Lord Walter FitzGerald Prize for Research 2009



The Lord Walter FitzGerald Prize, sponsored by the County Kildare Archaeological Society, is awarded biannually on the basis of an essay reporting original research on any aspect of the archaeology or history of county Kildare or surrounding districts. In this context, research about persons or families of Kildare, or those well known to have resided there at one time, is part of the history and archaeology of Kildare. The prize commemorates Lord Walter FitzGerald (1858-1923), a founder member of this Society and one of the principal contributors to its Journal throughout its early decades.

Applicants are invited to submit an essay of 5,000 to 7,000 words, including footnotes. A prize of €500 and a medal will be awarded to the essay recommended by the judging panel and agreed by the Council. The competition is open to all applicants, regardless of their place of residence.

All essays submitted will be considered for publication in the Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society.

The panel of judges comprises the President of the Society, the Honorary Editor of the Society's Journal, one Council member, one representative of the County Library and two external judges of merit to be appointed by the Honorary Editor in conjunction with the Council.

Essays for the prize in 2009 should be submitted by 30 September 2008.

Further details and application forms are available from the Honorary Editor, Prof. Raymond Gillespie, Department of History, NUI Maynooth, Co. Kildare, or from the Society's website at www.kildare.ie/archaeology

Wentworth's wisdom or Strafford's folly: the early seventeenth-century house at Jigginstown, Naas, Co. Kildare

SINÉAD QUIRKE

LORD WALTER FITZGERALD PRIZE ESSAY 2007

This essay is a study of the early seventeenth century, brick-built, house at Jigginstown, Naas, Co. Kildare. Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and lord deputy of Ireland (figure 1) commissioned the house during the reign of Charles I, allegedly as a country house for the king himself should he visit Ireland. Wentworth estimated construction costs at £6,000 but in reality spent £22,000. Wentworth was beheaded in May 1641 on charges of high treason and the house, although still in use to some extent, was allowed fall to ruin. It survives as a ruin today.



Figure 1. Painting by Anthony Van Dyck of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford (1593 to 1641), lord deputy of Ireland (1632 to 1640) and his secretary Sir Philip Mainwaring who accompanied him to Ireland.

A signifying system

Our generation was the first to recognise something, which had passed the notice of all earlier generations: namely that the great decisions of the world are not, in fact, arrived at simply in the public chambers, or else during a handful of days given over to international conference under the full gaze of the public and the press. Rather debates are conducted, and crucial decisions arrived at, in the privacy and calm of the great houses of this country. What occurs under the public gaze with so much pomp and ceremony is often the conclusion, or mere ratification, of what has taken place over weeks or months within the walls of such houses. To us, then, the world was a wheel, revolving with these great houses at the hub, their mighty decisions emanating out to all else, rich and poor, who revolved around them ...¹

How much truth is there in these lines? What is the significance of this theory for architects and architectural historians? Could the decisions of great houses be seen emanating out to all else and, if so, how? What were these decisions? Were they, in fact, those of the patron who employed the architecture in its utilisation of forms, materials, space and 'devices' to convey a specific meaning(s)? Were they at their simplest level about propaganda and power? Two

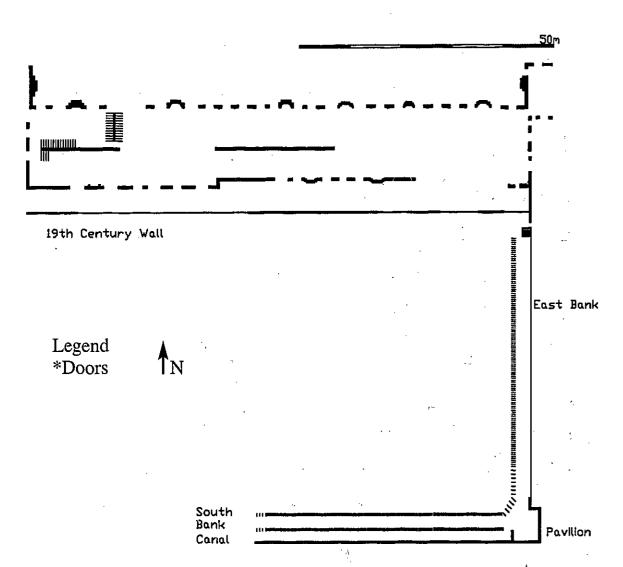


Figure 2. Jigginstown House, Naas, Co. Kildare Site Plan.

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terms long associated with architecture since it functions not only in terms of providing a structured arena within which social activity may occur² but also as a medium of communication for the values, beliefs and thinking of both its social context and the patron.³ Architecture, as material culture, is a signifying system reflecting, transmitting, promoting and/or critiquing the contemporary social culture in which it was created. Architecture then, as a means of social communication, communicates its message not only to the audience that the patron wants it communicated to, but also to the patron him- or herself. This, in turn, influences perceptions of the patron held by wider society and by the patron him-/herself. Evident is architecture's role as a medium of power.

Power is an abstract term open to interpretation: economic power, political power, social power, military power and ideological power.⁴ Power, in its broadest form, encapsulates all these aspects and more, specifically control. Control exerted over something – usually people – with those in a position of power using media such as art and architecture to enforce that control, feed their interpretation of power and prolong their power.⁵

Art and architecture are produced and employed as a means of transmitting power since they are symbols of power within themselves in how they relate ideas of control – the power behind their production and erection, patronage and location, which exudes power over politics, economics and society. Moreover, they are channels for this control by providing a 'canvas' on which to communicate the symbols, images and inscriptions of that power. Alternatively, art and architecture can illustrate resistance to the

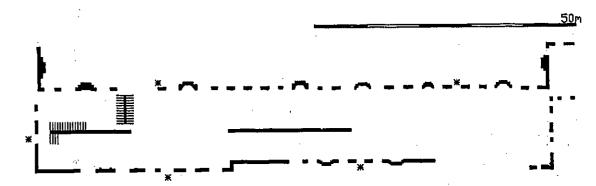


Figure 3. Jigginstown House, Naas, Co. Kildare. First Floor Plan.

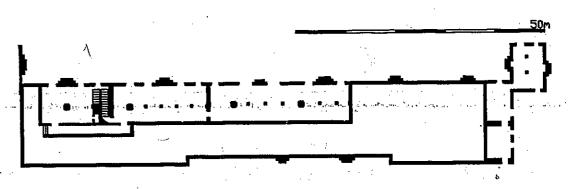


Figure 4. Jigginstown House, Naas, Co. Kildare. Basement Floor Plan.

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power status quo by communicating subtle subversion to the existing power in their symbols and materials. Art and architecture, then, mirror society, reflecting its values especially during times of crisis or transition by illustrating for instance, fundamental changes in a political system as those changes lead to the creation of a new visual artistic and architectural language that both reflects these changes and contributes to their process.⁶

In terms of its architecture Jigginstown House is unlike other contemporary buildings in Ireland such as Portumna, Galway, Kanturk, Cork or Oldbawn, Dublin. It is arguable that its different shape, form and materials reflect Wentworth's ideals and beliefs. Indeed, its difference may be significant to whatever message(s) Wentworth wanted communicated: possibly that he was a different lord deputy, one not complacent in his deputyship, rather one determined to carry out all aspects of the job thoroughly. In commissioning Jigginstown House, Wentworth was thus not only providing an arena for his decision making, he was making a statement about how he saw himself within the political and social environment and how he envisaged his own social and political aspirations as lord deputy in early seventeenth century Ireland. The fact he chose to build in brick, a manufactured long lasting durable material providing status and a strong exterior expressing the power, strength and the everlastingness of the patron, may signify his belief in the permanence of his own position and perhaps that of the Crown in Ireland.7

A 'freak' of architecture? A description of Jigginstown House

The house consists of a vaulted basement and main floor level, and possibly part of an attic level. Notable features include the basement's vault piers, large windows, fireplaces, original external paintwork, some cornice mouldings, an internal drainage system and the remains of a sunken garden.



Figure 5. The sunken garden of Jigginstown House from the northeast showing the southern earthen bank.

The exterior of the house

A 'great house' was always more than a great house; it invariably included also the gardens, parklands, landscape features such as ponds and mills, and the approaching routeway(s). It is difficult to determine the landscape of Jigginstown since the town of Naas about three kilometres east of Jigginstown, has spread so much in that direction. It no doubt now infringes on what was parkland of the house. Nevertheless, at Jigginstown it seems that there were at least two approaches: one from the north and one from the west. The north approach is suggested in the double staircase leading up to a door in the north east of the house (figure 9). However, the north landscape of Jigginstown has changed dramatically with the building of the Grand Canal in the 1780s and the modern road. It may be that there was a garden or an arranged landscape to the north of the house mirroring the sunken garden and pavilions to the south. In his 1891 Inaugural speech of the Kildare Archaeological society held at Jigginstown, Arthur Vicars mentioned that 'outside you will see the traces of the old Fish Pond, which most country houses possessed in olden times.'8 In his 1943 article, F.W. Strath also mentioned the fishpond.9 Yet, there seems to be no trace of it today. The second approach is from the west, where we find an extravagant entrance to the house: a course of moulded red brick surrounds a doorway, now sealed (figure 7). This entrance probably had a number of steps up to

The sunken garden is a large squarish area of grass demarcated by an earthen bank, which now remains only on the south and east sides (figure 5). Five original stone steps leading up to the east bank remain. At the southeast and southwest corners of the earthen bank were two pavilions (figure 6), one of which exists as foundations and the other is no longer extant. These pavilions had brick arches on



Figure 6. The foundations of the southeast pavilion of Jigginstown showing the canal arch. The canal bank demarcated the sunken the sunken garden on the south side in addition to the earthen bank.

their underside allowing the passage of water, a small canal marked by a shallow ditch on the south side (figure 6). Excavations by Manning in 1979 indicated that these ditches ran around the north, east and south of the house and garden but not along the west side. However, the later construction of a farmhouse and driveway may have removed all traces of such ditches or boundaries, which may have functioned as boundaries preventing trespassers and the movement of farm animals.¹⁰

The main structure of Jigginstown House is random rubble stone at basement level and brick at first floor level, in a pattern of contrasting red and yellow colour. The basement and first floor levels are partitioned by a stringcourse of yellow cut brick that runs along both the north and south elevations so it is possible to infer that it ran around the entire house. It can be clearly seen on the west wall of the east wing (figure 14). This stringcourse is also visible at the top of the first floor level on the west wall of the east wing. It may be, therefore, that the first floor and attic level were also divided by it.

The first floor level has original exterior paintwork (figure 13): a yellow "brick" ornamentation painted on a red brick background at intervals between the windows on the north façade, whilst the south façade has a red "brick" ornamentation painted on a yellow brick background, perhaps indicative of seventeenth century corner cutting! Interestingly, although this feature was common in Britain, it is rare in Ireland but can be seen at Roscommon Castle, Roscommon and Portumna Castle, Galway.¹¹

The north elevation of the house gives the allusion of symmetry. However, an inconsistency in the spacing of basement windows and projecting chimney bases reveal otherwise. The northeast of the house has only three basement windows whereas the northwest of the house has eleven. Seven massive chimney bases of a 'classic section, built up and moulded' (figure 12) and one niche base

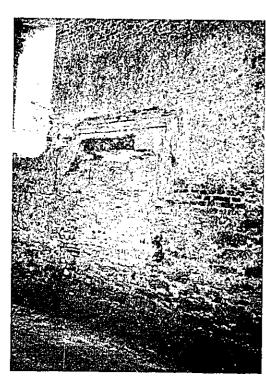


Figure 7. The west door. Note the line of red brick dividing the storeys and bordering around the top of the door.

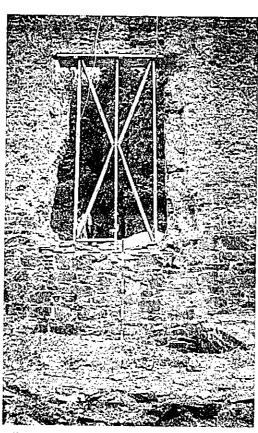


Figure 8. Northeast Door.

project along the north façade and although an even number, they are not spaced symmetrically but rather are placed at random intervals along the façade. Similarly, the south elevation has three chimney base projections on its east side with none on its west side, yet there is a very large fireplace present in the room there (figures 3 & 19).

The exterior of Jigginstown is striking in that it is difficult to decipher any sort of pattern in the architectural features. It does not appear to have a preconceived idea of what it wanted to be. As Craig said, 'the ambiguity of its plan is matched only by its bizarre detail ... long and thin ... it has no discernible shape and simply goes on until it stops.'13 Thus, it is near impossible to ascertain which is the 'front' vista of the house. Strath postulated that it was the south elevation but gives no reasons for this conclusion.14 Conventionally, the north façade is taken to be the front since the wings project from it, the door with the double staircase is located there and today it faces a main road. However, projecting wings do not necessarily indicate frontage (on some Elizabethan houses the projections are to the back of the house) and a modern road does not imply the existence of an older route. For these reasons it may be that the house was laid out in such a way as not to be approached from the north or south elevations but from the east or west. The evidence of the west door may support this since compared with the other three doors; it is the most lavish and opens on to a probable lobby area of the house (figures 3 & 7).

The interior of the house

The house, comprising of basement, first floor and attic, presents an interesting layout.

The basement level consists of two groups of adjoining rooms and



Figure 9. The north door double staircase base. It reflects the façade of the house in its stone base and brick paved surface. It is not bonded to the house.

a subterranean access passage (figure 4). The first group consists of three rooms in the east of the house, the third room directly under the east wing. It has two central supporting columns and a fireplace on both the east and west walls. The second group of basement rooms runs along the north side of the house only and consists of three adjacent rooms and parallel access passage. The first room contains one central supporting column, a small chamber and a staircase leading to the upper floor. The second room contains five supporting columns, a staircase leading upstairs and a vent-like shaft and leads into the third room, which has seven columns and another vent-like shaft.

It is perhaps significant that the entrances to the two groups of basement rooms are at either end of the house and that there is no access between the two sets of rooms (figure 4). This may be related to the social status of those within the house, which might have placed the grander basement under the grander end of the house. Alternatively, they may reflect the location of the first floor domestic quarters. This is doubtless the case in the west end since the largest fireplace is located there, most likely indicative of the kitchen area. Also, a stairs is suggested in the varying windows heights, the floor joist notches in the wall and in the high curved arch of vertical bricks spanning from the west wall to the interior-dividing wall (figure 16) from a probable pantry to the kitchen, to a mezzanine level accessing a lobby area and the first floor. Interestingly, the kitchen, the subterranean access passage, the stairs down to the basement and the grand south parlour room appear to be arranged to facilitate circular movement, perhaps of people and food. There is a clear route from pantry to kitchen to upstairs and down again.

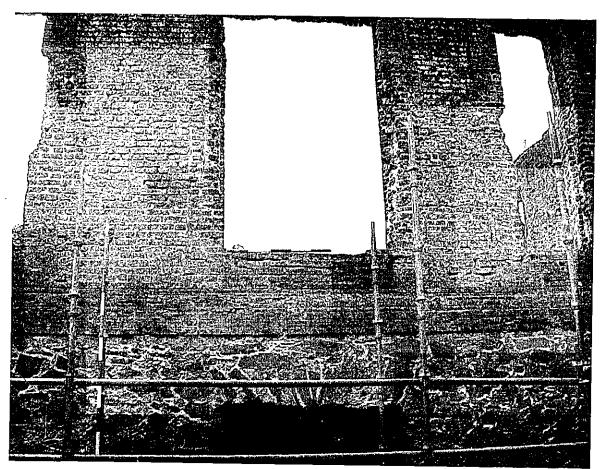


Figure 10. First floor east wing window. Note the smaller Dutch-style window to the right, the stringcourse and the flat arch of the basement window.

The first floor consisted of a number of adjoining rooms. Only part of the interior dividing wall (which ran the length of the house – figure 15) and the marks of a small number of other partitioning walls remain, thus we can only infer the number and arrangement of rooms. However, the rooms appear to follow a 15 square foot plan and usually had a central fireplace with at least one window on either side.

Along the north side of the first floor are five fireplaces perhaps indicating five rooms with additional rooms in the wings. The number of windows and evidence of partition walls indicate a further five ante rooms. A door area is also clearly discernible in the northeast of the house.

The south side of the first floor has three distinguishable rooms: one at the southwest, one central and one at the southeast. The southwest room has a very grand central fireplace with a window on either side (figures 3 & 19). An anteroom probably neighboured this, providing access to a lobby area and south door. The central room is a long relatively narrow room with a door opening to the sunken garden, two fireplaces, four windows and part of the foundations of its west wall still visible. The southeast room is clearly part of an apartment area. It has a corner fireplace and three windows and is adjoined by a room to the north, which provides access to the east wing (figures 3 & 20).

Two staircases remain. The first, parallel to the main interior-dividing wall, facilitated first floor access. This staircase was accessed from a lobby area in the west of the house. The second, in the northwest of the house leads down to the basement. It consists of two sets of parallel steps but interestingly, a partition wall between them ensured that each set of steps provided separate access to two basement rooms (figures 3 & 18). The inserts of wooden steps are clearly noticeable on these staircases.

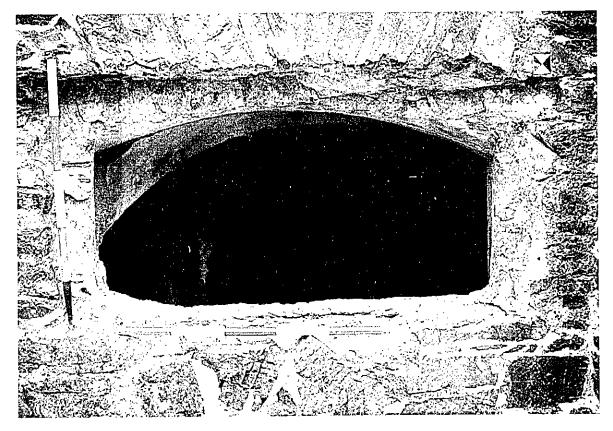


Figure 11. North wall splayed basement window. Note the flat arch of vertical bricks.

An attic level at most existed above the first floor since the external walls are not designed to bear much more than the weight of an attic level. Also, in the west end of the house there is evidence of both a ceiling/floor and the remains of windows similar in design to the basement ones above the large first floor windows (figure 16).

The main debate concerning Jigginstown pertains to what extent is was 'finished.' Some authors have interpreted this as meaning the roof; claiming it was abandoned before it was roofed.¹⁵ Yet, Wentworth himself said he 'had in a manner finished it,' and why, if it were never finished, would the marks of an interior ceiling and roof cornice exist? Moreover, how could both Wentworth (he writes from Naas), the Kilkenny Confederates and the Papal Nuncio have stayed there? A more likely senario is that it was unfinished in terms of finishing touches such as the crenellations.

Architectural features of the house

Jigginstown has some notable architectural features including window frames and jambs, fireplaces, the cornice, a drainage system, basement vaults, vent shafts and the fabric of the building.

Windows

The basement windows are splayed; they measure roughly 1m high by 2m wide, and are composed of plastered random rubble and bordered on the outside by a flat vertical keystone arch (figure 11). Grooves in the windows indicate (wooden) mullions. The upper storey windows are larger in size, are of brick, are more numerous and have two variations (figure 10). Firstly, the standard windows measuring approximately 2m high by 3m wide, are framed on the

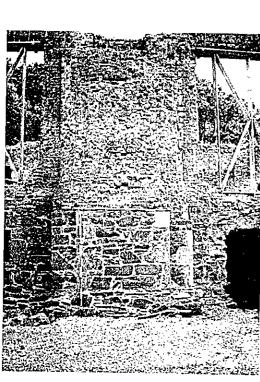


Figure 12. North elevation chimney pilaster. Note the stone base with red brick on top. The lighter blocks on the right of the pilaster are OPW conservation work.

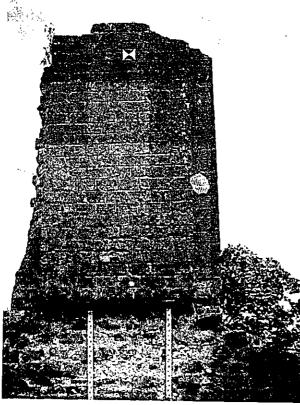


Figure 13. North wall red brick. Note the remaining stringcourse around the end and marks of paint. The metal supports are part of the OPW conservation work.

outside by a red brick ornamentation (south elevation) or a yellow brick ornamentation (north elevation) and have vertical keystone flat arches. These arches were bricked on the outside and plastered on the inside. Secondly, three windows in the east of the house, measuring 3m high by 1m wide suggest a Dutch influence in their size and form. Some plasterwork remains on these windows and one bears the marks of a transom. Originally the windows probably had leaded glazing in small panes as well as decorative lintels, one of which remains above a window in the west end (figure 17). This has a simple linear decoration in plaster and some more plasterwork on the inside of the window. The lintel leads into a damaged section of a cornice at the ceiling level of the first floor. It is plaster moulded in a simple curvilinear design.

Fireplaces

John Dunton, a seventeenth century writer accused Wentworth of having 'a chimney for every day of the year.' Twelve fireplaces remain: three in the basements of the wings, five along the north side, three along the south wall and one southeast corner fireplace. The east wing basement has two fireplaces: one each on its east and west walls. They are large fireplaces measuring nearly 2m, are of brick with stone surrounds and framing arches cut into the stone, marks for timber mantels, cobbled hearths and evidence of use. The east fireplace stands in ruin whilst, the west fireplace is built under the stringer of the rib vault. The west wing basement fireplace on the other hand is even larger and of brick with a cobbled hearth.

The five north wall fireplaces all measure between 2m to 3m and vary in design. Starting from the west and moving east, the first fireplace is 3m wide, has curved moulded brick, notches for a timber

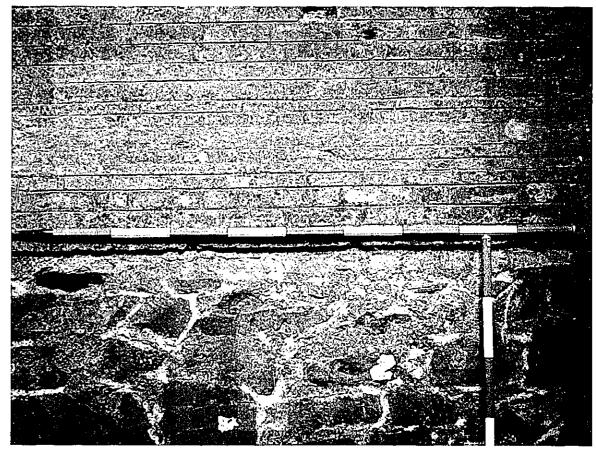


Figure 14. Yellow stringcourse in curvilinear design on west wall of east wing dividing basement random rubble from first floor red brick.

mantel and the remains of a brick overmantel. The next fireplace is 2m, has a cobbled hearth, moulded curved red bricks and the remnants of an arch. Above the arch are indents suggesting an overmantel. The other three fireplaces are in better condition having their chimneybreasts. They are all of brick with cobbled hearths and definite marks of overmantels.

The central south room has two similar brick fireplaces with cobbled hearths. The southwest fireplace is perhaps the best preserved. It is a very large grand fireplace with a large arched chimneybreast. Four notches at the corners of the fire opening are indicative of a timber or stone surround (figure 19). The southeast corner fireplace has an arched chimneybreast and some surviving plasterwork (figure 20).

Although all the fireplaces are of moulded brick with cobbled hearths, the moulded brick in each forms a slightly different pattern. Some are more curved whilst others are more angular, perhaps pertaining to the social function of the room.

Vaults

The basement rib and barrel vaulting is one of the most noted features of Jigginstown. It was probably built to support a stone floor above. The vaults are brick with brick supporting pillars, moulded arches and groin ribs, spanning from the pillars to the walls (figure 22). There is a curious absence of pilasters under the wall-stringers. There are two types of pillars: a simple square column and a larger column with pilasters (figures 23 & 24). They run centrally along the length of the basement and are spaced at relatively regular intervals, with the larger columns sequentially placed (figure 4). It must be noted that there is a distinct lack of technical quality in the east wing basement barrel vaulting. Here, not only is the wall itself barrelled to

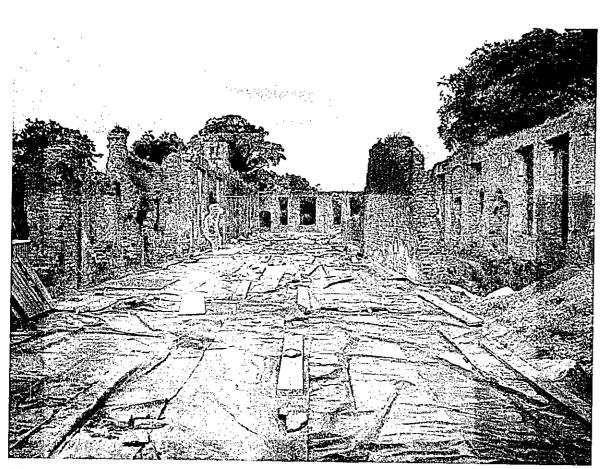


Figure 15. East end interior.

take the weight of the vault; but windows interrupt the barrelling requiring the barrels to be 'tweaked' to fit and support the vaults and a fireplace was constructed under the stringer of one vault.

In addition, two long narrow rectangular vent shafts are located in the basement, one each in the second and third rooms from the west end (figures 4 & 25). They stretch right up through the interior-dividing wall where they are squarer in shape. Costello postulated that these features were a communication device. However, if the house had a double-pitched roof, they may be part of a drainage system to collect rainwater since they open out in the basement walls onto cut oolitic limestone gullies, (several of which survive), that formed part of a drainage system (figure 26). The cut limestone gullies run from the basement walls and the centre of the basement between and around the columns to openings in the exterior walls. These gullies are a classic roof type. Thus, it is likely there were similar ones at roof level. Also, within the vents a small shelf notch was cut to slow the flow of water perhaps to allow for collection and use by the household.

The Fabric of the Building

Finally, the most noted of Jigginstown's architectural features, its fabric: stone, and, more notably, brick. Stone is employed in the exterior and interior (where it is plastered) basement of the house, the doorstep, fireplace bases, and some fireplace surrounds. Oolitic limestone, used for the basement gullies and vaults is now quite calcified. However, Jigginstown has long been recognised as 'the first employment of brick on a large scale in the whole country' and as inaugurating Irish brick making. Four kinds of brick are

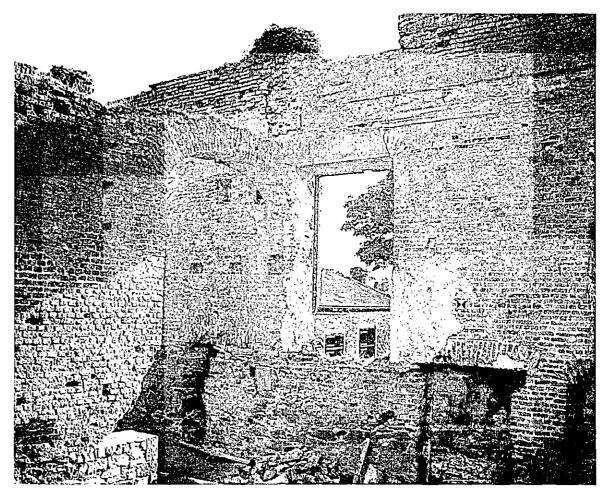


Figure 16. West end interior of house. Note the arch, floor joist notches and the peculiar window heights that are indicative of a staircase.

distinguishable, each with its own function. The first is a plain reddish-brown brick employed on the elevations and around the vent shafts in the basement (figure 13). A variation of this brick is used in the jambs and flat arches. The second type is the yellow brick used most notably in the stringcourses and for some external wall ornamentation mentioned earlier (figure 14). The third type is the moulded brick employed in the basement ribs and columns (figure 24) and finally, the fourth type is of Dutch origin and is found only in the back panelling of the fireplaces (figure 19). There has been much debate about the origins of the bricks. Vicars, Leask and Craig agree that the fireplace bricks are imported and their style points to the Netherlands. The other bricks however, were probably made indigenously under the supervision of a foreign builder, most likely John Allen, the Dutch architect allegedly commissioned by Wentworth to construct Jigginstown.

Jigginstown displays an indulgence in experimentation with many architectural features, and with variations within those features, without, it seems, any consideration or preconceived idea of what structure the house as a whole would take. The question now is what was the 'finished' product? For instance, having recognised rooms in the plan, what function did they perform? Is it possible to reconstruct the early seventeenth house of Jigginstown?

There is nothing to equal the building of Jigginstown ...

Wentworth's intention to build King Charles I a 'house at the Naas' which he had 'in a manner finished ... and so contrived it for the Rooms of State and other Accommodations' offers a clue in attempting a reconstruction. This intention, if genuine, would have required a selfless generosity on the part of Wentworth to provide



Figure 17. Decorative cornice and lintel on interior of west wall of the house. Notice the marks of a first floor ceiling/attic floor above the cornice.

prestigious and luxurious royal apartments, functional though opulent 'Rooms of State' and of course appropriately dressed accommodations for a loyal lord deputy.²⁴ A further clue is offered in Wentworth's comment in letter that if 'His Majesty ... disliked a suo damno. I was content to keep it and smart for my Folly.'²⁵ If Charles did not like the house and Wentworth was to keep it then the house could not be overly ostentatious for a lord deputy, symptomatic of a lord deputy rising above his social rank. A certain distance between royalty and retainer had to be maintained.

Interestingly, although distance was maintained vertically in terms of social rank, royalty and their courtiers could share a quite intimate relationship in terms of physical proximity. Girouard argued that the sequence of rooms in great English houses reflected social status with one's rank and status dictating which accessible rooms.²⁶ The Groom of the Stool for instance, the king's closest companion was literally privy to the king's every movement! Architecture facilitated this relationship by locating the Groom's apartments adjacent to the King's. It formed part of the 'culture of friendship,' a Renaissance ideal of 'True Friendship' popular among the seventeenth century aristocracy, whereby friendship, represented in the proximity of the apartments of the 'friends' and in the exchange of gifts particularly portraits was supposedly unaffected by status, rank and religion.27 However, gift-exchange also reflected power relationships and allegiances. Social advancement and maintenance of status among elite courtiers was virtually impossible without royal favour. Royal favour in the form of land, titles and offices was frequently granted in return for hosting royalty and gifts to royalty.28 If anything this promoted a culture of competition.

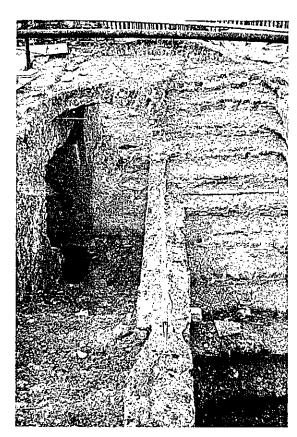


Figure 18. West end stairs. Note that both staircases lead to the basement, the arch and the dividing wall between the stairs.

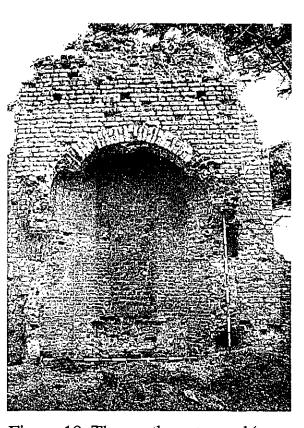


Figure 19. The southwest grand 'parlour' fireplace. Note the four notches around the fire opening indicative of a timber or stone surround, the arch and chimneybreast

How would this have worked at Jigginstown for Wentworth and Charles I? Jigginstown is a singular asymmetrical building very different to earlier medieval 'royal' hall and courtyard structures. Here, the west end appears of higher status. Supposing this to be the location of the royal apartments, and following the general rule, Wentworth's quarters would be adjacent (to the east) to these apartments. However, running east (along the south of the house) is a sequence of anterooms and the long gallery (figure 3). Perhaps Wentworth's occupied the north of the house? However, this sequence of rooms with anterooms is more a route of procession (anterooms being about waiting and the patron holding audience rather than about residence). Further east, on the other hand is the self-contained east wing of the house, which may be a residential suite – Wentworth's?

If this is the case then perhaps Jigginstown's duality²⁹ (two wings, at least two entrances) is functional: the royal accommodation in the

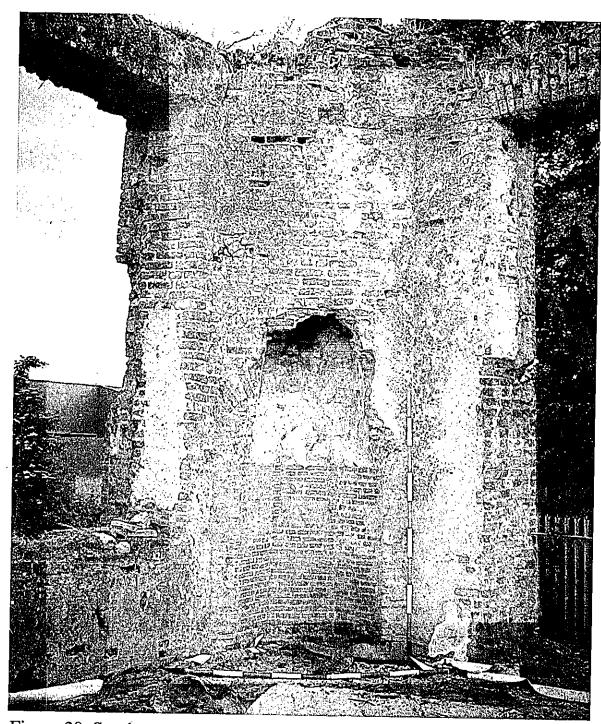


Figure 20. Southeast corner fireplace. Note the remains of an arch to the top left of the fire opening and the large narrow Dutch-style window to the right with flat arch and transome notch about 2m up.

west end, Wentworth's in the east and the Rooms of State and reception between. This is almost medieval in that in earlier royal castles, the king's and queen's quarters could be in opposite towers, such as at Chepstow in Wales, and at Audley End Hall, Essex in England there were separate entrances for the king and queen.³⁰ Privacy was a factor here. Not privacy as we think of today but privacy in creating an area for private conversation between men or women.³¹

The function, status and accessibility of the rooms would be further differentiated through the decoration. Jacobean and Caroline art and architecture was intended to express the ideologies of the patron, be they political, social, economic or religious. To accomplish this, iconography (primarily from Classical and Biblical milieu) was employed as 'devices.' These devices, the ability to incorporate hidden symbols and meaning as well as literal or overt meaning into the art and architecture illustrated the ideology of the patron.³² For instance, employing classical forms, figures and myths to represent and convey the patron's moral values and allegiances.

At Jigginstown both the royal apartments and Wentworth's apartments would have been adorned with overmantels, door hangs, portraits, wall panels or wainscoting or perhaps tapestries, hunting trophies, paintings and furniture. Grandiose overmantels, door hangs or wall panels for example may have expressed Wentworth's ideals and royal allegiance either through the use of metaphorical devices or in the less subtle form of the royal heraldic arms.³³ They would also reflect personal pastimes such as Wentworth's love of hunting and hawking.

Indeed, doors and entrances and their ornamentation are particularly interesting since they permit and facilitate access pertaining to social status. Visitors to the house would have been intrinsically



Figure 21. East wing west basement fireplace. Note the stone surround, the arch cut into the surround and the small red back panelling bricks.

aware of this. Moreover, an occupant, labourer or visitor to the house would have experienced it with an implicit understanding of both their social rank, the structural arrangement of the architecture and the appropriate behaviour therein. At Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire, the family seat, Wentworth had the gates and entrance to the bear pit marked with loud bold strapwork and geometric and floral decoration³⁴ marking boundary areas and 'danger' zones explicitly in terms of the bear pit and more subtly in terms of social status.

Similarly, the décor of the Rooms of State would not only function as social signifiers but most likely, as political markers too, illustrating not only Wentworth's royal affiliation but his political peer relationships, his lord deputyship, his political achievements that benefited the king, and his political ambitions. The long hall on the south of the house (which most likely had a suspended wooden floor on the stone projections) could facilitate political-social (and family social) events. As a long gallery area for display, Wentworth could exploit this space to his own ends. Its location in the centre of the house and its door to the garden further facilitated political-social affiliations and ambitions by bringing together royalty and courtier from either end of the house to a structured exhibition area for interaction.

Regarding his political relationships Wentworth and James Butler, earl of Ormond exchanged portraits. A portrait of Wentworth by van Dyck still hangs in Ormond's great house in Carrick-on-Suir, Tipperary. Another by van Dyck is in Wentworth Woodhouse. In both he is dressed in armour and in the Woodhouse portrait rests his

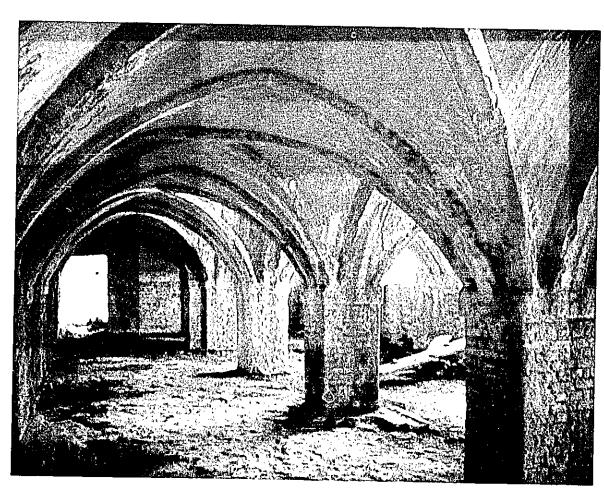


Figure 22 Basement vaults.

hand on an Irish wolfhound. A pose that offers further testament to his 'thorough' policy for dealing with the Irish.

Nevertheless, Jigginstown House itself poses a challenge to Wentworth's three aims for the house. Although quite long at almost 114m, at only one storey the house is not large enough for royalty, courtier and state. In practical terms if the king's quarters were in the west end he had at most three rooms on the first floor: the room above the kitchen in the west wing, which we can assume was one room since the east wing is laid out in that manner, the northwest 'niche' room and the southeast parlour room. Would this have been enough? Would a king want a room above a smelly noisy kitchen? Likewise, assuming Wentworth's accommodation was located in the east wing, he too had at most three or four rooms, leaving the Rooms of State located between the two rooms and long hall on the south of the house and/or the five rooms and four anterooms and hall along the north of the house. The difficulty arises when we consider the number of people involved, which was, at most, a hundred. Elizabeth I refused to issue licenses for retainers of more than a hundred people in order to reduce retainer numbers, so that, by 1600, households of more than a hundred people were rare.35 If Wentworth intended Charles and his retinue, himself and his retinue, and other state officials and their retinues, to use the house, then surely more accommodation rooms are necessary. If political or state officials were also to stay at the house, then the Rooms of State do not seem adequate. The rooms are sequenced, with anterooms between, in order to be a procession route not sleeping quarters. What of the retinues? They were composed of people of differing social standing. No doubt those of a lower social standing stayed in the basements or

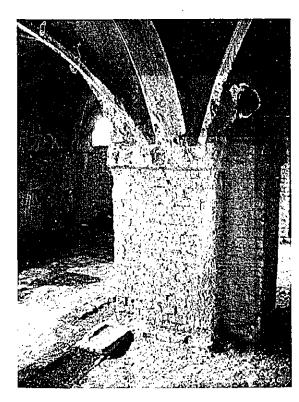


Figure 23. Large basement column. Note the gully fragment and trench at the bottom of the column, the plastered ribs and paved floor.

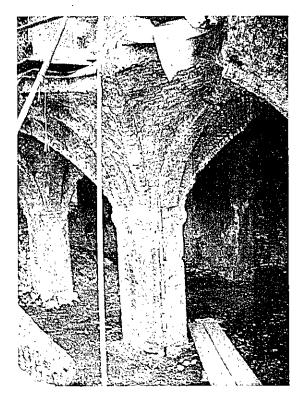


Figure 24. East wing basement with two central supporting columns. Note the moulded brick and rib vaults.

perhaps the attic (though servants in the attic level is a much later phenomenon) but those of a higher social status would require better accommodation.

There is an alternative. If Wentworth intended Jigginstown as a summer residence for Charles, a 'removing house of fresh air,'36 perhaps the house was designed to house just the King and his retinue with Wentworth taking on 'steward' duties when Charles was absent? As it was Wentworth had a steward of his own to care for his property, a Joshua Carpenter who is buried in St David's Church in Naas. Is Jigginstown a house of 'moderate conveniency' for light royal duties?³⁷ Also, if Wentworth included the clause that if Charles did not like the house he would 'smart for his folly' and keep it, then the house could not be greater than one already owned by Charles.



Figure 25. Basement vent shaft. Note the shelf cut into the vent about 70cm up, the brick surround and the shallow trenches leading out straight from the shaft and to the right.

Similarly, Wentworth would need (slightly) fewer accommodations than the king. Thus, perhaps Jigginstown was designed with Wentworth's needs and his royal aspirations in mind rather than Charles's royal needs.

However, there is yet a further interpretation of his letter. An important medieval concept was that the ruling monarch in actuality owned everything: anything built by a courtier was in the eyes of the King or Queen ultimately theirs. Elizabeth I is a good example here. She moved her peripatetic household seasonally between the houses of her courtiers, particularly Bess of Hardwick Hall to whose son she was godmother, and of course, the castles and houses commissioned by her father. Thus, it is possible that Wentworth, was not in fact commissioning a royal residence, but rather was harking back to this medieval notion of the king owning all his stating he had the intention to build Charles I a great house was in fact nominal.

Moving to the exterior, reconstruction becomes more problematic. There are two issues here. Firstly, a debate surrounding the presence of a balustraded platform and secondly, reconstructing crenellations using conventional approaches since Jigginstown is such an architectural oddity.

The form and location of a balustraded platform pose questions. It probably took the form of a small loggia, a landing area marked along one side by a row of balustrades connected by a handrail, which may or may not have been roofed – perhaps similar to the unroofed balustraded platforms at Wentworth Woodhouse.³⁸ The platform location is pure speculation – perhaps the area of the double staircase to the northeast of the house or, perhaps, with the southfacing sunken garden receiving the best light in the morning with the southeast pavilion basking in the sunshine longest, a balustraded platform leading from the southeast of the house to this pavilion is more practical.

The form of the crenellations is an added problem since they take many forms, ranging from straight to curved and variations in between. Pearce, when making his reconstruction drawing in 1726 (the house having already fallen to some element of ruin), gave the house straight crenellations. However, with Jigginstown having Dutch-style windows and Dutch brick, Dutch-style curved crenellations are a likely possibility similar to those at Grange, Co. Kildare. Incidentally, Jigginstown's chimneystacks were probably along the same design as Grange's Dutch-style chimneystacks.

Attempting a reconstruction of a house such as Jigginstown is difficult not least because of how little remains, but primarily due to its singular peculiarity. A reconstruction can only be postulated here for the type of exterior design and interior decoration of such a house.

The 'hub'...

Having looked at architecture as a signifying system and the 'freak' of architecture that is Jigginstown, how did it function as a means of social communication? What, if anything, did Jigginstown communicate? What decisions were arrived at at Jigginstown? The various policies and decisions of Wentworth himself, an ambitious

man to be reckoned with and, after his demise the decisions of others who sojourned there specifically the Kilkenny Confederates, a band of Gaelic Irish who rebelled against the Crown in 1641. Peace negotiations between the Confederates and the Crown were held at Jigginstown in 1643. Indeed, a staunch supporter of the Confederates, Papal Nuncio John Baptist Rinuccini sojourned there in 1645.

A man to be reckoned with ...?

Born on 13 April 1593, Thomas 'Black Tom' Wentworth, the eldest son of the leading Yorkshire gentry family of Wentworth Woodhouse, was a man of exceptional ability. This ability is evident throughout his career: knighted at eighteen; he sat on his first parliament at twenty-one and simultaneously became second baronet and head of the Wentworth family.40 Being an ambitious man he utilized every opportunity to advance his own ends. In 1628, for instance, he encouraged the Petition of Right (an opposition document, led by Lord Chief Justice Edward Coke that stated parliamentary grievances and prohibited illegal taxation, the forced billeting of troops, the imposition of martial law, and arbitrary imprisonment⁴¹ and in actuality had little effect on King Charles I's unconstitutional rule) and was appointed President of the Council of the North of England. 42 Here, Wentworth saw that advantage lay with the king and he was well rewarded for his gamble in supporting the Petition with the presidency.

Moreover, he believed in a policy of 'thorough' – a policy to create English administrative unity in Ireland. Corresponding with Archbishop Laud, Wentworth expounded that it meant driving

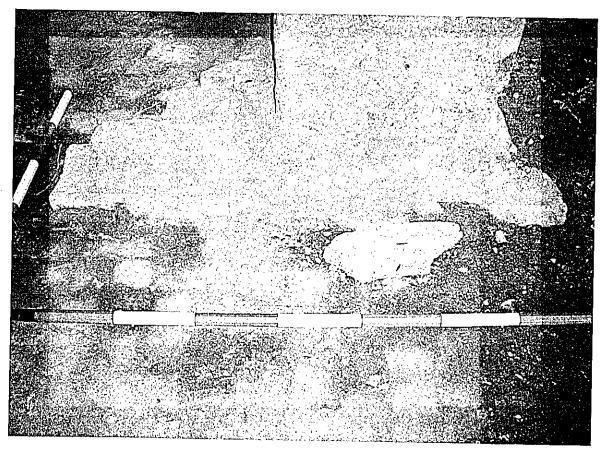


Figure 26. Basement limestone gully. Note the cobbled paving in front of the gully.

through those interests that lay in the way of fiscal, religious or administrative unity. It was a policy of force in which political concession and negotiation were perceived as weakness whilst strength and power lay in the power of the king and the king's policies. The king's power was to be as absolute a power in Ireland as was possible.⁴³

Wentworth, appointed lord deputy of Ireland in 1632 and created earl of Strafford in 1640 (taking his title name from the name of the area in which Wentworth Woodhouse, is situated in York) was to be instrumental in thorough monarchical power in Ireland. For the first time, Ireland was under the control of a lord deputy who had close contacts with the English government and a firm grip on the

apparatus of the Irish government.⁴⁴

As lord lieutenant of Ireland, Wentworth realised the advantage of having land and estates in the country he was governing. They would help establish him here, as he was in England, where he had a number of properties – the family seat of Wentworth Woodhouse and Ledstone Manor in Yorkshire, and Gawthorpe and Harewood Manors in east Lancashire. Having land and estates in Ireland would contribute to his status and therefore his power.

Essentially, Wentworth began to create, to impose modern terminology, a 'property portfolio', which even during his deputyship began to raise a few eyebrows. In a letter to Archbishop Laud, Wentworth dismissed the rumours of his expenditure as being grossly exaggerated. This property portfolio included the purchase of lands in Wicklow, two Royal granted lands in Wicklow (Wicklow Manor and Newcastle McKynegan) and other purchases in Kildare.

The purchased lands in Wicklow were the barony of Shillelagh and Cosha, (known as Fairwood in the legal documents and Coolattin today). In 1637, he made a straightforward purchase of the Cosha land. The land consisted of c. 5500 acres plus 5000 acres of wasteland. He built a hunting lodge at Cosha, known locally as Black Tom's Cellars, the ruins of which can be seen today near Tinahely, Co. Wicklow. He holidayed there regularly – even staying in tents before the lodge was finished – and was planning to breed horses and build a small ironworks there also. 47

The primary purpose of the Cosha Lodge and the Shilelagh parklands was to further enhance Wentworth's social standing, display his wealth and facilitate his passion for hunting and hawking, his power over both natural and man made resources. He was making claims he had control and power over wild animals and in turn over 'wild' Ireland and the Irish. He was making a statement about the

intended effectiveness of his 'thorough' policy.

His purchases in Kildare included the rich lands of the manor of Elsmore, north of Naas at a cost of £13,700 and included houses, tithes and c. 3580 acres of land⁴⁸ and the purchase of land at Jigginstown about a mile south of Naas at a cost of £4 per acre through his agents Sir George Radcliffe and Joshua Carpenter.⁴⁹ From 1637 to 1640, his spending was considered very lavish. He spent £57,800 on lands that brought in about £5,000 in rent (see table 1).⁵⁰

Table 1. Wentworth's Property Expenditure.

Properties	Approx. Acreage	Waste Cost	Rents_	
By Royal Grant				
Newcastle Manor, Wicklow	2800	1700 ·		500
Wicklow Manor, Wicklow	6200	8500	÷ .	1200
By Purchase		•	. •	
Elsmore Manor, Kildare	5000		13700	980
Jigginstown, Kildare		•	22000	
Half Barony of Shillelagh, Wicklow	16000	8000	13200	2100
Cosha/ Fairwood, Wicklow	5500	5000	8900	700
Total _	35500	23200	57800	5480

Source: Hugh Kearney, Strafford in Ireland (Manchester, 1959), p. 179.

Wentworth said in his correspondence that he fully intended to increase his fortune and estates as opportunity offered⁵¹ since he not only recognised the importance of owning property in terms of the status and power that it offered but he considered himself quite the experienced builder and took a great interest in involving himself in the works of and for which he was patron. In building up a property portfolio, Wentworth was not only making a statement about his presence in Ireland, but effectively, he was too making a statement about the security, permanency and power he believed he held in Ireland and perhaps too, the faith he had in the presence of the Crown in Ireland. 52 Again, Wentworth was employing propaganda. He believed the best way of civilising Ireland was by the English purchasing land here as a form of 'conquest' and exploited every opportunity to do so whilst simultaneously claiming to despise the conventions of patronage.53 He believed in exploitation and patronage for profit but he despised this being achieved at the expense of the crown. Indeed, Sir Thomas Roe judged that Wentworth was 'a servant violently zealous in his master's ends and not negligent of his own.'54 With his building programme, and principally Jigginstown, Wentworth was contributing to and maintaining the dignity he associated with the office of lord deputy and a royal advisor, was setting an example for future deputies and other English officials to follow and was partaking and promoting of a propaganda of the upper echelons of English society.

Interestingly, Wentworth claimed to be a man free from selfish ambitions, vested interest and propaganda, and yet he nevertheless became embroiled in situations, such as the Graces affair (broken promises made to the Old English in return for their continued financial support) and the O'Byrnes issue (a question of ownership of O'Byrnes' Wicklow land – Wentworth played off both parties claiming ownership with the result that he was not only awarded two manors – Wicklow and Newcastle McKynegan – but offered half the O'Byrnes' barony of Shillelagh at a reduced price) which brought to

the surface his own interests in personal profit and status and the use of that personal profit in a building programme — especially with something like Jigginstown and its royal overtones — to reflect that career ambition and status of a man to be reckoned with.

Decisions emanating out to all else...

Jigginstown House provided both an area for social relations and a canvas on to which that social activity could be recorded. It provided a social arena not just for those *in* the house but all those *involved* in any aspect of that house. For instance the name Jigginstown is a derivation of De Syggan, the family who originally owned the land and had two properties at Siggins Haggard and Sigginstown Castle, Co. Wexford⁵⁵ and from whom Wentworth through his stewards agreed to purchase the land. The De Syggans were not directly associated with Jigginstown House itself, but became so through the purchase agreement. An economic relationship was facilitated.

The actual construction of the house, on the other hand, facilitated a social aspect of production. It brought about social and political relationships by bringing people together. The production brought together the patron, Wentworth, his steward Joshua Carpenter, the builder John Allen, a Dutchman, the engineer Rev. Mr. Johnson. The construction brought together those involved in the production and the labourers: whilst the house itself was a hub facilitating relationships within and through its walls. Within its walls with the patron Wentworth, his family, his political retinue, his household retinue and aspirationally, the king; and through its walls in that a house such as Jigginstown creates a relationship between patron, Wentworth and audience, the people already mentioned, the locals and others who actually looked upon the house in how they viewed it.⁵⁶

The house did not cease to function after Wentworth. It was passed to his brother George, who, in 1641, stationed a garrison of forty 'unhappy' soldiers there who requested his presence to deal with the shortage of supplies⁵⁷ and in 1643, it was the location for the negotiations of a peace treaty between English forces under the Duke of Ormond, on behalf of the King and Irish Forces under the Kilkenny Confederates in the Confederate Rebellion 1641 – 1649. The choice of Jigginstown as the location for the talks attests to its significance. Gilbert, in his *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland* notes both the entire event and the correspondence signed and dated at Jigginstown (Sigginstown). Gilbert records that

The Marquis of Ormonde being thus brought into a treaty, the Confederate Commissioners met at Sigginstown, near the Naas, as his Excellency had appointed, in order to a Cessation of arms; at which time all parties laboured to get what they could into their possession.⁵⁸

The Confederates with the retinues not exceeding three score persons although meeting at Jigginstown were ordered by the Lords Justice to lodge at Hartwell, a castellated mansion near Kill, Co.

Kildare owned by George Aylmer,59 from whom Wentworth had earlier purchased the property of Elsmore.60

At Jigginstown, the two parties sat in different chambers and communicated in writing or by messengers.61 Thus, it is possible to infer that the house was in a sufficient state to receive and cater for two rather large parties of men together with their retinues. The parties catered for, the house turned to providing an arena in which the parties could debate in privacy and calm. Again, the house was functioning as a social arena and a medium of communication. Then, once decisions were reached they emanated out to all else, rich and poor, who revolved around them.

Wentworth's Wisdom or Strafford's Folly ...?

Great Stafford! Worthy of that name though all Of thee could be forgotten, but thy fall, Crusht by Imaginary Treason's weight, Which too much merit did accumulate -

Such was his force of eloquence, to make The hearers more concerned than he that spake; Each seemed to act that part he came to see, And none was more a looker-on than he. So did he move our passion, some were known To wish for the defence, the crime their own. Now private pity strove with public hate, Reason with rage, and eloquence with fate: Now they could him, if he could them forgive, He's not too guilty, but too wise to live. 62

Wentworth was a remarkable man to have the vision and the daring to build the house he did at The Naas. In it are reflected his ideals and aspirations. His aspirations to be Charles' most important courtier and aid and to be the pre-eminent lord deputy of Ireland who once and for all would deal thoroughly with the country and his belief that both he and the Crown would succeed in their endeavours. He was recognised for 'the improvement of land, the erection of buildings, and whatsoever else might be profitable and pleasant to a people.'63 Jigginstown then is a testament to Wentworth's Wisdom in his role as courtier, his organisational skills, his vision and faith in architecture and more importantly, his world.

Stafford's Folly enters when his vision narrowed and he failed to see the truth of his world; that as that fateful letter arrived at Jigginstown by the hands of the bishop of Raphoe on 5 August 1639 requesting him to 'come when you will' and signed 'ye shall be welcome to your assured friend, Charles R'64 his 'thorough' policy and the Act of Attainder (the removal of all civil rights in judgement of death, the normal legal practice in fifteenth to seventeenth century England) would find him 'not too guilty, but too wise to live.' He would no longer be earl of Strafford, lord deputy of Ireland, lord president of the North, lieutenant general of the King's Forces and Knight of the Garter. 65 Now, he would be simply Thomas Wentworth

with his great house at Jigginstown as a monument to his folly. His blind faith in the empty promises of a king reflected in its present ruined state.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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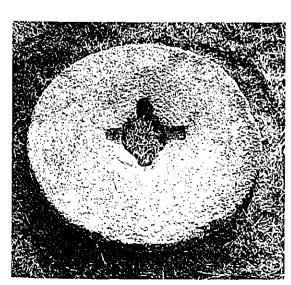
Some recent archaeological finds from Co. Kildare

CHRISTIAAN CORLETT AND CHRISTOPHER J. DARBY

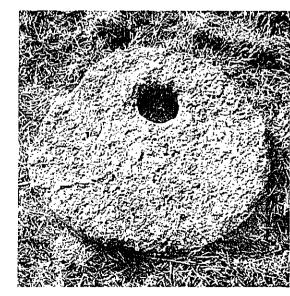
Described here are a number of recent finds from the Ballymore Eustace area of east Kildare, namely millstones and a bullaun stone at Ballybought, a carved stone head and lower mill stone at Tipperkevin and a collection of millstones from Broadleas Commons, as well as a stone axe from immediately outside Ballymore Eustace, also in the townland of Broadleas Commons.

Ballybought

The upper and lower portions of a millstone were found some years ago by Tom Burke in the bed of a tributary stream of the River Liffey. They were found in the streambed at a confluence with a small stream that joins the main stream from the west. Furthermore, from the east a small drain joins the stream, and is fed by a spring well known as St John's Well. It is likely that the millstone belonged to a water powered mill at this location, but it unclear as to the location of the source of water and the mill race. It is unlikely that the main stream, which is too fast flowing, was the power source for the mill. While it is possible that a millrace may have diverted water from this stream, an alternative, more easily managed source may have been preferred. For example, such a mill race may have taken water from the smaller stream from the west. The millstone consists of a granite runner (i.e., upper) stone (70cm across). The stone (Pl. 1) is 6.5cm thick at the circumference and 5.5cm thick at the centre, and therefore has a concave grinding surface. The central eye is 13.5cm across. Sunk into the lower, i.e. grinding, surface are four sockets (4.2-4.5cm wide, 1.5-1.8cm deep, 3.5-5.5cm long) radiating from the central eye in a cross formation. These served as sockets for rynd bars that connected the runner stone directly with the drive shaft, which in turn was powered by the watermill. The bed stone (Pl. 2) is very weathered, presumably as a result of water erosion from being at the base of the stream. The stone measures some 52 x



Pl. 1. Grinding surface of runner stone at Ballybought.



Pl. 2. Bed stone at Ballybought.