion and which still presents many quaint nocks and corners. Title *Military Life: A Nice Days' Work*. *The Graphic* Dec. 1880.



Fig. 164. A fire place in the ruins of Ballinrobe Castle i.e. the Barracks on the first floor level which would have been the officers comfortable quarters as suggested above. This is a beautiful cut stone surround.



3.5 Seating arrangements within the Church.

Extracts from the Vestry Minute Book have been linked to the numbered seating arrangement in a picture essay with images drawn for galleries, archives, newspapers, photographs, architectural drawings and private collections. While not always possible, an effort has been made to correspond with the seating sequence both in the nave and on the balcony starting with the Cuff family. There is little information available on some of those named while, on the other hand, some of the prominent families like the Kennys are not even listed at all in spite of their close association with the Church.

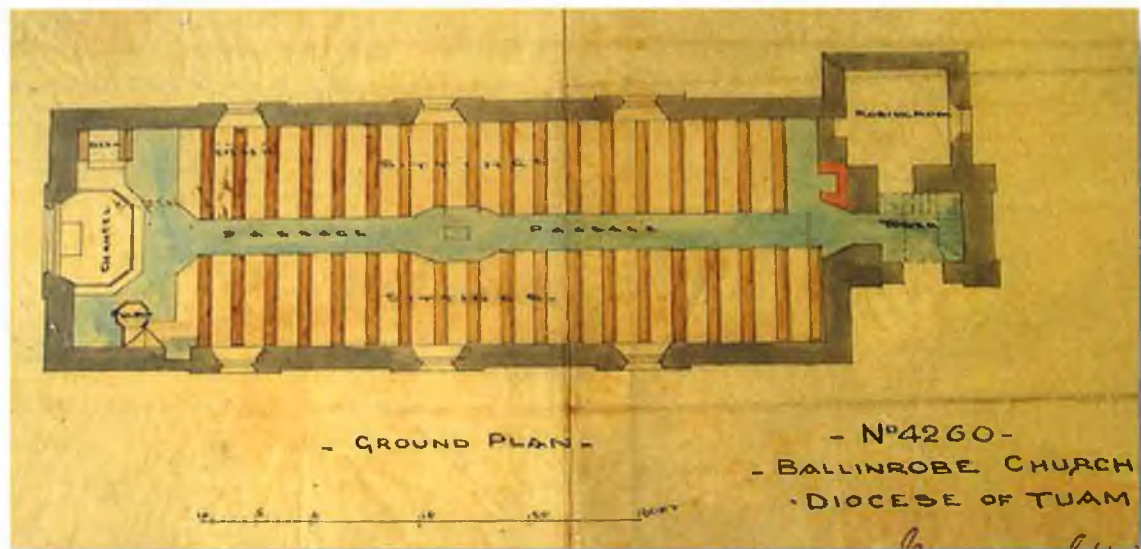


Fig. 165 Copy of Welland's proposed plan for St. Mary's for the 1853 alterations. With kind permission of the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.

The architectural drawings by William John Welland, (c.1832–95), of the interior of St. Mary's Church, both before and after the 1863 alterations²⁵² are in a very fragile state at the archives of the Representative Church Body Library in Dublin, but they provide a wealth of detail on which to base the glimpse at the congregation of St. Mary's.

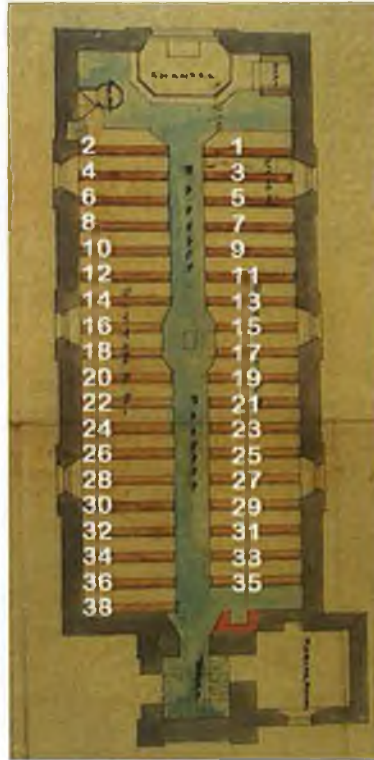
One can see that the most important or wealthiest members of the community were allocated seats towards the front of the Church, particularly on the Pulpit side, with members of the professions, army and servants following behind. One was very carefully allocated their seat depending on their perceived place within this society and their ability to contribute to the Church funds with nobody having the freedom to move around that space unless agreed by the Vestry. Some seating within the Church was sold to finance its maintenance and running costs. Other seating might well have been allocated on the basis of the contributions members were deemed eligible to provide. This together with a selection of the owners' of large houses and estates in the vicinity gives a glimpse of the wealth, power and status of members of the Church of Ireland in Ballinrobe.

Their estates, domains, houses and properties were displays of their material culture, their wealth ensuring that they were large employers with many of the local population depending on their success for their own improvement. Many families in the area continued to serve these landlords handing down posts from generation to generation thus ensuring their own comfort and the trust of their employers.

²⁵² Appendix 1

North Side - Left Pulpit

2. Dr. Gillier ... A seat
4. Colonel Knox
6. Ditto
8. Ditto
10. Mr. Livesay
12. Mr. Walshe
14. Mr. Hearne
16. Miss Duell
18. Mrs. Gillier ... A seat
20. Mr. Kelly
22. Mr. R. Kelly
24. Mr. M. Govern, M. Armstrong
26. M. Tunbridge, Miss Gildea
30. W. Gloster
32. The Constabulary
34. The Rector Servants
36. W. Pepper. Mr. Kenny's Servants
40. Unappropriated
42. Ditto
44. Ditto
46. Ditto



South Side - Right Epistle

1. Unappropriated
3. Selling
5. Do
7. Rector of Parish
9. Earl of Lucan
11. Dr. Lwiss
13. Captain Lynch
15. Unappropriated
17. Mr. Lanbery W. Blake
19. Mr. Gillier
21. Mrs. Burke
23. Mr. May
25. Mr. Mayne
27. Mrs. NEale
29. Mr. Sheldricks
31. Families of the Constabulary
33. W. Henderson
35. Col Knox servants
37. Unappropriated
38. Choir
39. Clerk
41. Choir organist
43. W. Smith
45. Choir

Fig. 166. Seating Plan

The only information at present on the owners of the box pews, pre 1866, is that of the Cuffs and Miss. A. Gildea from the VMB (No 21 see extracts in Appendix 1), so it has to be assumed that the new seating arrangements, accommodated those that already held box pews in the old layout and would have been allocated new seating first. A Cuff box pew, located close to the Altar, presumably on the pulpit side, is referred to many times in the VMB and would have changed hands after the marriage of Jane Cuff, natural daughter of James Cuff to Colonel Knox. The new seating arrangement can clearly be seen within the numbers 4, 6, and 8 on the Pulpit (North or left side).



Fig. 167. 1802 James Baron Tyrawly, Barrack-Master General, Ballinrobe and first Commissioner of the Board of Works in Ireland. Print by John Raphael Smith. © Trustees of the British Museum.

James Cuff was knighted in 1661 by Charles 11 and was confirmed in the possession of the Manor and Castle of Ballinrobe as well as extensive estates in the Barony of Tyrawley, by a patent under the Acts of Settlement, enrolled on the 2nd March 1666 with the motto on his crest: *Yet our mind is unchanged*. Under this grant he was given 1,872 acres in county Mayo, included lands in the baronies of Kilmaine and Carra. He had married on Jan 14th 1655 Alice Aungier, sister of Francis, third lord Aungier and first Earl of Longford and had issue: Francis his heir and Gerald who died in 1678. Francis, born Sept

12 1656 married Honora, daughter of Michael Bole, archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland and widow of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Ardglass and died Sept 26 1694. His grandson was "*James Cuff of Ballinrobe, who was created Baron Tyrawley of Ballinrobe in 1797*". Lord Tyrawly's income for his estates was approx. £10,000. The Cuff family lived, when in Ballinrobe, at Lakeview amongst other places and also at the Newcastle, later converted to a Manor House and subsequently sold to the War Office for a Cavalry Barracks. They then moved to their home and large estate at Creagh²⁵³. Most of the estates of Lord Tyrawly passed to his daughter Jane and her husband Colonel Charles Nesbitt Knox.

Fig. 168. Detail of the Cuff House and Gardens including Coach House at Creagh which was situated beside the River Robe and described in September 1836 by Robert Graham as a "*nicely laid out cottage residence*". Map Knox Estate Map NLI. MS 22014 © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.



Fig. 169. The Barracks which was originally the Manor House for the Cuff Family and site of the new Castle. Its main entrance was a tree lined Avenue leading directly from Bowgate St., Ruins of this property below. **Fig. 170**



Fig. 171. Cast Iron plaque dated 1728 of Gerald Cuff's with date outlined in white. It was originally inserted in wall at back of a house at Bowgate Street and currently in Biggin's Pub on same Street. This may have been a marker for indicating Cuff territory. The bottom end has broken off or worn away.

²⁵³ Heaney, H. (Ed), *The Irish Journals of Robert Graham of Redgorton*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999.



Fig. 172. Original entrance to the Cuff/Knox estate at Creagh on Creagh Rd. Ballinrobe. There is a gate lodge to the right and a further one about a mile further along the drive.



Fig. 173. Remains of the cut stone Coach House of the original Cuff home at Creagh, Ballinrobe see location on fig... The cut stone is of excellent quality which gives an indication of the house building standard.

Seats rows 4, 6, and 8 were occupied by the Knox family of Creagh and Cranmore Houses, Ballinrobe, who held 24,374 acres in county Mayo in 1876. The family were originally from county Donegal and in 1778 William Knox married Elizabeth Nesbitt of Scurmore, county Sligo. Their son Charles Nesbitt Knox married Jane Cuff, eventually heiress to the settled estates of her father James Cuff, Lord Tyrawly.

In January 1899 a resolution was passed by the Ballinrobe Board of Guardians²⁵⁴ condemning Colonel Knox for evictions around Glenhest and Ballinrobe. Colonel C.H.C. Knox sold his estate to the Congested Districts' Board in July and December 1913 and February 1914.



Fig. 174. Front of Creagh House, built 1875 by Col. Charles Knox.

²⁵⁴ *Ballinrobe Board of Guardians Record Books* at Local History Dept., Mayo County Library, Castlebar.



Fig. 176. Belfry at side of Creagh house. The working day timetable was regulated from here with the first bell chime at 7 a.m.



Fig. 175. Back of Creagh House as it was c 1899 overlooking the Deer Park. This house was built by Colonel Charles Knox in 1875. It later became the nurse's home for a tuberculosis sanatorium called St. Teresa's and was very badly damaged by fire. The Agricultural Institute later took it over as a Research Institute after which it was purchased by Mr. O'Malley. James Cuff originally owned the estate.



Fig. 177. Cranmore House, another of the Knox Houses in Sept 09.

Cranmore House was just off Main Street with the Bulkaun River waterfall into the Robe River in foreground within its grounds. Built in 1838 by Alexander Clendining Lambert on land he held on lease from Colonel Charles Knox, the house reverted to the Knoxes after the Famine and was used as a dower house by Colonel Charles Howe Cuff Knox for his mother, a daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Sligo. The house was bought by the McCartan family and sold to the Daly Family c 1950s. It has been sold to a developer who proposed to site a hotel there c 2009.



Fig. 178. Cranmore House before the roof was removed c 1950s to avoid the payment of rates. These high rates caused the loss and deterioration of many of our heritage houses.

Fig. 179. Side view Cranmore House as it is to day. It was the home of Hubert T. Knox, the well know historian and archaeologist. See JGAHS for more on his life. Photo Pat McGovern Feb. 2010.



It is only by the late twentieth century that Irish country houses built by members of the Protestant Ascendancy class began to be viewed as a significant part of the nation's cultural heritage. Growing support for preservation of these buildings marked a striking change in attitude. In the decades before and after independence in 1921, these estates were perceived as alien in the landscape by most Irish nationalists. Burnt-out shells of such houses are stark reminders of the destruction of the Ascendancy homes during the Anglo-Irish and Irish Civil Wars. This was not the case in Ballinrobe, with only the Cavalry Barracks being burnt for a political cause.

In a colonial and postcolonial country, such divisions marked not just differences of class and wealth between landlords and tenants, but also divisions of political allegiance, religion, and language. Unlike England's great houses, which were incorporated into the concept of national heritage early in the nineteenth century, the Ascendancy 'Big House' (a derisive term for the country house that is unique to Ireland) signalled not community but division. The seating hierarchy of the congregation of St. Mary's is reflected by the size of these 'Big Houses' and estates.

To continue with the seating, a Mr. Livesay listed at no. 10 seat on North side of Church in 1860 lived on an estate at Cushlough, Ballinrobe. This property had been part of Lord Tyrawly's estate, later owned by the Knoxes of Creagh. Lewis describes the house as "formerly a seat of Lord Tyrawley and now R. Livesay". It was close to the ruins of Cushlough Castle on the banks of Lough Mask. Some of the Livesay Family are buried in a walled in graveyard at the Catholic Tempall na Lacca near Cushlough.



Fig. 180. Detail from Knox Map of Cushlough Estate with Castle on shores of Lough Mask c1825 surrounded by gardens.



Fig. 181. *Lough Mask* c 1820 by James Arthur O'Connor commissioned by Kenny Family now in NGI. ©Permission of the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

While the Kenny Family,^{255,256,257} who lived in Ballinrobe from the early 18th century, and whose early ancestor was the Rev. John Courtney, Rector,²⁵⁸ do not appear on the seating list for 1866. They did, however, occupy the second seat the on Pulpit side in later years, again indicating a high status. The family was in the area from the late 17th century and held land from the Cuffs, the Earls of Lucan, the Rutledges and later the Knoxes. There is an inscribed plaque on one of their staff house at High Street close to Robe Villa: *Built by Courtney Kenny... 1775*. They were involved in milling and the brewing industries and employed a number of locals. Mr. Stanhope Kenny Esq is thanked in the VMB by the Vestry “for his exactions to promote the efficiency of the choir during the year”²⁵⁹ c. 1867. Initially they lived at Rocksborough, just outside the town and subsequently built Robe Villa on the banks of the Robe and lived here for 200 years until they sold this house to Ballinrobe Rugby Club in 1980.

²⁵⁵ McWalter, P., *The Papers of the Kenny's of Ballinrobe*, XXIII (2003), Local Hist Dept., Mayo C. Council, Castlebar, pp 99-105

²⁵⁶ *Griffith's Valuation of Ireland 1850-1859*; Ballinrobe Union, 45, Westport Union 87 (Summerville) and Oughterard Union 63 (Breadrim)

²⁵⁷ McWalter, P., *The Papers of the Kenny's of Ballinrobe*. XXIII, pp 99-105

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xiv

²⁵⁹ VMB extract No. 18



Fig. 182 Detail of Kenny home from Knox map c 1828. There was extensive pleasure gardens to the rear and High St. houses adjoining the main house were built by the Kenny family in 1775. ©Permission of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin



Fig. 183. Photo of Stanhope William Fenton Kenny Grandfather to Courtney and Great grand father to Francis Kenny. He died in 1910 aged 82 and was sometimes nicknamed 'Admiral of the Robe' as he had been involved in many alterations to the level of the River.



Fig. 184. Mrs. Maeve Kenny, mother of Courtney at an I.C.A. outing in Sligo in 1962. She had been President of the *Mothers Union* for five years and very involved in the I.C.A. in Ballinrobe. She is remembered fondly for her many kindnesses by many

Reminiscences of Stanhope William Fenton Kenny give us the clue to this man who wrote many essays under the general headings *My Chimney Corner*, *Our House*, *Oxford Days* and *the Poets of Greece*²⁶⁰. He writes of his school days at Winchester College followed by his Oxford Days. He speaks of his communications with “Roman Catholics of all classes, especially during the famine times and can bear witness to their zealous sympathy and energy in administering to the wants of a starving population.”²⁶¹ His thoughts on religion are interesting when he says of his RC neighbours who he finds friendly and sincere that:

their beliefs, notwithstanding, I could never agree with their doctrines or understand how any one educated in Protestant principles can possibly accept them and I shall not discuss here the vexed question of purgatory prayers for the dead...but the doctrine of vital importance in which we differ 'toto calo' from RCs is that of Christ's atonement as a sufficient sacrifice one offered for our sins... and I often felt a sadness when one visiting some of my old RC tenants previous to their decease I remarked how peacefully they regarded death while resting their hope of salvation on what we must consider a sandy foundation... in a shirt blessed by the priest...I believe that men who preach such doctrines are liable to the doom pronounced by out Lord on those who cast a stumbling block in the way of His little ones...

²⁶⁰ McWalter, P., *The Papers of the Kenny's of Ballinrobe*. XXIII, p. 49.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Fig. 185. Robe Villa by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820 romantic painting of the Kenny house with detail below. One gets a glimpse of the Robe River prior to the building of the Bower Walk and shows the old bridge. No hint of the Infantry Barracks which was on front of this house appears or it is well hidden by the trees.



Fig. 186. Detail from Robe Villa by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820



Fig. 187. Mr Courtney and Mr. Frances Kenny during a recent visit to Ballinrobe in 2010

Fig. 188. Interior of the beautifully maintained Kenny House, High St. c 1975 showing the Dining Room.



Once standing at the focus of Irish social and political life in Ballinrobe, the Kenny's family's Robe Villa was a splendid testimony to the confidence and rich culture of generations of Ireland's ruling families. The sitting and dining room on either side of the front door according to Mr. Courtney Kenny had beautiful plaster ceilings by the Francini Brothers²⁶². Plasterwork was practiced from at least the sixteenth century in Ireland, where new styles introduced by foreign stuccadores were adopted by native craftsmen. The Italian Francini brothers arrived in Ireland around 1735, bringing with them an international late baroque style characterised by large-scale figure sculpture, fruit, and foliage, in complete departure from the preceding native style. They worked in some of the greatest houses of eighteenth-century Ireland, including the salon at Carton House, Co. Kildare and Westport House in Westport Co. Mayo. They were succeeded in the 1750s by the native plaster workers like Robert West and later by Michael Stapelton, who returned to a plainer classical style.

A laying-out of a member of the Kenny family in an upstairs bedroom in the early 18th century resulted in a vast number of people visiting the house and as a consequence the ceiling below cracked. At that time the Francini brothers were working in Westport House, Westport and when their work there was completed they came to Ballinrobe. On their recommendation, the ceilings in both of these rooms below was raised which resulted in the upstairs bedroom windows being below the new floor level. Robe Villa was sold to the local Rugby Club and then on to a developer and now lies vacant and falling into decay.

The Kenny family commissioned four paintings by James Arthur O'Connor c 1820. They seem to be the only images available for Ballinrobe in the National Gallery of Ireland who purchased them from Mrs. Maeve Kenny in the 1950's. They are: The Mill, The Pleasure Grounds, Lough Mask and Ballinrobe House. Despite their obvious value, painting (possible more than topographical sketches) should not be regarded as an exact factual record of a place's appearance at a particular time. As Patrick Duffy points out "from the point of view of the historian... the canvas as a document must be cross-checked against the often dry and tedious written word."²⁶³ A patron's wish to omit some unimpressive physical feature may have influenced a painter's final creation or a landscape may have been influenced by prevailing stylistic conventions. It is, therefore, important to consult other sources in tandem with extracting information from sketches and paintings

Occupying rows 32 and 31 were members of The Royal Irish Constabulary²⁶⁴ and their families. Despite a series of acts of parliament passed during the eighteenth century, the Irish police force at the time of the Act of Union of 1800 was still composed only of small groups of sub-constables. These part-time policemen, appointed by grand juries were few in numbers and poorly paid out of the county funds. The passage of the Irish Constabulary Ireland Act 1836²⁶⁵ finally brought a single, unified force into being. Power to appoint and discharge members of the force, to make rules and fix salaries was vested in the Lord

²⁶² Interview with Mr. Courtney Kenny Feb. 2010.

²⁶³ Duffy, P., 'The changing Rural Landscape 1750 – 1850' in *Irish Geography*, Volume 18 Issue 1, 1985, pp 25 – 37.

²⁶⁴ Herlihy, J., *The Royal Irish Constabulary A complete alphabetical list of officers and men, 1816-1922*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999, p. 4.

²⁶⁵ Herlihy, J., *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A Short history and genealogical guide with a select list of medal awards and casualties*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999, p. 5.

Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1867 in recognition of its loyal and faithful services, the Constabulary was renamed the Royal Irish Constabulary. Later, while some of its members were Catholic, the majority of the higher positions were filled with Church of Ireland members and those faithful to the Crown, including some who would have been members of the Ballinrobe congregation. It was disbanded in August 1922.

Fig.189. Some of the local RIC who were involved in protecting a group of workers who came to harvest the famous Capt. Boycott fields at Lough Mask Castle.



Other probable congregants would have been the Irish Revenue Police²⁶⁶, who were responsible for the prevention of illicit distilling and Irish Excise Men²⁶⁷ together with Custom Officer²⁶⁸ who would also no doubt have been members of Ballinrobe's Church of Ireland having been appointed by the Government.

Members of the Grand Jury were appointed yearly by the county High Sheriff for example James Cuff, and had both judicial and administrative responsibilities. The judicial function was to preside at the assizes and criminal trials, with the administrative tasks dealt with at presentment sessions and were often used to raise money for specific purposes, such as the upkeep and building of roads and bridges and the supervision of workhouses, gaols, fever hospitals which were all situated in Ballinrobe. Members of the Judiciary, some of whom may have resided in Ballinrobe, as well as solicitors and clerks, would all have been seen as loyal to the Crown.

The Army would have been well represented with its Officers attending service having led the band on selected days e.g. on the Sovereigns birthday etc. The Officers, respected members of the congregation, both as representatives of the Crown and leaders of men, together with their perceived protection status of the Anglican community, would attend or be represented at Church Services.

²⁶⁶Records from 1830-1857, National Archives, Kew, London, CUST 111

²⁶⁷Records from 1824 - 1833, National Archives, Kew, London, CUST 110

²⁶⁸Records from 1682-1826, National Archives, Kew, London, CUST 20.

Fig.190. Market Day Ballinrobe during the Military Occupation from *The Graphic*, Dec. 1880.



Moving on, Dr. Gillier had a seat at number 2 and it was probably other members of his family or household that had numbers 18 and 19, with seat number 7 and 34 being reserved for the Rector of the Parish, his family and servants. The Incumbent during these alterations was Rev. James Anderson 1796-1863. He was very active in appealing for food for the poor during the famine.²⁶⁹

A Mr. Walsh who was allocated seat number 12 may have been married to Bell Walsh, who was a daughter of Thomas Ruttledge who mentions her in his will dated 1797. A Thomas Walsh was agent to David W. Ruttledge in the first half of the 19th century and was a tenant on his land at Robeen.

Miss Duell who was listed for seat number 12 was probably listed earlier as the postmistress whose offices were at Bridge St. Charles 1 established the Post Office in London in 1635 to collect and distribute mail, to collect revenues on behalf of the Crown. The numbers grew and extended to Ireland with the development of turnpikes²⁷⁰ and required regional post offices. Descriptions of the administration and staff records from 1636 to 2000 can be found at the National Archives at Kew, with one of the employees in the West of Ireland being Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) an English novelist, who was to recognize the importance of Ireland in his development as a civil servant and a writer. In *An Autobiography* he talks of his "coming to Ireland in August 1841 when he was 26 years old... this was the first good fortune of my life"²⁷¹ His novels often depicted social scenes with memorable characters and atmosphere with an ironic view of the Victorian upper classes in *The Way we Live now* in 1873.

Mail in the past may have been a lot more personal than to-day, as can be seen from figs 192 & 193 below, on an envelope to Mr. Robert Caldwell, Bridge Street, Ballinrobe who was an agent for many landlords including the Knox Family, Creagh. Both the front and back are

²⁶⁹ *Famine Relief Commission Papers 1845-1847*, NAI, Dublin, NA ref RLFC3/1.

²⁷⁰ Records of the Turnpikes of Ireland are available at the NAI under the *Office of Public Works* records, National Archives, Dublin.

²⁷¹ Sadlier, M., & Page, F., *World's Classics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980 (1950) pp 58-59.

decorated in pen and ink sketches with personal undertones to the scripts. On Dec. 23rd 1871 the telegraph worked in Ballinrobe for the first time.²⁷²

Fig.191. Premises at Bridge St. with the Estate Office of the land agents of the Knox Family indicated and the adjoining house was home to some of the Clergy prior to the erection of the Rectory. The Tunbridge family also lived in this premises.



Figs.192 & 193. Front above and Back below with details from envelope addressed to Mr. Robert Caldwell.

²⁷² *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, Dec 30th 1871.



Fig. 194.
Detail "Why
the devil don't
you write?"



John Hearne, the occupant of seat number 14, was the Kenny Family Agent from 1880 to 1910, and also an agent for the Mountmorrency Estate at Cloongowla and we can see from below that this could be a dangerous occupation. He may have been a relation of, John who had a Tobacconist and Tallow Chandler shop on Market (Main Street in 1824). A Joseph Hearn had an Ironmonger and Hardware shop on Market St. In the *Ballinrobe Chronicle* in 1881 there is a report on an attempt to kill John Hearne of Killoshine cottage, who was hit several times but eventually survived.²⁷³

Fig.195. Prisoners charged with shooting Mr. Hearn at Ballinrobe, Mayo, brought before him for identification, 1881.

The Illustrated London News, March 1881. Hearne was also a Land Agent for the Mountmorrency Estate in Cloongowla. He was hit several times but walked home and survived the attack.



²⁷³ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, March 5th 1881.

The Kelly family with seats numbers 20 and 22 were possibly involved with the building trade of some sort, with their names appear in the VMB as Churchwardens. Their names also appeared in VMB No 10 as having owned a Box Pew prior to alterations as “they had to carry up their flue and unite with the Cuff flue as their stove had been causing problems”²⁷⁴. A Box Pew in this location conferred serious social status.

The Tunbridges listed at seat 26 owned properties in the town of Ballinrobe, and on the on Friday, August 2 1872²⁷⁵ a Martin Turnbridge, a “civil bill officer” and a person who served eviction notices was shot. Apparently Martin Turnbridge was led to a secluded area with the promise that “they would have fun” where he was then shot. He was a 50 year bachelor who lived on Bridge St. with his widowed sister Martha McGee over the Knox estate office.²⁷⁶ According to the *Visitation Questionnaire*, see appendix 2, a Courtney Tunbridge who lived in the same house was the Parish Clerk. When asked the question “Is he properly qualified?” Rev. Anderson replied “Yes, but he does not sing, not needed however, as there is an organ”.

Mr. A Hamilton, listed as sharing seat 28 may be a family member of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, a Physician of Glebe Street in 1824²⁷⁷. David Hamilton was listed in grave records for 1785 and an A. Hamilton, listed at seat no 28, could have been a relative of this man.

Miss A. Gildea at seat number 28 may have been the daughter of Mrs. Anne Gildea (otherwise Nash) who resigned to Mr. James Cuff the right and “title to Pew No 11 next to the Communion Table at the north side of the Church”²⁷⁸ prior to alterations of seating, and again in a very prominent location within the Church.

Mr. Mayne had seat number 25. This was the Mayne Family of Springvale, many of whom are buried in St. Mary’s graveyard and who were involved in milling in Ballinrobe. The family lived at Springvale House, a small property just outside the town. Blakes were in possession in 1814 and it was the home of Judge Henry Joseph Blake²⁷⁹ in 1837.

Fig. 196. Springvale House, Ballinrobe Home formally of the Mayne Family and previously owned by the Blake family. Occupied by the McGrael Family now.



²⁷⁴ VMB No 10, see appendix no. 1

²⁷⁵ *Ballinrobe Chronicle*, 3rd August 1872.

²⁷⁶ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, Aug 3rd 1872.

²⁷⁷ Pigot, J., *City of Dublin and Provincial Directory*, 1824, p. 46.

²⁷⁸ VMB No 3, see appendix no. 1

²⁷⁹ Left, A., *A directory to the market towns, villages, gentlemen's seats and other noted places in Ireland*, B. Smith, Dublin, 1814, p. 360.

The 3rd Earl of Lucan (1800 –1888), styled Lord Bingham before 1839 had seat Number 9 listed in his

Fig. 197. Right circa 1860: British soldier George Charles Bingham (1800 - 1888), 3rd Earl of Lucan. As commander of cavalry in the Crimean War he passed on the disastrous order for the Charge of Light Brigade in 1854. Original Artwork: Engraving by D J Pound after a photograph by John Watkins.



name. He was a British soldier, remembered for his part in the Crimean War and the 'Charge of the Light Brigade' and for his mass evictions he enforced on his estates during the Famine, leading to his being known as the 'exterminator'. On his farm at Cloonagashel, near Ballinrobe, Co Mayo, for example, 2,000 persons were evicted during the Famine years 1848-1849²⁸⁰. In 1857 this farm was let to a Scottish grazier James Simson.



Fig. 198. The fourth Earl of Lucan, by Wynne Photographers. Taken from *The Connaught Telegraph* dated 27 June 1908

The 3rd Earl was succeeded by his son George. In contrast to his father, the Fourth Earl Charles George Bingham (1830-1914) was well regarded in Mayo.

Sir. George Bingham K.P., J.P, fourth held the title of Baron Lucan (1776), and was a baronet of Nova Scotia, the first baronet being Sir. Richard Bingham, created in 1623. He reduced risings 1586, 1590, and 1593, and became Marshal of Ireland. The fifth baronet married a grand-daughter of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, who fell at Linden, in 1693. Lord Lucan was a representative Peer for Ireland. He was a Knight of the Legion of Honour and of the Medjidieh (5th Class). The son of the third Earl and Ann, daughter of the sixth Earl of Cardigan, he was born on May 8th, 1830. He was educated at Rugby. Entering the Army, he served as aide-de-camp to his father, who commanded the cavalry division in the Crimea War. Lord Lucan was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and bore the sceptre with dove at the Coronation of King Edward. He succeeded his father in the title in 1888.

²⁸⁰Lucan Papers, James Hardiman Library Archives, NUIG, P 48/17/1-3.

*The late Earl was a Member of Parliament for Mayo from 1865 to 1874. He became Vice-Admiral of Connaught in 1889, and His Majesty's Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for Co. Mayo in 1901*²⁸¹.

Dr. Twiss, another professional was allocated a seat at Number 1 on the right side of the Church. He is mentioned as Dr. Hasting Twiss who was living in 1878 beside the 'new' Bank of Ireland in a house which is now the Allied Irish Bank building²⁸². Unfortunately, no further information is available on this man or his family with no record of a burial in the graveyard.

Captain Lynch at seat No 13 was probably a descendant of Sir Henry Lynch of Castlecarrá, who granted his mother the lands of Cloonlagheen, parish of Ballyovey, barony of Carra, county Mayo, in lieu of her dowry in 1667. Her third son Arthur inherited the property, which remained in the hands of his descendants until the late 20th century. Following a marriage in 1749 with a Blosse heiress, this family took the additional surname of Blosse. They had been a Galway family who lost most of their estates under Cromwell but received extensive grants of land in the barony of Carra, county Mayo under the Restoration Settlement, most of which they managed to retain despite supporting the Jacobite cause. Sir Henry Lynch married Mary Moore in 1722. In 1876 the Lynch Blosse estate amounted to 17,555 acres²⁸³. The family continued to live at Partry House until the 1990s, when their home was sold to the well known film producer of the *Hands* TV Series, David Shaw Smith. Members of the Blosse Lynch family are buried at a plot within the estate.



Fig. 199. Partry house is described by Bench- Jones as Georgian with a Wyatt window above the porch; it is likely that it incorporates an earlier house built in the latter part of the 17th century.



Fig. 200. Altar Cloth donated by Mrs. Blosse Lynch. The acceptance of such an expensive gift to the Church indicated a certain status of the donor

Mr. Ruttledge of Bloomfield, Hollymount, with an income c £7,000,²⁸⁴ and his family lived in a house built c 1760 on Lough Carra called Cloonee²⁸⁵ which passed to them by marriage. In 1971 Major R.F. Ruttledge²⁸⁶ an occupier of Cloonee, was decorated with the award of Military Cross, and was subsequently the author of a definitive ornithological book "*Birds of Ireland*". He had a passionate interest in wildlife with a bird sanctuary on the grounds of this house. He had been a supportive member of the Church of Ireland, and the family occupied the first seat on the north side of the Ballinrobe Church in later years.

²⁸¹ *Connaught Telegraph*, June 14th, 1914.

²⁸² *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, 23rd March 1878.

²⁸³ Blosse Lynch estate maps may be viewed online: <http://www.mayolibrary.ie/cni/Laenl>

²⁸⁴ Wakefield, *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, 2 vols. NP. ,1812, pp. 270-1.

²⁸⁵ *The Connacht Landed Estates Project*, www.landedestates.ie/

²⁸⁶ Massingberd, H. M. (Ed), *Burke's Irish Family Records*, Burkes, London, 1976, p.652.



Fig. 201. Cloonee House sometimes called Lakeview on the shores of Lough Carra.

ENVIRONMENTAL issues are a primary concern at the present time, a far cry from the situation when Major Robert Francis (Robin) Rutledge, a centenarian now, was fighting a lone campaign to awaken the wonder of observing bird life. In those days there was no Eamonn de Buíléar on television, and none of the magnificent nature programmes produced by the B.B.C. at immeasurable cost. Indeed, there was no major conservation body in existence.

Although he was born in Carlow he went west at an early age when his father inherited the family place, Bloomfield, near Hollymount. Large numbers of Greenland white-fronted geese spent the winter in a bog which belonged to Bloomfield and Major Rutledge built a hide-out on an island near his home. The observing began here.

Many regard him as the most knowledgeable birdman in the world, an extraordinary pioneer. Some of his achievements include being a founder of the Irish Wildlife Conservancy, the founder of the Sallee Bird Observatory, and the author of many pamphlets, booklets and books, one of which lists rare species after rare species being shot. One of his international roles became that of Irish representative on the Goose Research Panel of the International Waterfowl Research Bureau, and this position enabled him to have information available on goose preservation.

This resulted in the establishment of the extensive refuge for geese on the Wexford Slobbs, and the significant breakthrough in convincing the Irish Government to become involved in a conservation venture of international import.

Public appreciation of his work was not always forthcoming, but he has been awarded an Honorary Doctorate from Trinity College, Dublin, and the rare accolade, the Bernard Tucker Medal (the V.C. of birdmen).

Fig. 202. Major Robert Francis Rutledge. At the end of 1971 Major Rutledge, founder of the Irish Bird Report, retired as its editor after nineteen years to give more time to his work on *The Birds of the Western Palearctic* (Preston 1973). During this time, Major Rutledge had assumed primary responsibility for the assessment of all claims of rare and scarce species in Ireland, soliciting the assistance of acknowledged experts in cases where he had insufficient personal knowledge of the species concerned. The Irish Records Panel (IRP) was established in 1971 with the aim of continuing Rutledge's excellent work, its operation being modelled on the quite recently established British Birds Rarities Committee



3.6 Other Church of Ireland Families not mentioned on list.

A Clendinning family was employed as agents and receivers on many county Mayo estates in the first half of the 19th century, including those of the Marquess of Sligo, Lord Oranmore and Browne and the FitzGerald of Turlough. They were also involved in banking. The Knox Estate Maps were commissioned on behalf of the Cuff/Knox Families by Mr. Clendinning who built Cranmore House, Ballinrobe in 1830 which was subsequently sold to the Knox Family in 1850. Possibly a descendant or relation of this family, a John

Clendinning son of an ex-Constable was drowned aged 26 in 1901 in the Robe River at Creagh.²⁸⁷

The Gildea family was established at Port Royal in County Mayo from early in the 18th century, where they held an estate of church lands in the parish of Ballyovey, barony of Carra. Thomas Fair of Roundfort was agent to James Gildea in the 1830s. From early in the 18th century the Gildeas also leased Cloonagashel in the parish of Ballinrobe from the Bingham.



Fig.203 A house inhabited by the Gildea family from the mid 18th century and situated on the estate of the Earls of Lucan. It was the home of James Simpson between 1855 and 1880 and later of the Egan family. It now functions as the club house for Ballinrobe Golf Club.



Fig. 203a. Ruins of Cloonagashel Tower House a few miles outside Ballinrobe at Golf Club. The newer house above is behind the trees on right of photo. There are also the remains of a large walled garden behind the Tower House. Sir Bingham lived here. Photo: John Staunton

The Courtney²⁸⁸ family were settled in the Ballinrobe area in the 18th century and held lands from such persons as the Earl of Mayo, in the parishes of Ballinrobe, Kilcommon and Shrule, barony of Kilmaine, county Mayo. Mr. David Courtney who died in 1788 is buried in graveyard.

3.7 Schools.

Three maps have been researched to try and locate the sites of schools in Ballinrobe, namely the Knox 1833 (Map MS 22014), OSi 1829-1841 and Taylor & Skinner's 1778 maps. Five locations have been identified and indicated below on Knox's map of Ballinrobe. It is difficult to know the dates from which these schools operated apart from Dorothy Hearne's recollections of attending Sunday School when she was young, on the Church grounds which was situated over the archway which is the main entrance to the Church. Details from the *VMB* and the *Visitation Questionnaire* were useful in establishing the numbers of pupils

²⁸⁷ *The Ballinrobe Chronicle*, March 28th 1901.

²⁸⁸ *Encumbered Estates' Court Rentals* (O'Brien), Courtney, 5 Feb 1856, National Archives, Vol 38, MRGS 39/018

attending various classes in 1862 and the Master's earnings plus some details of purchases for the school (see appendix 1).



Fig. 204 Old School House spanned the entrance arch to St. Mary's Church. The doorway on right had staircase and on left was occupied by a school Master. This is now an office occupied by the South Mayo Research Centre.



Fig. 205. Rear of old Schoolhouse spanning entrance arch to Church from Main Street prior to renovation. View from Church Grounds. On either side were small gardens of the School Master who lived at this location at some time. (Ger Delaney, South Family Research Centre) **Note:** Information Board on Service times etc., on wall on left side under arch.

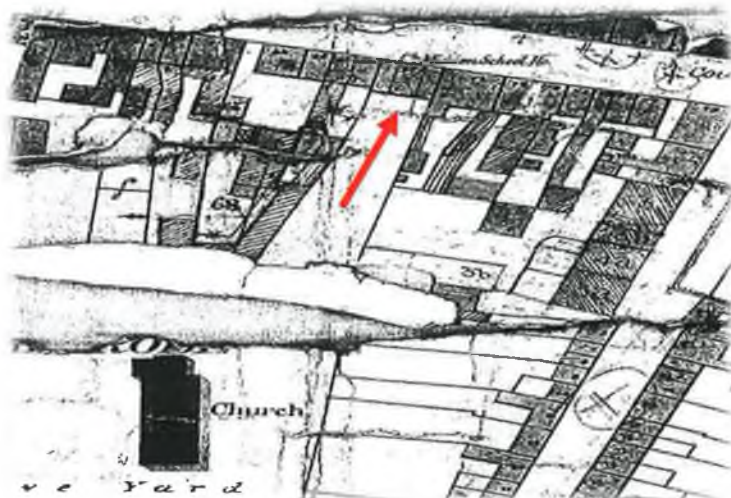


Fig. 206. Site of the above school, also called the Church Mission School House on Market Street. Extract from Valuation Office Map 1896. Unfortunately as can be seen this map has been damaged.

It is evident that in May 1862 there was a Sunday school under the superintendence of Mr. J. Anderson, the Rector with approximately 20 pupils attending with 4 Teachers. We can also see from the *Visitation Questionnaire*²⁸⁹ that there were 35 pupils at daily school of whom 12 are Romanists, however, the location is not mentioned but it may have been at the Church Mission School marked on the 1896 map above. It has also been suggested that a school was conducted at an earlier time upstairs over the Market House where the Courthouse now exists.

²⁸⁹ Appendix 2.



Fig. 207 The Courthouse which was the old Market House. Upstairs a school was held but at present the dates are unknown.



Fig.208. Knox 1833 Map MS. NLI 22014. Five locations for schools are marked:

1. Charter School (also marked on Taylor & Skinners' map of 1778 fig.9.
2. Market House (now courthouse)
3. Main entrance to Church from Market Street (now Main St) but no building at archway yet.
4. Carrownalecka (Carnalecka) School.
5. The Deans School and gardens.

© Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.

Two schools according to Griffith's valuation index are indicated in the town as being aided by donations from C.N. Knox, Esq., and afford instruction to about 200 children; and there were seven private pay schools in the parish, in which there are about 320 children, and a Sunday school. There was also a dispensary.

The oldest known schools in Ballinrobe were the Charter Schools which began in Ireland c. 1733 and founded by the Charter Society to provide Protestant education to poor Catholic and Protestant children. George 11 granted in 1773 with a donation of £1,000 annually for these schools to be established in Ireland, for the education of children of the Irish in the English language and the principles of the true religion of the Established Church. This was one of the initiatives in the early 18th century aimed at changing the religion of a large number of people and through this, the balance in the local community and Society in general.

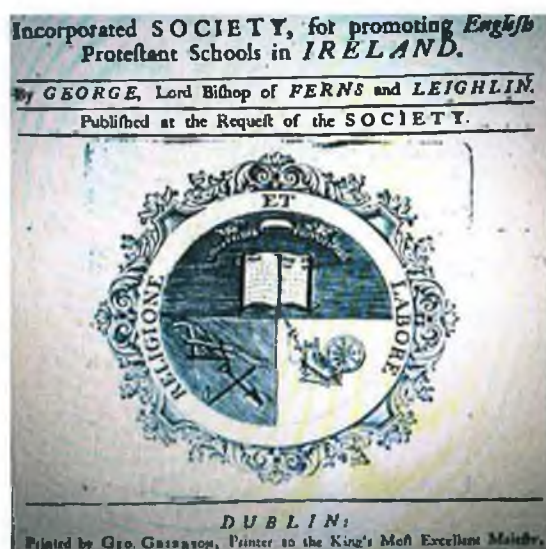


Fig. 209. Title page of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland by Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin. This is now at the Royal Dublin Society.

In 1731 Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church requested that persons with powers, be enabled to accept gifts, benefactions and lands for the support and maintenance of Charter schools. By 1750 funds were low and the Irish Parliament made £1,000 available through the sale of licences to pedlars and hawkers to raise money. Officers of the Society were permitted to take child beggars off the streets and develop industrial skills. After foundlings had been fostered, and there were plenty in Ballinrobe, see VMB, they were sent for training to some of these schools. The poor Irish were often unwilling to send their children to these protestant foundations, because of clerical influence; however poverty and the opportunity of wholesome food and warm clothes often put an end to this idea. As the schools were supposed to be self supporting the girls in Ballinrobe spun and “this linen was woven by one of the Protestant weavers brought into the district by the Cuffs, founders of the School.”²⁹⁰ These girls also dyed these yards of linen for shifts and boys shirts, and also yards of drugget; a mixture of linen and woollen yarn. The boys did manual work on farms and maintained the required garden, however a “former master of Ballinrobe made a nuisance of himself to his successor by making off with the product of the farm”²⁹¹.

John Wesley²⁹² on a visit to Ballinrobe on Friday, 14th Sept. 1775 writes in his Journal “entering the town, I was struck with the sight of the Charter school; no gate to the courtyard,

²⁹⁰ Milne, K., *The Irish Charter Schools 1730-1830*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1997, p. 29.

²⁹¹ TCD 5249, March 1806.

²⁹² Wesley, J., *The Journal of John Wesley*, 4 Vols., 1735-1746, J. Kershaw, London, 1827, p. 242.

a large chasm in the wall, heaps of rubbish before the house door, broken windows in abundance, the whole a picture of slothfulness, nastiness, and desolation! In the evening I preached at Ballinrobe; and on Saturday went on to Castlebar." On another visit to Ballinrobe in 1785 writing his observations on the Charter School he noted in his journal:

I went thither about five in the afternoon, but found no master or mistress. Seven or eight boys and nine or ten girls (the rest having rambled abroad) dirty and ragged enough were left to the care of a girl half the head taller than the rest. She led us through the house. I observed first the school-room, not much bigger than a small closet. Twenty children could not be taught there at once with any convenience. When we came into the bed-chamber, I enquired, "How many children now lodge in the house" and was answered, fourteen or fifteen boys and nineteen girls. For these boys there were three beds and five for the nineteen girls. For food, I was informed; the master was allowed a penny farthing a day for each! Thus they are clothed, lodged, and fed. But what are they taught? As far as I could learn, just nothing! Of these things I informed the commissioners for these schools in Dublin. But I do not hear of any alteration. If this be a sample of the Irish Charter Schools, what good can we expect of them?²⁹³

Following a correspondence with the Dublin Society, a letter was sent to Archdeacon Burton of Tuam resulting in the girls being moved to a different school, and Ballinrobe becoming a single sex boy's school²⁹⁴. By the mid 1793 all Charter School were segregated, and because of their boarding element often had similar designs see fig 213.

Worse was to follow when Revd. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, rector of Navan was chosen by the Dublin Board to conduct a national inspection and he stated that "Ballinrobe School was a wretched charter school in great decay and by the time of his official tour, had been closed and became a military infirmary²⁹⁵".



Fig. 210. Left Rev. Daniel A. Beaufort a 19th century portrait painting copied from the website of the National Maritime Museum (www.nmm.ac.uk.) The Irish cartographer Daniel Augustus Beaufort, although of London birth, was descended from Huguenots who fled France after the terrible St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. A man of many talents, Beaufort who was the Church of Ireland Rector of Navan, Co. Meath, having succeeded his father in 1765, was also one of the founder or 'foundation' members of the Royal Irish Academy, and a prominent member of the Dublin Society. His other interests extended to travel-journal writing, architecture and of course cartography officer in The British Royal Navy and created the Beaufort scale for indicating wind force

²⁹³ Wesley, John, TCD 5239, April 1806.

²⁹⁴ Milne, K., *The Irish Charter Schools 1730-1830*, p. 179.

²⁹⁵ Leslie Papers, NLI – MS 403, p. 77.



Fig. 211. An example of his work 'A Civil and Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland', 1792. Detail by the Revd. D. A. Beaufort LLD Member of the Royal Irish Academy. 2nd Ed. 1797 (Repro ID: K0913 © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London). Notice Turlough Lough a Shie is clearly shown in Ballinrobe.

Fig. 212. Detail from Taylor and Skinners map of 1778 from Headford to Shrule showing Charter School.

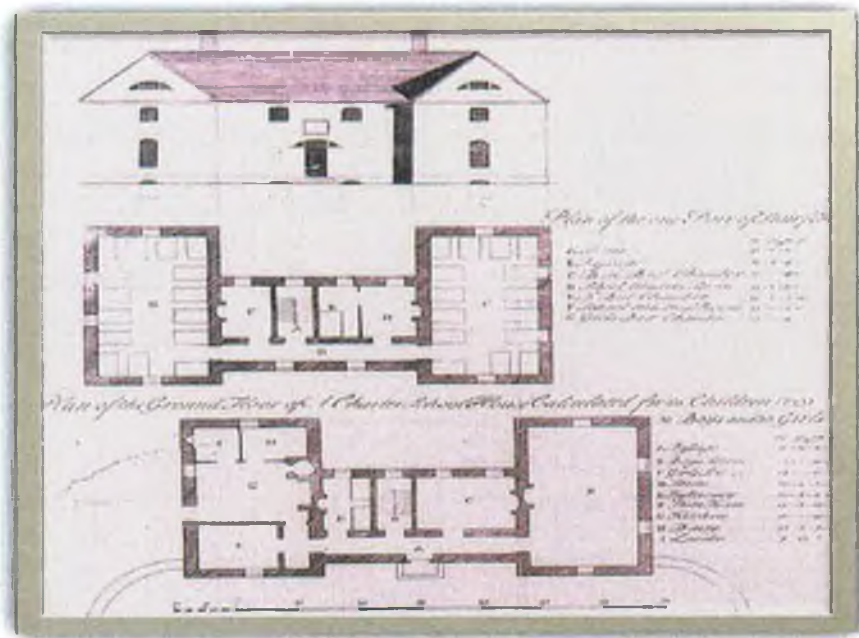


Fig.213. Common layout for a Charter School taken from J. Aheron's *A General treatise of architecture.* 1754. This design was included in the Incorporated Society's early

Fig.214. Image of Christian Brother School c 1935 previous location of the Charter School. CB built an extension to the rear c 1877. See plan of Charter School above which would have be very simple to convert to a Monastery with Chapel on upper level to right for CBs. Private donor.



By the early 19th century the British government had decided that the rationale of the Charter Schools²⁹⁶ was outdated in the contemporary religions climate and they were, in any case expensive to maintain, compared with other schools in Ireland.²⁹⁷

Finally, research shows that a Protestant Sunday school was held in the church and was attended by about 50 children.²⁹⁸ A recollection from 1974 of Miss. Dorothy Hearne, one of the last members of the congregation, indicated that she attended a Sunday school at the schoolhouse on Church grounds. There were 9 daily schools, 6 of which were in the town, 2 at Lakeview and one at Rahard. One of the daily schools in the town was aided with a £20 grant from the National Board, £10 from C.N. Knox Esq., and a free house and garden; and a second one from C. N. Knox for £10 and a free house and garden.²⁹⁹ While Mr. Knox supported two schools their location is not confirmed at the moment. Some time previous to 1840 the National school was suspended.³⁰⁰



Fig.215. Detail from Knoxes Map NLI 22014 above of the School on *Dean's Land* with entrance from Fair Place (now Cornmarket) – at the corner of what is now Cong, Cross and Neale Road. This large plot included a garden to support the pupils. © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.

²⁹⁶ Wesley, J., *The Journal of the John Wesley*, p. 242.

²⁹⁷ Akenson, D. H., *The Irish Experiment: The National System of Education in the 19th century*, London, 1970, pp 26-30.

²⁹⁸ Extracted from the Visitation Book Appendix 2

²⁹⁹ *The Parliamentary Gazette of Ireland*, Fullarton & Co. London, 1846, p. 145

³⁰⁰ *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1844-45*. Vol 1 A-C presents the results of the 1841 census compared with that of 1831(p. 144).

Fig.216. Detail from Knoxes Map of Market House above which a School was held but no dates are available Knox Estate Map MS. NLI 22014. © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin.



Fig.217. Detail - School House on Glebe Lands behind the ruins of Carrownalecka Church. Ruins of RC Chapel (left) to rear on Castlebar Road from OS Historical 6" 1829-1841

Further research would be useful as the NLI holds records of the 2nd Report of 1826 – the *Irish Education Enquiry* - listing all the parochial schools in Ireland from 1824 including the names and details of teachers with Dingfelder's³⁰¹ *Schoolmasters and Mistresses in Ireland* containing an index to the report. The NAI has records for National Schools set up in Ireland from 1831 onward and has produced a research guide describing their holdings³⁰². Salary books start from 1834 to 1918.

Hedge Schools emerged out of the harshness of the infamous Penal Laws, passed between 1702 and 1719. One of the first of the Penal Laws specified that "no person of the popish religion shall publicly or in private houses teach school, or instruct youth in learning within this realm..."³⁰³ One commentator on this Penal Law said that "It was not merely the persecution of a religion; it was an attempt to degrade and demoralize a whole nation."³⁰⁴ Storytellers, musicians, and local historians not only taught Irish history, tradition, music and culture at these covert schools, some of those attending also received a Classical education. Has our country ever since demonstrated the will to educate and to learn that was demonstrated then? This commitment is noted in verse, when the poet John O'Hagan wrote...

*Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge,
Or stretched on mountain fern,
The teacher and his pupils met feloniously to learn*³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Dingfelder, M., 'List of all parochial schools in Ireland, including names of teachers and other details, 1824' in *Irish Education Enquiry, 1826, 2nd Report* (2 vols.) NLI Ire 372 16; indexed in *Schoolmasters and Mistresses in Ireland* NLI Ire 372 p 38.

³⁰² www.nationalarchives.ie/topics/Nat_Schools/natschs.html.

³⁰³ Adams, J.R.R., 'The Hedge Schools and popular education in Ireland' in Donnelly, J. & Miller, K. (Eds.), *Irish Popular Culture 1650-1850*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1999.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

Fernández-Suárez³⁰⁶ has found that hedge schools existed into the 1890s, suggesting that the schools had existed as much from rural poverty and a lack of resources as from religious oppression. This resistance of the Irish to send their children to Protestant schools which, they perceived as intending to proselytise and Anglicise Ireland, is an indication of the importance of the Protestant schools to the Church of Ireland fraternity, and every effort must have been made in latter years to maintain a school in Ballinrobe both for educational purposes and for political interest.

3.8 Property and Glebes

There were at least four or five Glebe Land properties in Ballinrobe, which are listed below. These include the Church grounds, Glebes, rental houses and grazing parks. No doubt there were also outlying lands i.e. Tourmakeady which have not been included here.

Glebe lands were a major source of income for the Incumbent of the Church of Ireland in Ballinrobe. A brief opportunity arose to do some primary research on an 1854 Rent Book, which is in excellent condition, but in a private collection at the moment. It gives some indication of the size and location of some of these properties. This is a hard cover book, with handwritten entries of accounts of rental properties, and income from Glebe Lands and an index of 97 named occupiers of Church property. At the back of the book are random records of sales or purchases of hay, oats and straw. These transactions are with a Captain Ashton, Major Hughes and Captain Crawford.

A cross section of the rentals have been extracted from the rent book and linked up with scanned extracts of their locations from one of the Knox Estate Map³⁰⁷

While the income from these properties could have amounted to a sizeable figure, time has not allowed for collating this information. However, the information gleaned from this source gives an overall picture of a wealthy and very active Church of Ireland around this time.

1. *West Glebe* in the townland of Carnalecka, consisting of Chapel Road and Creagh Road
2. *East Glebe* in the townland of Cornaroya consisting of Glebe Street and Pig Market Road (now New Street). The glebe comprises 10 acres³⁰⁸.
3. The land upon which the *Glebe House* was built.
4. Glebe land together with the *Church itself and Graveyard* with one side on Church Lane. The acreage may be included in 2 above.
5. *Church Parks* - Mr. James Gillier had the grazing of same at the beginning of 1855 for £35.0.0.

We know from Finlay Dun's *Landlords and Tenants in Ireland* that some Glebe property in Ballinrobe was sold around 1875 and:

³⁰⁶ Fernández-Suárez, Y., 'An Essential Picture in a Sketch-Book of Ireland: The Last Hedge Schools' in *Estudios Irlandeses* (Journal of Irish Studies), 1, [Online Journal] pp 45-57.

³⁰⁷ NLI. MS 22014.

³⁰⁸ Lewis, S.. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, p. 117.

consisting of about fifty cabins in the poorest part of town, and that Mrs. Egan a prosperous gombeen, bought several at the time of sale and has since acquired others on which interest on mortgages was not forthcoming.³⁰⁹

The most expensive rental property within the town was the house of Courtney Kenny. In 1854³¹⁰ he paid £10.0.0 per annum.



Fig.218. Detail of the Kenny House "Robe Villa" with gardens and associated houses, stables and outhouses on High Street and adjoining Robe River adjacent to the Bridge. Entrances from High St. and Ballyglass Road are indicated. The Mount lies to the front of the house together with the Infantry Barracks ruins. © Permission of the National Gallerv. Dublin.

Date	No of West Glebe	Prof	1	Name
	House Townland of Carnalecka	Rent	2	
			3	
			4	
		Prof yearly 10.0.0	5	
1854				Courtney Kenny Esq
May 1	To 1/2 year's Rent		7	
Nov 1	" "		8	

Fig. 219. Detail of extract of Church account from Rent Book for Courtney Kenny, House on High Street above with yearly rental of £10.0.0

This was followed by that of William Levingston Esq at No 1. Creagh Road of the West Glebe in the townland of Carnalecka at £6.0.0 a year.

³⁰⁹ Dun, F., *Landlords and Tenants in Ireland*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1881, p. 236

³¹⁰ Papers of Robert Caldwell who had been Agent to the Knox Family, private collection.

Fig. 220. No 1 Creagh Road. Detail from accounts with address included 1854 rent of £6.0.0.

Date	No of Houses	Part of the Tenants of	
	1	Creagh Road	paid yearly Rent
Name			
1854.	W ^m Levingston Esq.		
May 1.	To 1/2 year's Rent		
Nov 1	To 1/2 do do		



Fig. 221. (A) William Levingston Esq. No 1 Creagh Road. Probably the site of the present Garda Station which was adjoining the Infantry Barracks. © Permission of the National Gallery, Dublin

(B) At some time a Loughery Family operated a shop at this location with a side window opening into the Barracks yard for after-hour sales of goods to the British Soldiers.

Fig.222. Creagh Road which led to the Main Entrance of the Cuff/Knox estates. All houses appear to have long narrow gardens i.e. burger plots.



The balance of rents varied a great deal from 4 shillings upwards. Some tenants paid by cutting turf, by work and one tenant as a Bailiff. There were 19 properties let on Glebe Street from £4.0.0 to 6 houses at 8 shillings each. On Pig Market Street a Frank Smith, Caretaker of the Garden House paid 10 shillings rent and there were three other rentals.

Appendix 1

Extracts from the Vestry Minute Book.

It is fortunate that St. Mary's Church registers did not perish in the fire in the Public Records Office in 1922. Although listed as starting in 1796 only those from 1809 have been discovered. Following primary research extracted information from the Vestry Minute and Account book from 1809 is listed below. All names have been recorded as written in this VMB.

Extract 1. The first activities of the Church Wardens recorded on behalf of the congregation was the selling of slates to George Gildea Esq. in June **1809** and 18 trees were sold from the Churchyard for £56.

Ext. 2. A Mr. Hull received payment for repairs to the organ in **1810** and **1811** saw payment to Mr. Ryan and Mr. Hannon for the supply of glass and repairs to the windows. In April **1812** it was decided to purchase coffins "by way of contract" from the most favourable tenant.

Ext. 3. In **1814** Mrs. Anne Gildea otherwise Nash in a letter to James Cuff Esq. "resigns to him the right and title in and to the Pew No 11 next to the Communion Table at the North side of the Church". It was resolved that the pew was granted and James Cuff Esq. his heirs or assigns is now grantee for ever. Ownership of a Pew and its location was valuable and obviously a status symbol. Carpenters, blacksmiths and labourers received payment for repairing and changing location of bell in **1814** and the church door was repaired

Ext. 4. A major decision was made in **1815** to get estimates for the building of a Tower and Vestry Room and that "£300 pounds be levied by the Clergy upon the Parish by such instalments as the Board of First Fruits shall direct".

Ext. 5. The Churchyard wall was repaired in **1816**, paving installed at the entrance gate and more glass was purchased for windows. A copper gilt bull was acquired for the spire plus a table for the Vestry Room. The wall and ceiling were coloured and also outside the Church Gate.

Ext .6. Stormy weather caused damage to the roof in **1817** and "good ton slates and strong sufficient laths" were chosen to roof the church and prevent further destructive effects from future storms. The Church was extended and the Vestry room and Tower finished. Mr. Martin Barrett received payment for same.

Ext. 7. There were no entries for **1818** and in **1819** it was resolved that Seat no 24 be allocated to Mason Stanhope Kenny Esq. and his family and that seat 23, the property of David Rutledge Courtney, be granted to John Kenny Esq.

Here we also have the first mention of a School Master Mr. Robert Beaty being paid £5 which was probably a quarter years salary.

Ext. 8. **1821** brought a decision that "James Cuff and Courtney Kenny Esq., will have the power to erect a stove in each of their respective pews at their own expense but if the smoke is not drawn properly it can be voted a nuisance and they must be moved by act of Vestry." A subscription is to be set up to erect a public stove in the centre of the isle between Pulpit and the Communion Table. We already know that there was a fireplace in the Vestry room as turf was purchased for same in **1821**. Mr Gillier was paid for bread and wine, Judy Gibbons for washing and Mary Henelly and two other women for nursing foundlings.

Ext. 9. Maps for the school were purchased from Ellen Rogers in **1822**, letters and postage paid for and George Watson, Tinman, received payment. Mary Corley and Mary Rafferly were paid for nursing more foundlings.

Ext. 10. It appears that something happened to the spire in **1823** as it was in a dangerous state and some immediate alteration was necessary.

Furthermore "the Pulpit was to be moved to the East end of the Church to comply with the suggestion of the Rev. John Burgh, Rector".

Ext. 11. A resolution in **1824** concerning "the alteration of the Pulpit and Reading Desk be carried into effect forthwith and the works to be commenced immediately. The steeple was to be taken down forthwith. The Dean of Cloyne was on this Committee and the Rev. Robert Potter stood in for him". The steeple erected around **1815** lasted only 9 years and must have sustained serious damage, perhaps from a great storm.

In James Arthur O'Connor's painting, *The Mill* this steeple appears to be on the east end of the Church. The current newer tower at the west does not appear to have the necessary supports for a steeple as, for example, can clearly be seen in a similar tower in the Neale.

Ext. 12. The possibility of erecting a stove for the whole congregation was examined and as Mr. Cuff and Mr. Kelly's were causing problems they had, at their own cost, to carry up their flues and unite them in one chimney at the top of the barge of the eastern gable.

The public stove was to be "erected Between No 5 and No 20 and the two flues to recommunicate with the vestry room chimney". Mr. Wall Perrie & Co. Glasgow received payment for supplying a Stove and Pillars (collennets) for the Gallery £18.19.0 and Mr. Alex Gillen was paid for labour and materials for setting up stove and carrying up the flues - £12.8.10. A payment for carrying the stove from Westport was made and Pat Loghan for raising the Vestry Room chimney £8.15.0.

Mr. John Kelly was paid £86.17.2 for erecting a Gallery and Peter Dawdle 18/6 for repairs to a Gallery. Work done by Bryan Carney at this time also amounted to £7.2.11. Some salaries were paid to Ellen Rogers as Sexton and Christopher Hart as School Master and William Doble as Bell Ringer. Doctor Moran received payment for attending an inquest of £1.2.9. Margaret McCann, Mary Gormley, Mary Lane, Mary Henelly, Mary Roperly, Mary Raferty, Nelly Walsh were paid fees for nursing foundlings.

A payment received in **1824** for old lead and Gates sold at Auction was £6.4.0.

This year also saw a resolution by the Churchwarden "to get the new entrance complete forthwith and that the Vestry reimburse Mr. Glendining whatever he maybe out of pocket in the necessary excavations. The walls built on each side... The large gate and the side railings and the cut stone pillars and the corrular walls all which has already got done".

The state of the galleries required the renewing of the timbers or a supporting beam may be used to "enlarge the galleries to such an extent as will afford the necessary accommodation for the poorer members of the congregation".

Ext.13. ..."expenses having been caused by the change of the pulpit and the two enlargements and improvements of the gallery".

Ext. 14. In October **1826** the churchyard wall was "further repaired and coped and dashed and a new Gate was placed in the West wall". While it does not let us know which location a resolution that "the

old iron gates be replaced and that new gates be made to replace present wooden ones" it appears that this was where the current entrance exists and there might have been three entrances. The **1826** Accounts show a new road to the Church of 21 perches cost £17.12.9 and Alexander Glendining supplied a new Church Gate. Pat Dea received money for raising yard walls. A payment for carrying the stove from Westport was made and Pat Loghan for raising the Vestry Room chimney £8.15.0.

Ext. 15. On Easter Monday **1829** it was decided that "a new door be opened into the gallery from the outside of the Church with stone steps leading thereto". This may have been because of the fear of plague spreading through the congregation. No evidence for its location can be found now.

Ext. 16. There is only one entry for **1834** and nothing further till **1846** and that is that "coffins be allowed to be buried under the Lawn for paupers."

Ext. 17. James Anderson, Rector and Vicar in **July 1846** refers to his predecessor Dean Bourgh giving permission for James Cuff Esq.,'s newly built coach house having a door and direct entry to the Churchyard. He required Mr. Cuff to make an entry in the Vestry Book to the effect that he claimed no rights over this doorway.

Ext. 18. A "unanimous opinion of the Vestry and also of the Protestant Parish generally that the window broken open into the Churchyard by Mr. Michael Murray is a nuisance and shall not be allowed and request the Ecclesiastical Commission to have same stopped up" in April **1849**.

Ext. 19. In April **1850** representation was made to the Ecclesiastical Commission of Ireland for improvements due to the dilapidated state of the Vestry Room, the damp of the Tower generally and also the South angle of the Church adjoining. Also "as Mr. Murray had not stopped up the window broken into the Churchyard that he be reported for same".

Ext. 20. On April 13th **1857** sanction was granted to allow the large Pew lately occupied by the Cuff Family be divided.

Ext. 21. Consent of the Parish was requested in July **1863** for "new arrangements within the Church. The removal of internal fittings and setting up the Church with single sitting, pulpit desk and Chancel Rail according to plan 4053 was sought" They also planned to alter the position of the fireplace at the entrance of the Church.

Ext. 22. The Vestry meeting of March **1864** was held in the School Room as the Church was under repair and the important decision of the allocation of places and seats in the Church by the Churchwardens was resolved. The congregation went back to the Church on April 2nd **1866** after the repairs.

Ext 23. ..."best thanks of the Vestry be extended to Stanhope Kenny Esq. for his exactions to promote the efficiency of the choir during the year."

Ext. 24. The Vestry book's last entry was in **1870** but unfortunately not decipherable.

Copy of questionnaire from The Palace, Armagh which Mr. Anderson replied to on 1st. May 1862. His replies have been included and these give us a glimpse of the congregation numbers, the numbers at schools, state of repair or the Church and Glebe House together with loans, rents. Etc. It also shows how often Services were conducted and attendance at same around that time. There are sixty questions and replies.

Incumbent

1. Name of Incumbent? *James Anderson*
2. What is his Post Town? *Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo*
3. Date of his appointment? *April 1835*
4. Does he reside in the Glebe House? *Does reside at Glebe House*
5. How many months from the 1st May 1861 to 30th April 1862 did he reside in the Parish?
Resided in the Parish from 1st May 1861 to 30th April, 1863
6. If not resident, what was the cause thereof? *Was never absent except occasionally for a few days at a time.*
7. Has he a license for non-residence? *Above answer referred to.*

Curate

8. Name of Curate? *None*
9. His Post Town?
10. Date of his appointment?
11. Is he licensed?
12. Is he resident in Parish?
13. What is the amount of his salary?
14. Is there any and how much thereof in arrear?

Church

15. State repair of roof? *New roof.*
16. Window Frames and Sills? *Good*
17. The pews or seats? *Very bad in the lower part of the Church.*
18. The painting outside? *Pretty good- but to be painted it is thought this year.*
19. The painting inside? *Very bad.*
20. The wall or fence of Church Yard? *Pretty good.*
21. The Bible and Prayer Books? *Bible not very good. Prayer Books good.*
22. The Communion Plate? *A Salver and Cup very good.*
23. The Table Cloth and Napkin? *Pretty good*
24. The Surplice? *Good but a second Surplice would be of use, the 2nd in Church not very good.*
- 25.

Divine Service

26. How often is Divine Service performed on the Lord's Day? *Twice*
27. At what other times and where? *-----*
28. Has the Service been omitted on any Sunday from April 30th 1861 to April 30th 1862? *On Sunday evening of Oct. 20th 1861 - Incumbent not being well.*
29. What was the average attendance on Sunday morning? *From 70 to 80 - Noon.*
 - What was the average on Sunday evening? *From 30 to 40*
30. How often was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered during the period above named? *15 times - to 254 persons*
31. How many Communicants on Easter Day? *22 on Easter Day, April 20 1862.*
 - On Whit Sunday? *19 on Whitsun Day May 19th 186.1*

- On Christmas Day? *20 on Christmas Day De. 25 186.1*
- 32. What was the average number of Communicants on other days? *From 16 to 20.*
- 33. What was the total amount of money collected in the Church during the period above named for the poor and for Religious or Charitable Societies? *£14.2.7 for poor.*

Catechising

- 34. When are the children Catechized? *Both at Daily and Sunday School.*
- 35. By whom? *By Incumbent and Teachers.*
- 36. How many? *35 at daily School of whom 12 are Romanists and 20 at Sunday School.*

Registries

- 37. Is there a Registry of the Births and Deaths regularly kept in a parchment book? *Yes*
- 38. Is a copy of it ready to be forwarded to the Registry Office of the Diocese at the time of the Visitation? *There will be.*
- 39. Is the duplicate copy of the Marriage Register Book duly kept and preserved? *Yes*
- 40. Is the name of the Preacher regularly entered in a Preacher's Book? *Yes*

Glebe House

- 41. In what state of repair are the roofs of the Glebe House and Offices? *Pretty Good.*
- 42. The window frames and sills? *Pretty good.*
- 43. Outside painting? *Pretty Good*
- 44. Are the premises insured? *Yes*
- 45. Is any rent payable for Glebe? *£13.16.11.*
- 46. Have you a receipt in full up to the last Gale Day ready to exhibit at the Visitation? *Yes.*
- 47. Is any Loan Instalment payable to the Ecclesiastical Committee for the Glebe House? *Yes - £6.19.0*
- 48. Is any of it due and how much. *Last instalment demanded and paid up.*
- 49. Has any sum and how much been paid on allowed for dilapidations? *£67.10.0 by agreement.*
- 50. At what date? *April 1835*
- 51. Has the sum allowed for dilapidations or how much of it been expended in executing the repairs? *More than double the sum expended.*
- 52. Is there any and how much Quit Rent on Crown Rent charged on the Benefice? *5 ½ with 8 fees.*
- 53. Have you a receipt of the last year's Rent ready to be produced at the Visitation? *Yes.*

Church Wardens

What are the names of Church Wardens? *Charles Clarke and John Kelly.*

Parish Clerk

- 54. What is the name of the Parish Clerk? *Courtney Tunbridge*
- 55. Is he properly qualified? *Yes, but he does not sing, not needed however as there is an Organ.*

Population

- 56. How many Members of the Established Church are there in the Parish or District referred to in this report? *176.*

Education

- 57. How many children belong to the Established Church are attending at Day Schools of any kind? *4 at National School.*
- 58. Is there a Sunday school under the superintendence of the Incumbent? *Yes*
- 59. How many Scholars? *20.*
- 60. How many Teachers? *4.*

Appendix 3
Rectors and Vicars

Rowlins, John		
	Instituted Vicar Ballinrobe, Kilmolara, Ballinchalla, Ballyovie & Ballynekilly 1 st Sept. 1628: possibly same as John Kaollny 1628 (in Lodge MSS)	Pg. 607 (a)
Payton, Thomas		
	Instituted Rector Church of Holycross, Ballinrobe 5 Nov. 1631	Pg. 583 (a)
Courtney, John		
Died 1671	MA. Rector and Vicar Ballinrobe & Ballinchalla 1666 – 71.	Pg. 307
Eccleston, Thomas		
D. 1707	Rector and Vicar of Ballinrobe, Robeen Any, Kilcoman (Kilcommon/Hollymount) and Taghkeen 1671 – 1707. Judge Consistorial Court 1672: signed Addresses to James 11 (1685) and William 111 (1695)	Pg. 340 (a)
Vesey, George		
B. 1681/82 D. 1737	Christ Ch. Coll. Oxford – metric April 1697 aged 15. Trinity, Dublin BA 1701, MA 1703. Rector of Ballinrobe 1707-37	Pg. 654 (a)
Folliott, John		
B. 1704/05 D. 1753	Educated by Mr. Chinnery, Midleton. Entered Trinity aged 17. 1722. BA 1726, MA. 1730. Vicar Ballinrobe 1737-53	Pg. 355 (a)
Miller, James		
B. 1708/09 D. 1762	Born in Castlebar, Co. Mayo. Educated by Mr. Price, Galway. Entered Trinity Oct. 1726 aged 17 years. BA 1731	Pg. 480 (a)
Walker, Henry		
	Rector or Curate of Ballinrobe c. 1763-possibly 1803. Signed Parliamentary Returns 1766. Destroyed 1922.	Pg. 659 (a)
Crombie, James		
B. 1755/56 London	Educated by Dr. Norris. Entered Trinity, Dublin Nov. 1773 aged 17. BA 1778, poss MA (Cotton). Rector & Vicar Ballinrobe and Kilvine 1809-23	Pg. 283 (a) & NA....
Births in Family of -	James Crombie & Hon. Emilyana	
6 th Aug. 1796	James	
Oct. 1798	Ann	

Appendix 3
Rectors and Vicars

July 1800	William	
1802	John	
1803	George	
1805	Charles	
1808	Henry	

Burgh, Thomas John		
B. 1786 D. 1845 Buried at Oldtown. George born in Ballinrobe.	<p>Educated Potterstown School near Portarlington. Entered Trinity Mar. 1803. Possible BA 1807 MA 1816. Very Rev. Thomas John de Burgh was the son of Thomas Burgh and Florinda Gardiner.¹ His mother Florinda Gardiner was the daughter of Rt. Hon. Charles Gardiner. She married Thomas Burgh, son of Thomas Burgh, on 10 August 1784.¹ She died in 1830. She was the sister of Colonel 1st Viscount Mountjoy. PC. Her married name became Burgh. She was Privy Counsellor (P.C.) and a was Member of Parliament (M.P.). Rev. Burg married Lady Anna Louisa Hely Hutchinson, daughter of Hon. Francis Hely Hutchinson and Frances Wilhelmina Nixon, on 18 April 1811.¹ He was also reported to have been married on 4 May 1811.</p> <p>Children of Very Rev. Thomas John de Burgh and Lady Anna Louisa Hely Hutchinson</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Frances Louisa Burgh d. 13 Sep 1905 2. Francis Burgh 3. Henry Burgh d. 1876 4. George Burgh d. 6 Mar 1855 5. Florinda Burgh 6. Charlotte Burgh d. 18 Aug 1904 7. Thomas de Burgh b. 2 Jun 1813, d. 15 Jul 1872 8. Ulysses Burgh b. 1820, d. 1827 9. Hubert Burgh b. 1821, d. 1827 10. Robert Burgh b. 23 Jun 1822, d. 7 Jun 1884. Emigrated to Australia. 11. John Burgh b. 1830, d. 1837 12. Fanny Burgh b. 6 Jan 1849, d. 25 Nov 1925 13. Clara Burgh b. 28 Apr 1850, d. 1920 14. Anna Louisa Burgh b. 20 Sep 1855, d. 28 	Pg. 283 (a)

¹ Massingberd, Montgomery, Hugh (editor) *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, U.K.: Burkes Peerage Ltd, 1976).

Appendix 3
Rectors and Vicars

	Apr 1932	
	Henry and Robert immigrated to Australia and Charlotte and Flora were twins. Ulysses and Hubert are buried in Graveyard of Ballinrobe Church.	

Gosselin, Nicholas		
B.1778/79 D. 1848	Educated by Mr. Baggs. Entered Trinity Jan 1795 aged 16. BA 1800. Instated Rector & Vicar Ballinrobe Dec. 1834 but resigned immediately . He married twice and had five children.	Pg. 372 (a)

Anderson, James	**** more details.....See letters to I.Times.	
B. 1796/97 D. Nov 1863	Educated by Dr. Dowdall. Entered Trinity Dec. 1812 aged 15. BA 1818. Rector & Vicar Ballinrobe 1835-63 .	Pg. 239 (a)

Brownrigg, George Oliver		
B. 1820/21 Co. Wexford. D. April 1876.	Educated by Mr. Flynn. Entered Trinity Oct. 1840 aged 19. BA & Div. Test 1845, MA 1867. Rector & Vicar Ballinrobe 1863-76 . Publications. <i>Controversy in Galway</i> (Dublin 1852) Note in the Ballinrobe Chronicle in May 16, 1868 Mr. Brownrigg, the Protestant Rector of Ballinrobe, made a claim for damages for a "rick of hay" that he claimed was burned maliciously. Part of this report indicates that Mr. Brownrigg made 500 to 600 pounds a year as the Protestant Minister. The salary of the doctor at the workhouse was about 40 pounds a year.	Pg. 279 (a)

Brodie, E.F.		
	Curate Ballinrobe 1874-75	Pg.275 (a)

Treanor, James		
B. 1845/45 D. 1926.	Trinity BA 1871, Div. Test (1) and Church Formularies Pri 1872, MA 1899. Rector Ballinrobe 1882-1923 . He married Annie Marie Sarah, eldest daug. Of Robert Butson Seymour of Clonfert, Co. Galway in Aug. 1874. Their eldest	Pg. 644 (a)

Appendix 3
Rectors and Vicars

	daug. Was Eliza, m. Very Rev. J. A. Lendrun, Dean of Tuam. Alice (Died Oct 1945. Walmer Kent) m. Mr. Hearne who died May 1926 at Wigmore Walmer Kent aged 80.	
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Francis, Robert. Died of Lung Cancer Jan. 1950	Rector 1923 – 1949	
Married Ms. Minni Ricci	Trinity BA 1907. Div Test 1909. Rector Ballinrobe & Ballyovie 1923 – 1949. Married Minni Ricci whom he met in Ballinrobe. She had attended the Sorbonne and won gold medal for music in Dublin. Gave music lessons to Courtney Kenny, former Director of Glydebourne Opera. Her Dad - Luigi Ricci in "who's who" 1919.	Pg. 360 (a) & interview.
Son Bill (William J.) twin born 22 May in Dublin 1924.	Had Governess till formal school at Protora, Enniskillen.	

Willoughby, Bernard Digby. B. April 1896 D. March 1997.		
	Bishops College Cheshunt 1939. Rector Ballinrobe, Ballyovie, Crossboyne & Kilmaine (with Kilcommon/Hollymount) 1950 – 59. With Kilcolman – 1963 & with Cong U. 1961. He married Ruth Barber and Elisabeth Grace b. 1945 m. Oct 1964 at Ballinrobe Ch. Thomas Miler son of late Col. J. Y. Ormsby, RA of Milford Co. Mayo. Another 2 sons and 2 daug. Are listed.	Pg 669 (a)

Appendix 4
Curates and Clerks.

Pullein, William Born 1654/55 - Died 1720		
Born c 1654/55 Barbados. He was buried in St. Mary's Dublin 27 Dec 1720.	Entered Trinity College, Dublin 1676 aged 21. Awarded B.A. 1680 and M.A 1683. Clerk. in Ballinrobe possibly Curate. Attained by James 11 1689. Published The Silkworm: a Poem, The Culture of Silk and other works.	RCBL 61/2/15 & 597 (a)

Nisbett, James 1663/64 -		Pg. 496(a)
Born in Co. Donegal. Entered Trinity College, Dublin July 1681 aged 17. There is no degree recorded. Licensed Curate of Ballinrobe and Kilcoman (Tuam) May 1688.		

Auld, John 1682 -		
Ordained Deacon in the Church of Ballinrobe on October 17 1682 probably as Curate. He was presented by Thomas Eccleston and John Vesey M.A. was also present. He had been Schoolmaster here in 1680. He was son of James Auld born in Downpatrick. He entered Trinity College as Sizer (Sizarship – University Award.) on May 17 th 1675 aged 16. Awarded B.A. 1680.		Page 131 & 141 (b) & 246 (a)
John Auld B.A. Schoolmaster, Ballinrobe signed the Declaration against taking up Arms 1680.		

Courtney, John 1666-1671		
Mandated to Dubley Pierse, Archdeacon of Tuam to induct him Jan 1666. Feb 1667/8 induced James Johnson, Prebend, Balla, Co Mayo.		Pg. 307 (a)

Potter, Robert 1820		
Born 1793/94 Died during Famine. 1847.	Son of Joseph P. farmer. Born in Galway and educated by Mr. Lawler. He entered Trinity College, Dublin Oct 7 th 1811 aged 17. Awarded B.A. in 1816. He died during famine 1847 (see Bowen's Souperism).	Pg. 593 (a)
???????	POTTER George - On the 19th Nov 1906 at Bournemouth, of phthisis, George Ormsby Potter, Esq., M.Inst.M., Engineers, Looe, Superintendent of Demerara and Berbice Railways, younger son of G.O. Potter, Esq., of Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo, Ireland, aged 29 years. Funeral (private) at Bournemouth on 21st inst. Death Notice London Times.	

Birmingham, John. RC: OSA Curate Ballinrobe 1700-19	Ord. Deacon 20th Dec by John Thomas de Rouberts, Bp. of Valentinus, Prelate Asst. to the Pope in Chapel of Palace of City of Valencia. Ordained Priest 19 Sept 1693 by Don Antonius Sanchos de Castellar, Bp of Orcolensis in Episcopal Chapel. A "proselyte" Licenced	RCBL 61/2/15 & Pg. 259 (a)
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Appendix 4
Curates and Clerks.

	Curate August 10th 1700. Chaplin of the Regiment of Militia Dragoons. Publications: <i>A Book of Justice and Mercy Against Popery and Arbitrary Powers</i> (1714). <i>And The Folly of Wickedness</i> (sermon preached 30 th Sept 1716 at Headford Parish Church, Dublin (1717)	
Piggott, John BA		Pg 587 (a)
	Lic. Curate Ballinrobe 3 Oct 1734	
Creery, William		Pg. 308 (a)
Born 1756/7 Co. Galway. Died 1819.	Educated by Mr. Campbell. Entered Trinity College 2 nd May 1773 aged 16. BA 1778. Curate Ballinrobe before 1798 & still there in 1807.	
Mansergh, Henry		Pg. 472 (a)
Born 1768/69 Dublin	Educated by Mr. Miller. Entered Trinity College 26 th August 1786 aged 17. BA 1791. Curate Ballinrobe 1807-09. Married (ML 1822) Mary Hanly.	
Boland, Michael	Curate Ballinrobe 1811.	Pg. 265 (a)
Lynch, Brownlow		
Born 1816/17 Co. Mayo. Died De. 1883 aged 66.	Educated by Mr. Chapman. Ent. Trinity 1836 aged 19. BA 1842. Curate Ballinrobe 1843/45	Pg. 439 (a)
Constable, John Nicholson		
B. 1822/23 Co. Tipperary	Educated Kilkenny College. Entered Trinity Nov. 1843 aged 20. BA 1850. 1852 Curate Ballinrobe & Hollymount.	Pg. 304 (a)
Brown, William Henry ????		
Born 1839/40 Died 1924	Awarded BA from Trinity 1869 and MA 1873. Curate Ballinrobe 1869-70	Pg. 276 (a)
Lloyd, William Battersby		
B. 1845/46 D. 1907 aged 61	Trinity BA 1871 & MA 1874. Curate Ballinrobe 1870-74	Pg. 437 (a)
Brodie, E.F.		
	Curate Ballinrobe 1874-75	Pg.275 (a)
Matthews, Thomas Robert		
	St. Bee's College, Durham 1873. Curate Ballinrobe 1875-76.	Pg. 474 (a)

Appendix 4
Curates and Clerks.

Gatchell, James Henry		
B. 1852 Kildare D. 1932	Educated Santry School. Entered Trinity Jan 1874 aged 21. BA 1877 & MA 1881. Curate Ballinrobe 1876-78.	Pg. 366 (a)
Moore, Alexander		
B. 1852/53 D. Dublin Sept. 1905 aged 52.	Trinity Div. Test 1879 & BA 1880. Curate Ballinrobe 1878-80.	Pg. 485 (a)
Anderson, George Mortimer		
B. 1855/56 D. July 1917 aged 61	Trinity BA 1978. Curate Ballinrobe 1881.	Pg. 239 (a)
McCormick, John		
	Trinity BA (resp) & Div. Test (2) BD 1906. Curate Ballinrobe 1882 - 84	Pg. 450 (a)
Perdue, Robert Norris		
B. 1864/65 D. 1919 aged 54.	Curate Ballinrobe 1886 - 89. Died by drowning; body found 28 Oct. 1919.	Pg. 384 (a)
Lendrum, James Alfred		
B. 1869/70 D. Dec. 1945 aged 75	Trinity BA 1893, MA 1901. Curate Ballinrobe 1894-96. Married Eliza Hester Caroline, eldest daughter of Ven. James Treanor, Archd. Of Tuam. She died Aug. 1964 aged 87.	Pg. 433 (a)
McQuaide, Charles Edward		
B. 1864/65 D. 1950	Trinity BA 1885, MA 1894, Div. Test (1) 1897. Curate Ballinrobe 1889-94. Dio. inspector Schools 1893-94. Married Edith Annie Elizabeth daughter of Rev. Canon Allen James Nesbitt, R. Hollymount.	Pg. 464 (a)

List of Persons in Parish of Ballinacorney who have been charged with the Poor Rates for a year and a half in the County of Wick. Charges on grand Jury Rates for a year and a half not being sufficient within the said Parish in the year ending on the first day of May 1824 to the amount of Twenty Shillings and upwards.

Names and Residences	Quantity of Land	Amount charged	Am't. paid
John James 2 Carleton	2	23 3 3	23 3 3
Coff James 1 Crough	1	14 4	14 4
O'Donohy Thomas 3 Knockree	2	20 9 0	20 9 0
John Robert 2 Carleton	2	20 2 2	19 19 9
William 5 Carleton	2	13 1	12 18 10
William 5 Carleton	2	22 9	20 15 2 1/2
John 7 Dublin	2	10 6	10 9 4 1/2
John Robert 9 Lavally	1	100	9 17 7
Blake M ^r 11 Larkfield	1	8 7	8 12 4
Cunningham James 13 Cloonyville	1	36	3 11 2
William Luke 12 Knocklyon	1	56	5 10 8
Blake Henry 17 Springdale	1	22	2 3 5 1/2
May James 18 Kiltinan	1	20	1 19 6
Rogers Edward 11 Ballinacorney	1	29	2 17 1 1/2
Smith Richard 15 Do	1	25	2 9 4 1/2
Corkran Mark 20 Kiltinan	1	18	1 15 7
Taraghan James 21 Cloony	1	17	1 13 7
Carney Francis 22 Cloony	1	17	1 13 7
Walsh Michl 23 Do	1	17	1 13 7
Mealy Patt 24 Do	1	17	1 13 7
Conolan Patt 25 Do	1	16	1 11 8
Walsh John 26 Do	1	16	1 11 8
Killy William 19 Ballinacorney	1	19	1 17 6 1/2
Tierman James 20 Do	1	11	1 1 8 1/2
Henelly John 21 Kiltinan	1	12 1/2	1 3 7
Henelly Thomas 22 Do	1	12 1/2	1 3 7
Philbin Mark 23 Cloonyville	1	11	1 1 8 1/2
Sturges Benjamin 10 Mt. Jennings	1	88	8 13 10
John Dermot 11 Knocklyon	1	16	1 11 8
John Thomas 12 Cloonyville	1	24	2 6 5

1838 Ordnance Survey map of Mayo

(1st edition, six inch)

Ecclesiastical Sites in and around Ballinrobe.

1. St. Columbcille's Church, Inis Robe.
2. Tempall na Lacca.
3. Killeenatrave.
4. Carrownalecka, (Temple Mór)
5. The Augustine Abbey.
6. St. John's House.
7. Killoshine.
8. Tempall Ruadán (St. Mary's Church)

Private Collections and photographs:

Tax Payers List.
Rent Book, Ballinrobe 1850.
Private letters and memoirs.
Mr. Courtney Kenny.
Mrs. Elizabeth Ormsby.
Campbell de Burgh OBE.
Visitation Questionnaire List.

Representative Church Body Library:

Vestry Minute Book.
Preacher's Book.
Baptismal Records.
Burials.
Marriage Registrations.
Welland Architectural Drawings.

Mayo County Council, Castlebar, Co. Mayo:

The Kenny Papers 1730-1939. MP03.
Bald's *Maritime Map of Mayo*.
Ballinrobe Poor Law Union Records 1844-1926 – Minute Books, financial records, outdoor relief records. *Union Index 1841 – 1926 PL3/BR1*.
The Wynn Collection.
Schools' Folklore Collection. The School's Scheme of 1937-1938 represents one of the greatest drives undertaken in the field of folklore collecting. Results from Ballinrobe and its hinterlands were examined.
Postcards of County Mayo scenes commencing c 1900.

National Archives of Ireland, Dublin:

Microfilms.
Diocese of Tuam. MFGS 39/39 & MFGS 39/50
Register of Baptisms 6th August 1796-28th Nov. 1841
Register of Marriages March 1809-24th Oct 1842
Reg. Of Burials 7th Mar 1809-24th Oct. 1842.

National Archives, Kew, London:

Research on Military activity around Ballinrobe.

National Gallery of Ireland:

Copy of Petrie's drawing of bridge at Ballinrobe. *Bridge at Ballinrobe*.
Copies of four James Arthur O'Connor's paintings:
The Mill.
The Pleasure Grounds.
Robe Villa
Lough Mask.

National Library of Ireland:

Grogan's Diary. M.S. 4701
Knox Estates Maps Book MS 22014.

Maps.

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Simington, R. C. *The Transplantation to Connacht 1654-1658*, Irish Manuscripts Commission 1970 (names the person transplanted, from where they were moved and their place of settlement in Connaught) Map at back of book.

Photographs.

The Wynn Collection, Mayo County Library, Castlebar, Co. Mayo.
The National Photographic Archive NPA Meeting House Square, Temple Bar, Dublin
The Lawrence Collection - National Library of Ireland, Kildare St. Dublin.
Postcards Collection County Mayo scenes commencing c 1900. Mayo Co Library, Castlebar.

Newspapers:

Ballinrobe Chronicle, Ballinrobe. 1866-1903.
Tyrawly Herald, Ballina. 1844-1870.
Mayo Constitution, Castlebar. 1828-1871.
The Illustrated London News.
Harper's Weekly.
The Graphic, London.
The Irish Times.

Surveys:

The Stafford Inquisition of County Mayo – edited by William O'Sullivan, Irish Manuscripts Commission 1958.

Book of Survey and Distribution – aspects of various surveys and instruments of title, 1683-1703 Vol. 2 Co. Mayo. Contains maps of the County from Petty's Atlas, 1683 and of Tyrawley Barony from the Down Survey, 1657. Prepared for publication with introductory notes by R. C. Simington, Irish Manuscripts Commission 1956.

Ordnance Survey Field Name Books – compiled during the 1st Ordnance Survey of County Mayo in 1838. A list of townlands in each parish, their names in Irish and the meaning is included and a brief description of the physical features of each townland and the proprietor of the land is also usually given.

Genealogical Sources:

Tithe Apportionment Books c 1830 – a Report of property holders in each parish and the amount of tax levied for the upkeep of the established church.

Griffith's Valuation 1855-1857 – lists of all property holders in each townland in County Mayo, the person from whom the property was leased and the size of the holding (online at <http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation>)

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