

## **Chapter 7**

### **Local History**

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Local history is the history of place, but, though place is central to its meaning, it is much more than this. Local historical research, in the first place, teases out the interplay of landscape, economy, culture and population to explain the shaping of the local community over time. Secondly, by asking ‘big questions about small places’, it prompts the reassessment of assumptions about developments over a wider spatial canvas.<sup>1</sup> Thus, local history is about both people and place, and it provides a lens through which to view the evolution of both the micro world of the locality and the wider world composed of many such localities.

Modern Irish local history has been in the making since the mid-eighteenth century, the first significant landmark in its development being the work of the Physico-Historical Society. Established to investigate the roots of contemporary economic development and to combat Ireland’s image as a barbaric country, this society initiated a series of county studies, only four of which were published.<sup>2</sup> Though primarily economic in focus, these surveys into ‘the ancient and present state’ of the counties in question effectively linked past with present, and prefigured the interdisciplinary approach of two centuries later by combining elements of geographical, economic, historical and political enquiry.<sup>3</sup> Similar researches were continued by the nineteenth century’s dedicated amateur historian-antiquarians, and from the 1850s

onwards Kilkenny, Wexford, and Limerick saw the publication of local studies – all primarily genealogical, historical, scenic and antiquarian in focus.<sup>4</sup> It was during this period, too, that there came into existence a number of long-lived periodical publications: the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, established in 1853, was one of the first, with the *Ossory Archaeological Journal* following in the mid-1870s, and the *Kildare Archaeological Journal*, the *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* and the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* in the 1890s.<sup>5</sup> While most of these works focussed on the county or a wider region, other contemporary studies like Lenihan's *Limerick: its history and antiquities* or Gibson's *History of the County and City of Cork* celebrated the history of a particular urban centre in its broader regional setting.<sup>6</sup>

For Lenihan, Gibson and the other dedicated men of letters in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was little difficulty in defining 'local' and in deciding the spatial unit on which to base their studies. Their primary unit of investigation and celebration was the county, diocese and/or city, and the focus of attention was on 'great men' and 'great events', and the stress was on gathering and listing information rather than on posing and answering questions regarding the nature and dynamics of local communities. Gibson's work was dedicated to Lord Fermoy and Lenihan's to the Earl of Dunraven, while their chapters concentrated on leading figures of the past like the Earl of Desmond, Florence McCarthy and Daniel O'Connell, and on chronological 'landmarks' like the Battle of Kinsale, the 1798 rebellion and Catholic Emancipation.<sup>7</sup> This pattern continued into the twentieth century, virtually

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untouched by the *Annales* school of the 1920s, which emphasised the need to explore historical themes through the multiple lens of a wide range of disciplines. Rev. John Begley's monumental *Diocese of Limerick* is characteristic of the 'old style'. This work was compiled over a thirty-year period but the approach remained essentially antiquarian, the third volume (published in 1938), just like the first, being divided into chapters determined by century, and dedicated to the bishop and the diocese.<sup>8</sup>

The real turning point in the approach to Irish local history can be dated to the 1970s, and it was influenced by three parallel developments. The first such development was the increasing popular interest in local history, culminating in the founding in 1981 of the Federation of Local History Societies whose purpose was to encourage research in history, archaeology and folklore and to provide a forum for those so involved.<sup>9</sup> During this period, too, there was an awakening consciousness of the potential of local history to act as an influence of reconciliation in divided communities. The Ulster Scots Historical Foundation, originally set up in 1956, changed its title in 1975 to the Ulster Historical Foundation, still stressing its unique regional identity but in a less exclusive manner than heretofore. Two decades later, parallel to attempted solutions to Northern Ireland's complex political situation, the Border Counties Historical Collective was set up to 'reconcile identities, create relationship and celebrate unique ways of life and cultural tradition'.<sup>10</sup> The second formative influence on the development of local history in late twentieth century Ireland was that of the University of Leicester's Local History Department, founded in 1948 and, by the 1970s making its mark on the work

of Irish local historians. The Leicester school stressed an analytical and quantitative approach, emphasising the broader contextualisation of regional experience, and shifting the focus from elites to the broader local community. The third influence was the emerging revisionist trend within both geographical and historical scholarship, and the parallel increase in emphasis on Irish social, economic and labour history.<sup>11</sup> Though the main emphasis remained more on re-examining the grand narrative through concentration on local variations and aberrations than on analysing the local community *per se*, these three influences accelerated the growth-rate of locally based studies on issues including urban growth, popular politicisation and regional agrarian change, using the regional experience to cast new light on broader historical developments in the island as a whole.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1980s the approach to local historical research was further sharpened and refined by the increasing prominence of historical geographers in the area, a development prompting among historians a more open attitude to the interdisciplinary nature of local history and a greater awareness of the importance of examining the *locale* in its own right. This was reflected in Geography Publications' launching of the ground-breaking *History and Society* series, interdisciplinary studies which sought to 'explore at county level the dynamics of economic, cultural and social change.'<sup>13</sup> The emerging pre-eminence of the 'new' local history was also made manifest in the establishment in the 1990s of local history degree and certificate courses at the National University of Ireland Maynooth, the University of Limerick, and University College Cork.<sup>14</sup> Stressing the interdisciplinary nature of local

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history, and influenced especially by the Leicester school, these courses fostered co-operation between university-based and 'amateur' local historians, posed questions regarding the interpretation of terms like 'local' and 'community', and promoted research at micro-level, concentrating on smaller communities and territorial divisions than those of county, diocese or city.

From the 1970s onwards, therefore, Irish local history has been opened up to explore a broad range of issues which both elucidate the local and regional experience, and prompt reassessment of island-wide developments: the evolution of the local landscape; the process of landscape change and shifting boundaries; the contact between the local and the wider world; and the dynamics of intergenerational conflict, all traceable through topography, the evolution of settlement patterns and the development of the local cultivated and built environment. The study of this 'living landscape', shaped by the confluence of environmental conditions and economic processes, has been possible only through the interdisciplinary approach, the contribution of geographers, anthropologists, sociologists and archaeologists being equal in importance to that of economic and social historians.<sup>15</sup>

Archaeological research, in particular, has greatly advanced the understanding of early Irish urban and settlement in its regional and wider setting. New questions have been posed regarding pre-Viking agricultural and exchange systems by excavations on Ulster ring-forts by McCormick, while work by Bradley, Hurley and others, has been used in conjunction with documentary sources ranging from Giraldus Cambrensis' *Expugnatio*

*Hibernica* to *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* to reconsider the pre-Viking, Viking and Norman genesis of centres like Waterford, Cork, and Dublin.<sup>16</sup>

Archaeological research, especially that by Orser in the context of Co.

Roscommon, has also begun to contribute to our understanding of the material culture of pre-famine clachan settlements, while industrial archaeology has added immeasurably to our understanding of the development of the eighteenth and nineteenth century city.<sup>17</sup>

A similar interdisciplinarity, this time between history and geography, is evident in recent research into settlement patterns over time. Geographers' and historian's exploration of the history of the names of fields, townlands and streets has facilitated the tandem tracing of socio-economic and landscape/streetscape change from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, history and geography combined have helped to trace the ebb and flow of settlement from the seventeenth century onwards, not only in the more intensively planted Ulster region, but through the island generally.<sup>19</sup> Smyth's examination of 'property, patronage and population' in mid-seventeenth century Tipperary traces the long-term effects of the Cromwellian conquest and the growth of a new landowning elite, while O'Dowd's study of Sligo in the same period reveals the complexities of Gaelic society, the progress of settlement in an area outside the main locus of government-sponsored plantation, and the effects of such plantation on the subsequent character of the county.<sup>20</sup> The nature of plantation and its effects are analysed in David Dickson's monumental work on Cork as 'Old World Colony' which, like Jacqueline Hill's study of Dublin Protestantism, reaches forward

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into the early nineteenth century to trace the undermining of 'ascendancy' and the parallel acceleration of social and demographic research which would have been impossible without the local and regional focus, again owes much to the geographers who by mapping population clusters and surname distribution, tracing the rise and decline of high- and medium-status families, and examining the distribution and shape of villages and the nature of parochial structures, have traced patterns of population expansion and contraction, land reclamation and abandonment over a span of some four centuries.<sup>21</sup> Parallel to this, historical and anthropological researches into the means of production, such as Bell's study of farming methods in nineteenth century County Derry and Cohen's examination of linen production in Down, allow the examination of contemporary social gradations and entrepreneurial attitudes through the lens of 'improved' and 'traditional' farming.<sup>22</sup>

Fundamental to place-centred research is an ever-growing awareness of the centrality of mapping – no surprise to geographers, admittedly, but underplayed by most Irish historians before the 1980s. This stress on the spatial aspect of local history, epitomised in the ongoing *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* project<sup>23</sup>, has resulted in the emergence of two types of map-related research over the past two decades: (1) studies identifying and discussing contemporary motives for surveying and mapping and (2) those using maps as the primary lens through which to examine local and regional developments. J. H. Andrew's study of map-making in Wexford, for instance, highlights the role of the 1798 rebellion as a major incentive to mapping, while Patrick Power's examination of Wicklow maps in the early modern period throws light

not only on the development of surveying, but also on parallel changes in both the landscape and in the complex political structures of the time.<sup>24</sup> Two invaluable map-centred works examining both rural and Durban evolution over time have been published in the recent past. The *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, (1997) though not a local study, uses local and regional case studies to explore issues of settlement, production and communication, while the *Atlas of Cork City* (2006) takes a more deliberately local vantage point.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the most assiduous recent use (and deconstruction) of maps in researching local socio-economic change is by Jacinta Prunty, whose *Dublin Slums 1800-1925* (1998) discusses and maps living conditions, industrial location and the relationship between property valuation and social position.<sup>26</sup> Other studies fit, like Prunty's, into the rapidly developing area of Irish urban history. Particularly revealing are Clarkson's examination of late eighteenth century Armagh and King's study of Carlow in its transition from manor to town over the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>27</sup> Anngret Simms' *Irish Country Towns and More Irish Country Towns* (1995) and Howard Hughes' *Irish Cities*, by bringing together studies on thirty-seven individual urban centres ranging in size from Downpatrick to Dublin, and from Carrickmacross to Cork, have provided both an overview of, and an agenda for Irish urban history.<sup>28</sup> Originally broadcast in the Thomas Davis Lectures on Radio Teilifís Eireann between 1991 and 1995, these particularly accessible urban studies explore not only the spatial and socio-economic development of the centres in question, but also the more elusive matter of the local character and sense of place.



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The precise delineation of 'place' remains the primary question facing every potential researcher in the field of local history. The administrative unit of the county, so beloved of the earlier antiquarians, still continues to provide a vital focus for local studies. Now, however, its study moves far beyond the recording-listing function to that of re-assessing the grand narrative. Dickson's work on Cork and O'Dowd's on Sligo, for instance, explore not only the forces defining 'region', but also the nature and impact of colonisation and settlement over a broader geographical canvas, while Jordan's *Land and Popular Politics in Ireland* (1994) traces the economic transition from subsistence to agrarian capitalism from the vantage point of County Mayo, discussing the varieties of economic region and experience initially masked by arbitrary county divisions – a theme also captured in the aptly named *Various country: essays in Mayo history* (1987) edited by Gillespie and Moran.<sup>29</sup> The county-centred study has also contributed hugely to our understanding of the background to, and dynamics of, nationalist politics and militancy in the period 1910-1923, beginning with David Fitzpatrick's ground-breaking study of Clare, and now extending to the various, yet linked, experiences of the War of Independence in several parts of the island, especially Tipperary, Cork, Derry and Longford.<sup>30</sup> While taking the county as their primary focus, these works continue, like those centred on earlier land-related themes, to highlight the varieties of experience within each county, Derry's nationalism, for instance, being more radical in the city and the eastern portion of the county than in the more westerly areas.<sup>31</sup> The *History and Society* series, too, stresses the parallel cohesion and diversity within counties by combining the county focus with that on smaller spatial units, each of the sixteen county volumes so far

published comprising a number of thematic chapters which together build up not only a profile of the dynamics of long-term economic, cultural and social change but also stress the combined cohesion and diversity of county experience.

The smaller spatial units upon which the more recent studies are focussed range downwards in size from the Poor Law Union to the townland. The Poor Law Union, in existence since the late 1830s and early 1840s, was an important public administrative unit over a span of more than eighty years, and the survival of impressive (if incomplete) runs of minute books and registers ensures that the unions provide a useful lens through which to study the regional experience.<sup>32</sup> Landed estates, too, for which a variety of records survive in both private hands and in public repositories, have provided a focus for the historian of local social and community networks. Donnelly's seminal study of Cork landed estates has been followed by another on the Kerry Kenmare estates, by Lyne's examination of the Lansdowne Estate in the same county, and by Connell's examination of agrarian changes in Meath in the century preceding the famine.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the diocese and parish – widely used as the unit of investigation by clerical local historians in the nineteenth century – still provide a useful focus, while at micro-level, village and townland open windows into the locale.<sup>34</sup> Though the townland (the smallest territorial division in the Irish context) can prove difficult to research, lying as it does beyond the reach of many sources, it has been successfully unearthed by the interdisciplinary approach, with the emphasis not only on topography and archaeology, but also, like Scally's work on the county Roscommon townland

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of Ballykilcline and Carr's study of Portavo in county Down, on tracing the inward and outward movement of influences and families over time.<sup>35</sup> Villages too, have proved a useful keyhole into the broader society: the last ten years have seen published O'Flanagan's work on Co. Cork villages, those by Hunt on the Co. Waterford industrial village of Portlaw and Lawlor on Dunlavin, and two collections of seminal essays exploring individual villages shaped by forces ranging from topography and monastic and manorial settlement, to the economics of fairs, markets and fishing.<sup>36</sup> The parish, too, as 'a place of neighbours, kin, marriage alliances and community solidarity', has provided a useful lens through which to view the dynamics of local communities.<sup>37</sup> Work on Catholic parishes in Counties Dublin, Longford and Leitrim considers the interlinked issues of religious observance, parish loyalty and attitudes to economic change, while Eoin Devereux's piece on 'negotiating community' in the Limerick urban parish of St. Mary's explores the role of local development groups and parish-based activists in the later twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> Moffit's and Crawford's studies of Church of Ireland Parishes in Connaught and Dublin respectively explore the experience of communities within broader communities – a theme also explored at city and county level by D'Alton in relation to Cork and Tunney in reference to Donegal.<sup>39</sup>

This focus on the local experience has also enabled a deeper exploration of the issue of place beyond place – i.e. the complex interdependence between family and locality on the one hand, and Ireland abroad on the other. Studies by Edward T. McCarron and John Mannion on prosperous Offaly and Wexford farming and milling families' move to New England and

Newfoundland in the eighteenth century explore their relations with their peers at home, their marriage-cemented status, and their upward thrust in economically liberating but politically constrained colonial societies.<sup>40</sup> Further down the social scale, and echoing David Fitzpatrick's *Oceans of Consolation* (1994) in a more local context, O'Mahony and Thompson's appropriately named *Poverty to Promise* (1994) documents the experiences and emotions of the assisted emigrants from the county Limerick Monteagle estate in the immediate pre- and post-famine years.<sup>41</sup>

It is at micro-level that the examination of the mechanisms of social and economic control can best be carried out, and the internal competition for power within local communities informs several recent studies, challenging any simplistic view of individual or group power as entirely dependent on, or proportionate to, social status. As indicated by several such studies from as far apart as Waterford and Monaghan, landlords were not always in control, nor were tenants without power. While improving landlords had a major role in shaping the local landscape and economy through house-building, hedge planting and clearing stones from fields, absentee landlords lost out on the chance to improve and modernise their estates. In the proprietor's absence, consolidation and the elimination of the prevailing clachan and rundale system were prevented, or at least inordinately delayed, as tenants seized 'control of the landscape'.<sup>42</sup> Local studies also enable the tracing of a social hierarchy stretching from the strong farmer down to the labourer, Burtchael and Stout making particularly astute use of Griffith's Valuation to confirm the occupancy of prime land and site by the strongest farmers, with smaller holders and

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cottiers relegated to the margins.<sup>43</sup> Status exploration at local level has also been painstakingly and convincingly analysed over the past two decades by the work of anthropologists. Gulliver and Silverman's studies on the Thomastown neighbourhood of Co. Kilkenny, spanning a century and a half, explore the complex issues of respectability and status through the lens of the local labouring and shopkeeping classes, while Cohen's work on the linen-producing County Down parish of Tullylish casts much light on the varieties of class formation, paternalism, neighbourliness, interdependence and gender over a two-century span.<sup>44</sup>

The study of powerful families and prominent individuals, part of local history since the eighteenth century, maintains its attraction into the twenty-first century. However, while the celebratory and adulatory emphasis continues to dominate popular history, more serious studies effectively use the family or individual focus to open a window on the local and wider society.<sup>45</sup> Land ownership and lordship changes – some sweeping, some faltering – continue to be examined most effectively through the varied experiences of powerful regional septs and families in Gaelic and Norman Ireland, as locally based power was challenged first by ambitious families who set their sights on a more centralised power, and later by the evolving administrative apparatus accompanying Plantagenet and Tudor state building.<sup>46</sup>

Centenaries and anniversaries have contributed their fair share of local studies, the best of which have prompted a re-examination of wider issues. The 1798 rebellion, itself generated by an uneasy mixture of national and

international forces confused by local rivalries, prompted in its bicentenary year a multiplicity of regional studies re-examining inter-generational political transmission and the complexity of regional economic networks. A number of these works concentrated on families or individuals involved in the disturbed events of the 1790s, exploring the complexities of personal, family and regional loyalties, particularly in Wexford and Wicklow.<sup>47</sup> The 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the famine, too, produced its own crop of local studies revisiting the nature of poverty and the difficulties experienced by both state and local elite in dealing with the crisis, while the centenary of a very different event – the 1899 reform of Irish local government – gave rise to a number of local studies prompting a re-assessment of both political developments on the threshold of the twentieth century and the evolution of Irish democracy.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the most useful individual local histories of the past two decades have centred on landlords in the context of their estates and wider society, an area of research which will be greatly helped in the future by NUI Maynooth's setting up of the Database of Irish Country Houses and their Related Estates. The study of the estate, its *locale* and its impact in the future will be helped greatly. Robert French of Monivea, Ulick John de Burgh of Portumna, and John Hamilton of Donegal are among those whose careers highlight the dilemmas facing Irish landed proprietors in their role as brokers between locality and metropolis, caught between the conflicting motives of humanitarianism and economic survival in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The complex relationships between landlord family, servants, tenantry and community in a later period are confronted in Terence Dooley's

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study of the 'big house' (concentrating largely on the Leslie estate in Co. Monaghan) and that by Purdue on the MacGeough Bonds of Co. Armagh, both teasing out the interwoven strands of deference, affection, paternalism and resentment and the passing in the early twentieth century of a whole world which had once seemed immutable.<sup>50</sup>

Place-centred studies concentrating on individual businessmen and public figures have also facilitated the exploration of the urban social and political milieu. An analysis of the career of Thomas Synnott, a forgotten but significant representative of Dublin's emerging shopocracy in the 1840s, throws considerable light on the civic, philanthropic and professional role of the upwardly mobile Catholic middle class in an age of ferment, while further down the social scale, the world of Cork city radicalism in a slightly earlier period has been explored through the public life of Thomas Sheehan, newspaper editor and political activist.<sup>51</sup> From a somewhat different but no less revealing vantage point, Irish middle class social and intellectual life has been unveiled in Nuala McAllister's examination of music in nineteenth century Londonderry, raising questions for further studies on leisure, status and the overlapping of the public and private spheres.<sup>52</sup> Studies on individual singers and regional musical styles outside the urban setting have also raised questions of local cultural identity, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín's study of Elizabeth Cronin and her songs throwing light not only on musical issues, but also on local norms of humour, status and hospitality.<sup>53</sup> On the politico-religious front, studies of individual churchmen in their local-cum-national context have opened up the area of ecclesiastical politics, McGrath's study of James Doyle (the redoubtable

J.K.L.), Bolster's examination of William Delany of Cork, and Bane's work on John McEvelly of Galway all explore the higher ranks of the Irish Catholic Church at diocesan and national levels, while the more populist aspects of religion are discussed in regionally-based studies on Catholic pilgrimage and Presbyterian revivalism.<sup>54</sup>

The evolving ascendancy of the strong farmer in late nineteenth century Ireland has attracted growing attention among researchers, and a number of recent family-centred local studies focussing on the farming class have contributed to our understanding not only of particular regions, but of broader developments over time. Margaret Urwin's research into the O'Hanlon-Walshes discusses not only one Wexford family's leading role in late nineteenth century land agitation, but also touches on the issue of women as agitators and the combined role of the priest as popular leader and as representative of strong farming society. The private face of status building in a similar farming milieu is explored in Rosaleen Fallon's *County Roscommon Wedding 1892*, (2004) which gives rare insights into a family's marriage-cemented attempts to ensure consolidation, prosperity and status for the next generation.<sup>55</sup> Further down the social scale Kevin O'Neill's invaluable Killeshandra study reconstructs family and household structures in South Cavan, raising questions regarding status, dependence and patronage. Based on an in-depth analysis of the family census forms of 1841 – the only such set to have survived intact in the Four Courts fire of 1922 – this study focuses on population (both in its size and its socio-economic profile) as product and shaper of place. The relevance of the study extends far beyond Killeshandra,



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raising questions regarding pre-famine society by challenging the picture of an uncontrolled demographic explosion among the labouring classes, and supporting the view of the precedence of market- over consumption-driven forces in the pre-1840s economy.<sup>56</sup>

Identification and analysis of power networks is one of the primary quests of local history, particularly feasible in the area of public administration at local level. The complexity of such networks is amply illustrated in Windrum's analysis of prison reform in County Down from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, exploration of the experiences of different Poor Law Unions has facilitated a reassessment of not only local living conditions and the administration of poor relief, particularly in times of crisis, but also the interweaving of politico-denominational with welfare issues, as well as the complex relationships between relief recipients, local elite and central authorities.<sup>58</sup> Such contact and conflict between the regional and the central have also been successfully explored in several studies of events that, at first sight, appeared purely local in their impact. Tensions between community values and beliefs on the one hand and the apparatus of the modern state on the other underlie Angela Bourke's study of the burning of Bridget Cleary in South Tipperary in 1895, an incident sparked off by a combination of interpersonal tensions and a common, if imprecise, belief in fairies. Similarly, the murder of Connor Boyle in North-West Donegal in 1898 explores the intrusion of the state apparatus into a small remote community whose Gaelic culture was in retreat.<sup>59</sup> Nor are such studies of central-peripheral conflict confined to the nineteenth century: more recent conflicts such as that concerning the

status of Magee College in Derry have opened the way for further exploration of how faulty communication between central powers, civil service and locality can complicate already smouldering political and sectional rivalries in a divided society.<sup>60</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Irish local historical research has changed considerably since the Physio-Historical society set about investigating the past-shaped situation of Irish counties in the late eighteenth century, and since the committed antiquarians of the nineteenth century framed their county studies to fit the grand narrative of history. The break with these founding fathers is not, of course, total. The county still remains a primary focus for local historians in the early twenty-first century, but the focus stresses 'micro' rather than 'macro', and the concentration is less on prominent individuals and families than on those (of both high and low status) who provide a historical lens through which the community's past can be examined. The contribution of Irish universities, publishers and local historical societies to this maturing of Irish local historical study is considerable, and pride of place must surely go to NUI Maynooth, the Institute of Irish Studies and Geography Publications, not only in terms of published research, but in relation to the production of research guides compiled by experts in the field, which point the way forward for both seasoned and apprentice researchers.<sup>61</sup>

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One suggested way forward, building on all that has been researched and written since the 1970s, involves a more in-depth exploration of the elusive nature of local identity which, despite its tangibility, has been given only cursory attention up to now. There can be no doubting the role of the county as a prime shaper of regional identity, as borne out by the avowed objectives of historical societies, the names of local heritage groups, and the incidental comments of academic historians.<sup>62</sup> While the county's vital role as identity shaper is generally attributed to the influence of the Gaelic Athletic Association from the 1880s onwards, there is some evidence, well worth further investigation, that county-centred loyalties stretch back at least as far as the 1830s when O'Connell's public speeches took care to play on the perceived superiority of his audience's native county.<sup>63</sup> And what of that parish and locality identity which has generated shelves full of popular histories of sporting clubs, musical bands and – in one region, at least – Orange lodges?<sup>64</sup>

Local identity within the urban setting has been subjected to more analysis, and identifying labels (partly stereotypical, partly well-grounded) have changed very little over time. A pre-famine visitor described Cork character as 'rather sharp. They like to make themselves merry at other people's expense... and are merciless in the use of their keen but cutting sarcasms.'<sup>65</sup> A century and a half later, John A. Murphy noted much the same qualities in Corkonians: 'cute (in the Irish rather than the American usage) if not wily and cunning, opinionated, self-satisfied and self-confident, sometimes to the point of *hubris*', even their county brothers being excluded from 'the plenitude of Corkiness, so

to speak, being merely “Kerry men with shoes”, to quote a contemporary Cork comedian.<sup>66</sup>

Researchers and writers outside the ranks of the historians have also contributed to the discussion on identity. A number of largely literary anthologies representing the principal urban centres have appeared since the early 1990s, all evoking landmarks, events, characters and attitudes capturing the essential ‘character’ of place.<sup>67</sup> The celebration of local identity has also taken the form of a multiplicity of personal memoirs, some literary, some popular, on life in Dublin, Cork, and Limerick. The most well-known, the controversial *Angela’s Ashes*, centred on Limerick City in the 1930s, provoked reactions underlining just how alive passions are, even in the early twenty-first century, regarding the portrayal and reputation of localities.<sup>68</sup> Oral testimony, too, now used increasingly in local studies, deserves more considered analysis. Flynn’s groundbreaking study on Dundalk, combining oral and documentary evidence, has paved the way for similar work, including McGrath’s study of social life and identity in the Limerick City parish of St. Mary’s in the early twentieth century, while Grace’s work on a Tipperary parish is an exemplar of accessible historical scholarship, combining exhaustive documentary evidence with local knowledge and personal memory.<sup>69</sup> Similar attention might be given to the local sense of community generated on those landed estates whose world ended sometime between the two world wars, and the combined fragility and solidity of whose identity is expressed in two separate but related anecdotes. The first, noted by Dooley in his *Decline of the Big House*, (2001) sums up the bewilderment of the ‘big house’

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occupants who, following the burning of the house, found all the doors in the village closed to them: 'No one would take us in. I knew every one of them, their fathers and mothers, their grandparents, all their children, and I thought they were my friends'.<sup>70</sup> The second anecdote centres on the recent experience of an undergraduate student who wished to interview an elderly friend who had worked as head stable hand in a South Leinster 'big house'. The friend was very willing to be interviewed on his memories of working on the estate, but as the interviewer got his recorder ready, his potential interviewee faltered, then balked. 'I can't bring myself to do it', he said, 'I can't let them down. It wouldn't be right'. His personal loyalties to his former employer and the world he represented were too strong to discuss with an outsider – a tenacious, yet seldom recognised, sense of local identity which has transcended the changes wrought by time.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence J. Taylor, Easton, Pennsylvania, in lecture at University College, Cork, 3 July 1992; Raymond Gillespie and Myrtle Hill (eds.), *Doing Local History, Pursuit and Practice* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1998), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Eoin Magennis, "A land of milk and honey", the Physico-Historical Society, improvement and the surveys of mid-eighteenth-century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 102C (6) 2002, p. 199-217.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Harris, *The ancient and present state of the county of Down* (Dublin, 1744); Charles Smith, *The ancient and present state of the county of Cork* (Dublin, 1750), *The ancient and present state of the county and city of*

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*Waterford* (Dublin, 1746), *The ancient and present state of the county of Kerry* (Dublin, 1756).

<sup>4</sup> 'Printing at Trim', *Irish Book Lover* 1, 77; vi, p. 103; Thomas Shannon, *Antiquities and Scenery of the County Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, Robertson, 1851); Revd William Healy, *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, Egan, 1893); George Griffiths, *Chronicles of the County Wexford, being a record of memorable incidents, disasters, social occurrences and crimes, also biographies of eminent persons, brought down to the year 1877* (Enniscorthy, Watchman Office, 1878); Revd James O'Dowd, *Round about the County of Limerick* (Limerick, McKern, 1896), *Irish Book Lover* vi, 194-195; xxi, p.31.

<sup>5</sup> Linenhall Library Belfast, on-line catalogue, March 2004, 313124; *Irish Book Lover* xviii, p. 25; *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society* (Kilkenny, Journal Office, 1879); *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* (Waterford, Harvey, 1894), *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (Cork, Guy, 1895). The Cork publication first appeared in 1892, but was discontinued briefly and resumed publication in 1895.

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick, its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil and military* (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1866); Rev. C. B. Gibson, *The History of the County and City of Cork*, 2 Vols. (London, Thomas Newby, 1861); Michael Comerford, *Collection relating to the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin* (Dublin, J. Duffy, 1886); John Davis Whyte, *History of the Family of White* (Cashel, Whyte, 1887); *Cashel of the Kings* (Clonmel, Chronicle Office, 1863; Cashel, Whyte, 1866); *Guide to the Rock of Cashel* (Cashel, Whyte, 1877, 1888); Revd James O'Dowd, *Limerick and its Sieges* (Limerick, McKern, 1890);

<sup>7</sup> Gibson, *History of Cork*, Vol. 1, p. v, vii-viii; Lenihan, *Limerick*, p. 396-397, p. 481-482.

<sup>8</sup> Rev. John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick* (3 Vols.) (Dublin, Browne and Nolan, 1906, 1927, 1938).

<sup>9</sup> Federation of Local History Societies, <http://homepage.eircom.net/~localhist> 17 October 2005. Other historical societies founded in this period were the Ormond Historical Society (1977)

<sup>10</sup><http://homepage.eircom.net/~historycollective/projectoffice.html>, 17 October 2005.

<sup>11</sup> The pioneering work of John Andrews in archival map research was particularly influential. See Kevin Whelan, 'Beyond a paper landscape, John Andrews and Irish historical geography' in F. A. A. Aalen and Kevin Whelan (eds.) *Dublin City and County, from Prehistory to Present* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p. 181-228.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1984); Maura Murphy, *Repeal and Young Ireland in Cork City and County* (unpublished M.A. thesis, University College Cork, 1975); James S. Donnelly Jr, *The Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975)

<sup>13</sup> Kevin Whelan, *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p. v.

<sup>14</sup> The History Department and the Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University College Cork, and the Department of Modern History, National University of Ireland Maynooth, offer certificate and primary degree courses as well as taught and research higher degrees in local history and

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regional studies. The University of Limerick and Mary Immaculate College Limerick run a joint taught MA course and supervise research towards higher degrees in local history.

<sup>15</sup> Frank Mitchell and Michael Ryan, *Reading the Irish Landscape* (Dublin, Townhouse, 2001, first published 1986).

<sup>16</sup> Finbar McCormick, 'Early secular settlement in County Fermanagh' in E. E. Murphy and w. J. roulston, *Fermanagh, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications), p 57-75; 'Economic and agricultural change in Early Medieval Ireland', paper delivered at the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland Annual Conference, 11 November 2005; Michael Moore and Peter Woodman, 'The Prehistory of County Waterford'; Maurice Hurley, 'Late Viking Age Settlement in Waterford City'; John Bradley and Andrew Halpin, 'The topographical Development of Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman Waterford City' in William Nolan and Thomas P. Power, *Waterford, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 19920, p. 1-26, 49-72, p. 105-130; John Bradley and Andrew Halpin, 'The topographical Development of Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman Cork', in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1994), p. 15-44; John Bradley, 'The Topographical Development of Scandinavian Dublin' in Aalen and Whelan, *Dublin City and County*, p. 43-56.

<sup>17</sup> Colin Rynne, *The Archaeology of Cork City from the Earliest Times to Industrialisation* (Cork, Collins Press, 1993); John Crowley, Robert Devoy, Denis Linehan, Patrick O'Flanagan and Michael Murphy, *Atlas of Cork City* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2005).



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<sup>18</sup> Patrick O’Flanagan and S. Ó Catháin *The Living Landscape, Kilgalligan, Co. Mayo* (Dublin, Comhairle Béaloideas Éireann, 1975); T. Jones Hugues, ‘Town and Baile in Irish placenames’ in Nicholas Stephens and Robert Glascock (eds) *Irish Geographical Studies* (Belfast, Queen’s University, 1970), p. 244-258; F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds) *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1997). Maura Cronin, ‘From the “flat o’ the city” to the top of the hill’, Cork since 1700’ in Howard Clarke (ed.) *Irish Cities* (Cork, Mercier, 1995) p. 55-68.

<sup>19</sup> Robert J. Hunter, ‘The Plantation in Donegal’, in William Nolan, Liam Ronayne, Mairéad Dunleavy (eds.), *Donegal, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1995), p 283-324; Monica Brennan, ‘The Changing Composition of Kilkenny’s Landowners’, in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.) *Kilkenny, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1990), p. 161-197.

<sup>20</sup> Mary O’Dowd, *Power, Politics and Land, Early Modern Sligo 1568-1688* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies Queen’s University, 1991)

<sup>21</sup> Jack Burtchaell, ‘A Typology of Settlement and Society in County Waterford c. 1850’ in Nolan and Power, *Waterford, History and Society*, p 541-578; William Nolan, ‘Patterns of Living in Tipperary 1750-1850’; T. Hughes Jones, ‘Landholding and Settlement in County Tipperary in the nineteenth century’ in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath, *Tipperary, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1985), p. 288-325, p. 339-367; O’Flanagan, Patrick, ‘Three Hundred Years of Urban Life, Villages and Towns in county Cork. C. 1600-1901’ in O’Flanagan and Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society*, p

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391-468; William Nolan, 'Society and Settlement in the Valley of Glenasmole c. 1750-1950' in Allen and Whelan (eds.), *Dublin City and County*, p 181-228.

<sup>22</sup> Jonathon Bell, 'Changing Farming Methods in County Derry' in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Derry and Londonderry, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1999), p. 405-414; Marilyn Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, Co. Down 1690-1941* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> Anngret Simms, H. B. Clarke, Raymond Gillespie, J. H. Andrews, Sarah Grearty (eds.) *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1981-) This project, part of the wider European scheme of the European Atlases of Historic Towns, was established in 1981, with the aim of recording the topographical development of a selection of Irish towns. Fourteen atlases have been published by 2005, and a number of others are under consideration.

<sup>24</sup> John Andrews, 'Landmarks in early Wexford cartography' in Whelan, *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p 447-466; Patrick Power, 'A Survey, some Wicklow maps 1500-1800' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds.) *Wicklow, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1994), p. 723-760.

<sup>25</sup> Aalen, Whelan and Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*; (Cork, Cork University Press, 1997); Crowley, Devoy et al., *Atlas of Cork City*.(Cork, Cork University Press, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> Jacinta Prunty *Dublin Slums 1800-1925, A Study in Urban Geography* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1997)

<sup>27</sup> Leslie Clarkson, 'Portrait of an urban community, Armagh 1770' in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (eds.) *The town in Ireland, Historical Studies*, xiii

(Belfast, Appletree Press, 1981), p. 81-102; Leslie Clarkson, 'Doing local history, Armagh in the late eighteenth century' in Gillespie and Hill, *Doing Irish Local History*, p 81-96; Bob King, *Carlow, the Manor and Town*, Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> Anngret Simms, *Irish Country Towns* (Cork, Mercier, 1994); *More Irish Country Towns* (Cork, Mercier, 1995); Howard Hughes, *Irish Cities* (Cork, Mercier, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> David Dickson, *Old World Colony*; Mary O'Dowd, *Power, Politics and Land*; Donald Jordan, Jr, *Land and Popular Politics in Ireland, County Mayo from the Plantation to the Land War* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994); Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds.) *A Various County, Essays in Mayo History 1500-1900* (Westport, Foilseacháin Nisiunta Teo Mayo, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish life, 1913-1921, provincial experience of war and revolution* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1996); Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare, the experience of ordinary volunteers* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1006); Peter Hart, *The IRA and its enemies, violence and community in Cork 1916-1923* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1998); Maria Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish revolution, 1910-1923* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2003)

<sup>31</sup> Ronan Gallagher, *Violence and nationalist politics in Derry city, 1920-1923* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2003); Joost Auguusteijn, 'Radical and nationalist activities in County Derry 1900-1921' in O'Brien (ed.) *Derry and Londonderry, History and Society*, p. 573-600.

<sup>32</sup> James Grant, 'The Great Famine in County Down' in Leslie Proudfoot (ed.) *Down, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1997), p 353-382;

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Eva O Catháin, 'The Poor Law in County Wicklow', in Hannigan and Whelan (ed.) *Wicklow, History and Society*, p. 503-580.

<sup>33</sup> Donnelly, *Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork*; 'The Kenmare Estates during the nineteenth century' in *Kerry Historical and Archaeological Journal* no. 21, 1988, p. 1-41; 22, 1989, p. 96-7; 23, 1990, p. 5-43; Gerard J. Lyne, *The Lansdowne Estate in Kerry under the agency of William Steuart Trench 1849-72* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 2001); Peter Connell, *The land and people of County Meath, 1750-1850* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004).

<sup>34</sup> Donal McCartney, 'Canon O'Hanlon, Historian of the Queen's County' in Timothy P. O'Neill and William Nolan (eds.), *Offaly, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1998), pp...; Henry A Jeffries and Ciarán Devlin (eds.) *History of the Diocese of Derry from earliest times* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000); James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000).

<sup>35</sup> Gabriel O'Connor, 'Clonfush, county Galway, a self-contained townland adjacent to the town of Tuam' in Brian Ó Dálaigh, D. A. Cronin, and P. Connell (eds.) *Irish Townlands* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1998), Peter Carr, *Portavo, an Irish townland and its peoples, Earliest times to 1844* (Belfast, White Row Press, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> Patrick O'Flanagan, 'Three Hundred Years of Urban Life, Villages and Towns in County Cork, c. 1600-1901' in Flanagan and Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society*, p. 391-469; Karina Holton, Liam Clare and Brian Ó Dálaigh (eds.) *Irish Villages, Studies in Local History* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004); D. A. Cronin, J. Gilligan and K. Holton, *Irish Fairs and Markets* (Dublin, Four Courts

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<sup>37</sup> P. J. Duffy, 'Locality and Changing Landscape, Geography and local history' in Gillespie and Hill, *Doing Irish Local History*, p. 34.

<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Cronin, *Fr Michael Dungan's Blanchardstown 1836-1868* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts, 2002); Francis Kelly, *St. Mary's Parish, Granard, Co. Longford 1933-68* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1996); Liam Kelly, *Kiltubrid. County Leitrim, Snapshots of a parish in the 1890s* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts, 2005); Eoin Devereux, 'Negotiating Community, the case of a Limerick community development group' in Chris Curtin (ed.), *Irish Urban Cultures* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1993).

<sup>39</sup> John Crawford, *St Catherine's Parish, Dublin, portrait of a Church of Ireland community* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1996); Miriam Moffit, *The Church of Ireland community of Killala and Achonry 1870-1940* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1999); Ian D'Alton, 'Keeping Faith, an evocation of the Cork Protestant character, 1820-1920' in O'Flanagan and Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society*, p. 755-793; John Tunney, 'The Marquis, the Reverend. The Grand Master and the Major, Protestant politics in Donegal 1868-1933' in Nolan, Ronayne and Dunleavy, *Donegal, History and Society*, p. 675-696.

<sup>40</sup> Edward T. McCarron, 'In pursuit of the "Maine" chance, the North family of Offaly and New England 1700-76' in O'Neill and Nolan (eds.) *Offaly, History*

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<sup>41</sup> Christopher O'Mahony and Valerie Thompson, *Poverty to promise, the Monteagle emigrants 1838-58* (Darlinghurst, New South Wales, Crossing press, 1994); David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1994).

<sup>42</sup> Matthew Stout, 'Historical Geography' in Geary and Kelleher, *Nineteenth Century Ireland, a guide to recent research*, p. 91; Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Landownership and Improvement ca. 1700 to 1845' in Proudfoot, *Down, History and Society*, p. 203-238.

<sup>43</sup> Jack Burtchael, 'A typology of settlement in County Waterford', in Nolan and Power, *Waterford, History and Society*, p. 541-578; Geraldine Stout, *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2002); P. J. Duffy, *Landscapes of South Ulster; a parish atlas of the diocese of Clogher* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, in conjunction with Clogher Historical Society, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> P. H. Gulliver and Marilyn Silverman, *Merchants and Shopkeepers, An historical anthropology of an Irish market town* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1995); Marilyn Silverman, *An Irish Working Class, explorations in political economy and hegemony 1800-1950* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001); Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish..*

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<sup>45</sup> Articles appearing in the *Connaught Telegraph* in the recent past include 'Forgotten Man of History, James Daly, the *Telegraph's* most famous editor'; 'Michael Davitt, Mayo's most famous son'; 'Lord Frederick Cavendish, champion of the oppressed'. <http://www.mayohistory.com/>, 14 November 2005.

<sup>46</sup> K. W. Nicholls, 'The Development of Lordship in county Cork 1300-600' in O'Flanagan and Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society*, p. 157-212; Darren MacEiteagáin, 'The Renaissance Lordship of Tír Chonaill 1461-1555' in Nolan, Ronayne and Dunleavy, *Donegal, History and Society*, p. 203-228; David Edwards, 'The MacGiolla Padraigs of Upper Ossary 1532-1641' in Pádraig G. Lane and William Nolan (eds.), *Laois, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1999), p. 327-375; 'The Lordship of O'Connor Faly 1520-1570' in Timothy P. O'Neill and William Nolan (eds.), *Offaly, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1998),

<sup>47</sup> L. M. Cullen, 'The 1798 rebellion in Wexford, United Irishman organisation, membership, leadership' in Whelan, *Wexford, History and Society*, p. 248-295; Sean Cloney, 'The Cloney families of county Wexford' in Whelan, *Wexford, History and Society*, p. 316-341; Conor O'Brien, 'The Byrnes of Ballymanus' in Hannigan and Nolan (eds.) *Wicklow, History and Society*, p. 305-340; Ruan O'Donnell, 'The Rebellion of 1798 in County Wicklow', in Hannigan and Nolan, *Wicklow, History and Society*, p. 341-378; Thomas Bartlett, "Masters of the Mountain", 'The Insurgent careers of Joseph Holt and Michael Dwyer in County Wicklow 1798-1803', in Hannigan and Nolan, *Wicklow, History and Society*, p. 379-410.

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<sup>48</sup> Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *Sable Wings over the Land, Ennis, County Clare and its wider community during the Great Famine* (Ennis, CLASP Press, 1998); Daniel Grace, *The great famine in Nenagh poor law union, Co. Tipperary* (Nenagh, Relay Books, 2000); Brian MacDonald, *A Time of Desolation, Clones Poor Law Union 1845-50* (Enniskillen, Clones Historical Society, 2010); James Grant, 'The Great Famine in County Tyrone' in Charles Dillon and H. A. Jeffries (eds.) *Tyrone, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 2000), p. 587-615; Diarmaid Ferriter, *Cuimhnigh ar Luimneach, a history of Limerick County Council 1898-1998* (Limerick, Limerick County Council, 1998); Edward J. Marnane, *Cork County Council, the first hundred years* (Cork, Cork County Council, 1999).

<sup>49</sup> Denis A. Cronin, *A Galway gentleman in the age of improvement, Robert French of Monivea* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1995); John Joe Conwell, *A Galway landlord and the Famine* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2003); Dermot James, *John Hamilton of Donegal 1800-1884, This Recklessly Generous Landlord* (Dublin, Woodfield Press, 1998)

<sup>50</sup> Terence Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland. A Study of Irish Landed Families 1860-1960* (Dublin, Wolfhound Press, 2001); Olwen Purdue, *The MacGeough Bonds of the Argory, An Ulster gentry family, 1880-1950* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts, 2005).

<sup>51</sup> Bob Cullen, *Thomas L. Synnott, The Career of a Dublin Catholic 1830-1870* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1997); Fintan Lane, *In Search of Thomas Sheahan, Radical Politics in Cork 1824-1836*, Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2001)



<sup>52</sup> Nuala McAllister, 'Contradiction and diversity, the musical life of Derry in the 1830s' in O'Brien (ed.), *Derry and Londonderry, History and Society*, p. 465-495.

<sup>53</sup> Damhnait Nic Suibhne, 'Donegal Fiddling, the Donegal Fiddle Tradition' and Lillis Ó Laoire 'An Ceol Dúchais i dTír Conaill' in Nolan, Ronayne and Dunleavy, *Donegal, History and Society*, p 758-838; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *The Songs of Elizabeth Cronin, Irish Traditional Singer* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000).

<sup>54</sup> Liam Bane, 'John McEvelly and the Catholic Church in Galway, 1857-1902' in Gerard Moran (ed.) *Galway, History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1996), p. 421-444; Thomas McGrath, *Religious Renewal and reform in the Pastoral Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin 1786-1834* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1999); *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Publich ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin 1786-1834* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1999); Evelyn Bolster, *History of the Diocese of Cork* (Ballincollig, Tower Books, 1993); James S. Donnelly, Jr, 'Lough Derg, the making of the modern pilgrimage' in Nolan, Ronayne and Dunleavy, *Donegal, History and Society*, p. 491-508; David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London, Routledge, 1992); Stewart J. Brown, 'Presbyterian Communities, transatlantic visions, and the Ulster Revival of 1859' in J. P. Mackey (ed.) *The Cultures of Europe, the Irish contribution* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast, 1994), p. 103-114.

<sup>55</sup> Margaret Urwin, *A county Wexford family in the land war, the O'Hanlon-Walshs of Knocktartan* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four

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<sup>56</sup> Kevin O'Neill, *Family and Farm in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, republished 2003).

<sup>57</sup> Caroline Windrum, 'The provision and practice of Prison Reform in County Down 1745-1894' in Proudfoot, *Down, History and Society*, p. 327-352.

<sup>58</sup> Patrick Durnan, 'Aspects of Poor Law Administration and the Workhouse in Derry 1838-1948' in O'Brien, *Derry and Londonderry, History and Society*, p. 537-573; Sinéad Collins, *Balrothery Poor Law Union, County Dublin, 1839-1851* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2005); Christine Kenealy, 'The Workhouse System in County Waterford 1838-1923' in Nolan and Power, *Waterford, History and Society*, p. 579-596.

<sup>59</sup> Angela Bourke, *The Burning of Bridget Cleary, A True Story* (London, Pimlico, 1999); Frank Sweeney, *The murder of Connell Boyle, county Donegal, 1898* Maynooth Studies in Local History (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2002)

<sup>60</sup> Gerard O'Brien, 'Our Magee Problem, Stormont and the Second University' in O'Brien, *Derry and Londonderry, History and Society*, p. 647-679.

<sup>61</sup> William Nolan, *Tracing the Past* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1982); William Nolan and Anngret Simms (eds.) *Irish Towns, a Guide to Sources* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1998); Peter Collins, *Pathways to Ulster's Past* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1998); Gillespie and Hill, *Doing Irish Local History*; Terence Dooley, *Sources for the history of landed estates in Ireland* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2000); Raymond

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<sup>62</sup> The objectives of the Offaly Historical Society include ‘preserving, protecting the history of our families, workplaces and communities’ ([www.offalyhistory.com/](http://www.offalyhistory.com/)), while the combination of past- and place-centred identity is clear in the title chosen by the West Limerick Heritage Group based in Newcastlewest - ‘As Dúchas Dóchas’ (Out of heritage [come] hope), and Kevin Whelan’s sense of pride in County Wexford is unashamed in his reference to ‘my native county’ in *Wexford, History and Society*, p. v.

<sup>63</sup> Maura Cronin, ‘Of One Mind’? O’Connellite Crowds in the 1830s and 1840s’ in Peter Jupp and Eoin Magennis (eds.), *Crowds in Ireland c. 1720-1920* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000)

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, John O’Connor, *On Shannon’s Shore, a History of Mungret Parish* (Limerick, Pubblebrien Historical Society, 2003); Jack Mahon, *For Love of Town and Village* (Dublin, Blackwater Press, 1997); Cathy

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Birmingham, *The Cork Butter Exchange Band, a living tradition* (Cork, Cork Butter Exchange Band, 1996); Richard T Cooke, *Cork's Barrack Street silver and Reed Band, Ireland's oldest amateur musical institution* (Cork, Cork Barrack Street Band, 1992); 'When brethren are met in their Order so grand', *a brief history of Orangeism and Orange Lodges in Larne District* (Larne, Larne 1996 Committee, 1995).

<sup>65</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Travels in Ireland* (London, Bruce and Wyld, 1844), p. 95.

<sup>66</sup> John A. Murphy, 'Cork, Anatomy and Essence' in O'Flanagan and Buttimer, *Cork, History and Society*, p. 3

<sup>67</sup> Sean Dunne (ed.) *The Cork Anthology* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1993); Jim Kemmy (ed.) *The Limerick Anthology* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1996); Patricia Craig (ed.) *The Belfast Anthology* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1999).

<sup>68</sup> Frank McCourt, *Angela's Ashes, a Memoir* (London, Harper Collins, 1996); Other Limerick memoirs include Cristóir Ó Floinn, *There is an isle* (Cork, Mercier Press, 1998); Denis O'Shaughnessy, *A Spot So Fair, Tales from St. Mary's* (Limerick, Margo Press, 1998); Patrick Galvin, *Song for a Poor Boy, a Cork Childhood* (Dublin, Raven Arts, 1990).

<sup>69</sup> Charles Flynn, Dundalk 1900-1960, an oral history, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2000; John McGrath, Social and Economic Identity in St Mary's Parish, Limerick, 1890-1960 (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, 2006); Daniel Grace, *Portrait of a Parish, Monsea and Killodernan, Co. Tipperary* (Nenagh, Relay Books, 1996); Maura Cronin's *Country, Class or Craft, the politicisation of the skilled artisan in nineteenth century Cork* (Cork, Cork University Press,

1994) explores Cork artisans' multiple identity as Irishmen, craftsmen and Corkonians.

<sup>70</sup> Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland*, p. 256.

<sup>71</sup> Related to me by an undergraduate history student at Mary Immaculate College, September 2005, regarding his attempted interview in March-April 2005.