

**Proposed Riverside Garden
Kilkenny City, Kilkenny**

Archaeological Impact Assessment



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For
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Watters¹ the Town Clerk of Kilkenny, describes the river side setting from Green's Bridge and the eastern bank of the River Nore in 1872 as:
'one of the most beautiful public walks perhaps to be found in any town in the Empire'.

¹ Patrick Watters 1872 The Approaches to Kilkenny in Olden Times, as compared with the present, *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, Fourth Series, Vol. 2, No1 pgs 50-59

1 Introduction

- 1.1 This archaeological impact assessment has been prepared for Kilkenny County Council in advance of works taking place for a proposed riverside garden along the western bank of the River Nore from Bateman Quay to Green's Bridge. It provides an assessment of the potential archaeological issues as well as opportunities for a development of this nature.
- 1.2 The proposed park is an approximately 15m wide strip of land that extends in a north-south direction, from Bateman Quay, where two Tea Houses (protected structures, B119) are located, through the now decommissioned Diageo lands, across the River Breagh passing Evan's Tower and city wall (National Monument) and extending under the Central access Scheme (CAS) and passing a ruined mill structure (protected structure B141) on to Green's Bridge.
- 1.3 This riverside garden is located within the zone of archaeological potential for Kilkenny City (KK019-026-- (Figure 1) and within both the City Centre and St Canice's architectural conservation areas (ACA's). As part of this Part VIII application it is proposed to deliver the riverside garden from Bateman Quay to the site of St Francis' Well and then from the River Breagh to Green's Bridge. A temporary walkway will provide access from the site of St Francis' Well to the River Breagh and this area will be subject to extensive archaeological investigation that will require a source of funding to be identified. The development of the park in this area will be informed by the archaeological excavation works and subject to a separate Part VIII application.
- 1.4 Conservation work is presently taking place to weather proof and stabilise the 'sentry style' tea house. Demolition work involving the removal of modern industrial structures is currently being carried out on site by Diageo. This work involves the removal of structures to slab level (ie there is no excavation work and/or reduction of ground level). Post demolition, Evan's Tower and wall walk will have to be stabilised, repaired and 'made good' in order to allow safe public access.
- 1.5 As part of the reporting process the upstanding remains and below ground and riverine potential along this proposed parkland corridor will be identified, recorded and measures proposed for the sensitive incorporation of both the protected structures and archaeological monuments will be provided within this parkland setting.

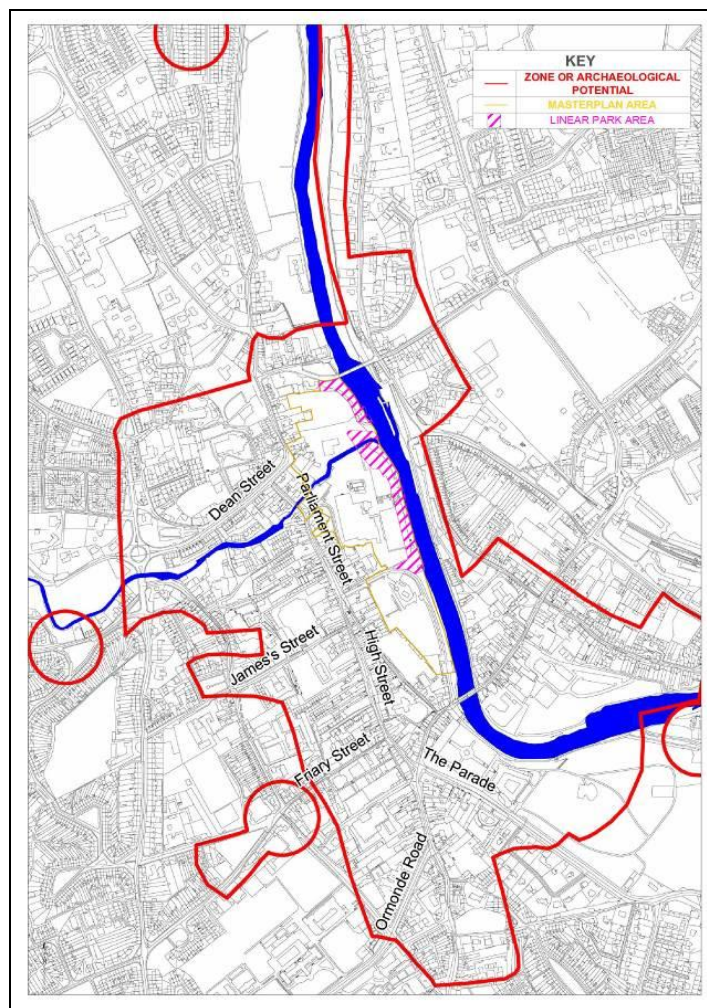


Figure 1 Zone of archaeological potential with masterplan and riverside garden outline

1.6 The following is a table of monuments recorded (Figure 2) from various sources that are located within the riverside garden area:

Legal Status	Site Class	Townland
UAS 4a:101	St Francis' Well	St Mary's Parish
Part of the National Monument of St Francis Abbey (KK019-026101), NIAH 12000008, Nat. Mon. Ref. 72 & Part of the Kilkenny City Wall Defences, National Monument in private ownership soon to be Kilkenny County Council UAS 4a:7	Evan's Tower and wall walk	St Mary's Parish
NIAH 12000204/ B119	Tea Houses	St Mary's Parish
B141	Mill Structure	Gardens (Kilkenny City By., St Canice Par.)
KK019-026124 UAS 4a:124	Water mill - unclassified	Gardens (Kilkenny City By., St Canice Par.)
NIAH 12004007/ D4	Green's bridge	Gardens (Kilkenny City By., St Canice Par.)

Table 1: The classification of monuments along the riverside garden

- 1.7 This riverside garden provides an opportunity to connect the historic town of Kilkenny with the River Nore and ensure that the landmark and vernacular buildings that align the banks contribute to a greater extent to Kilkenny's architectural and cultural identity.

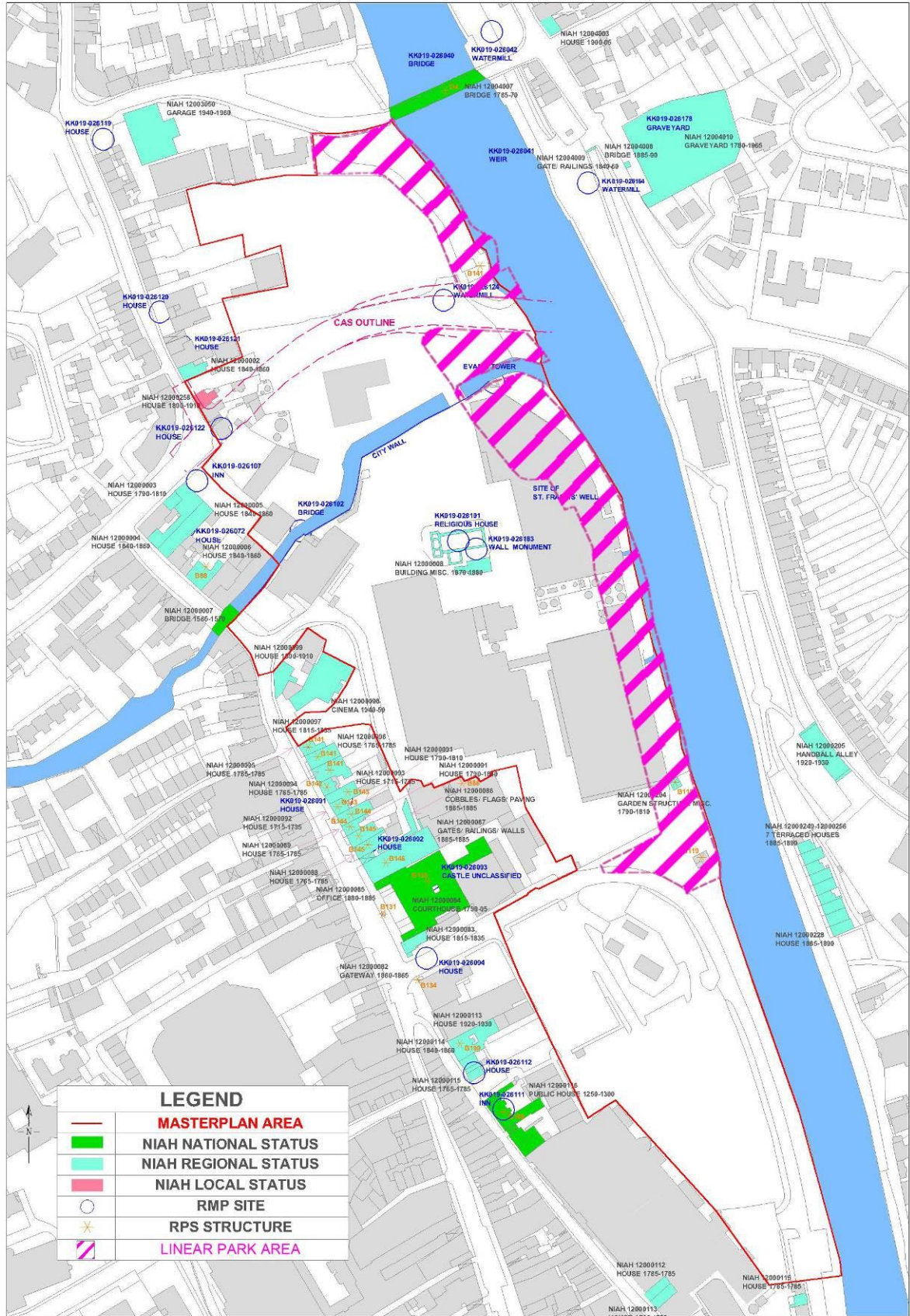


Figure 2 Heritage Assets and site location

2 Characteristics of the Proposed Development

- 2.1 It is proposed that the approach to the development of a riverside garden will take place on a phased basis. This will allow archaeological testing and excavation to take place in order to inform the design proposals.
- 2.2 As part of this Part VIII application, test excavation and monitoring will form part of the development process of the riverside garden in the areas from Bateman's Quay to the site of St Francis Abbey well and from the River Breagagh to Green's Bridge.
- 2.3 The area around Evan's Tower and wall walk and St Francis' Well form part of the National Monument of St Francis Abbey and all works in proximity to the National Monument require Ministerial consent. As part of the recently adopted variation to the Kilkenny City & Environs Development Plan, St Francis Abbey will be subject to a Heritage Conservation Plan. This plan will be devised in conjunction with the Heritage Council, the Office of Public Works, the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht and other relevant stakeholders. This area of the park will be subject to a separate Part VIII application.
- 2.4 Consultation will take place with the authorities throughout the project to ensure that all method statements are adhered to and that all consents and licenses are fully complied with.
- 2.5 It is proposed to fell the existing non-native trees that align the bank, and to leave the existing root systems in-situ. As the River Nore is a Special Area of Conservation (SAC) the contractor's method statement will demonstrate that no works will take place in the river and that mechanisms are in place to ensure that there will be no slippage of material into the river. It is proposed that all works will take place in the dry and on the land side and that the existing bank (as developed for the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme) will be retained as is and will be built up by 1m in order to protect the bank.
- 2.6 As part of this scheme, there are no anticipated structural changes to the bridge that currently extends over the River Breagagh, there may be minor aesthetic work to improve the presentation of the present structure.
- 2.7 The condition and depth of the existing reinforced concrete slab will be ascertained with a view to perforating and/or lifting the slab within the riverside garden area to allow archaeological investigation and landscaping works to proceed.
- 2.8 The area of the riverside garden will be hoarded off with a secure fence design that is agreeable to the authorities. There is the opportunity to interpret the archaeological remains and inform the general public through colourful displays, signage and artwork attached to or forming part of the boundary hoarding.

3 Methodology

- 3.1 The archaeological report was based on an examination of published and unpublished documentary and cartographic sources and site inspection. This report was also informed by the archaeological investigations undertaken in advance of the flood alleviation schemes along the River Nore (Gowen et al 2003) and also by the Abbey Quarter Masterplan Area Archaeological Strategy (Courtney Deery 2015).

Desk Study

- 3.2 The following sources were consulted:
- Record of Monuments and Places (RMP);
 - Sites and Monuments Record (SMR);
 - National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (NIAH);
 - National Museum of Ireland (NMI) Topographical Files;
 - Kilkenny City and Environs Development Plan 2014-2020
 - The Urban Archaeological Survey of Kilkenny (OPW 1993);
 - The Kilkenny Archaeological Project (KKAP)(O' Drisceoil et al 2008);
 - The Irish Historic Town Atlas no 10 Kilkenny (Bradley 2000);
 - Kilkenny City Walls Conservation Plan (Heritage Council 2005);
 - River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme (Gowen et al 2003);
 - The Walled Towns of Ireland (Thomas 1992)
 - Excavation Bulletin (www.excavations.ie);
 - Documentary and cartographic sources (see reference section);
 - Cartographic sources consulted include Down Survey Maps (1655), Rocque (1758) and Hogan (1861). Subsequent Ordnance Survey mapping recorded in the report includes the 1840 and 1870 six inch editions and later twenty five inch editions.

Statutory Policy and Guidance

- 3.3 The conclusions and recommendations within the report are placed within an existing framework of statutory legislation, policy plans, Charters, guidance documents which are listed below:
- National Monuments Act, 1930, as amended in 1954, 1987, 1994, 2004 and 2012
 - Heritage Act, 1995
 - The Architectural Heritage (National Inventory) and Historic Monuments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1999
 - Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 2000 (as amended)
 - Kilkenny County Council Development Plan 2014-2020
 - Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada) 1985, ratified by Ireland in 1991
 - Council of Europe European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Valletta) 1992, ratified by Ireland in 1997
 - The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites adopted by ICOMOS in 1965

- The Burra Charter, the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999
 - The Ename Charter, the charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, 2007, ICOMOS, Abdijstraat
 - ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas. Paris: International Council on Monuments and Sites, 2005
 - Framework and Principles for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (1999) (DAHGI)
 - Policy and Guidelines on Archaeological Excavation (1999) (DAHGI)
 - Architectural Heritage Guidelines for Planning Authorities (2011) (DAHG)
- 3.4 The importance of protecting the setting of heritage assets is recognised by a number of international conventions and instruments. The 'Valletta and Granada' Council of Europe conventions place legal obligations on Member States in relation to the recording, conservation and management of archaeological and built heritage. In essence these conventions prescribe that heritage is conserved and maintained preferably in-situ and that archaeological and architectural heritage concerns are integrated into the planning and development process. In Ireland these conventions are given effect through the National Monuments Acts 1930-2012 and the Planning and Development Act 2000 and its amendments.
- 3.5 The Granada Convention requires that 'In the surroundings of monuments, within groups of buildings and within sites, each Party undertakes to promote measures for the general enhancement of the environment'.
- 3.6 The 1988 ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of places of Cultural Significance, the *Burra Charter*, sets down the principles for assessing the cultural significance of an historic site. This charter defines cultural significance as '*the aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations*'.
- 3.7 According to the Ename Charter (2007) *interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage sites. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programmes, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself.*
- 3.8 *Presentation more specifically denotes the carefully planned communication of interpretive content through the arrangement of interpretive information, physical access, and interpretive infrastructure at a cultural heritage site. It can be conveyed through a variety of technical means, including, yet not requiring, such elements as informational panels, museum-type displays, formalized walking tours, lectures and guided tours, and multimedia applications and websites.*

3.9 The X'ian Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas (ICOMOS 2005) is the only international instrument dedicated to setting.

3.10 Of particular importance to the development of a riverside garden that contains historic structures from different ages are the Venice Charter (adopted by ICOMOS in 1965) which sets out the basic principles of conservation philosophy and the Burra Charter, which deals with the significance of historic places (section 3.6). Issues to be considered include:

- Intervention in historic buildings must be based on respect for the physical, historical and aesthetic character of the property, its authenticity and integrity
- Intervention should be minimal with respect to the means adopted and should not falsify, remove or destroy evidence of the building's history.
- The valid contribution of additions over time should be respected.
- Intervention in historic buildings must be based on knowledge of the works of the past.
- Repair rather than replacement of material should be the first option.
- Where new work or materials are required, they should be compatible with and distinguishable from the old; work carried out should not damage the building; work should be reversible if possible.

Site Inspection

3.11 A site inspection was undertaken in order to provide a record of the historic monuments and structures along the riverside garden. It also sought to identify the potential impacts that the proposed development may have upon the archaeological and architectural heritage.

Consultation

3.12 Consultation has taken place with Kilkenny County Council, the landscape architects and the National Monuments Service, Underwater Archaeological Unit and the Architectural Heritage Advisory Unit of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (DAHG).

4 Archaeological and Historical Background

Riverside garden Location and Context

4.1 The location for the proposed riverside garden is along the western bank of the River Nore. The River Nore is inextricably linked with the development, wealth and positioning of Kilkenny City and environs. The river has been a source of food, communications and power since prehistoric times and many archaeological sites and monuments as well as architectural heritage features such as mills and bridges align and cross its banks.

4.2 In the Medieval period a record from 1581 shows that the use of the river reached far upstream beyond Kilkenny. Thomas Archer Fitzwalter was paid £108 6s 8d by Kilkenny Corporation to make sure that:

*'parte of the Noyer (Nore) that runeth and extendeth between the said town of Kilkennye, to be made passable fit and servisable for boets of the ful ladigne of one toun weight or to towe the swyme pase and repasse from tyme and at all tymes in somer and in winter to and fro betweene the said townes of Kilkennye and Dourrowe....'*²

Thomas was also given the sole rights of trade on this stretch of river. The aforementioned passage implies that it is likely that goods were being transported downstream from the countryside into Kilkenny to be sold at the market.

Origins of the names of the River Nore and Breagagh

4.3 The origin of the name of the River Nore is unclear. Like the names of many physical features of the Irish landscape, the name belongs to one of the oldest strands of place-names, and the meaning is not properly known. Evidence of the name can be traced back to the twelfth century (c.1180 "Eoyrus", c. 1250 "Heur", c.1351 "Neor" and Noyer"). O'Brien (1956)³ wrote that in Irish the Nore is "Feoir", the initial "N" owing to the preceding definitive article being attached to it, i.e. "An Fheoir". This directly translates as 'Grass' or 'Grassy-banked'.

4.4 Archaeological monitoring works of the River Nore have produced finds from the Mesolithic and Neolithic in the form of flints and a polished stone axe as well as a post and wattle structure beneath John's Bridge that was radiocarbon dated to the late Bronze Age.

4.5 The proposed park lies within the reclaimed flood-plains of the Nore and Breagagh Rivers and the extent of these flood waters have been reconstructed and mapped by Ó Drisceoil⁴ (and reproduced in the KKAP⁵). This process was achieved by plotting the occurrences of alluvial material in archaeological and geotechnical investigations throughout the city and relating them to its contours. It was concluded from these

² R. Delaney (1986) Ireland's Inland Waterways, Appletree press, Belfast

³ M.A. O'Brien (1956) 'Placenames' in Meehan, J. & Webb, D. A. A view of Ireland: Twelve Essays on Different Aspects of Irish Life and the Irish Countryside, Dublin

⁴ C. Ó Drisceoil (2003) 'Kilkenny reclaimed: the archaeological evidence for medieval reclamation in Kilkenny City', in *Old Kilkenny Review* 55, 58-69

⁵ C. Ó Drisceoil et al (2008) The Kilkenny Archaeological Project (KKAP) Report for the Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research (INSTAR), Heritage Council.

investigations that over half of the medieval town of Kilkenny was constructed on ground that was reclaimed in the thirteenth century from the floodplains of the rivers Nore and Breagagh⁶. Indeed the name for the River Breagagh is derived from the Irish *bréagach* meaning deceitful⁷, and there have been many occasions through history when the raging torrents of this otherwise innocuous stream has engulfed adjacent land holdings.

- 4.6 A number of flood events have been chronicled historically by Friar John Clyn, one of which occurred on the 7th of November 1337 and covered everything except the high altar at St Francis' Abbey.

City Wall

- 4.7 The medieval Hightown of Kilkenny initially covered an area from the Kilkenny Castle to James's Street. Bradley⁸ charts this phase of town's development as commencing from 1192 to 1206. A second phase of urban expansion, dated by a foundation charter of 1207 (CDI. 1. No. 861), enclosed a roughly rectangular area measuring 29 hectares⁹ and extended the limits of the town from 'Keverocke's well' (or Kieran's well,) to the River Breagagh (CDI. 1. No. 861). It is suggested by Thomas that this phase contained a riverside defensive wall linking the corner bastion 'Evan's Turret' at the eastern end of the River Breagagh to St. John's Bridge gate-tower¹⁰. However, no other historical, cartographic or archaeological evidence (to date) supports the theory of a defensive wall along the River Nore exists and it is possible that the river was regarded as a strong enough deterrent.
- 4.8 The course of the town wall runs along the south side River Breagagh. A riverside wall along the River Breagagh may have been built as a precinct wall for the newly-founded Franciscan (Grey Friars) Friary of St Francis'.
- 4.9 Apart from the wall walk associated with Evan's Tower (discussed below), the wall has been extensively rebuilt above ground level, reputedly around 30 years ago when the brewery site was extended northwards across the River Breagagh. The lower masonry on the southern side of the river represents the original older wall. The wall is considered to be in good condition having been repointed with lime mortar in 2001. The City Wall as recorded will not be affected by the proposed riverside garden landscaping works.

Evan's Tower and Wall Walk

- 4.10 The mural tower 'Evan's Turret' is located at the junction of the River Breagagh and the River Nore, at the north-eastern end of the Hightown wall. It became known as 'Evan's Turret' when the land around it was leased by the Corporation to Alderman Evans in

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ J. Bradley (2000) *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, No. 10, Kilkenny. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy

⁸ Ibid. Bradley 1975-6

⁹ A. Thomas (1992) *The Walled Towns of Ireland*. Dublin, Irish Academic Press, pg., 40

¹⁰ Ibid. Thomas 1992

1724 and remained in his family for over a century¹¹. The structure appears as a two storey rectangular tower, which was accessed by a wall walk along the town wall. While the form of the tower is suggestive of a late date (c. 1400), it is possible that its location reflects that of an earlier tower.

4.11 The friary passed to the Corporation in 1543; in 1598, the payment for carriage of 79 cartloads of stone 'for making up the tower at Francis Well' is likely to refer to this tower (Corporation Archives, CR/J/28). In 1650, the Civil Survey describes it as 'a little castle in the garden' of the friary (CS 6, 519). The tower and the stretch of adjoining city wall are marked on the OS 1841 manuscript map and the tower was illustrated in 1851 when still roofed.

4.12 It is recorded that a member of the Evan's family lived at the tower as a recluse in order to evade payment of a debt. When this person died, the body was carried in a boat across the river and buried in St John's Abbey¹².

St Francis' Well

4.13 St Francis' Well is shown on the historic maps. The water from the well was piped and channelled into the workshops of the friary and then by a different channel, carried off all the sewage to the river¹³. Ledwich¹⁴, wrote that this enclosed well was famous for its miraculous cures and this is supported by Jennings¹⁵ who wrote that 'the miraculous water from the well of St Francis' was known to return people to good health. Hogan, writing c. 1860 states that it 'is now frequently used for bathing'¹⁶.

4.14 A dispute is recorded between Hogan and Ledwich as to the significance of the well, where by Hogan observes that the fine spring or pond of water was generally used for bathing purposes and was never regarded as a holy well except by Ledwich whom 'knew almost nothing of either the topography or ecclesiology of Kilkenny'¹⁷. He refers to St Ciaran's well as being located in the same ground (as St Francis' Abbey) 'which was to form its southern boundary' and carried with it the association of the early saints name as the most likely candidate for a holy well. However he fails to mention that the well located to the east of the abbey is attributed to St Francis (as shown on the OS mapping).

Gardens, Mills and Industry the story of the River Nore

4.15 The western banks of the River Nore located in between St John's Bridge and Green's Bridge has been central to the growth of many different types of development and

¹¹ Lanigan, K. & Tyler, G. (1987) Kilkenny Its Architecture and History. Dublin, pg. 36

¹² P.M. Egan 1884, The Illustrated Guide to the City and County of Kilkenny, High Street, Kilkenny, pg 244

¹³ Mooney, Rev. C., (JRSAI), 1957, 37, 121-22

¹⁴ Ibid Ledwich 1781 , 349-562

¹⁵ Brendan Jennings (ed.), 'Brussels MS. 3947: Donatus Moneyus, De Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), 12-138:83

¹⁶ Hogan, J., (JRSAI), 1860-61, 351

¹⁷ John Hogan 1876 St Ciaran, Patron of Ossory a memoir of his life and times, Kilkenny, printed at the Journal Office Parade

industry. The economic success of Kilkenny led to a rapid growth of the town, initially this urban expansion led to the development of the flood-plains of the rivers Nore and Breagagh, this is the area along which the riverside garden is proposed to run.

Mills

- 4.16 There were many mills located along the River Nore including the cluster of mill buildings at Green's Bridge at the V-weirs. Mills were located on the larger rivers and were mainly driven by large undershot 'paddle' waterwheels, these being suitable to high and low fall water regimes. The Chancellor's Mills were later replaced by a corn mill and a woollen factory. In 1880 there was a revival of the woollen industry in Kilkenny and by 1885 three companies were trading near Green's Bridge. Nealy's Woollen Mills operated in Irishtown. These mills now form a picturesque ruin along the banks of the River Nore and are considered to be of special interest at a local level, as a consequence of a particular architectural, technical features or landscape feature¹⁸. Works on the River Nore to widen and deepen the river channel afforded the opportunity to archaeologically examine the medieval milling complex at Green's Bridge (01E608).

Tanneries

- 4.17 Cattle were important not only for their meat and dairy products but also for leather. Tanneries converted the raw animal hide into cured leather for use as clothing and shoes, and this process involved the steeping of skins in a series of tannin-enriched basins of water (tanning pits) thus softening and conditioning the skin, the tannin itself was extracted from oak and birch trees, by soaking crushed bark in luke-warm water. Hogan's map (1860) refers to the 'Chancellor's orchard and tan house' while the first edition 6-inch OS (1839-40) shows a 'Tan yard and 'Tannery', north of the River Breagagh.

Burgage Plots, Gardens and boundaries

- 4.18 Gardens from medieval times onwards were used for multiple purposes. In many ways, gardening was the chief method of providing food for households, but also encompassed orchards, cemeteries and pleasure gardens, as well as medicinal and cultural uses. The cultivation of herbs, vegetables, flowers, trees and fruit are all fundamental to the development of a garden.
- 4.19 Furthermore, gardening was especially important in monasteries, as they were used extensively by the monks and created a way of life, supplying their overall livelihood. Typically, many of the fruits, vegetables, and herbs that were grown were utilized in multiple ways and over multiple parts of the garden.
- 4.20 In Kilkenny, Rothe House is a unique 17th century merchant's townhouse of national importance. The garden to the rear of the house reflects a typical garden of this time.

¹⁸ Fred Hamond (1990) Kilkenny Industrial Archaeological Survey, pgs 90 and 108

The design of the garden is based on archaeological evidence and secondary sources which assisted in determining the layout of the long vegetable beds, the position of the ornamental trees and the extent of the orchard. The objective of the project was the reconstruction of the original garden site using all the available knowledge and information. It reflects the long linear east-west burgage plot.

- 4.21 The structure of the gardens, were often enclosed with fences, walls or hedges in order to protect them and sometimes divided by ditches. Stone and brick walls were typically used by the wealthy, such as manors and monasteries. However, wattle fences were used by all classes and were the most common type of fence. They were made using local saplings and woven together. They were easily accessible and durable, and could even be used to make beds. Bushes were also used as fencing, as they provided both food and protection to the garden.
- 4.22 An irrigation and water source was imperative to keeping the garden alive and this is why we probably have so many garden leading down to the River Nore. Kitchen garden ponds also were used come the 14th and 15th centuries, and were meant to offer ornamental value as well. The well at St Francis Abbey is unusually large in size and it is possible that it could have acted as a fish pond or a source for watering the gardens that surrounded the Abbey.



Plate 1 Rothe House, all the plants and trees in the garden and orchard were based on the plant remain revealed during the archaeological excavation on site and from secondary sources.

- 4.23 Gardens are shown on Rocques' map (1758) stretching from 'Cole Market' to the River Nore. These elongated garden plots emerged from the earlier burgage plots and enabled the burgesses to grow vegetables and herbs, as well as to plant fruit orchards. In 1500 it was forbidden for any man or woman to go into 'any orchard or garden of madder or herbs within the said town or franchise to steal apples, pears or any other kind of fruit, plants of madder or herbs' . At the end of the fifteenth century, gardens within and without the town were extensively planted with madder, which was a lucrative crop.
- 4.24 There are numerous references to madder in the Liber Primus Kilkenniensis from the opening years of the sixteenth century and this may give some indication of the

importance of cultivation during this period. The root of madder was a source of red dye for clothing and textiles. From the late sixteenth century onwards, gardens and orchards are consistently highlighted by antiquarians and in visitor accounts as striking features in the street scape of Kilkenny.

- 4.25 To the north of the River Breaghagh, there are a number of historic properties which align Vicar Street and Green Street, and would have had lands/gardens plots extending into the study area for the riverside garden.



Plates 2 & 3 The madder plant & orchards were both important elements to medieval gardens in Kilkenny

Market Area – Bateman Quay

- 4.26 The proximity of the present day Bateman Quay to the old market ground gave access from the river directly to the consumers of Kilkenny and this location would have been an attractive feature encouraging trade and the easy movement of goods. A New Key (sic) was first opened in 1615¹⁹ joining the market and the river. The area occupied by the Corporation Market (OS 25 inch 1872) is known as various names in the historic sources such as the 'Shambles' which opened in 1837 and closed in c.1868 and traded fish, wool, butter, milk and potatoes.
- 4.27 Merchants chose Kilkenny as a base from which to trade with the European mainland, Giles De Courtray, for example was one of several Flemmings storing goods in Kilkenny prior to export²⁰. This not only place Kilkenny as part of an Irish trade system, but shows that the city was part of a long distance trading network. Connections were also forged between New Ross where the popular deep port was located and Kilkenny, with the same families owning burgages in both places²¹. This suggests a mutually beneficial economic relation between the two areas.
- 4.28 By the mid – 18th century roads between Kilkenny and Thomastown and onwards to Waterford, were of such quality that they could be used for large cargoes directly to port. The trade downstream to Kilkenny appears to have continued up until the mid-19th

¹⁹ J. Bradley (2000) *Historic Towns Atlas: Kilkenny*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin p. 12

²⁰ T. O'Neill (1987) *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* Irish Academic Press

²¹ W.G. Neely (1989) *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391-1843*, Belfast

century, when the new Quay finally closed and the weirs at Green's Bridge and Friars Inch were constructed.

- 4.29 The markets were a source of great economic wealth and gathering places within the town. Writing in 1802, Tighe reported that:
*'The market of Kilkenny is well supplied with every article, with sea fish in plenty from Dungarvan, and with all kinds of garden stuff and fruit in the season; even peaches, melons, grapes and pineapples; as the produce of several gardens are sold besides that of Mr Robertson's hot houses and nursery; the cultivation of vegetables by market gardeners has increased three or four fold, within these twenty years. No regular meat market is held at any other town (in Co Kilkenny), though meat is occasionally sold'*²².
- 4.30 Around the beginning of the nineteenth century a series of five Tea-Houses (called 'Pleasure Houses on the 1839-1842 Ordnance survey) were constructed along Bateman Quay. Two tea-houses remain, both protected structures, the southern one of which has been consolidated.
- 4.31 The most northern teahouse is an upstanding, rectangular building, an associated semi-circular riverside revetment wall was removed under archaeological supervision as part of the River Nore flood alleviation scheme.

Previous Archaeological Investigations

- 4.32 Investigations along Bateman Quay have revealed a riverside wall, 3.5m in height associated with the development in the 17th century of a new quay to connect the river Nore to the Fishmarket or 'Shambles' area²³. Other features such as riverside post and wattle fencing, wooden revetments and medieval masonry walls have been found along the river Breaghagh²⁴ and demonstrate the potential to reveal similar structures along the riverside garden in the vicinity of the River Nore.
- 4.33 Archaeological excavation has also detected the remnants of former mill races and culverts south of the River Breaghagh trending northwest-southeast that issue into the River Nore²⁵. While the mills of Green Bridge are a prominent feature to the north of the River Breaghagh along the River Nore.
- 4.34 Below is an account of the detailed investigations that have taken place to date along the River Breaghagh and River Nore in the vicinity of the proposed riverside garden.

Monitoring for the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme – River Breaghagh:

- 4.35 In 1999 the decision to commence with the Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme necessitated the riverbed level to be reduced by bulk excavation. This excavation was essential to

²² William Tighe 1802, *Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 and 1801*. Dublin, p.498. The location of Robertson's nurseries is unknown.

²³ Dr N. Brady (2001) 'Excavation of Bateman Quay, Kilkenny' in www.excavation.ie

²⁴ I Doyle (2003) 'Medieval Settlement' in *the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme* unpublished report Margaret Gowen & Co Ltd

²⁵ O'Meara 2006, McLoughlin 2014 and Reid 1996, Section III of the report

remove any stabilised PCB contaminated material due to a spillage from a refrigerated unit over twenty years earlier. These works, commenced under License Ref. 99E0385 by Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd. included the initial excavation of 6 test pits in the riverbed, a survey of the medieval wall, and the monitoring of geotechnical bore holes. These pits were excavated in pumped, sand-bagged locations roughly 1.5 x 1.5m. Of the six, four were opened along the medieval wall and two were opened on the northern side adjacent to a modern concrete wall. Only test pit, number four yielded anything of archaeological significance; two sherds of medieval pottery.

- 4.36 Excavation on the southern side, against the medieval wall, revealed that the gravel extended down for at least 0.8m and that it possessed modern debris to that depth. No medieval material was noted in any of the material excavated along the southern side, although large quantities of modern bottles, some delph, plastics and some metal objects were removed for identification. No archaeological features or artefacts were uncovered during the bore hole sampling.
- 4.37 Archaeological assessment and monitoring of dredging in the River Breaghagh included the detailed survey of the former northern boundary wall of the friary complex and what is regarded as the City Wall in this location. The survey established that the foundations and lowermost 1.50m or more of the wall was composed of original medieval masonry. It also established that the wall had very shallow foundations and that it incorporated a footing of some 1-3 courses in depth.

Monitoring of dredging works for the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme:

- 4.38 An extensive programme of archaeological testing, monitoring and excavation was undertaken by Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd as part of the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme between 2001 (License No. 00E0406 and 00E033 and 00E0405, 01E0608, 01E0821) and 2005. The drainage scheme covered approximately five kilometres of rivers running through the medieval city, and the subsequent twenty excavations, and vast amount of varied stray finds give a unique insight into the city's prehistory and history (Figure 4).
- 4.39 The riverbed gravel dredging of the River Nore for the drainage scheme provided a unique opportunity to analyse the distribution of artefactual material from the river. Unsurprisingly a high concentration of post medieval glass bottles, were found in the river in the vicinity of the brewery site. In addition to this clay pipe, stone fragments, weapons and pottery were retrieved during the monitoring of this scheme. The majority of the ceramics retrieved were from the later 18th and 19th centuries with very little medieval material being revealed. The identification of prehistoric flints is of considerable importance as it is the first evidence for such activity in the general area. An early Mesolithic microlith was retrieved from the area of the river on Bateman Quay.
- 4.40 Some 2050 artefacts were registered from the River Nore monitoring operation from 2001-2002. Over 50% of this material consisted of pottery dating largely to the 19th and

20th centuries. Metalwork made up 21% of the assemblage and the remaining 22% of the assemblage consisted of glass, coins, stone objects and clay pipes.

Archaeological testing and excavation for the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme:

- 4.41 As part of this programme archaeological excavations were carried out at Green’s Bridge, Mill Island and Green’s Bridge Weir. Between 2001 and 2002 Mill Island and Green’s Bridge Weir were excavated in advance of removal of the island and remodelling of the weir. This site formed part of a large milling complex that spanned both sides of the River Nore (Figure 4).
- 4.42 Six areas were opened over two seasons of excavation. Seven phases of construction of the mill buildings on Mill Island were identified, from the use and modification for the processing of corn, to dereliction, and destruction. These areas were excavated to sterile river gravels. North of the proposed riverside garden, the late 17th to early 18th century abutment of Green’s Bridge was excavated in 2003, informing a current understanding about historic bridge construction. The original Green’s Bridge was north of the modern bridge, in line with Green Street.

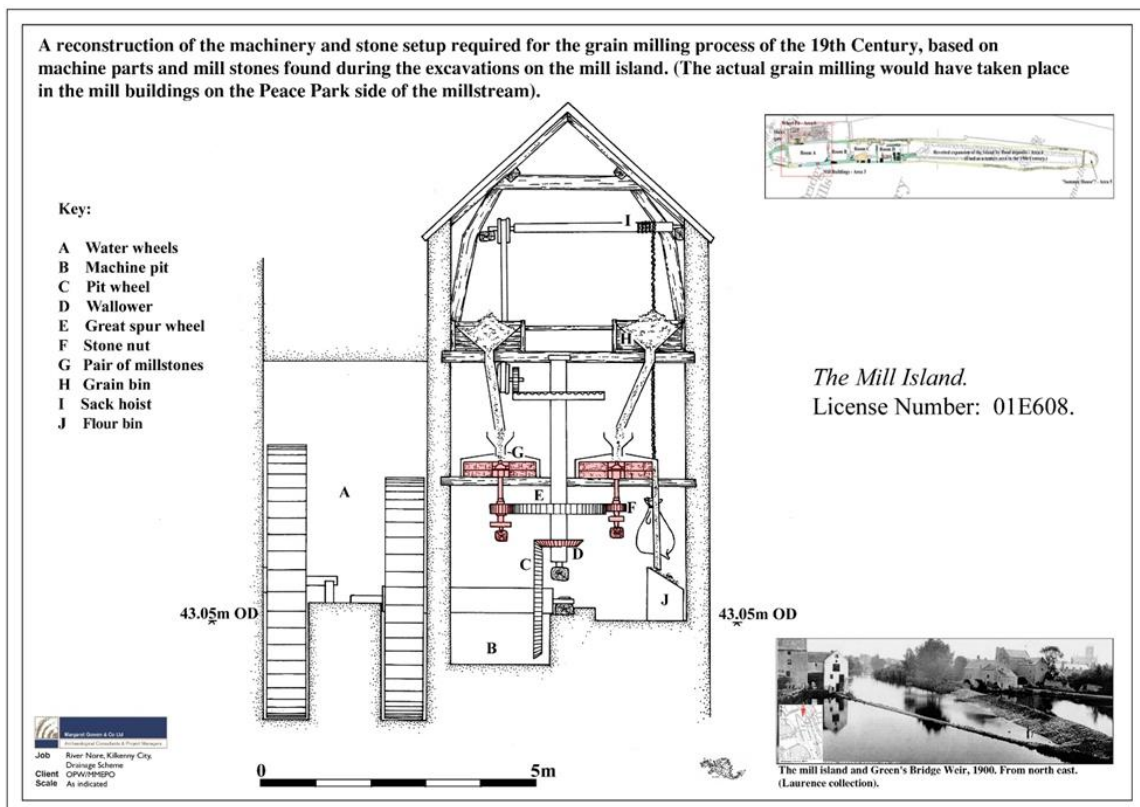


Figure 4 Reconstruction of a Mill based on archaeological remains on the mill island (courtesy of Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd.)

- 4.43 Seven excavations took place along the western bank of the River Nore as part of mitigation for the drainage scheme. Combining both above ground and underwater excavation a series of investigations into 18th/19th Century pleasure houses (tea houses), an early modern gazebo, revetment walls, and a stone jetty, were carried out.

4.44 Excavation work was undertaken in June 2002 on a riverside stone jetty (License Ref. 01E0554), accompanied by underwater monitoring and excavation by ADCO Ltd (License Ref. 01E0036) (Figure 5). Two phases of domestic mooring usage were revealed dating from the mid-17th/early 18th century and the later 18th/early 19th century respectively. The rebuilding relates to a rise in water levels associated with the building of weirs both up and downstream. The structure was built of reused vernacular architectural stone fragments, dating from the medieval, and post-medieval periods, and had been heavily truncated by a number of modern drainage and landscaping features.

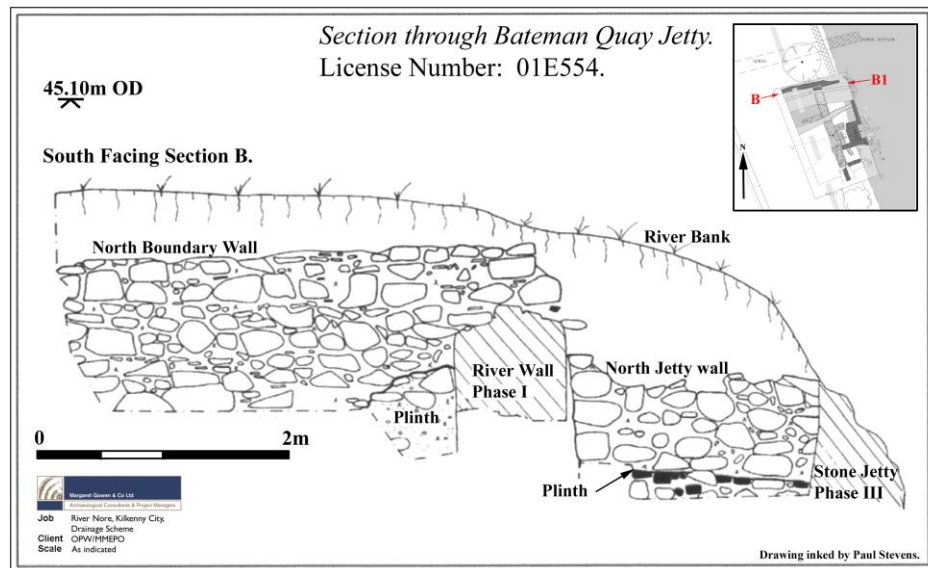


Figure 5 Section of walling Bateman Quay jetty after MGL 2001

4.45 The two tea houses situated along the river's edge at Bateman Quay were investigated under License Refs. 01E0554 and 01E0555 and are located within the area to be developed as part of the riverside garden. They date to the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century and a full measured survey and rectified drawings of the upstanding house remains and that of a circular revetment wall were carried out (Figure 7 below) prior to the excavation of the area.

4.46 The following account of the tea houses is taken from Chapter 7 'River transport and leisure' by Adam Slater in The River Nore Drainage Scheme²⁶.

4.47 The building measures 5.9m (north-south) by 4.8m (east-west) and is approximately 7.5m from the present ground to eaves. The roof is timber framed, sloped to the east and west, and slated although showing extensive damage. Externally the walls are unevenly coursed and carefully mortared, with large stressed quoins on all corners. The eastern wall has no doors or windows and is surmounted centrally by a tall brick chimney (Figure 6).

²⁶ Margaret Gowen & Co Ltd 2005 unpublished report

4.48 The western wall features a window and doorway topped with shallow cambered arches of stone, whilst the southern wall comprises of a large doorway, which probably was originally ornate in décor and is accessed via a flight of eight stone steps, giving access to the upper floor of the structure. A large window 2m high by 1m wide, in the northern wall, also associated with the upper floor previously afforded a view of St Francis' Abbey and Greens Bridge.

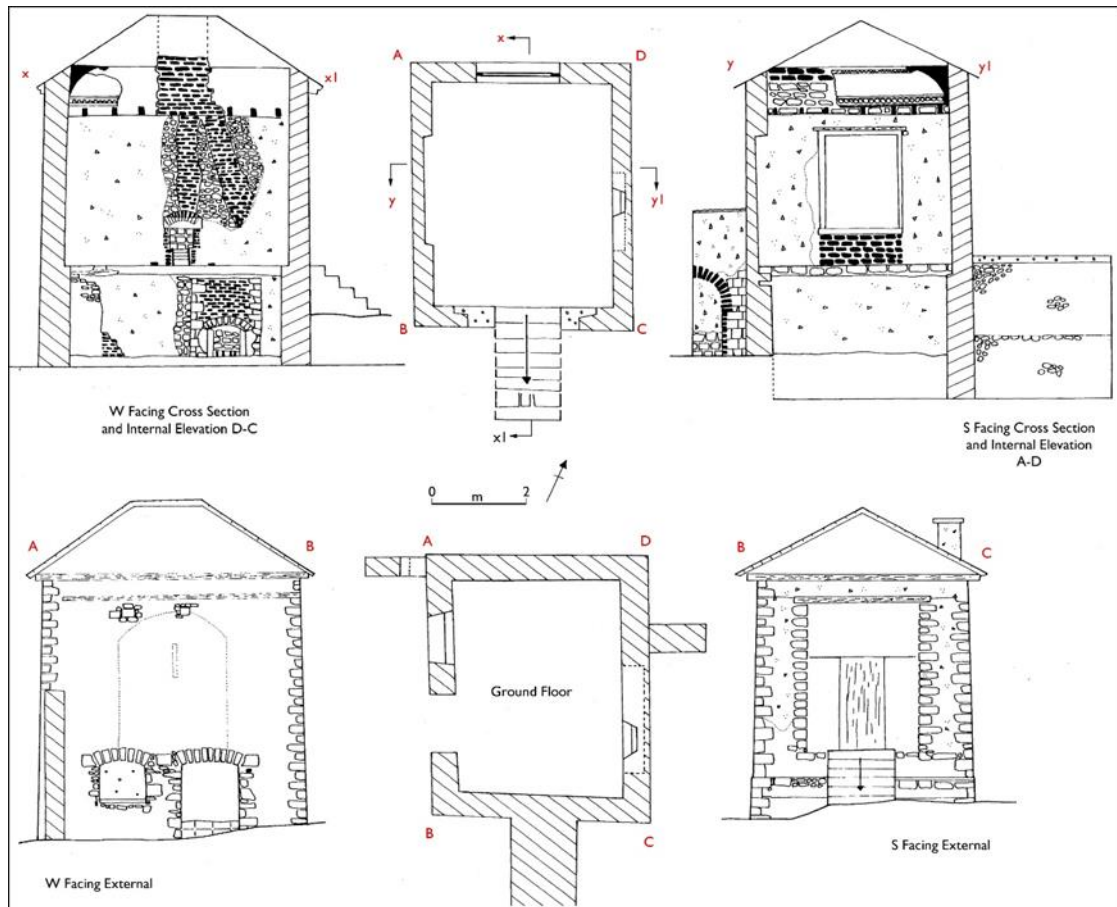


Figure 6 Plan section and elevations of tea House (courtesy of Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd.) excavated under License O1E0555.

4.49 The ground floor has domestic fixtures and fittings in contrast to the first storey which is painted and has a fine, Victorian Stucco-type plastered ceiling (in danger of collapse) similar to that in Bridge House, John's Street Kilkenny.

4.50 The tall, relatively narrow imposing architecture of this pleasure-house and its closeness to the City Jail gained it the local name of 'The Sentry Box'. An associated semi-circular riverside revetment wall was removed under archaeological supervision as part of the River Nore flood alleviation scheme (Figure 7).

4.51 Internally the building is comprised of two floors. Although the floor itself seems to have been destroyed by fire the recesses for wooden beams can still be seen. The ground floor is accessed through the western facing doorway: A large brick lined fireplace with a cambered brick surround is visible in the eastern wall. Heavy rendering, damaged by fire covers most of the walls. No stairs or evidence of a stairwell to connect this with the

upper floor is visible. The upper floor was accessed via a set of wide stone steps leading to large doorway in the southern wall, which mirrors the large window in the northern wall.

- 4.52 The upper floor has a small brick lined fireplace with a cambered brick surround centrally placed into the eastern wall with a brick lined flue visible through missing plaster. The walls are heavily plastered, and occasionally demonstrate patches of red pigment colouring. An arched recess with a fixed timber bracket, possibly for a lamp marks the centre third of the western wall.
- 4.53 The high ceiling is decorated in white, moulded Stucco plaster which is largely damaged and partially destroyed. Centrally, a motif of an acanthus flower and leaves in a patera medallion is surrounded with a rectangular, moulded plaster coving, decorated with leaf-like ovals, a feature which is repeated at the ceilings edge as a cyma recta, both are typically Georgian in form. Similarities between this small ceiling and the larger one visible in the larger room overlooking the river in Bridge house can be seen and this well preserved plasterwork was reputed to be the work of eighteenth century Italian craftsmen²⁷.
- 4.54 The fireplaces indicate that the lower floor was more functional and domestic, with a hearth large enough to cook and boil water on. Whilst the upper floor hearth is narrow and only good for producing heat for the room. The separate entrances to each floor also indicate a measure of segregation. Probably the owners of the building used the upper floor for viewing the sights whilst their servants for food production occupied the lower floor.
- 4.55 The second upstanding teahouse is located 35m to the south of the afore mentioned structure, this has been renovated. As part of the River Nore drainage works two engineering test-pits were dug beside the river and landsides walls of this structure to assess the depths of the foundations prior to commencement of nearby engineering works and the exposed deposits and walls were recorded. The building was also surveyed as part of this scheme.
- 4.56 The 'Tea House' is rectangular in plan, 8m-east west by 6.5m north south with an open, flagged porch area and limestone pillar forming the south-western corner. The porch area provides access to an ornate south-facing doorway. The south wall has a large window, which like the door is of gothic revival style with rolled stone mouldings and jambs with brick relieving arches immediately above. All walls of this structure are of coursed rubble with large squared stressed quoins. A large patch of the western wall appears to have been extensively repaired with smaller uncoursed rubble. An

²⁷ Finn J & Murphy JCI (1962) John Street, North and South Sides. Old Kilkenny Review: No 14 pp25-39.

engineering test pit excavated alongside this rebuild shows that it continued down at least 1.9m below the present ground surface. The north-facing wall is featureless and also shows signs of extensive re-building, being of newer coursed rubble stone.

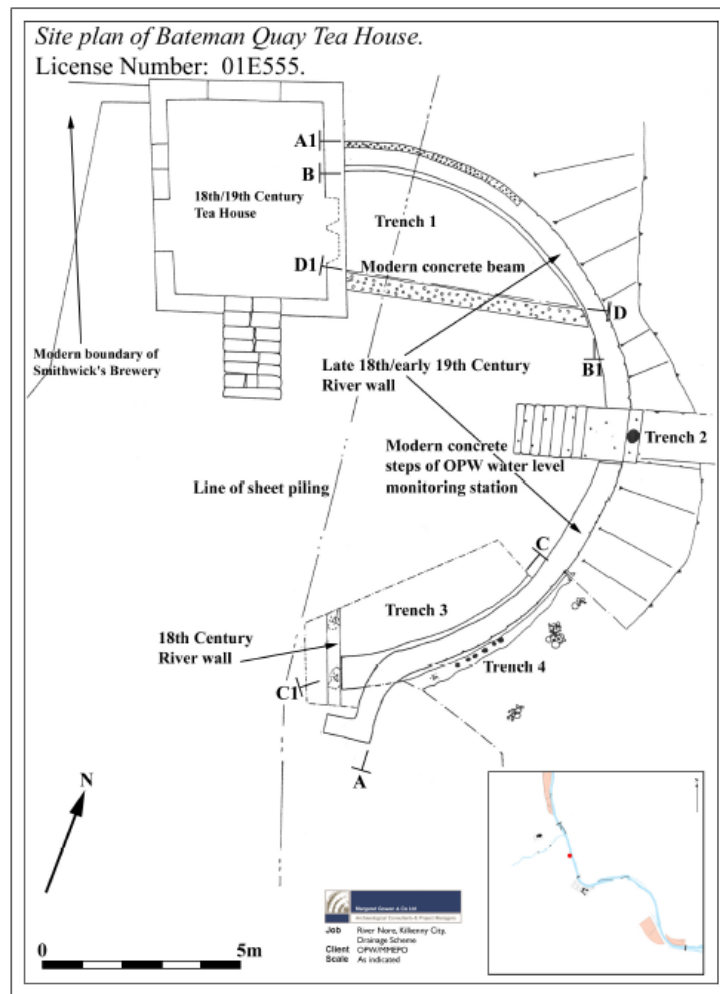


Figure 7 Site plan of Tea House after MGL 2001

Testing for the Kilkenny Central Access Scheme 2010-12:

- 4.57 The requirement for archaeological test trenching was one of several mitigation measures contained in An Bord Pleanála's decision regarding the granting of permissions for the construction of the Kilkenny Central Access Scheme (KCAS). Both underwater and above ground testing was required. An underwater investigation of sections of the riverbed that will be impacted on by the insertion of a proposed bridge crossing associated KCAS was carried out by ADCO in 2010, under License Ref.10E323. No archaeological features were recorded.

Archaeological monitoring of contaminated soil on the river bank of the Nore

- 4.58 Archaeological monitoring, under Ministerial Consent took place in 2014 (C607, E4566) on the south bank of the River Breagh adjacent to the confluence of the River Nore. The works involved the removal of contaminated soil from the riverbank. During these works all excavated spoil was spread for inspection and metal detected for the purpose of finds retrieval. In order to facilitate the excavation, a sheet pile screen and two sheet

piled coffer dams were installed to prevent collapse into the river and to protect the works from inundation by the river. Within the sheet piled screen, the area was excavated to a depth of 0.5m and within that area, the two coffer dams were excavated to a depth of 4m. The sheet piles were located c.9m from the nearest point of Evan's Tower.

- 4.59 The riverbank soil proved to be very disturbed with the upper c.1.3m comprising a mix of organic river silts, rubbish and stones. Included in this material were some dumped structural stones, roughly squared limestone similar to those used in the tower. In total nine stones were retrieved and have been stored adjacent to the tower. They ranged in size from 0.27m x 0.15m x 0.16m to 0.57m x 0.35m x 0.26m. Below 1.3m the material comprised loose grey river gravels, which for the most part appeared to be undisturbed and at c. 3m the river gravels changed to a yellow grey colour.
- 4.60 Excavation revealed the continuation of a stone wall which adjoined the northeast corner of the tower and was partly visible prior to excavation. This wall was constructed of similar stone to that used in the tower and appears to represent a riverbank revetment. It is unclear whether this feature is contemporary with the tower or not. Average dimensions of the stones were 0.45m x 0.2m and five rough courses were uncovered, with the wall extending below the depth of the excavation. The wall was exposed for a length of 1.6m, depth of 1.1m and was oriented northwest-southeast. It continued beyond the excavation area to the southeast and remains in situ (Plate 4). The thickness of the wall was not established as it extended outside of the scope of the remediation works. After cleaning and photographing, the wall was covered in a layer of terram and the excavation area was backfilled with clean stone. The layer of terram will protect the wall for any future investigations. No artefacts of an archaeological interest were recovered from this area.



Plate 4 Revetment wall at Evan's Tower

5. **Site Inspection - Standing Structures and the Location of Sites from South to North along the Riverside garden**

The Tea Houses

5.1 There are two upstanding tea houses located within the proposed riverside garden (Plates 5 and 6), one has been consolidated and is now used as a commercial premises, the other while upstanding, is a derelict, roughly rectangular building and currently undergoing conservation works to stabilise and weather proof the structure.



Plate 5 Tea House – consolidated



Plate 6 Sentry Box Tea House

The Bottling and Kegging Stores

5.2 Both these structures are modern industrial builds without any historic or cultural heritage recommendations. They are scheduled for removal as part of the decommissioning of the Diageo lands. The structures form large warehouses which block access to the River Nore and are concrete and steel frame in construction. The removal of these structures will provide the space required for the development of a riverside garden.



Plate 7 Bottling Store



Plate 8 Kegging Store

The Riverside

- 5.3 The existing riverside is dominated by the eastern elevation of modern warehouses associated with the new decommissioned Diageo plant (from Bateman Quay to the River Breaghagh). These structures are due to be demolished to slab level leaving the entire site open to the river. Two outfalls are present and issue into the River Nore.
- 5.4 The earthen bank will remain, this was recently enhanced during the flood alleviation works and cantilevered sheet piles placed along the river with gabions inserted and the area covered with soil and vegetated. At Bateman Quay anchored sheet piles were placed behind a new quay stone wall facade with railings.



Plates 9-14 show various views of the riverside along the existing Diageo complex.

St Francis' Well

- 5.5 The site of the well is located under a concrete slab of the former keggling store in the brewery and has presumably been blocked up. A modern well chamber sourced by a natural spring is located in roughly the same area as this historic well and may occupy a similar area. St Francis' Well was a large spring or pool as shown on the historic maps apparently surrounded by a wall located c. 45m north-east of the friary.



Plate 15 site of St. Francis' Well

Evan's Tower and Wall Walk

- 5.6 Evan's tower is built as an irregular four sided structure, with an angled face on the north side, projecting out over the River Breagagh and a triangular corner pointing south-east. The monument is approached from the west by a rising stair (a wall walk) between the external parapet and an internal wall, built over a vault which has now collapsed. The feature appears as a double stretch of walling approx. 1.20m wide (from interior of one wall to the exterior of the other wall). The lower levels are intact and it tapers to a single wall. The wall walk attaches to the western side of the tower and forms part of the city defences in a seamless manner. The short length of wall survives to a height of some 3 metres above the river level. It extends westwards from the tower as far as the modern brewery access bridge across the River Breagagh.
- 5.7 The tower has a basement level (with an internal arched entrance, a first floor and an upper level with remains of windows or crenellations). Judging from its appearance when still roofed, it is likely that the tower has been modified and heightened to form a garden feature overlooking the river (perhaps in the 18th century). The external string course and associated holes might therefore reflect the base of an earlier parapet. The monument was braced with wooden posts at the upper levels (which have now been replaced) and repairs have occurred in many places. As part of the River Nore Flood Relief Scheme 2001-2005 measures were taken to survey and secure the fabric of the tower.
- 5.8 Conservation works were undertaken by Consarc (Figure 8) and entailed the erection of internal scaffolding, the infilling of the joist pockets with salvaged stone and small sneck stones were set in lime mortar. This work allowed additional Cintec anchors to be

inserted on order to stabilise the structure. All work was carried out under licence to the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands (now DAHG) (archaeological licence no. 01E0632).

- 5.9 The ground level in the immediate vicinity south of the tower is built up with soil and debris and overgrown with vegetation.
- 5.10 Recently (2015) in advance of the demolition of modern structures on site, additional recording and stabilisation measures have taken place including the clearance of vegetation, a digital survey of the remains, the removal of any loose stones and previous rotten timber stabilisation works and the propping and bracing of the structure internally and externally. These works took place under the supervision of an archaeologist and were carried out under Ministerial Consent and to the specifications of Shaffrey Associate Architects and Lisa Edden, conservation engineer.
- 5.11 The tower and section of City Wall are both National Monuments and are considered to be an important surviving section of city wall and mural tower on a prominent site.

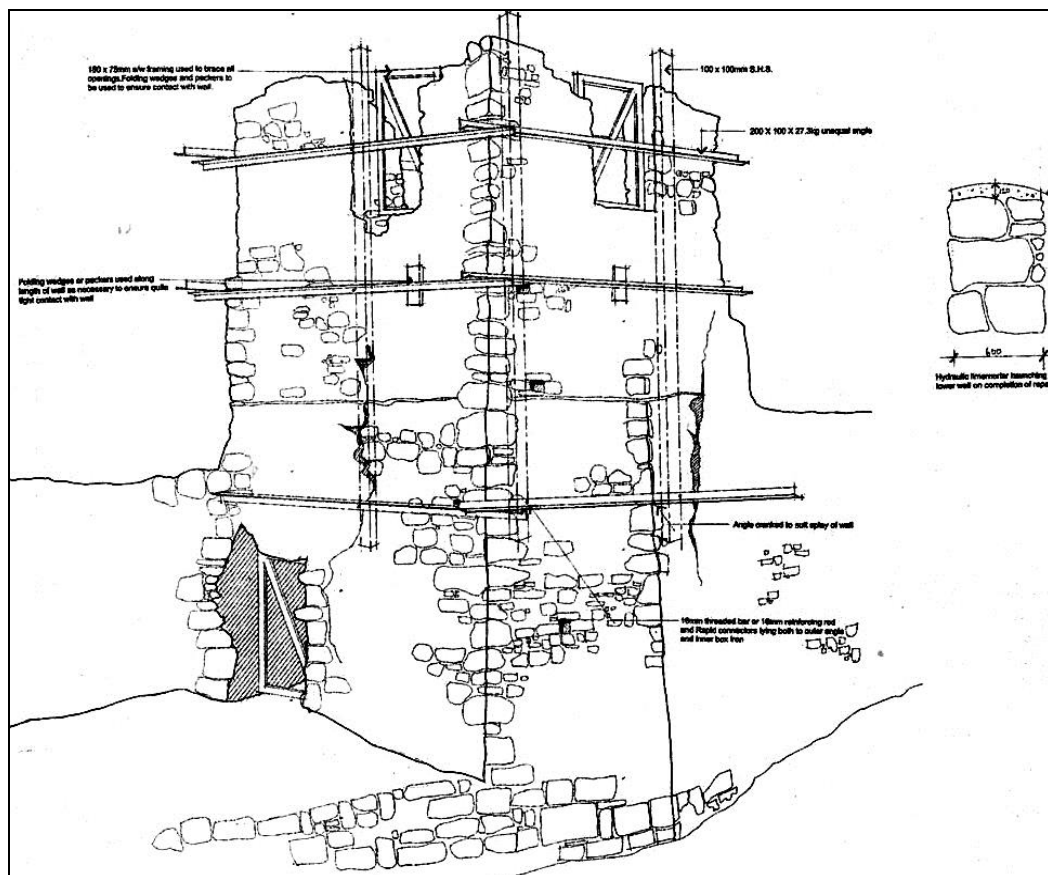


Figure 8 Plan survey of Evan's Tower by Consarc (c. 2001)



Plate 16 East elevation showing the repair work



Plate 17 Northeast elevation (2014)



Plate 18 Wall walk 2013 prior to clearance



Plate 19 Wall walk after clearance 2015 prior to bracing



Plate 20 Evan's Tower and wall walk prior to stabilisation works May 2013



Plate 21 Evan's Tower and wall walk vegetation removed and bracing in place September 2015

Modern bridge over the River Breagh and City Wall

- 5.12 The existing bridge structure (built c.1974) will remain unchanged and will form part of the riverside garden. No structural work is anticipated, while there may be changes to the superstructure for aesthetics and to ensure that the structure meets with health and safety regulations as a pedestrian foot bridge. There will be no effect on the city wall

which is present at the lower levels underneath the bridge. The city wall was recorded, repaired and repointed with lime mortar in the early 2000's as part of the drainage works.



Plate 22 The existing bridge over the River Breagagh

The Mill

- 5.13 The ruined Mill building is placed on the western banks of the River Nore with a slipway present to the south of the structure. The setting of the site has altered recently with the development of the KCAS. Prior to this the picturesque ruin of Nealy's woollen mills (1885) formed a visually dominant part of a publically accessible riverside walk that allowed access to the slipway. The ruin serves as a reminder of the vibrant milling activity that took place at Mill Island and Green's Bridge Weir on the River Nore. For the purpose of this report the ruin could not be accessed for a detailed assessment as hoarding has been placed around the protected structure (B141) in order to protect it from ongoing construction works.



Plate 23 and 24 View to the mill taken from the eastern bank of the River Nore

Green's Bridge

- 5.14 This structure is located at the northern end of the park and consists of a five-arch rubble limestone classical style road bridge. The bridge was built in 1766 by William Colles and exhibits high quality stone masonry. It is recorded in the NIAH (12004007) as being of national significance. It will not be physically impacted by the proposed works.



Plate 25 Green's Bridge, view from west to east (NIAH 12004007)

6. Cartographic Sources

Down Survey, City of Kilkenny, c. 1656

- 6.1 The earliest consulted historical map for Kilkenny City is William Petty's Down Survey map, which dates from c. 1656 and shows the 'Liberties of Kilkenny'. This map indicates the old town walls on both the east and west side of the River Nore, with two bridges crossing the river possibly in the environs of what are now known as John's Bridge and Green's Bridge. The course of the River Breagagh is not depicted on the map and while St Francis' Abbey is not named there is a structure that could correspond to the medieval building located on the west bank of the River Nore. It is possible that the abbey is represented by the structure shown to the southeast of Irishtown Gate and an expanse of wall extending westwards which is indicated but not named on the map. A structure located on the western banks of the River Nore to the north of Irishtown Gate could relate to mill structures on the south side of the northernmost bridge, though again they are not named as such.



Figure 9 Down Survey c. 1656

Rocque's map of Kilkenny, 1758

- 6.2 From the area now known as Bateman Quay, narrow defined garden plots extend in an east-west direction. These are located to the rear of buildings that face onto the 'Shambles'. An access way leading from the street frontage to the River Nore is annotated as 'The New Quay'.
- 6.3 More subdivision of land occurs to the north, as well as a long building plot with dog-leg return that backs onto the 'County Gaol' and runs east from 'Cole Market', before terminating at the river bank. This is possibly a mill stream feature.
- 6.4 The map shows the remains of St Francis' Abbey standing within a large, predominantly open area extending east to the River Nore. The outer perimeter appears to have been walled and extends northwards to the River Breaghagh (shown but not named), to the River Nore to the east, a short distance to the south and to the west the abbey opens onto a laneway that leads to 'Cole Market'. St Francis' well is shown as a circular structure on the western bank of the River Nore and issues in to the river.
- 6.5 Immediately north of the River Breaghagh, the land is open and defined by a laneway to the north that extends from Vicar Street to the unnamed mill buildings, mill channels and weirs on the River Nore.
- 6.6 North again, the land to the rear of the structures that face out onto 'Vicar Street' is divided into narrow plots which extend in an east-west fashion. Some appear as regular planted garden plots, perhaps planted with orchards extending towards the River Nore.
- 6.7 The proposed riverside garden boundary outline (shown in pink) has been superimposed onto an image of Rocque's map along with the modern day layout of existing buildings (shown in blue) to make it easier to relate where modern day structures are in relation to the historic features.

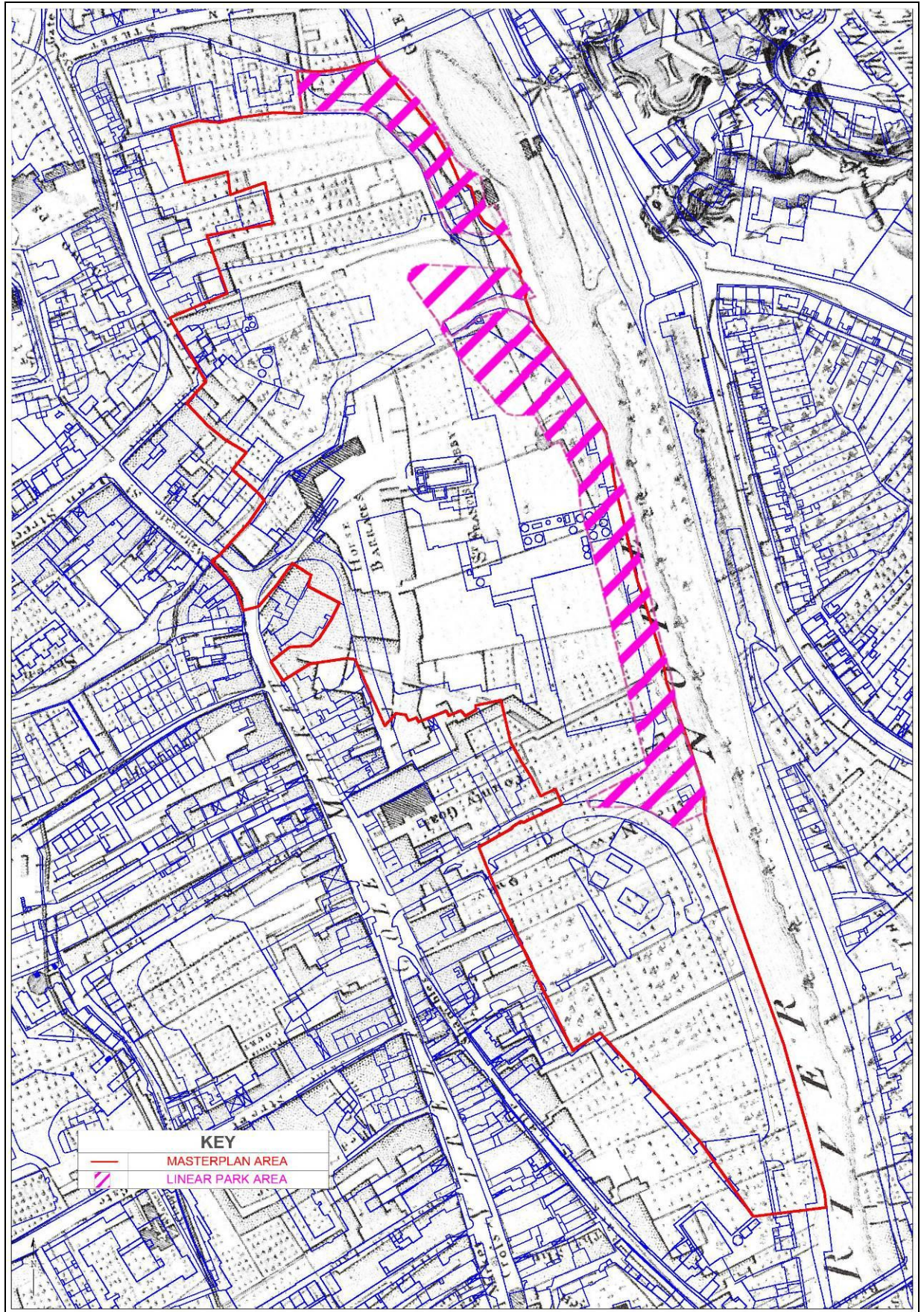


Figure 10 Rocque 1758

Loughman's Estate map c. 1750 (date in question)

- 6.8 This map though largely schematic, does show St. Francis Abbey and Evan's Tower annotated as 'Mt Evans' on the map. To the south of these features are extensive and elaborate gardens extending to the River Nore. To the south the 'Joal Yard' is annotated and the two tea houses are illustrated, it is possible to make out the sentry like style of the northern most one.
- 6.9 Further north the area is shown as open ground without adornment and the only structures are a series of mill buildings to the south a bridge. An access track extends in an east-west direction to these structures from the street. The date of 1750 for this map is in question as it shows the two 'tea houses' which were not built until the end of the 18th or early 19th century. It also shows the brewery complex as well defined consisting of many structures and is more likely to represent a time of expansion probably early to middle 19th century.

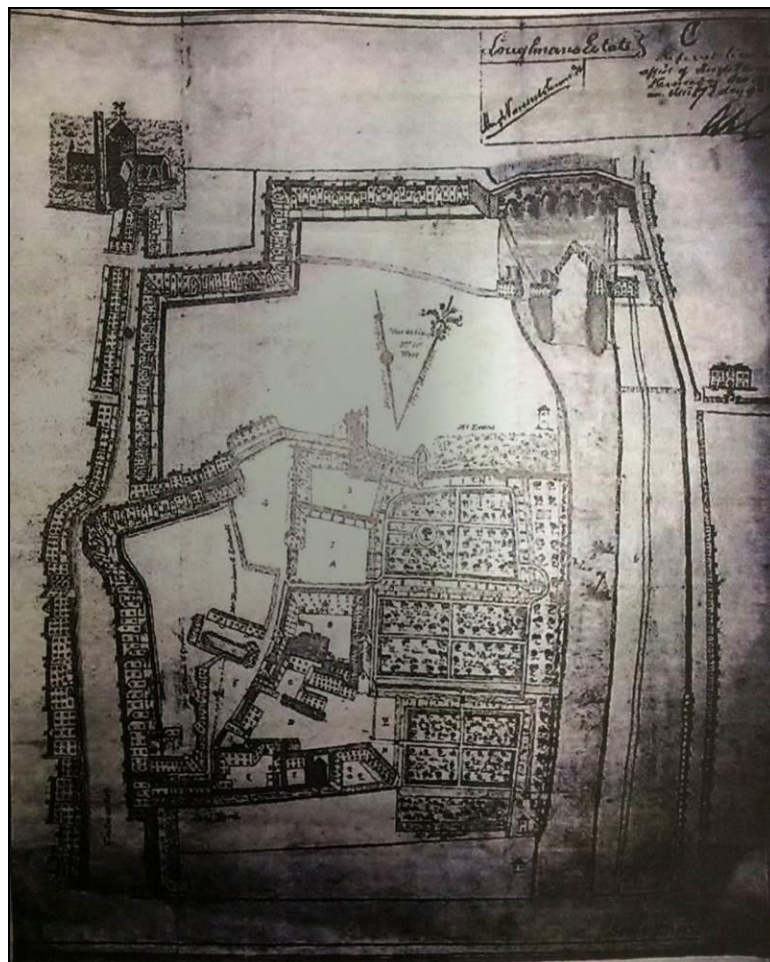


Figure 11 Loughman's Estate map c. 1750 (date in question)²⁸

²⁸ Sourced by Colín O Drisceoil

Hogan's Map of 1860

6.10 While later in date this map is derived from Rocque²⁹ but there are a number of subtle differences in how some buildings are presented and the extent of properties. The area surrounding St Francis' Abbey is named as 'Gray Freren Park' and appears to be delineated to the north by the town wall and to the south by a mill stream that emanates west of Water Gate from the south side of the River Breaghagh and traverses the street to a structure before crossing south of the abbey and issuing into the River Nore. While unnamed there does appear to be a structure represented by a circular marking indicating the site of Evans Tower. A list of named structures that accompanies reference numbers on the map is very helpful in identifying key features. Within or adjacent to the study area these are named as:

8. "St. Francis' Well." This is a very beautiful and copious spring of pure limpid water, in the garden behind the Abbey. Ledwich says it was famous for miraculous cures. In the summer season it is now frequently used for bathing.

59. "The Treasure's Manse, garden and mill." This was the next garden to that of the Vicar's Choral. The house stood in Vicar's Street, and was "next Alderman Connell's," now Mr. Phelan's, at the corner of Green Street. The Treasurer's mill is next that of the Chancellor.

45. "Green's-gate" stood at the town side of Green's bridge.



Figure 12 Hogan's map of 1860

²⁹ Hogan 1861

Ordnance Survey First Edition 6-inch map, 1839-42, sheet 19

- 6.11 From the south, the area now known as Bateman Quay is shown as elaborate gardens extending in an east-west direction from the street frontage onto the River Nore.
- 6.12 Within the Brewery site possible mill races extend to the River Nore with St Francis' Well and Tower 'in ruins'. Gardens or orchards occupy the fields along the banks of the River Nore. To the north of the River Breaghagh, the 'Woollen Factories' are shown on the banks of the River Nore and a 'Tan Yard' is located to the north of these. Garden/orchards stretch from Vicar Street to the River Nore while garden plots from the properties that face onto Green Street are oriented north-south. 'Lime Holes' are shown adjacent to Green's Bridge at the northern end of the proposed riverside garden.

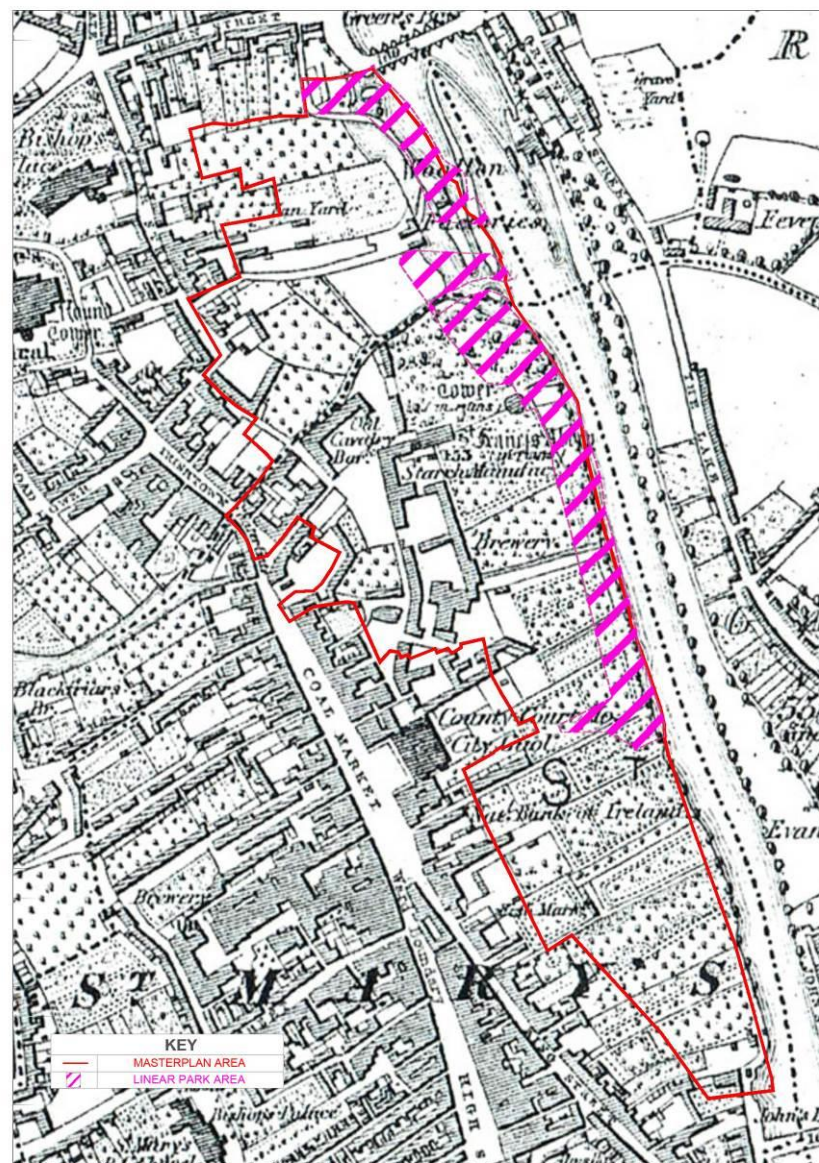


Figure 13 First Edition 6-inch OS map, 1839-42, sheet 19

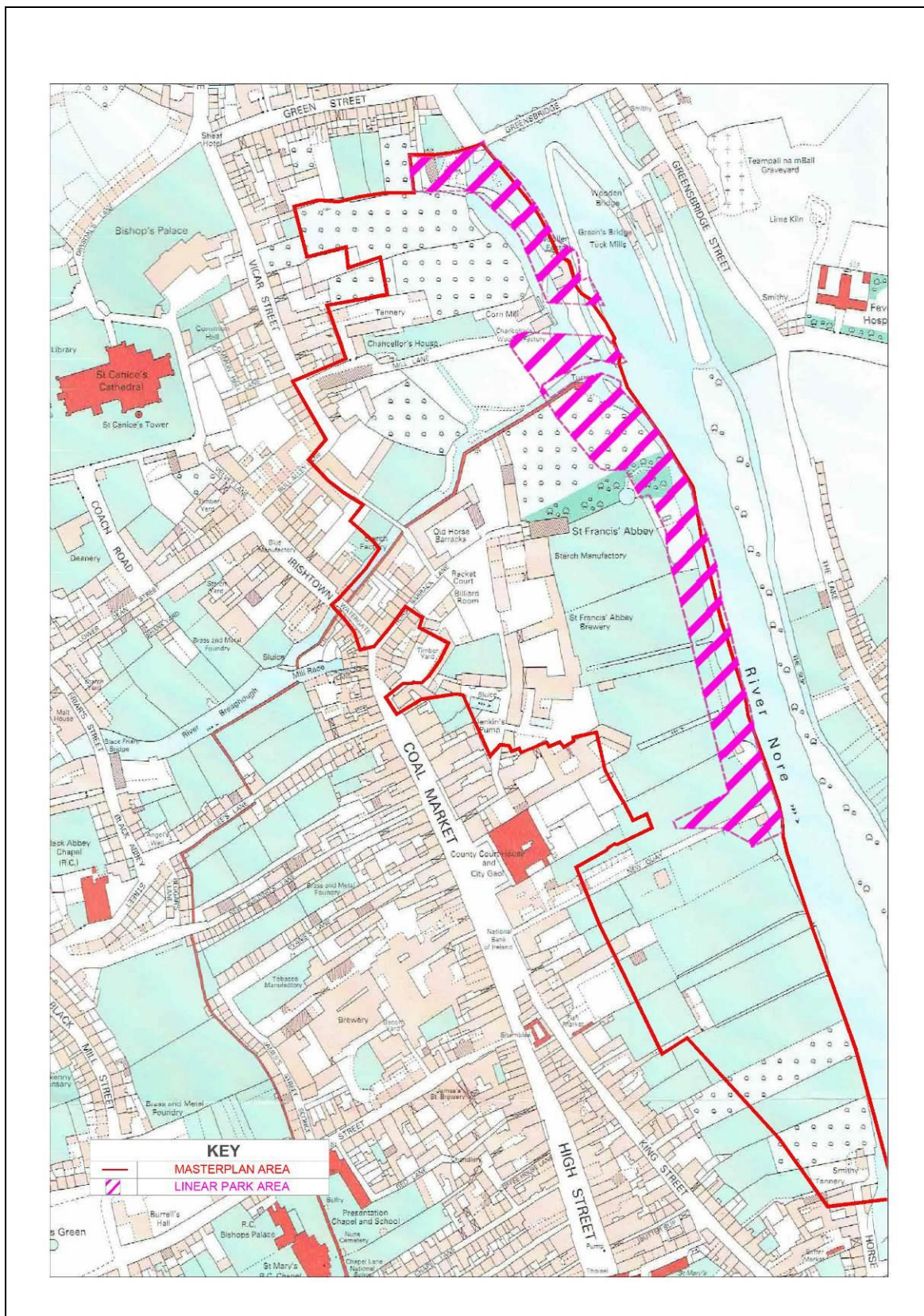


Figure 14 Kilkenny c. 1842 Irish Historic Towns Atlas

Ordnance Survey Revised Edition 25-inch Map, 1900

- 6.13 The 'market' is now named and shown on what is now known as Bateman Quay. On the banks of the River Nore are two structures that possibly equate to what have become known as the 'tea houses'. North of this are the brewery buildings that has now taken on the nomenclature 'St Francis' Abbey Brewery'. Mill streams are located in the gardens along the banks of the river. To the north of 'St Francis' Abbey (in ruins)' and 'St Francis' Well', which are both shown, the site of a tower is marked. Evans Tower although not named is shown with the wall walk of the city wall located to the west.
- 6.14 North of the River Breaghagh the milling development along the banks of the River Nore has expanded to include several new structures and the laneway to this group of buildings has now been formalised and is named as 'Mill Lane'. Properties front onto and align Vicar Street and Green Street and the plots of land to the rear of these structures appear open, some with orchards.

Ordnance Survey Revised Edition 25-inch Map, 1946

- 6.15 The 'Market' is still shown and annotated as is the 'Court House & Bridewell'. Two structures are shown in the areas where the 'tea houses' are now located. The most northern structure is associated with a semi-circular feature, possibly a quay, which projects out over the River Nore. This quay has since been removed under archaeological supervision and excavation as part of the River Nore Flood Alleviation Scheme.
- 6.16 There is very little change between the 1900 and 1946 O.S. maps in the area of St Francis' Abbey Brewery. The abbey, the well and the tower (site of) are again marked and no change to the brewery buildings can be noted. The garden area along the banks of the River Nore has been split in two with the northern half appearing as an orchard while the southern half has reverted to waste land or waste land. Two mill streams as well as St Francis' Well issue into the River Nore.
- 6.17 North of the River Breaghagh, 'Mill Lane' is named, providing access to the 'Corn Mill', 'weir' and 'Woollen Mill' from Vicar Street. The land to the north of the river is otherwise unoccupied and shown as open plots with orchards.

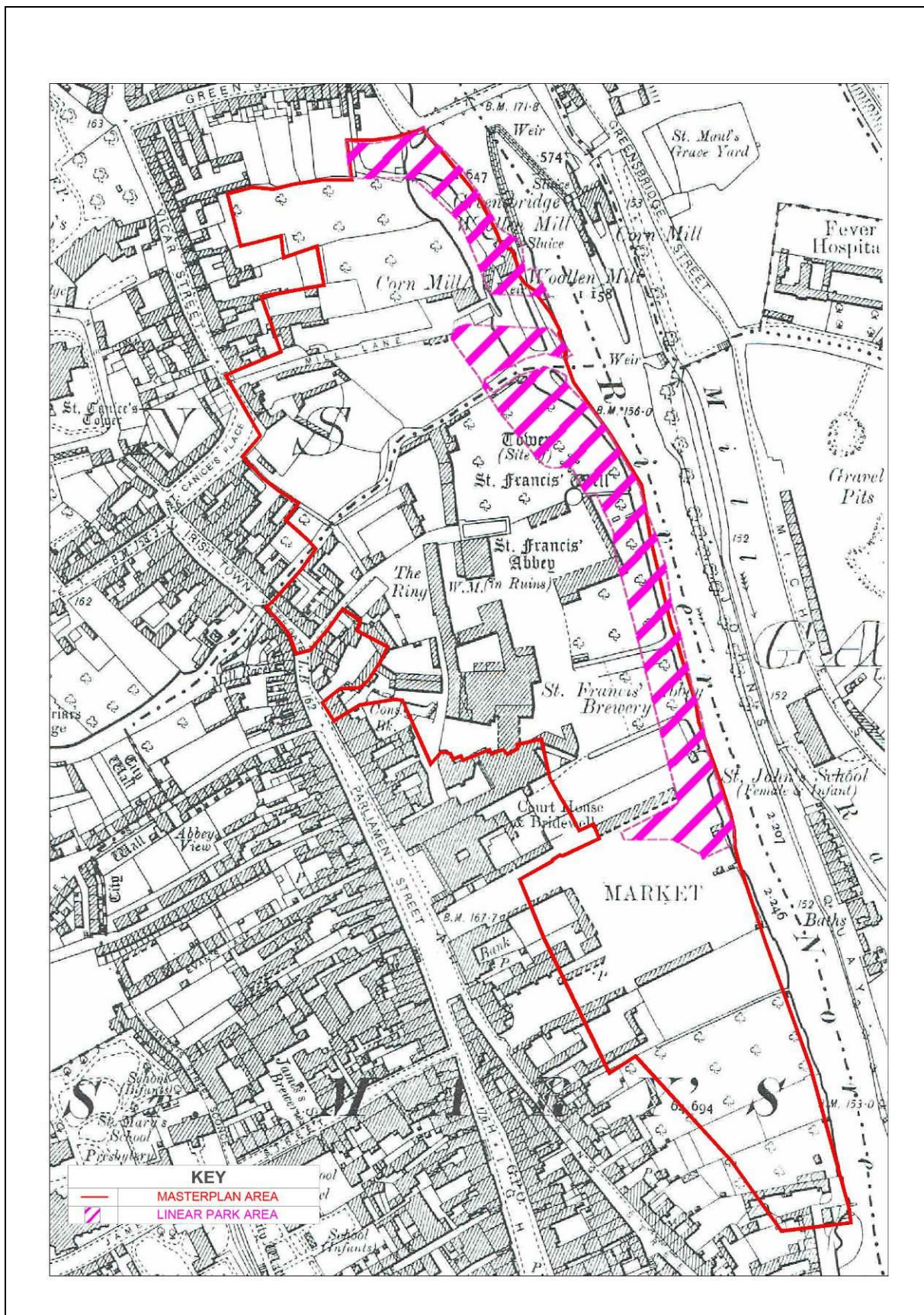


Figure 15 OS Revised Edition 25-inch Map, 1900

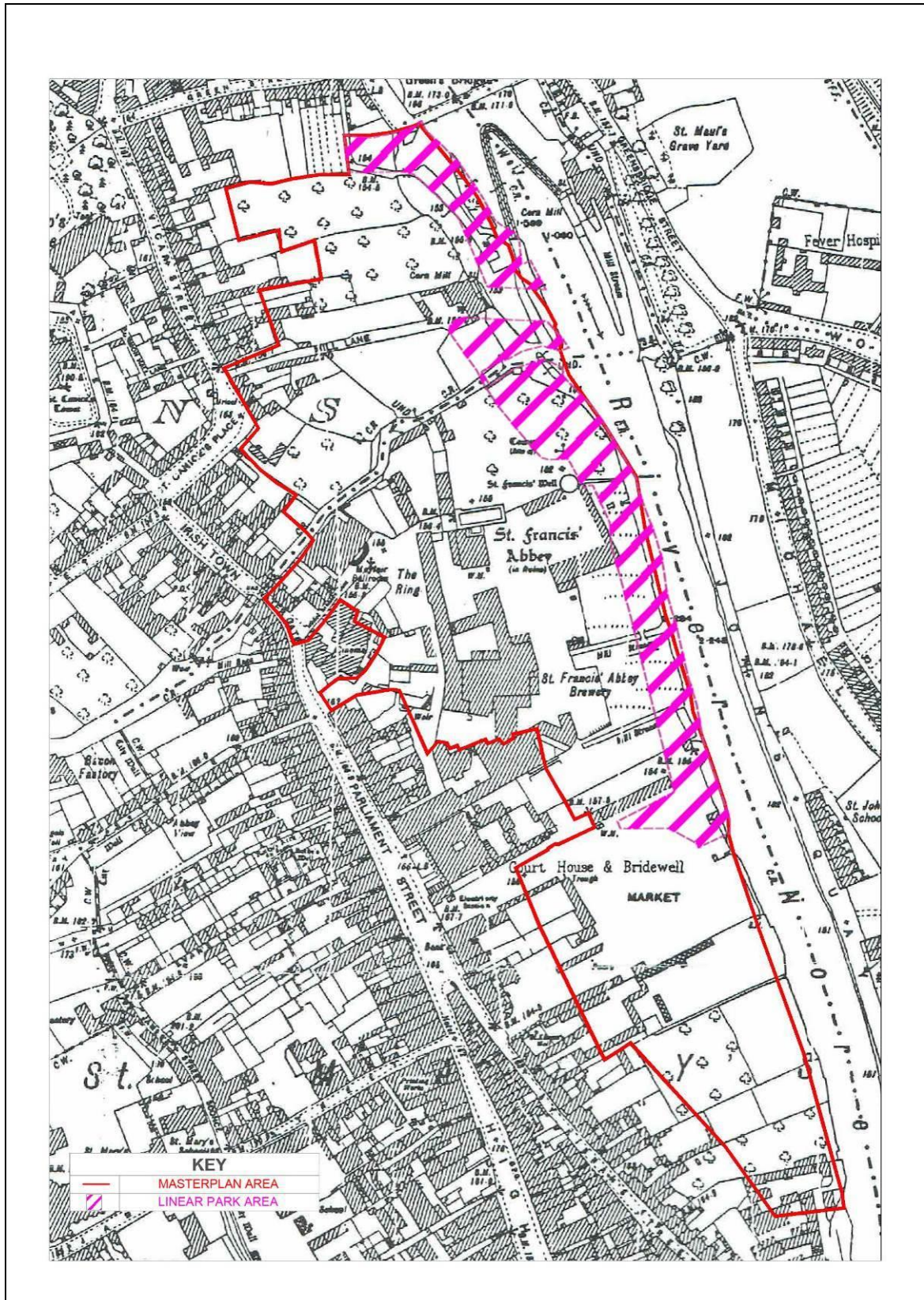


Figure 16 OS Revised Edition 25-inch Map, 1946

7 Conclusions

Protection and enhancement of upstanding monuments and historic structures

- 7.1 Central to the development of the riverside garden is the necessity to protect and enhance the historic character, the monuments, their setting, views and to propose and encourage the creation of new vistas along the River Nore to existing landmark sites. The development of a park provides the opportunity to improve the presentation, legibility and civic amenity of the cultural heritage assets which align the western bank of the River Nore while promoting the public's understanding and knowledge of historical Kilkenny.
- 7.2 Ultimately, this riverside garden at the centre of the medieval city of Kilkenny has the potential to improve the visitor experience and attract local and tourist circulation. It can also act as a greening mechanism to link with wider initiatives such as Kilkenny's Medieval Mile and Ireland's Ancient East, all of which contribute and reflect key and dominant environmental elements, heritage assets and allow the recreational usage of rivers.

Opportunities

- 7.3 The riverside park offers opportunities and provision for the development of:
- public and universal access to the rich heritage resource of the River Nore,
 - sport and recreational facilities and
 - tourism strategies

Landscaping - Planting

- 7.4 The close proximity of the riverside garden to the River Nore and Breaghagh offers huge opportunities for the development of an interesting riverside garden referencing the historic uses and planting of the past. Native meadow species could be encouraged by adapting traditional meadow management practices from elsewhere in Kilkenny and planted in order to increase the regeneration of native wild flowers. It also offers opportunities to be further developed as a wildlife corridor enabling the wider local environment to benefit.
- 7.5 Consideration should be given to the redevelopment of orchards and planting regimes that include vegetables and herbs. Consultation with the head gardener from Rothe House could provide valuable insights to recreating and establishing historic planting treatments.
- 7.6 The use of exotic garden plants known for their scent, colour and fruiting/berrying qualities would greatly benefit wild birds, mammals, moths, butterflies and insects.
- 7.7 Good horticultural practice can encourage the riverside garden in becoming a successful heritage attraction. The development of a riverside garden creates the opportunity to link with other gardens and parklands in Kilkenny such as the 17th century urban garden

at Rothe House or the rose garden at Kilkenny Castle, greening the city and developing a gardening and planting trail to encourage people to experience the city and its natural flora on foot.

Integration of Hard and Soft Landscaping Proposals and Archaeological Features

7.8 Both soft and hard landscaping proposals can present and interpret the archaeological findings, the extent of archaeological features/structures and enhance the visitor experience³⁰. The use of materials such as the paving stones used to mark the line of the City Wall in Kilkenny or the bronze City Wall markers and ground engravings used in Dublin to show the extent of the medieval wall precinct and findings from excavations can be informative. Equally depending on the nature of the below ground remains, features can be exposed, maintained in-situ and/or covered by a suitable material such as glass or interpreted through signage. There are many different options for the presentation of elements of the historic character which can support a particular vision and create a cohesiveness for the riverside garden and wider area that is currently being considered for redevelopment.

7.9 The protection and enhancement of setting for the upstanding historic structures will be intimately linked to the landscape design considerations and will relate to typical attributes such as lighting, trees, verges, boundary treatment, surfaces and material choice. It is proposed that art work and sculptures planned for the park will reflect the industrial and brewing history of the site.

7.10 The design ethos for the park encapsulates different zones of experience, to the north of the River Breagagh this is an active zone with a possible skate park and access to the River Nore for water activities while south of the Breagagh, the park is designed to stroll and for reflection with the provision of a 3m wide meandering shared cycle and pedestrian path accentuated and enhanced with planting, lighting and seating areas.

Historic Structures within the riverside garden

7.11 In the long term it is envisaged that the riverside garden will encourage and facilitate public access to two teahouses, Evan's Tower and wall walk, a ruined mill and Green's Bridge, all historic structures. In turn the structures will make a positive contribution to the riverscape and sense of place and are to be retained, protected, stabilised and ultimately appropriately conserved with a view to sustainable reuse within the proposed riverside garden.

7.12 Prior to the opening of the park a conservation specialist will have to ensure that all the historic masonry structures are structurally safe.

7.13 In accordance with the issued Ministerial Consent, once the demolition of the existing modern structures within the former Diageo site is completed, it is expected to initially

³⁰ The Heritage Council Ideas for interpreting heritage sites, Irish Walled Towns Network

stabilise and conserve (make good) all upstanding remains associated with Evan's Tower and wall walk as they are. The initial stabilisation works would include stabilising all upstanding remains as they are and leaving the tower only accessible for maintenance (in this instance public access would be precluded).

The Masterplan which has been adopted by Kilkenny County Council proposes to conduct a conservation plan in order to place the National Monument of St Francis Abbey of which Evan's Tower forms one element at the centre of the proposals.

The Masterplan proposes two alternate long term future uses for this structure:

- (a) A local new build is proposed to support the modern intervention of steps and deck and guard rails to allow the tower to be used as a viewing point by the general public.
- (b) Stabilise all upstanding remains, rebuild the vaulting and stone steps and wall walk so that the tower can be used as part of a public amenity as close to the original form as possible.

Historical Development of the River Nore and Breagagh

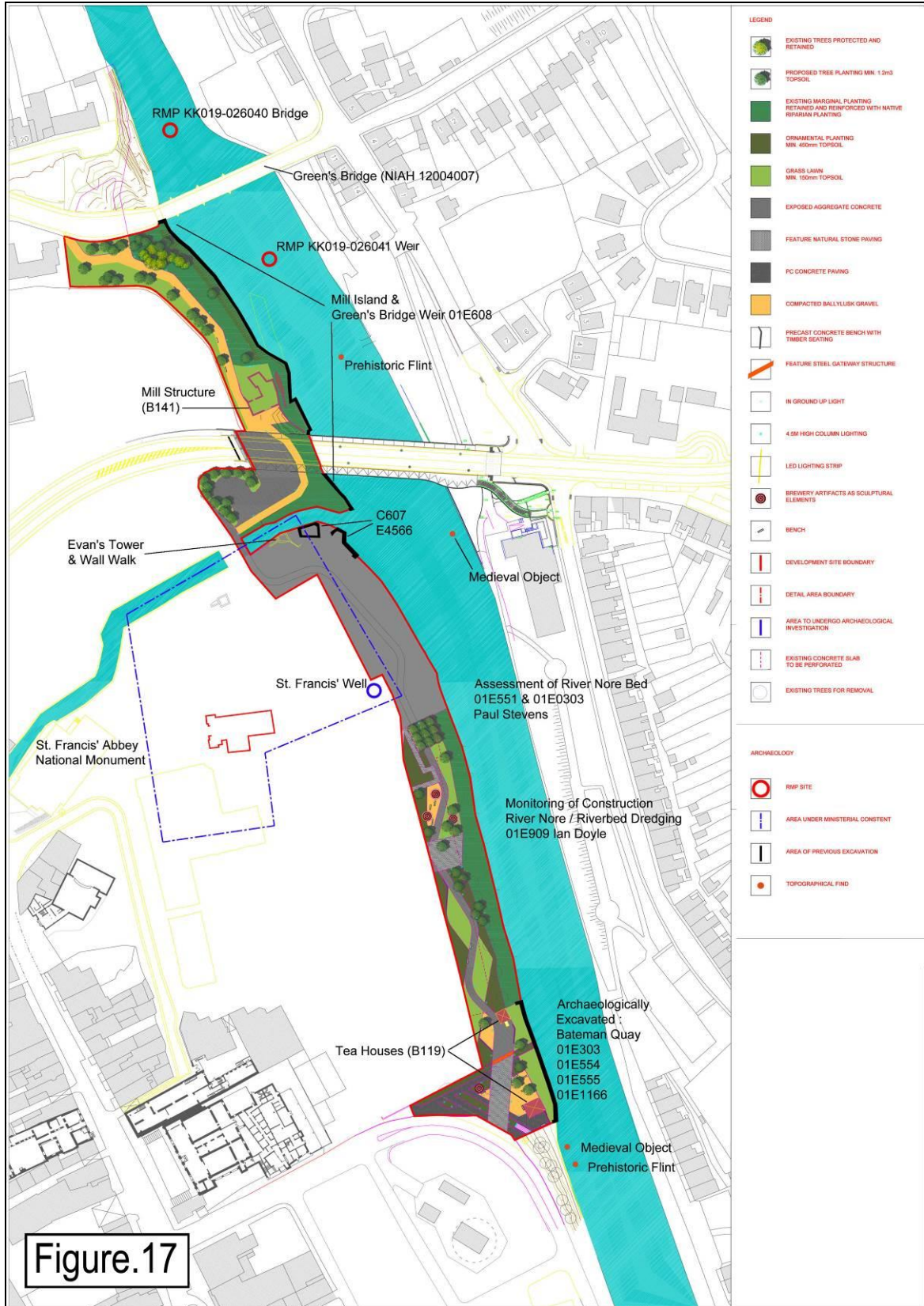
- 7.14 Monitoring and testing within and along the River Nore has yielded significant findings and created an understanding of how the river and general area developed and how it was dictated by the flooding of the Rivers Nore and Breagagh (culverts and millstreams are seen throughout) (Figure 17). This development stems from the riverside prehistoric stray finds of Mesolithic flints uncovered by the River Nore Drainage Scheme, to the medieval layout of burgage plots (appearing as shallow, long ditches orientated both north-south and east-west) and later garden layouts as shown on Rocque's Map of 1758, post medieval reclamation practices, the development of an extensive milling complex at Green's Bridge and the strong association with brewing.
- 7.15 Along Bateman Quay there is archaeological evidence of land reclamation practices. Post medieval revetments and wooden barriers are regularly noted in testing reports close to the quay. Whilst to the north made ground of red brick and demolition rubble of the 19th/20th century helped raise the ground level. An examination of bore hole logs demonstrated that the Diageo lands are covered with reinforced concrete to a depth of 0.3m – 0.45m below existing ground level and an investigation of the earthen bank for the removal of contaminated soils revealed a heavily disturbed profile.
- 7.16 It is probable that the River Nore was a lot wider than the current alignment and as such further inland from the riverbanks, *in-situ* medieval and earlier material may be buried. It would also account for the lack of medieval finds and material found along the outer edge of the banks during the River Nore flood alleviation scheme in 2002. Deposition from the wider riverbanks during any such pre-reclamation period would have ensured that medieval objects dumped from the bank are sealed beneath reclamation deposits. Similarly, medieval refuse may have been used to reclaim ground from the River Nore with the result that medieval objects may be contained within the modern river banks at distances somewhat removed from the river.

- 7.17 In relation to the previously mentioned Bateman Quay where post medieval quay side finds and features were revealed, earlier material may be located further inland under the modern roadway and carpark³¹.

Assessment of below ground archaeological potential

- 7.18 Targeted test excavation works and monitoring are proposed to further inform the design process and add to the information that has been gathered to date from documentary and cartographic sources as part of the reporting process for the Masterplan and riverside garden along the River Nore.

³¹ Doyle, Ian 2003 River Nore (Kilkenny City) Drainage Scheme: Archaeological monitoring of river dredging 2001-2002, Licence No. 01E909 pg 19, unpublished report by Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd.



8 Recommendations

- 8.1 Given that archaeological investigation has to take place in order to ascertain the potential of below ground features and how they will be preserved, ie through preservation *in-situ* or excavation and to inform the final design of the riverside garden, it is anticipated that the development/construction of the park will evolve in a staged sequence with temporary design works taking place within the National Monument area and throughout areas that require test excavation. As required, archaeological work will take place either under licence or consent. This document has established the need for:
- Archaeological investigation
 - Stabilisation of upstanding historic structures where necessary
 - Public information through signage and boundary treatment
 - Appropriate interpretation and presentation of upstanding historic structures and newly exposed archaeological features through excavation
- 8.2 As part of the riverside garden works, archaeological investigation will take place after demolition works have been completed, and once Kilkenny County Council have taken ownership of the site. It is envisaged that all works will take place on land and no work is anticipated in the River Nore, this will alleviate the necessity for an underwater/diving archaeological licence. If this arrangement is subject to change the relevant authority will be notified immediately.
- 8.3 These recommendations have been devised having considered the policies and objectives within the Kilkenny City and Environs Development Plan 2014-2020 and recommendations put forward as part of the Kilkenny City Walls Conservation Plan (2005) and the Masterplan (2015).

Stage 1: Advance Works

- 8.4 It is anticipated that preceding these works Evan's Tower and wall walk will be stabilized and conserved (made good) so it can function as part of the public realm.
- 8.5 There are a number of possible long term end products that would potentially enable public access to Evan's Tower and wall walk. All would be subject to the appropriate permissions and also involve coordination with the relevant specialist and consultation with the heritage authorities and all stakeholders and will have to have regard to the masterplan and conservation plan for the area as well as health and safety regulations. The development of the long term options will need to consider the authentic interpretation of the monument and the user experience within the newly formed parkland setting. Such works will be considered in the context of the Conservation Plan for the heritage structures on the site and can take place on a phased basis.

Stage 2: Preparatory Works

- 8.6 An examination of the existing concrete slab will take place with a view to lifting and/or perforating it. Any work involving lifting should be conducted initially in the presence of a monitoring archaeologist so recording can take place and an assessment made of the depth and condition of slab and the below ground stratigraphy. All works that take place in proximity to the National Monument area will have to be conducted under Ministerial Consent, elsewhere on site, work can proceed under licence to the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.

Stage 3: Test Excavation

- 8.7 Given that the riverside garden is located within the zone of archaeological potential for Kilkenny it is proposed that test excavation will establish the possible below ground presence of archaeological features which may include precinct walls associated with the abbey, reclamation practices, mill races, wooden revetments, and/or organic garden soils. It is recommended that a programme of archaeological test excavation be undertaken by a qualified archaeologist under licence to the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.
- 8.8 In order to reveal sub-surface archaeological remains, historic mapping and documentary evidence may assist in the location of test trenches for example the location of possible walls, mill races and the new quay shown on Rocque and the site of a tower on the 1st edition OS six inch mapping would be preferable locations for testing (Figure 10 and 13). The results of environmental analysis from archaeological investigations of the riverside garden area may assist in planting choices. Archaeological sampling of the soils encountered may provide further information in relation to past planting regimes and natural grasses on site. Where archaeological investigation is required the slab will have to be lifted in order to facilitate this activity.
- 8.9 In the event that archaeological remains are discovered, the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (DAHG) and the National Museum of Ireland will be informed. All archaeological issues will be resolved to the satisfaction and in consultation with the National Monuments Service of the DAHG, who will advise on any remedial action it considers appropriate.

Stage 4: Upstanding Structures

- 8.10 It is an objective of this development to ensure that all historic structures are incorporated in a sensitive and appropriate manner within the riverside garden. In the short term all historic structures must be made safe so to allow public access, and input from a conservation specialist will be required to determine that this criteria has been met. In the long term how these structures will function within the riverside garden needs to be addressed and agreed by all stakeholders.
- 8.11 Further collaborative research and survey on the upstanding building remains should be sought in association with the conservation work for the Tea Houses, Evan's Tower and wall walk and the mill site.

The Tea Houses

- 8.12 The Tea Houses will form part of the entrance feature to the park from Bateman Quay. The most southerly structure has been consolidated and is used as a commercial premise. The more northerly 'sentry box' teahouse is currently being 'weather proofed' and stabilised by Kilkenny County Council as part of the Heritage Council's historic buildings at risk programme. As part of the overall conservation strategy for this structure, the restoration of the internal plasterwork which adds to its significance should be seen as a priority.
- 8.13 Any works in and around these structures should be guided by a conservation architect and engineer to ensure that no inadvertent damage occurs to the consolidated and newly stabilised structure. The removal of adjacent breeze-block wall to the north-west of the latter structure will require careful monitoring.
- 8.14 Possible uses for these structures should be discussed between the heritage authorities and Kilkenny County Council. The best method to maintain these structures in the long term is to ensure their use in the future³².

Evan's Tower and Wall Walk

- 8.15 As part of the Ministerial Consent for the demolition of structures on the existing site, this national monument is to be stabilised and conserved (made good). This will require a multidisciplinary team of archaeologists, a conservation architect and engineer and specialist crafts people including stone masons.
- 8.16 Once stabilised, it is envisaged that the works will take place on a phased basis with all details agreed with the relevant authorities. The level and type of proposed intervention is dependent on the long term vision for the tower and its final use which it is presumed will form part of the discussion of the proposed conservation plan for the area and will ultimately inform the design process. As part of the riverside garden it would be preferable to have the monument fully integrated and accessible to the public, having regard to health and safety restrictions.

The Mill Structure

- 8.17 Prior to the KCAS works this structure formed part of a riverside walk that allowed access to a slipway from Green's bridge. In preparation to having this structure accessible to the general public again initial works include the clearance of vegetation and a condition survey by a conservation specialist in order to establish that the ruin is structurally safe. In the medium term consideration should be given to lighting and signage as ways of providing interest and raising awareness of the structure.

³² The Heritage Council, Dublin City Council 2004 report 'Built to last: the sustainable re-using of buildings'.

- 8.18 It is a long term objective for the riverside garden to conserve this protected structure and feature of industrial heritage and in the future to explore and identify possible sustainable reuses.

Green's Bridge

- 8.19 The proposed park extends to Green's Bridge and while there will be no impact to this protected structure, there is the potential to enhance the park by creatively using the presence of this fine and monumental historic structure and creating different views and points of interest towards and from the bridge.

Stage 5: Archaeological Monitoring

- 8.20 Any excavation works (including temporary or enabling works for the diversion of utilities, the laying of ducts or pipework, drainage and/or lighting for example) required as a result of the engineering and landscaping proposals for the park will be subject to archaeological monitoring. Once detail design drawings are available consultation should take place with an archaeologist so a methodology can be agreed with the authorities prior to the commencement of works.

General

- 8.21 The recommendations made in this report are subject to approval of the National Monuments Service of the DAHG. Attention is drawn to the relevant portions of national monuments legislation (1930-2004; Appendix 1), which describes the responsibility of the Kilkenny County Council to report the finding of archaeological items if any should be discovered during development works.

9 References and Sources

Online Resources:

www.archaeology.ie

www.excavations.ie

www.ourplan.kilkenny.ie

www.osimaps.ie

www.myplan.ie

Google Earth

Appendix 1 National Monuments Legislation

Archaeological sites have the protection of the national monuments legislation (Principal Act 1930; Amendments 1954, 1987, 1994 and 2004). In the 1987 Amendment of Section 2 of the Principal Act (1930), the definition of a national monument is specified as:

- any artificial or partly artificial building, structure or erection or group of such buildings, structures or erections;
- any artificial cave, stone or natural product, whether forming part of the ground, that has been artificially carved, sculptured or worked upon or which (where it does not form part of the place where it is) appears to have been purposely put or arranged in position;
- any, or any part of any, prehistoric or ancient (i.) tomb, grave or burial deposit, or (ii.) ritual, industrial or habitation site;
- any place comprising the remains or traces of any such building, structure or erection, any cave, stone or natural product or any such tomb, grave, burial deposit or ritual, industrial or habitation site...

Under Section 14 of the Principal Act (1930):

It shall be unlawful...

to demolish or remove wholly or in part or to disfigure, deface, alter, or in any manner injure or interfere with any such national monument without or otherwise than in accordance with the consent hereinafter mentioned (a licence issued by the Office of Public Works National Monuments Branch),

or

to excavate, dig, plough or otherwise disturb the ground within, around, or in the proximity to any such national monument without or otherwise than in accordance...

Under Amendment to Section 23 of the Principal Act (1930),

A person who finds an archaeological object shall, within four days after the finding, make a report of it to a member of the Garda Síochána or the Director of the National Museum...

The latter is of relevance to any finds made during a watching brief. In the 1994 Amendment of Section 12 of the Principal Act (1930), all the sites and 'places' recorded by the Sites and Monuments Record of the Office of Public Works are provided with a new status in law. This new status provides a level of protection to the listed sites that is equivalent to that accorded to 'registered' sites [Section 8(1), National Monuments Amendment Act 1954] as follows:

The Commissioners shall establish and maintain a record of monuments and places where they believe there are monuments and the record shall be comprised of a list of monuments and such places and a map or maps showing each monument and such place in respect of each county in the State.

The Commissioners shall cause to be exhibited in a prescribed manner in each county the list and map or maps of the county drawn up and publish in a prescribed manner information about when and where the lists and maps may be consulted.

In addition, when the owner or occupier (not being the Commissioners) of a monument or place which has been recorded, or any person proposes to carry out, or to cause or permit the carrying out of, any work at or in relation to such monument or place, he shall give notice in writing of his proposal to carry out the work to the Commissioners and shall not, except in the case of urgent necessity and with the consent of the Commissioners, commence the work for a period of two months after having given the notice.

Appendix 2 Kilkenny City and Environs Development Plan 2014-2020

Monuments

The National Monument Act, 1930 and subsequent amendments provide the formal legal mechanisms to protect monuments in Ireland. There are four mechanisms by which a monument is protected under the Acts; these are:

- The Record of Monuments and Places (RMP)
- The Register of Historic Monuments (RHM)
- Preservation Order (PO) or Temporary Preservation Order (TPO)
- National Monuments (NM) either in the care (ownership or guardianship) of the State or a local authority

All known sites and monuments in Ireland are identified and listed for protection in the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP). This is a statutory inventory of sites protected under the National Monuments Acts.

The prior written consent of the Minister is required for any works at or in proximity to a National Monument in the ownership or guardianship of the State, the Minister or a local authority, or those which are subject to a Preservation Order.

Protected Structures

A protected structure is a structure that is considered to be of 'special interest', which is broadly defined by the Planning and Development Act, 2000 as structures of architectural, historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural, scientific, social or technical point interest. The 2000 Act requires each planning authority to compile and maintain a Record of Protected Structures (RPS). The RPS is a mechanism for the statutory protection of the architectural heritage and all protected structures are listed in Appendix G of the written statement for the plan.

Architectural Conservation Areas

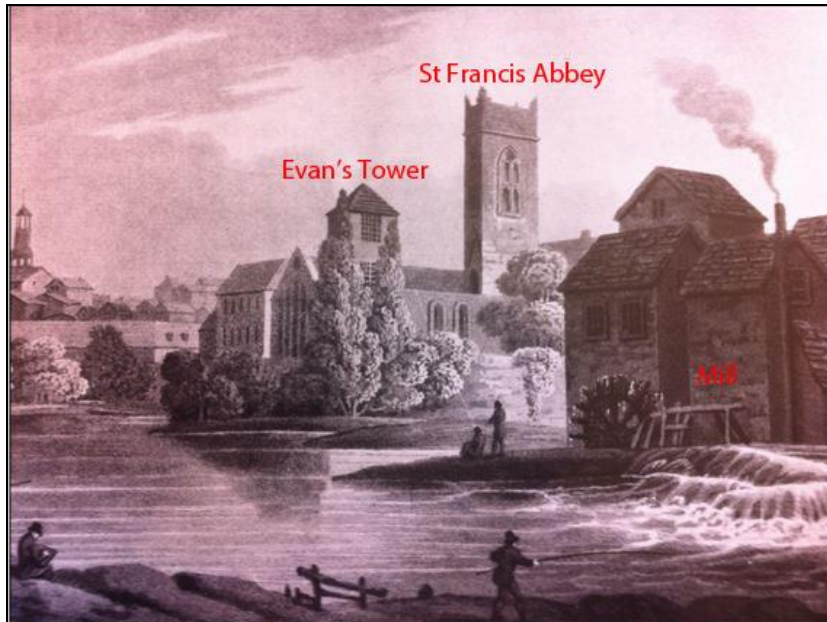
Architectural Conservation Areas (ACA) are places, groups of structures or townscape, taking account of building lines and heights, that are of special architectural, historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural scientific, social or technical interest/value that contributes to the appreciation of a protected structure and whose character it is an objective of the development plan to preserve. ACAs in Kilkenny City are listed and described in the plan.

National Inventory of Architectural Heritage

The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (NIAH) places a statutory basis under the provisions of the Architectural Heritage (National Inventory) and Historic Monuments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1999. The NIAH's role is to identify record and evaluate the post-1700 architectural heritage of Ireland. It aims to promote the appreciation of, and contributes to the protection of, the built heritage by systematically recording a representative sample of that built heritage on a nationwide basis. The NIAH survey was published in 2006 for Kilkenny.

Appendix 3: Historical Illustrations

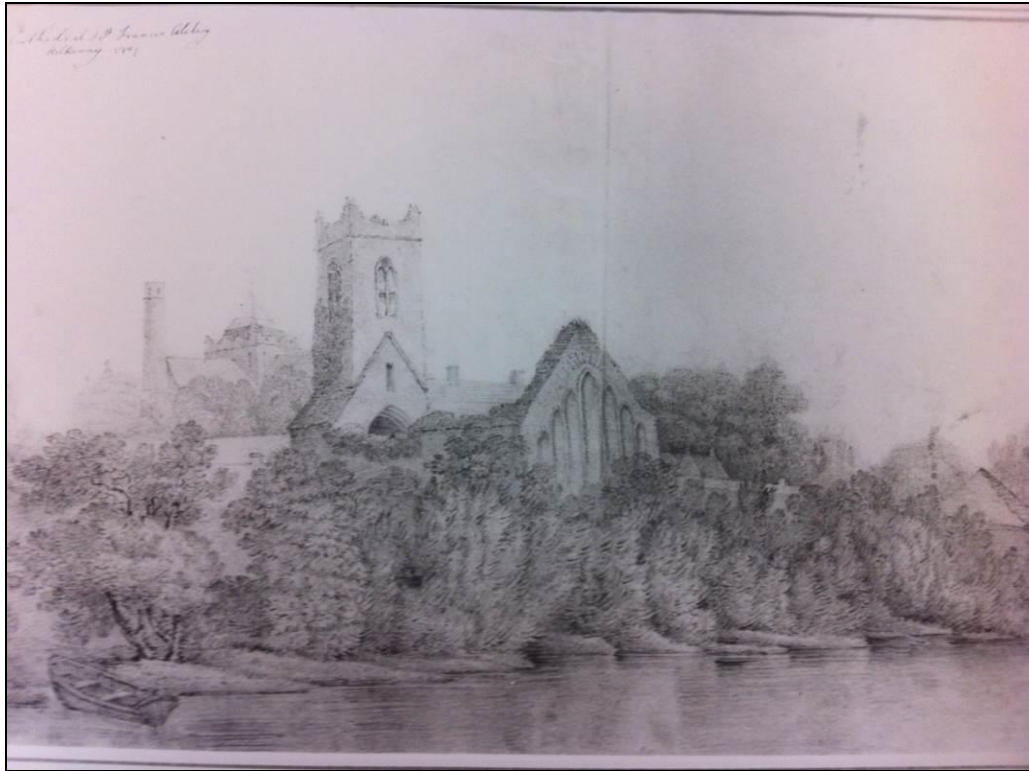
The following illustrations date from 1810 to 1882 and all depict a tranquil setting along the River Nore with the buildings set within lush vegetation rather than the increasingly industrialised backdrop with the expansion of the brewery and mill sites that were occurring at the time.



III. 1: *St Francis' Abbey and Mills, with Evan's Tower in the centre. Print from Antiquities and Scenery of the County Kilkenny, ed. J.G. Robertson, 1851 reproduced with the permission of the Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.*



III. 2: *Watercolour view of City from east with St Francis' Abbey (left), Cathedral centre back, Evan's Tower centre front and mill to the right. Taken from Collection: Castletown House (Cat. No. 28). Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.*



III. 3: St Francis' Abbey viewed from the east bank of River Nore with St Canice's Cathedral and round tower in distance. Pencil drawing by R. Gibbs c. 1810 (see preface to *Antiquities and Scenery of County Kilkenny*, 1851). Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.



III. 4: St Francis' Abbey Brewery c. 1860 viewed from the east bank of River Nore, image supplied by Grace Fagan, Rothe House



III. 5: 'The Nore' by E.J. Brenann 1882, oil on canvas, Butler Gallery. This painting focuses on the river and mills at Green's Bridge. The belfry tower at St Francis can just be made out in the background.