

5. UNDERSTANDING THE MONUMENT

Recorded by John O'Donovan as *Druim meadonac* meaning the 'middle hill' (1838) the place name Drumanagh is generally accepted as an anglicisation of *Droim Meánach* 'the middle ridge' (www.loganim.ie). However Drumanagh has also been interpreted as the 'ridge of Manach' which has been understood as a P-Celtic rendition of the name 'Manapia' and associated with the *dún* or fortress of Fergal Manach, father of Eimear who was to become Cú Chulainn's wife (Boyle, 2001).

The Placenames Committee (formerly Commission) documents a 1311 entry in the Red Book of Ormond of *Dr(u)meathne* as an early reference to Drumanagh, although this is recorded as being within the manor of Turvey (White 1932, 27). Late 16th and 17th century documents refer to *Drommanagh* while deeds of 1765 refer to *Dromanagh*. The site is called *The Drumanagh* by locals.

5.1. Prehistoric Context

The extensive coastline of Fingal with its low-lying interior and naturally occurring flint pebbles was attractive to the earliest settlers who left behind ephemeral remains in the form of flint scatters and shell middens. The latter have been identified at Sutton and Bremore (Mitchell 1965; Deery 2009) while extensive flint scatters have been recorded at Robswall near Malahide, and Barnageeragh near Skerries. The Mesolithic period extended for 3500 years, during which time, there was a radical change in stone technology, from microliths, tiny points of flint or chert to larger struck flakes. Both kinds of technology have been recovered from Lambay Island, suggesting ongoing Mesolithic activity in the area from the earliest times (Cooney 2009, 11). Ms Gwedoline Stackpoole in her study of the north Dublin coastline identified nearby Kenure as

'One of the largest and richest sites on the County Dublin coast, and appears to be almost inexhaustible. Stone axes have been picked up in the fields ... On a lucky day at Kenure one can pick up as many flints as one can conveniently carry in an unbelievably short time, and very good specimens many of them are. The long clean lines of the best Larnian blades fill the mind with wonder at the skill with which the prehistoric men of County Dublin dealt with their somewhat intractable material' (1963, 42). While worked flints have been recovered from Drumanagh, none have been identified as Mesolithic.



Plate 1: Mesolithic flints, Lambay Island. Courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland ©

The arrival of the Neolithic farmers (c.4000-2500 BC) saw a rapid changeover to an agricultural economy involving land clearance, cattle management, crop planting and new burial traditions, all of which left a mark on the landscape. Neolithic settlement has been increasingly recognised along the Fingal coastline with surface finds and houses being unearthed at Flemington Balbriggan (Bolger 2009), Skerries, Lusk, Donabate and Malahide (Dolan & Cooney 2010). On nearby Lambay Island, evidence for the quarrying of the distinctive porphyry was uncovered. Dating to the early fourth millennium the Eagle's Nest is the first quarry in Ireland or Britain where all stages of axe production were represented (Cooney 2009, 15). Links between Lambay, the coastline, Wales and Scotland indicate the emergence of a coastal and island network of communication and exchange. Approximately 600m south of Drumanagh is the site of Giant's Hill or Knocklea Passage tomb (DU008-013001-). In 1838 the farmer who rented the land removed half the mound for manure and half the circle of stones for wall building, thus uncovering a passage and chamber where human bones were found (Newenham 1838, 249). Despite Newenham's assertion that there 'are several remains of entrenchments and smaller mounds in the neighbourhood' (*ibid.*) further Neolithic activity has yet to be uncovered in the immediate vicinity of Drumanagh.

The Bronze Age is synonymous with the exploitation of mineral sources, the emergence of metal-working and the increased development of trade from Spain to the Baltic through the Irish seaways. Drumanagh is not only prominent in terms of being an identifiable landmark along the coastline but is located close to the copper ore deposits of Loughshinny. Mined in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it is highly likely that this resource was the focus for earlier activity.

There has been a substantial increase in the number of Bronze Age settlements and burials uncovered due to the widespread development of the past two decades. Inland from Drumanagh, at Lusk and its environs, there appears to have been an extensive area of Bronze Age settlement with a possible structure, hearths, pits and Beaker pottery identified on at least three separate sites (Wallace 2001). Cists and barrows were the primary burial monuments of the Bronze Age and continued to be used into the Iron Age. Cists were stone-lined graves that generally contained a single, crouched burial accompanied by a pottery vessel. They were contained within barrows, a slightly raised flat or domed interior, enclosed by a ring-ditch and external bank. Cists were also placed in natural sand and gravel ridges, placed unobtrusively in flat cemeteries or inserted into existing monuments. Excavation of a cist at Beau, near Rush was undertaken in the 1970s. Cremated bone covered the floor of the cist and was accompanied by a flint knife. Analysis indicates that the cist contained the remains of at least four adults and two children (Ryan 1979).

A number of enclosures, ring ditches and cists of probable Bronze Age date have long been known along the Fingal coastline. Almost 300m north of the headland along the coast south of Loughshinny is an enclosure or possible ring ditch (DU008-051----). Three cists (DU008-013002-) were associated with the earlier passage tomb at Knocklea (Cahill & Sikora 2011, 176-180). In 1934, while reclaiming land a local farmer discovered a cist burial containing a Food Vessel and a small quantity of skeletal remains at the north end of the cairn. It was noted that the farmer's grandfather had found a similar vessel to the east of the monument which was thought to be in the possession of the local landowner, Lieutenant-Colonel R. Fenwick Palmer of Kenure House. In March 1965 the house was used in filming and a crew member discovered this vessel still containing its cremated human remains on the mantelpiece. Miss MacAvin, fearing for the safety of the object during the course of filming, brought it home with her and gave it to the National Museum. Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer could not remember having seen it (Baker 2010, Walsh 2013).



Plate 2: Bronze Age Food Vessel recovered from Kenure House, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland©

Recent excavations and geophysical surveys have added exponentially to the Bronze Age landscape surrounding Drumanagh. Geophysical survey, undertaken by The Discovery Programme identified four ring-ditches at Popeshall, the high ground overlooking Loughshinny (DU005-174001-4). Two more were identified at Thomastown (DU005-176001/2), also in Loughshinny, again by The Discovery Programme (2014). Further north along the coastline within Holmpatrick townland, a large enclosure identified by geophysical survey (16R0095) was recently confirmed as a Late Bronze Age monument on the basis of pottery retrieved during testing (Bailey & McIlreavy 2016).

Daffy has noted a correlation between the distribution of coastal promontory forts and natural deposits of copper ore along the Waterford coastline, where there is a dense cluster of forts along the 'Copper Coast' (2003, 104). Given the natural copper ore deposits at nearby Loughshinny is it possible that Drumanagh promontory fort was a Bronze Age construction?

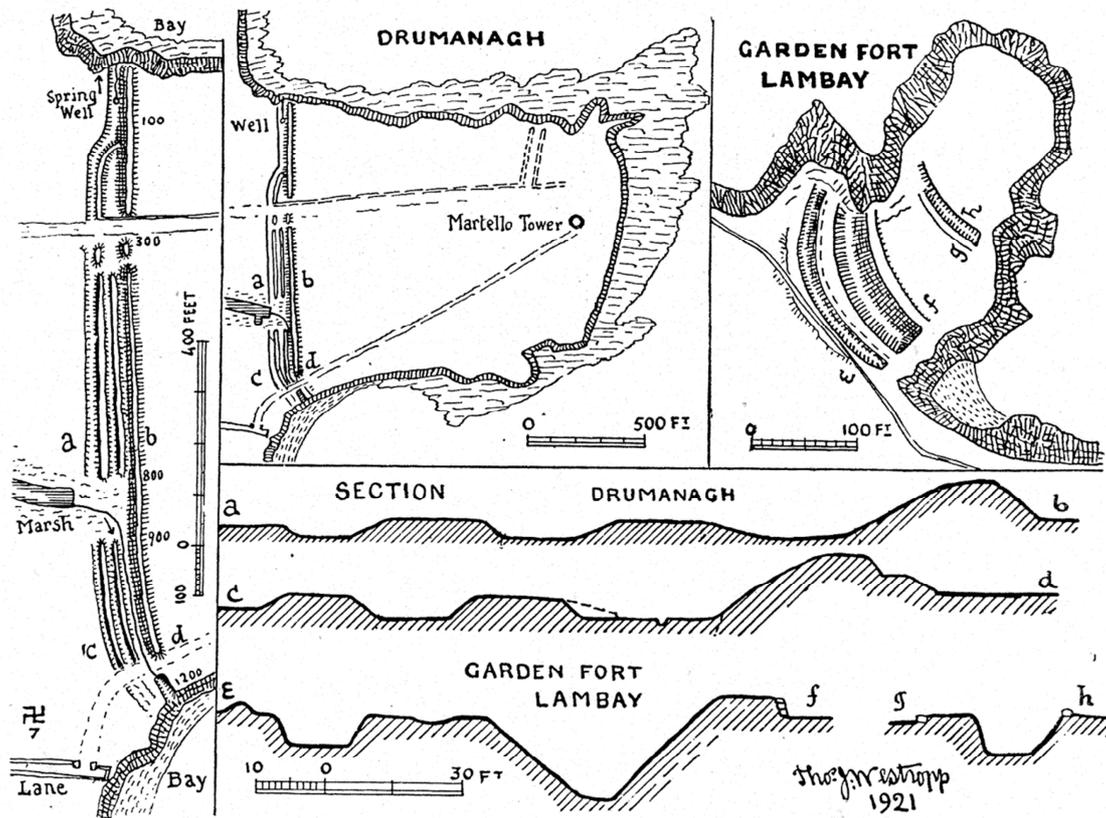


Fig.3 : Drumanagh and Lambay promontory forts (Westropp, 1921)

The promontory fort at Drumanagh is characterised by a series of straight earthworks c.350m in length (north-south) that delimit the neck of a headland. The three closely-spaced earthen banks are fronted with a ditch, with traces of a fourth counterscarp bank beyond the inner ditch (RMP DU008-006001-). Ploughing across the interior in the 1970s revealed a number of hut sites and the 2012 geophysical survey recorded a number of circular structures that may be interpreted as roundhouses or potential ring-ditches (2014, 87). The inland promontory fort at Knock Dhu Co. Antrim is morphologically very similar to Drumanagh, comprising three closely-spaced sets of earthen banks and ditches c.360m in length. Radiocarbon evidence indicates that initial construction of the promontory fort took place in the Late Bronze Age with a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age date for a secondary phase (MacDonald 2016, 45). However a truncated Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age house within the promontory showed that the upland area had been occupied prior to the construction of the fort's defining earthworks-something that cannot be ruled out in the case of Drumanagh.

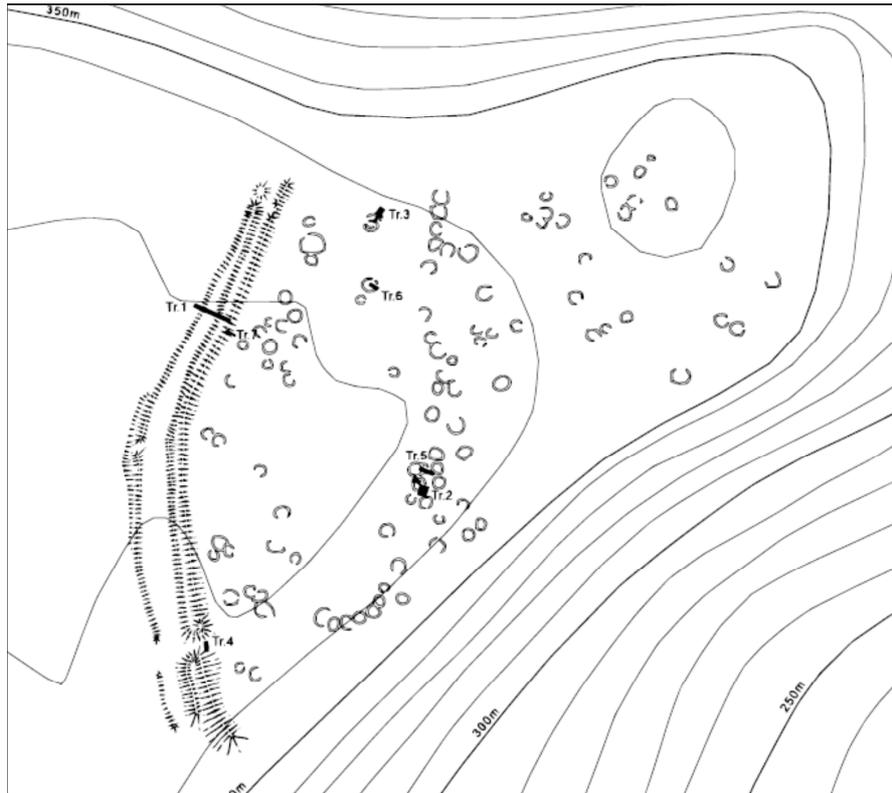


Fig. 4: Knock Dhu overall site plan, showing know hut circles (MacDonald 2016, 34)

Geophysical survey of the interior of Knock Dhu revealed at least 18 round houses. The majority of the round houses excavated dated to the Late Bronze Age. The director suggests that the initial phase of occupation of the fort from the early 10th to late 9th centuries BC coincided with the construction of the promontory fort's earthwork defences (*ibid.* 45). A number of coastal promontories are also associated with ring-barrows not least Scotch fort on Lambay island where two ring-barrows were identified immediately outside the ramparts. Numerous circular huts were also identified within the interior (Cooney 2009, 21).



Plate 3:Lambay gold band with distinctive Iron Age decoration. Courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland ©

However it is with the Iron Age that promontory forts are most closely associated. Tree ring evidence suggests that a series of volcanic eruptions from Italy to Iceland disrupted weather patterns, during

this period. The cumulative effect of uninterrupted rainfall, waterlogged lands, crop failure, and livestock loss was a resource hungry society. This is the age of conflict captured in the myths and legends of Cú Chulainn, Queen Mebh and stories of warriors and warfare. During the Iron Age, the Irish Sea was in effect a routeway that allowed contact and trade between communities on both sides. Promontory forts are defended headlands and while there is not an overabundance of headlands on the east coast in comparison to the north and west of Ireland, there are four promontory forts within Fingal. Drumanagh, is the largest and visible across the sea on Lambay are two further promontory forts, the Garden Fort which is defined by three large ditches and Scotch Point which was defended by a single ditch and bank. The size of the former indicates that it was for short term use, although its impressive rock-cut ditch indicates that it may have been a statement of power. The other large-scale promontory is Dungriffen fort, Howth which according to the Annals was erected by the Milesians who settled in Ireland at the 'time of Moses'.

5.2. The Roman Connection

In recent years there has been in-depth analysis of the connections between the Romanised world and Ireland, not least of which was The Discovery Programme's *Late Iron Age and 'Roman' Ireland* (LIARI) project (2011-2014). Academic studies such as Daffy's 2013 PhD thesis on Irish and Roman relations, review the evidence for exchange and acculturation. The coast and the islands of Fingal feature prominently in such studies which focus on the portable items that have been recovered from these areas such as coins of Magnentius (AD 350-353) and Constantine the Great (AD 306-337) which were recovered from Ireland's Eye, Dunsink and Malahide. An often quoted source for contact with the Roman world is that of Tacitus, the Roman historian whose father-in-law, was the Roman general Agricola. According to Tacitus, Agricola had plans to invade Ireland from the west coast of Scotland c.AD 82. The Irish Sea was recognized as important for the movement of goods and people. Agricola saw the strategic advantage as 'Ireland is positioned between Britain and Spain and is easily accessible from the seas around Gaul. It would unite the strongest parts of our Empire with great mutual advantage.' Agricola also believed it would be easily attainable as Tacitus recorded 'I have often heard him say that Hibernia could be taken and held by a single legion (c.5-6000 men) and a small number of auxiliaries (100-1000 men)' (McLaughlin, 2012).

The Greek geographer Strabo argued that the islands of Britain were more profitable as trading centres than subject territories; 'There is no advantage to be gained by taking and garrisoning Britain. More revenue is derived from duty on their commerce than tribute could bring in; especially when we deduct the expense involved in maintaining an army to guard the island and collect taxes. The un-

profitability involved in occupying the islands near Britain would be even greater' (Strabo, Geography, 2.5.8).

That trade was undertaken is in little doubt. Tacitus recorded that 'we are better informed, thanks to the trade of merchants, about the approaches to the island and its harbours' (Doherty 2005, 3). In AD 43 Pomponius Mela had described the following; 'Ireland is so luxuriant with grass—abundant and sweet—that the livestock fill themselves in a fraction of a day'. (Geography, 3.53). It is thought that Ireland exported similar trade goods to that of Britain—cattle, grain, animal hides, metals, slave and hunting dogs— in exchange for Roman wine, decorated craft goods including bracelets, necklaces, glassware, amber and ivory (MacLaughlin 2012).



Plate 4: Ptolemy's Geographia c. AD 150, Archaeology Ireland 2003

Indeed it is believed that Ptolemy's *Geographia* c. AD 150 is based on knowledge gained from merchants and sailors, collated from the early first century work of Philemon and later Marinus of Tyre (Raftery 1994, 205). Ptolemy's maps consisted of a series of co-ordinates and placenames that

when plotted resulted in a relatively accurate map for Ireland with recognizable rivers, promontories and towns (Condit & Moore, 2003). However it has been the listing of sixteen tribes which were positioned relative to each other that has proved most controversial. The Brigantes and Menapii which have been associated with Lambay and Drumanagh are shown to the south-east of Ireland while the Elbani are shown in the vicinity of Fingal. It has also been argued that Ptolemy's Limnos, corresponds with Lambay Island.

In the 1920s work on the harbour on Lambay unearthed several burials accompanied by weaponry and jewellery. Analysis of the artefacts including a sword and shield, bronze fibulae and a beaded torc showed them to be from the Romanised world, perhaps northern England. The dating coincides roughly with the revolt of the Celtic tribes in Britain, and it was thought that Lambay may have provided a refuge for the fleeing Brigantes, after their defeat in AD 74. During the LIARI project Dr Linda Fibriger reviewed the skeletal material recovered from these burials and identified eight individuals, including one juvenile and an infant. This has led to the reinterpretation of the burials by Cahill-Wilson as a 'Late Iron Age community burial ground' that may represent not 'refugee's but an 'internationalized community facilitating trade into Ireland through negotiation with the Roman military and administrators in Britain and the social elites of Ireland' (2014, 98).

In the 1970s ploughing on Drumanagh led to the discovery of Roman material including Gallo-Roman Samian ware and subsequent unauthorised metal-detecting of the fort and surrounding lands produced extensive metalwork from the Roman World. Despite the recovery of native Irish Iron Age material this led to suggestions (Raftery 1994, Warner 1995) that Drumanagh was the town of the Menapii (the same Menapii depicted on Ptolmey's Map).

Tacitus writing about the campaign of Agricola in AD 82, told of a prince expelled from Ireland that Agricola 'had given shelter to..and under the cloak of friendship held him in reserve to be used as an opportunity offered' (Doherty 2005, 4). While the story may have been a standard motif providing an excuse for invasion Richard Warner has hypothesised that the exiled Irish prince was Túathal Teachtmair. He then suggested that Túathal came with his forces 'a combination of Romanised Irishmen and Roman-Gaulish and Romano-British adventurers' to march on Tara. Warner described Tuathal as personifying 'the invasive event....which may well have covered several decades and occurred piecemeal' (1995, 29). Drumanagh was mooted as a point for this invasion. A Sunday Times article in 1996 sensationalised Warner's theories resulting in a series of opinion pieces and rebuttals in various publications including *Archaeology Ireland* (Maas 1996, Raftery 1996) resulting in a popular view of Roman invasion at Drumanagh in public opinion, despite the paucity of evidence.

Despite Catling's comments that 'there seems to have been a willingness in the past to dismiss any Romano-British, Gaulish, or Continental material found in Ireland as 'stray', 'intrusive' or 'random'. Museum curators in the late 19th and early 20th centuries firmly believed that the Roman-style material in Irish collections was probably brought to Ireland by antiquarian collectors in the modern era rather than arriving by way of trade in the late Iron Age' (2016). Drumanagh was acknowledged as being of great significance in the context of Roman trade along the east coast (Raftery 1994, 207). Parallels have been suggested between Drumanagh and the trading port of Henigistbury Head, Dorset which was also defined by multivallate ramparts, contained evidence for metalworking, was located on the borderland between territories and had a role as a distributional centre. Newman has proposed that there is a significant routeway from Drumanagh-an extremely important entrepôt with the Romano-British world-through Damastown, Garristown, Edox and Skreen to Tara (2005, 379).



Plate 5: Damastown copper ingot. Courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland ©

Another significant interpretation of the material recovered is that it is representative of a manufacturing centre at Drumanagh. Over forty ingots of copper bronze and brass were recovered from the site and its environs all of which are suggestive of metalworking on site (Cahill Wilson 2014, 26). A comparable ingot recovered from Damastown (c.13km from Drumanagh) is also similar to Romano-British specimens from copper-rich areas in Wales. While it has previously been assumed the Damastown ingot was imported from Roman Britain (Raftery 1994, 208) an examination of wider imperial trade patterns suggests that this was unlikely when copper was being imported to the continent from Roman Britain (Daffy 2003, 98). It is even more unlikely that copper was being

imported into Drumanagh given the proximity of deposits of copper along the Loughshinny coastline.

5.3. Early Medieval

The influence of the Romanised world can be seen most patently in the spread of Christianity throughout Ireland. In AD 431 Pope Celestine sent Palladius as the first bishop to the 'Irish believing in Christ' and it has been conjectured by some that he landed on an island off Skerries. Instead it was St Patrick who allegedly arrived a year later as a missionary at 'the island of St Patrick'. InisPatrick (or as it is locally known Church Island) coming from the sea 'to the plain of Brega...with the true light of miraculous doctrine, lighting the thick clouds of ignorance'. By the sixth and seventh centuries many of the largest churches in Fingal had been founded by saints including the ecclesiastical centre of Lusk which was from the beginning a monastic establishment of note and closely connected to the ruling political dynasty of the time. Between the seventh and early ninth century several hereditary bishops of the Cianachta held the abbacy of Lusk. The monastery at Lusk developed in landholdings, power and influence in tandem with the expansion of the church, its dominance extending into the later medieval period. The development of the ecclesiastical system was closely tied to the complex secular dynastic system and ecclesiastical centres were often dependent on the largesse of particular kin-groups. St Patrick's Island is highly visible from Drumanagh as is the site of St Daman's foundation (now St Catherine's Church) at Kenure to the west and is likely that the Christian influence was felt by the communities occupying Drumanagh.

While there is as yet no direct evidence of the Vikings at Drumanagh the Norse influence in the region is extensive. Fingal owes its name to the 'fair strangers' from Scandinavia. The first place in Ireland to be attacked is often identified as Rechru which has been interpreted both as Lambay Island, and Rathlin Island off the Antrim coast. Three years later in AD 798 the nearby St Patrick's Island, Skerries was raided and the shrine of Do-Chonna was broken. Lusk was targeted on several occasions, plundered in 827 and the church was burned in 856. Raids turned to trade as the potential for economic exploitation was realized and overwintering turned to permanent settlement. The hinterland of Dublin, an important economic centre, was also settled by the Vikings or Ostmen, as they called themselves. Called *Dyflinarskiri*, the hinterland stretched from Skerries to Dublin and equated to the *Crích Gall* and *Fine Gall* of the Irish sources. Fingal supplied agricultural produce, raw materials, fish and shellfish to the expanding Norse Dublin. The prominence of Drumanagh as a landmark for seafarers, the opportunities for landing in proximity to rich ecclesiastical centres such as Lusk, and the surviving placenames of Scandinavian origin including that of nearby Lambay infer extensive Norse activity in the vicinity of Drumanagh. This influence survived in the folklore (see

section 5.9.) of the area in name of the sea cave along the south of Drumanagh promontory, which is still known locally as the 'Dane's Cave' (Margaret McCann Moore, Paddy Boyle & Seamus McGuinness pers. comm.).

5.4. Medieval to Modern

The visible evidence for medieval settlement, centres on the remains of a towerhouse (DU008-003----) in the open space of St Catherine's housing estate, formerly part of the Kenure estate, that Dalton described as 'yet more mutilated remains of the arched baronial kitchen of a castle' (1838, 429). When ploughing disturbed the interior of Drumanagh in the 1970s it was noted that some of the internal earthworks may represent a medieval village on the site (NMI Files 1A/27/77). Medieval pottery was also recovered during fieldwalking of the west of the site in 2014.



Plate 6: Remains of Rush tower house, now in the open space of St. Catherine's housing estate

D'Alton describes Rush as an ancient manor 'extending over the lands of Baleony, Heathstown, Whitestown, Balscadden, Kinure, Ardlaw etc, the fee was vested in Ormond from the time of Edward I until 1641' (1838, 431). Given its geographical position and the lack of specific mention in the surviving deeds it appears that Drumanagh was part of the land of *Kinure* of the manor of Rush. The

manor of Rush was in turn grouped with the manors of Balscadden and Turvey and frequently granted and leased throughout the medieval period. In 1256 the manor of *Russe* and land of *Baliscaden* 'in the vale of Dublin' was granted to Robert Walerand 'in place of 40 librates of land in the wastes of Ireland' (Sweetman 1887, 85). By 1273 Theobald le Botiller (Butler) had leased his manors of Turvey, Corduff, Rush and Balscadden to farm for two years to Fulc Mesoner, a merchant who was 'to have the crop of corn sown in said manors' (Curtis 1932, 78). Less than a decade later Sir Theobald had granted Philip de Rupella 'his manor at Turvey, his lands at Rush with fishery and *coneygere* there, and his tenement at Balscadden (*ibid.* 101).

The references to the fourteenth century are scant although the Black Death apparently had a severe effect on the manor of Rush; In 1354 the tenants said they were 'entirely impoverished by the late pestilence and excessive prices of the King's Ministers (Hession 2009, 6). Things perhaps didn't improve much for the people of the area as by 1385 Hugh Bermingham was appointed seneschal of the manors and lordships of Turvey, Rush, Corduff and Balscadden 'with power to demise the same farmers and remove others as he pleases.....' (Dalton 1838, 299).

At the opening of the 15th century the Butlers were reconfirmed to their lands in Ireland when 'in consideration of the faithful service done in our wars in Ireland by James (the White Earl)...we have pardoned the said James all manner of intrusions, misprisons, suits etc. and we hereby grant him;the manors of Turvey, *Baleske*, Corduff, Rush, Balscadden in the county of Dublin' (Curtis 1937, 177). However such pardon did not extend to the 5th Earl of Ormond who was beheaded following his capture at the battle of Towtown in 1461, having fought on the Lancastrian side. According to the patent rolls of the Chancery, the manors were immediately granted to Sir William Welles, Chancellor of Ireland, for service and who was to render to the King 'a red rose annually at the Nativity of St John the Baptist'. Edward IV in 1465 'in consideration of the good and laudable services by our beloved cousin Gerald fitz Gerot (Fitzgerald)...have granted to our cousin, our manors and lordships of Turvey, Rush and Balscadden...for his life' (Curtis 1914, 305). The manors were then granted to John Pylkyngton and his heirs in 1467, but were back in Ormond hands before the close of the century (Curtis 1935, 227). During the period 1476-1484 the rental accounts of the manor show a John Spense renting *Kynnewr* (Kenure) (*ibid.* 222).

Being a landowner also meant being subject to requests of favours. On 20 April 1496 after hearing that Walter Ivers 'Steward of your lordships of Rush and *port Scaden*' was deceased, William and Elice Butler lost no time in writing to the Earl of Ormond to 'humbly beseech you to be so good lorde to our friend Master Botyller maister of the Rolles, that ye would give him that office' (Curtis 1937, 325).

Or Walter Champfleur, abbot of St Mary's, who after inquiring into the health of Ormond's wife who 'is with childe...whom I pray god send good and fair deliverance' lunched into a request for a 'Cosyn (cousin) of mine that desireth to have a farme in certain lands of yours in Rush' with the persuasive argument that 'it is ruinous now and will cost much money to reparaire it and it is better that your tenant reparaire it than you should find timber to reparaire it... (*ibid.* 335).

The subject of repair remained much on the minds of the tenants of the manor of Rush who petitioned the Earl of Ormond in 1511: 'Rush is greatly decayed defaulting much reparation to our great annoyance and hindrance. So as only it be rather seen to we cannot be able to dwell in your inhabitations but must remove elsewhere'. This show of people power extended to the steward; 'furthermore where we understand master Golding labourith to be your steward here. We know him of such cruel demeasure that if he have rule upon us we must and will avoide your lands..we be well contented with your said steward maister Eustace whom we think it inconvenient of you to change' (*ibid.* 365). The Earl of Ormond's response does not survive.



Plate 7: The gravestone of Richard Delahide, Holmpatrick Graveyard, Skerries

An inquisition of 1546/7 describes the manor of Rush as containing 'appurtenances in Rush, Ballriske and Kinure..They say that John Travers of Curtalgh gent. holds certain lands in *Kynure*..they further

say that William Spencer gent. holds of said manor of Rush certain lands in *Kynure*' (Curtis 1941, 17). It is only in 1587 that Drumanagh is recorded. In his will of 1587 Richard Delahide of Loughshinny granted his lands in 'Loughshinney, Lamboterie, Ballynetaghe, *Dromanoghe* and Thomastown...held of Thomas, earl of Ormond' to Patrick Pheipo of Rowan Co. Meath gent and Christopher Delahide of Drogheda merchant (Griffith 1991, 272). A will of thirty-five years later, that of Anthony Delahide of Loughshinny also lists *Drommanagh* among the 160 acres 'held of the earl of Ormond as of his manor of Rushe by fealty and suit of court'. It was left to two Christopher Barnewalls, one of Rathasker Co. Louth and the other of Mymordery Co. Meath with the proviso that the deceased's mother, Mary Blackney alias Delahide should have '£20 for life out of Loughshinny, *Drommanagh* and Pierstown' (*ibid.* 401).

Drumanagh is not recorded separately in the Civil Survey of 1654-56, but is encompassed within the holdings of *Kinure* held by Robert Walsh, which comprised 300 acres of mainly arable land a mansion house, ruined chapel and was bounded to the east by the sea (Simington...)¹. *Kinure* was occupied subsequent to this by Lord George Hamilton of Strabane who is described on the monument to his passing in 1668, within St Catherine's church as 'affable, obliging, exemplary, wise, devout, most charitable, most virtuous and religious' (Dalton 183, 428). *Kinure* became the seat of Echlin family until 1765.

There are two deeds in quick succession that date to the year 1765 concerning the ownership of Drumanagh. A lease dated to 14th/15th February 1765 was made between Sir Henry Echlin of Rush and Michael Howard a merchant of the City of Dublin for the demesne lands of Rush its entirety by estimate 240 acres. 'Dromanagh and part of *Kinure* there in lease for years determinable and held by James Bork (Bourke) and Bartholomew Flin containing by estimate 73 acres' (Registry of Deeds No. 154793).

It was only a matter of months that an indented deed of Lease and Release dating to 8th/9th August 1765 was made between Abraham Howard, Sir Henry Echlin formerly of Rush in the County of Dublin but now of Paris of the Kingdom of France and Roger Palmer formerly of Palmerstown County Mayo. By this deed, Roger Palmer paid Howard £12,500 and another £2000 to Henry Echlin for the Demesne lands of Rush. Drumanagh and part of *Kinure* were still held by James Bourke and Bartholomew Flinn but it is interesting to note that the 'lands of Dromanagh and Carnhill are now subdenominations of Rush and *Kinure* aforesaid' (Registry of Deeds No.157020).

¹ On the digital version of the Down Survey of Ireland (<http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/landowners>) Drumanagh is erroneously ascribed the Down Survey name Carrickhead and the owner is given as James Humphries.



Plate 8: View of Drumanagh in the 1970s, Paddy Healy Collection

During the 18th century Drumanagh was noted by naturalist John Ruttly 'as the richest spot by repute' (1772, (see Section 7). This was reflected in an advertisement in *Saunders Newsletter* on 6 April 1780;

'To be let for such term of year as may be agreed on from the 11th May next the Townlands of Drumanagh and part of the lands of Rush and Kinure, thereto adjoining, now in the possession of Mr Richard Flood containing 154a 3 r 29 p. Part of the estate of Roger Palmer esq on which lands there are a good farmhouse and offices. These lands are remarkably fine fattening meadow and Pasture grounds, well enclosed and in high Order; and as they lie within half a mile of the Town of Rush and but 13 miles from Dublin they would make answer extremely well for a Dairy or Draw farm. Proposals in writing only to be received by Roger Palmer Esq at John Eden Brownes esq Great Winchester-dress London or by Mr Denis at Rush House or his house, Dawson St. Dublin'

An examination of the nineteenth century Palmer rental books for the Kenure estate show that Drumanagh was rented to Thomas Carey who 'paid on time cash in full' every Lady's Day between 1860 and 1870 (National Archives 1174/2/2).



Plate 9: Griffith's Valuation map

The Valuation of the Rush estate of Sir Roger Palmer Bt. Also mentions Thomas Carey and describes the land of Drumanagh as 'upland pasture, very good fattening ground for cows and sheep, also shallow pasture over the sea shore and some coarse pasture'. In the *Ordnance Survey Book of Reference* 1872 the uses by acre of Drumanagh are recorded; 0.184 of an acres is taken by ditch, another 0.838 by the Martello Tower and Road, while the remainder was listed as three lots of pasture (11.128/31.657/2.381 respectively) (James, 1872). The exemption to all the valuations was the Martello Tower.

5.5. Drumanagh, Martello Tower No.9

Inspired by the coastal tower of Cape Mortella, Corsica and built to defend the coast against attack from Napoleon in the early 19th century, Martello towers were circular, stone-built three-storey towers, standing about 7.3m high, rising to a parapet (Bolton et al. 2012, 49). One of twelve Martello towers that extend along the coast of Fingal, Drumanagh Martello tower was positioned on the promontory 'for the defence of Rush Strand and River, the pier and cover at Drummanagh Point'. A Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Fisher was put in charge of construction which included the choosing and marking out of sites for the towers and gun batteries, employing assistants, overseers and legal advice and engaging contractors to build the towers (Bolton et al 2010, 22). Work began on the first nine towers on the north side of Dublin Bay on 1 September 1804 but construction was postponed

until the spring of 1805. The towers were built so quickly that negotiations with the owners for the price of the land often took place after the towers had been built. The deed for Drumanagh and Rush Martello towers between Robert Palmer and Benjamin Fisher dates to 22nd October 1806 when the land was purchased for £132.13.9. This was just over the average plot price of £50 per tower in Fingal but substantially less than the £600 the Earl of Howth received for plots at Howth and on Ireland's Eye (Bolton *et al* 2012, 22).

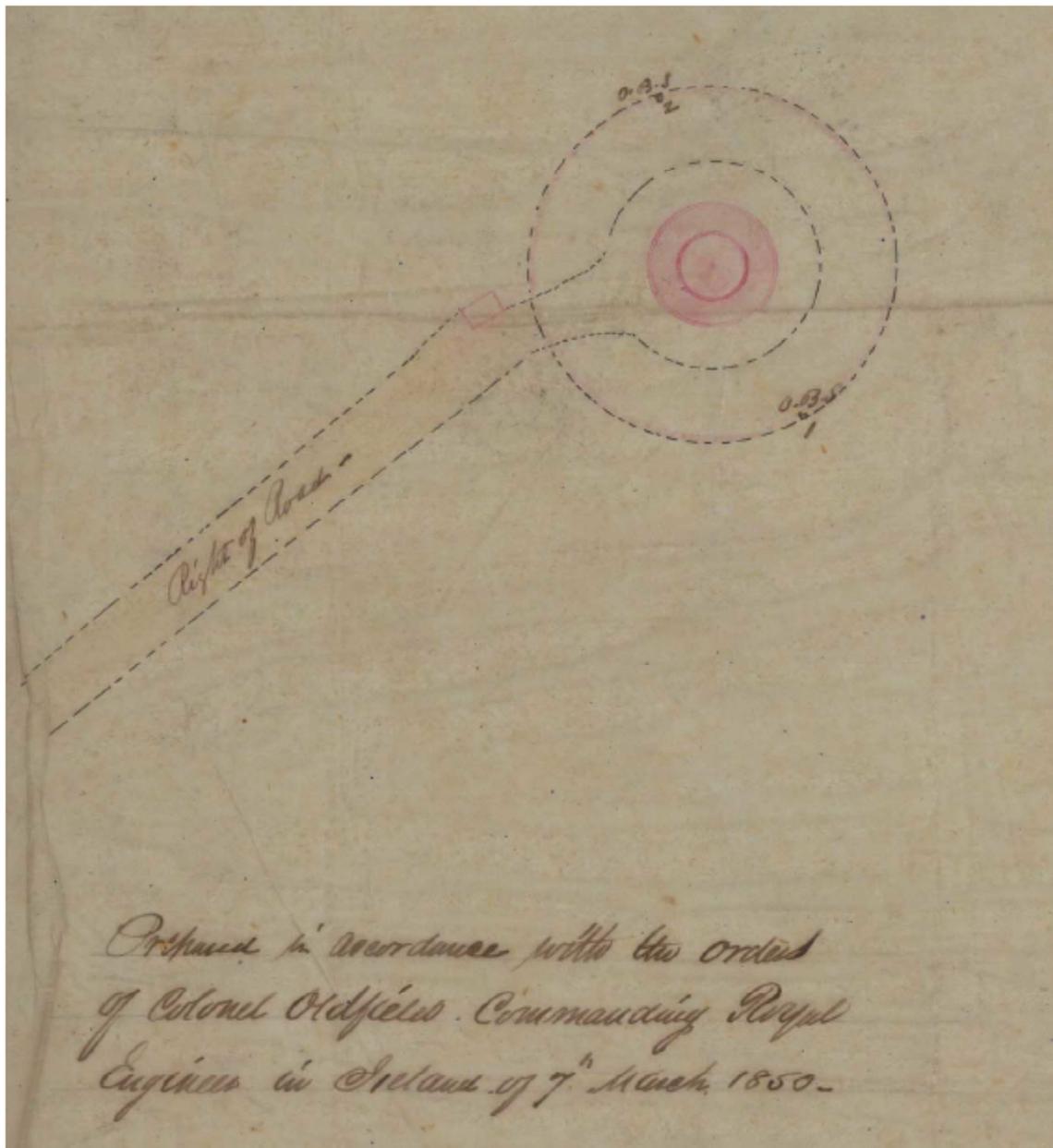


Plate 10: Proposed in accordance with the orders of Colonel Oldfield Commanding Royal Engineer in Ireland of 7th March 1850, Military Archive Map, Reference AD134122

The Martello towers were designed and built by the Board of Ordnance, an independent section of the military who trained its own specialist troops, the Corp of Royal Engineers (many of whom had experience of the Spanish coastal towers) to build the towers, and the Royal Artillery who manned them. Each tower had a detachment of up to fifteen men and held a 18 or 24 pounder iron canon which required at least nine men to fire. The plots for the towers were circular and the tower at Drumanagh was built as a 'No.8 one gun tower', located in the 'middle of Drumanagh Point, about 150 yards from each side and 50 yards from the front' (Bolton 2008, 3.25) An access route extended from the laneway bounding the lands to the south, the boundaries of which were marked with boundary stones.

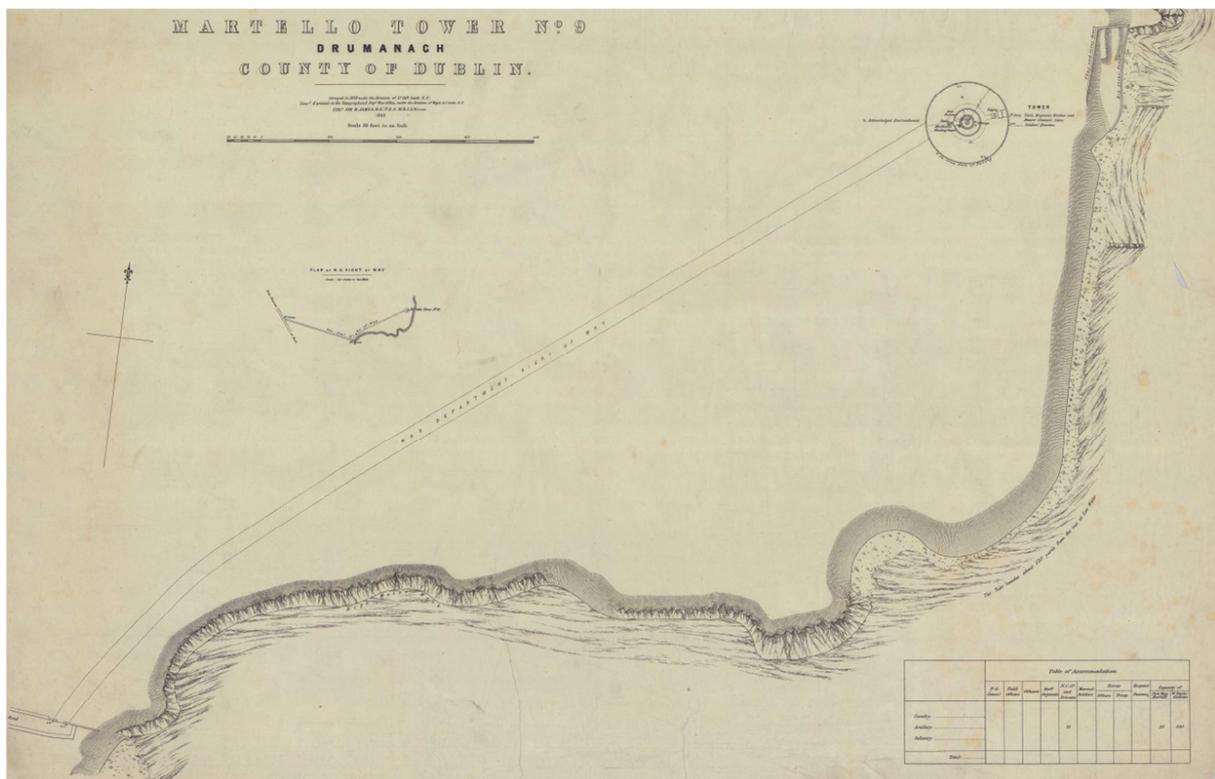


Plate 11: Martello Tower No.9 1862, Military Archive Map, Reference AD134122002

Following the end of the Napoleonic wars (1816) a use had to be found 'to prevent them from sustaining damages' (Bolton et al 2012, 74). By 1826 Drumanagh tower is recorded as being occupied by the Preventative Water Guard who used the towers as part of their anti-smuggling operations. In 1829 it is described as 'a round tower constructed for 16 men, bombproof with a store room and water tank. The Tower is occupied by the Preventative Water Guard and is in a sound condition but kept in a very dirty state. The East side of the roof lets the water in a little...' (WO 54 757, Bolton 2008, 3.25). After the Crimean War the Board of Ordnance was dissolved and all land, functions, forts, ordnance and officers were transferred to the War Office. Drumanagh tower remained in military use with

twelve rank-and-file troops occupying the tower in 1857. It was disarmed in 1874, when it was described as being in 'middling condition' and later let to Sir Roger Palmer for £2 (Bolton et al. 2012, 172).

The tower was subsequently let although apparently not immune to dispute. A letter dated 2nd May 1893 among the Palmer papers was sent by Francis O'Donnell, of Drumanagh Lower to William Smyth describing a query around ownership and access. O'Donnell met with a representative of the Engineer department on Drumanagh with a man called H(F)orde who was 'letting the place'. The Engineer showed out 'what he claimed as belonging to the government and he said they only had right of way from the gate to the Tower and 36 perches around the Tower and he told Horde these stones there marking out the quantity'. O'Donnell advised Smyth to 'communicate with the Colonel of Engineers of the Royal Barracks as he told me he would give any assistance he could if Horde gave any annoyance'. It was also noted that 'the gate has been put up by the government and they have always kept it in repair and supplies locks for it'.

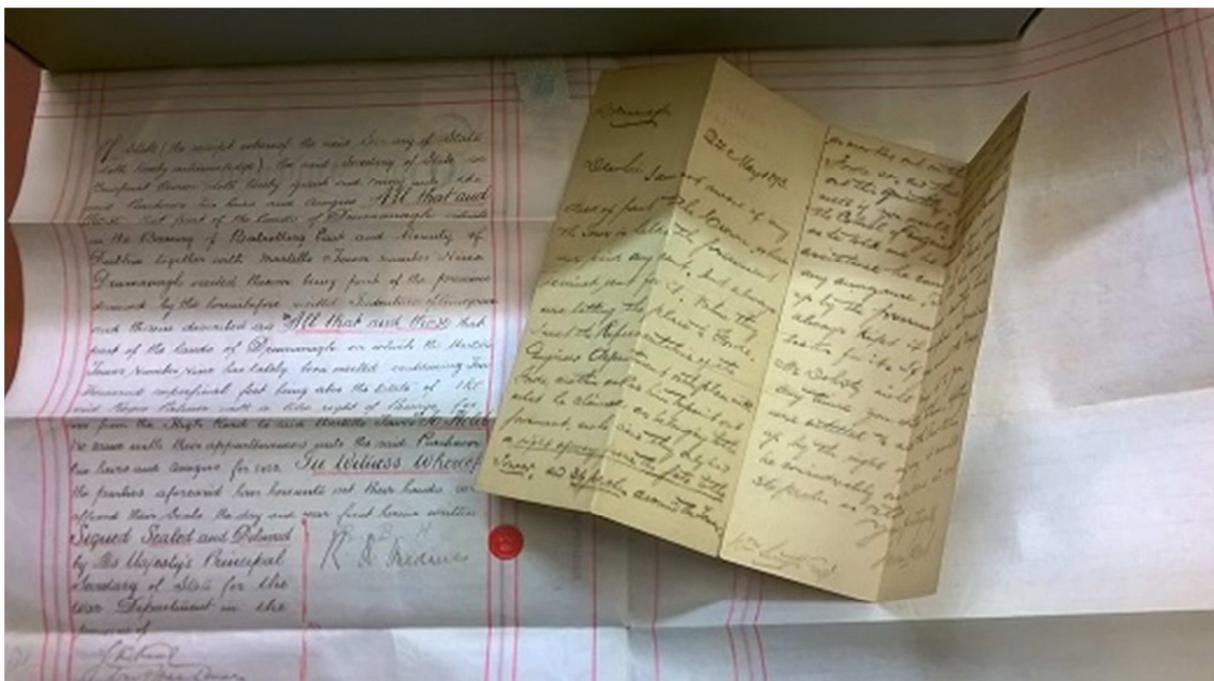


Plate 12: 1908 Deed of sale and 1893 letter, courtesy of the National Archives of Ireland

In 1908 the War Department sold the tower to Sir Roger Palmer of Kenure Park for £50

'And whereas the Secretary of State has agreed with the said Purchase for the sale to him of the said premises in fee simple for the sum of Fifty Pounds...All that and those that that part of the lands of Drumanagh situate in the Barony of Balrothery east and County of Dublin together with the Martello tower number nine Drumanagh erected thereon being part of the

premises devised by the heretofore recited indenture of Conveyance and therein described as All that and those that part of the lands of Drumanagh on which the Martello Tower number nine has lately been erected containing Ten Thousand superficial feet being also the Estate of the said Roger Palmer with a like right of Passage for ever from the High Road to said Martello Tower..’

5.6. Piracy and Smuggling

The coastline of Fingal had been used for trade from prehistoric times. In the medieval period the mouth of the Liffey had silted up and merchandise had to be landed elsewhere along the coast, In 1483 the Corporation of Dublin obtained a grant from revenues on all merchandise imported into the harbours of Rogerstown, Howth, Baldoyle, Portrane, Rush and Skerries and it was also the custom for ships going to Drogheda to lie at Howth until the merchants paid for cargo and provided a pilot to undertake the navigation to Drogheda. Given the level of trade along the coast, it is unsurprising that there was a problem with piracy. Lambay in particular was a refuge for the king’s enemies and in 1496 a petition by the Prior of Holmpatrick described Lambay as having on its shores various ‘havens and creeks in which pirates accustomed to shelter’.

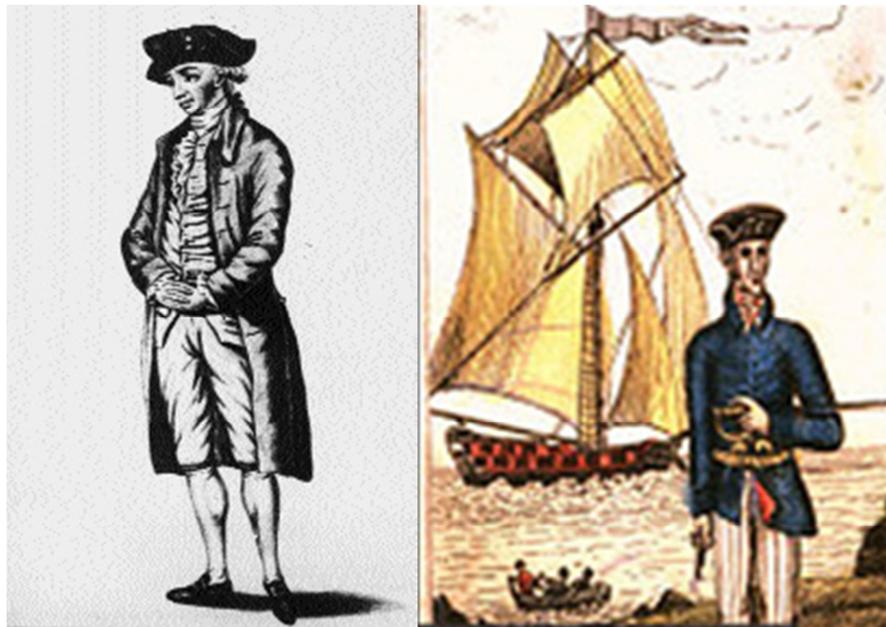


Plate 13: Captain Luke Ryan (*Hibernian magazine* 1782); Jack ‘the Bachelor’ Connors

Smuggling became a major industry around Rush and Loughshinny in the 18th and 19th centuries with the famed Luke Ryan born on the Kenure estate, privateer and smuggler who was tried (and reprimed) for piracy four times and Jack Connor known as Jack the Bachelor who is buried in nearby Kenure graveyard. North of Loughshinny is the Smuggler’s cave, a former copper mine shaft and the

Dane's Cave on Drumanagh was also thought to be a repository for hiding smuggler's booty (Seamus McGuinness pers. comm.). Rush had a very narrow harbour that wherries could enter, but the barges of the crown could not. Although there was a customs officer serving in Rush from 1674 the environs were the scene for numerous incidents. In 1724 it was reported that goods were to be seen at Loughshinny brought in by William, Tanner, Paul Tanner, James Donnellan, John Rooney, John Travers and Michael Gough. The investigating customs officers found only a parcel of rotten leaf tobacco at a barn door around midnight, the principal cargo having been carried off. Donnellan was heard to say that if any of the King's Officers would pretend to seize any goods which he had he would shoot them like a dog. The violent nature of the smuggling industry was illustrated in 1734 when the customs men working on a tip off of a run of goods to the Isle of Man intercepted the boat of Edmond Bird off Lambay. Bird called on them to board him and then opened fire with a blunderbuss. His majesty's bargemen fired a swivel gun at Bird who was shot through the heart. Six bales of East India handkerchiefs, fifteen anchors of brandy and four casks of tea were found aboard (Ní Mhurchadha 2015, 8).

The Preventative Water Guard including those based at Drumanagh Martello Tower was also subject to violent clashes. An incident in 1821 involving upwards of 300 men armed with muskets pistols, pikes and pitchforks was recorded at Loughshinny where it appears the smugglers had intended to disarm the crews of Rush and Loughshinny (Bolton et al 2012, 78).