

BREIFNY  
ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY.

JOURNAL, 1923.



The Bell of Fenagh.

VOL. II.

No. I.

THE  
BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S  
JOURNAL, 1923.

As mists that linger in the dewy morning,  
O'er glen and mountain, are thy tuneful lays  
And stirring memories, *Asthore Mavourneen*,  
Of the scenes and heroes of other days ;

The holy shrines thy vales adorning,  
Oh, each lake and ruin are so dear to me,  
Still we see the fire of thy genius burning  
In hearts that love thee, *Asthore Mackree*.

REV. ROBERT LEECH,  
(Rector, Drumlane).

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CAVAN:  
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Photo by

F. J. BIGGER.

Rossinver Abbey and MacClancy's Castle in Lough Melvin.

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# REPORT OF MEETINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1923.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Society was held on the 8th March, 1923, in the Town Hall, Cavan. Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A. (Chairman), presided and the other members present were:—

Rev. Dr. Comey, C.C., Cavan (Vice-Chairman); Rev. J. B. Meehan, Bruskey; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple; Mrs. Lough, Drom Mullac, Killeshandra; the Misses Lough, Drom Mullac; Dr. F. P. Smith; D.L., Kevit Castle, and Mrs. Smith; Miss Smith, Arranmore, Cavan; Miss B. M. Smith, Corratubber, Castletara; Messrs T. O'Reilly, N.T., Dromhowna; R. Vincent Walker, B.A., Clones; Aidan McCabe, Solr.; M. Kennedy, M. and L. Bank, Cavan; P. Martin, N.T.; C. M'Cay, Solr.; H. O'Reilly, Co. Surveyor; W. Reid, Solr.

The retiring Committee was re-elected, and Mr. J. P. Gannon, Secretary Cavan County Committee of Agriculture, re-appointed hon. auditor.

The accounts presented by the hon. secretary were passed subject to audit.

The following letter from his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, U.S.A., was read:—

DEAR FATHER MEEHAN,

"I received your letter of January 17th and also the copy of the "Annual" and the book of Rules of the Breifny Antiquarian and Historical Society. I am very much interested in the work of the Society, and I most gladly accede to the request of the Committee to become a member.

"In addition to the interest which I have in every good work, there is in this case a strong personal motive, and that is the reverence which I have for Cavan as the birthplace and home of my father and mother. I am enclosing a cheque for 50 dollars as my contribution to assist the Society in its very laudable purposes.

"Very sincerely yours,

✠ "W. CARDINAL O'CONNELL,

"Archbishop of Boston."

A vote of thanks was passed to his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell for his interest in the Society, and generous contribution.

Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, Bishop of Kilmore, acknowledging invitation to the Annual Meeting of the Society and regretting that he would not be able to attend wrote:—"The copy of *Journal* kindly sent I read with much interest. The Society, I trust, will be perseveringly worked and supported."

Regrets were expressed on the recent death of one of the originators of the Society, Mr. Louis C. P. Smith, Aranmore, Cavan, and a resolution was passed tendering sympathy to his wife and children.

The following new members were enrolled:—

LIFE MEMBER:

His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, U.S.A.

MEMBERS:

Very Rev. P. McMorrow, P.P., V.F., Drumkeeran, Co. Leitrim;  
Mr. John Connolly, Ballinagh;  
Major Hamilton, D.L., Castle Hamilton, Kilieshandra;  
Mr. M. Kennedy, Munster and Leinster Bank, Cavan.

SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING.

On the conclusion of the Annual Meeting, a General Meeting, the seventh, was held. The Chairman, Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., presided and the same individuals were present. Three of the four papers on the agenda were read and discussed and the fourth was passed as read. All of them subsequently appeared in successive issues of the local paper, *The Anglo-Cell*, and are printed in this No. of the *Journal*. The Exhibits on view at the Meeting are also described.

EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING.

The Meeting was held on Friday evening, the 2nd November, 1923, in the Town Hall, Cavan. Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L., Kevit Castle, presided. The other members present were:—

Rev. J. B. Meehan, Killinkere; Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm., Cavan; Rev. P. O'Reilly, Bailieboro'; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballinagh; Messrs Aidan McCabe, Cavan; Th. O'Reilly, Loughduff; P. J. Brady, M.I.A.I., Ballyhaise; J. M. Duke, do.; Peter Martin, Bruskey; John Teirney, Virginia; J. F. Smith, do.; T. S. Smyth, Cavan; and W. Reid, Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. Secretary read letters of apology from his Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, the Venerable Archdeacon Mayne, Stradone, the Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., (Chairman), The Rectory Cavan, and E. T. O'Hanlon, Editor *Anglo-Cell*.

On the motion of Mr. Aidan McCabe seconded by Rev. Mr. Walker, the following were elected to the Society :—

**LIFE MEMBER :**

Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, Fresno, California, U.S.A.

**MEMBERS :**

Rev. Francis Early, C.C., Ballymachugh, Kilnaleck ;

Rev. Charles O'Donohoe, C.C., Kinlough ;

Mr. Hugh Maguire, Ulster Bank, Cavan ;

Surgeon McMullen, St. Patrick's Hospital, Cavan ;

Mr. P. J. Dalton, M.R.I.A., Monkstown, Dublin.

A vote was passed tendering sympathy to the relatives of the Very Rev. P. McMorrow, P.P., V.F., Drumkeeran, Co. Leitrim, who had only been elected a member at the last General Meeting, and with the relatives of Lord Walter Fitzgerald, Co. Kildare, and Mr. R. Reynolds, Andersonstown, Belfast, Life Members of the Society. Brief references to each of the deceased will be found in the end of this No. of the *Journal*.

The papers read are printed in later pages, as is also a description of the Exhibits.

## HISTORIC GLIMPSES OF CASTLETARA.

BY MISS BRIDIE M. SMITH.

[Read 8th March, 1923.]

Should the reader care to enjoy the true Celtic pleasure of conversation with the peasantry, leave the town of Cavan behind and turn your footsteps in the direction of the hilly old road to Cootehill. You need neither the guidance of a road map, nor an intimate knowledge of Breffney. If you have an eye for historic objects, here beneath you are many landmarks to excite your curiosity.

Climb slowly the Cockhill side. Your pathway may be narrow and difficult, yet this was once the leading road from Cavan to Cootehill. The "halts" of the old stage-coaches along the route are still pointed out. Strange to say this picturesque district is little frequented by visitors, yet for historic associations it is very deserving of notice. The site of the old monastery of Cavan is beneath you, where the ivied tower lifts itself amidst the trees; and the grim and ghastly "Gallows Hill" before you, where in bygone days the last penalty was often paid by the innocent as well as by the guilty.

'Neath the monastery ruins lies the dust of Owen Roe. The exact spot cannot be pointed out. Through fear of desecration in those troublesome times the mourners thought it better to leave it unmarked. But it is said that when they had covered up the coffin they took the two boor-tree saplings which had served as bearers and stuck them at the head of the grave, and that they took root. Fifty years ago, at all events, two such trees were growing at a spot between the town and tower a few yards from the latter. In the same old cemetery, now little used, commingle with their mother earth the mortal remains of many an O'Reilly chieftain. Gilla Iosa Roe's were probably the first. He established the monastery in 1300, and died at an advanced age thirty years later. "After gaining the palm of victory over the world, and the devil," the F. M. tell us, "he was buried in the habit of a Franciscan Friar in the Monastery of Cavan, of which he was the original founder." The graveyard was once much larger than it is at present, and extended into the Farnham Gardens. About sixty years ago, when the narrow lane that skirts the tower was being made, some great stone coffins were come upon. Not improbably they were those of O'Reilly Chiefs.

From the yard of the house, No. 63, Main Street, an arched tunnel runs up to the Fair Green. In old times it probably served either as a covered passage from Tullymongan Castle or as a means of escape from it if taken, or as both. This tunnel was forgotten about, but on the burning down of the house mentioned, and of four or five adjoining ones, in the disastrous fire of 1878, its opening was laid bare.

The view from Tullymongan Hill is extensive and very beautiful. In the dusk of the evening, with the town of Cavan in the hollow beneath it outlined by its glimmering lights, it distinctly recalls the view from Edinburgh Castle. This Cavan Hill witnessed the inaugural scene of many an O'Reilly Prince. On its summit stood the principal O'Reilly fortress. The ruins have ceased to exist. Gone, too, is O'Reilly's heritage—their many castles, their shrines and lands. Here and there through Breffney you meet the meagre ruins of one of their strongholds, or a rath of the olden days, or perhaps the naked gables and broken walls of a church they endowed. All else is vanished; these are the last vestiges left. Your thoughts cannot but dwell with the O'Reillys and you will live again in the past.

Then, as you go along towards Billiss, attention is suddenly attracted by the change of scenery. Beside you on the adjacent hill in the townland named are to be found three raths or duns, commonly called forts.

There is a legend worth relating about the "centre fort." It was told the writer about ten years ago by a family that then owned it. In the beginning of the last century a farmer's son from Drumbo was on his way to a wedding in Drumcrave, in the dusk of a wild November evening. When he came to Billiss fort he took shelter from the incessant gales beneath the "enchanted tree". Suddenly a pack of blue beagles chased around him and disappeared at the spot where he stood. He remembered no more. Next morning in the early dawn the vanithee (the woman of the house) close by went in search of geese in the direction of the fort, where she found them cackling; and at the enchanted tree she was amazed to find the youth in a heavy slumber. She called him aloud three times; and the sound of a human voice at the third time broke the enchantment. He told her how he fell under the spell. While taking refuge under the tree the previous night he inadvertantly pulled a branch of it. Instantly the beagles surrounded him, the phantom sound of beating drums fell on his ears and he dropped asleep. It is a well known fact, at all events, that whenever the ownership of this fort is changing hands a warning or inhibition is always given the purchaser—never to touch leaf, bloom or fruit of this enchanted tree.

From Billiss the pedestrian will have to encounter a few ziz-zags, including Corohoe Hill, until he comes to the next point of interest

along the roadside at Corranure in Castletara\*. Castletara is a singular name but there is justification for it. For here in a lonely spot, surrounded with rocks and furze, in a solid rock along the bleak roadside, is the "Bull's track", or more accurately the "foal's foot." An imprint of the fore feet of a foal can be made out in the solid rock. How the imprint came there is a difficult question. Tradition is our only guide. It tells us that the foal belonged to a priest. His servant made an attempt to steal it, and led it along this way. The foal under supernatural agency left its footprints on this particular rock, and next morning the robber was traced to his place of concealment.

At Curratubber you are shown the site of a secret cave, called to this day the priest's cave, which was used during the penal days. From here you behold the rugged slopes of rocky Shantamon, and the picturesque lake of the same name. Half a mile's upward travelling brings you to the summit. Far and near the view is very beautiful. One may observe, should the day be clear, many parts of the counties of Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh and Longford. The "battlements" of O'Reilly's guest house at the "finger stones" are no more. They were battered to fragments, it is said, in the wars of the 16th century; but the site of the ruins is still pointed out. O'Reilly's "Hospitality Stone" is close by. Travel the rough furze and over heather-clad rocks, objects that recall long centuries ago are before you. The peasant will point out the table-stone where in penal times the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up. No wonder that the "blackthorn bush" flourishes growing out of that solid "Mass-rock" no earth whatever to nourish its roots. The conspicuous elevations where, it is said, the sentinels kept watch and ward, are also before you. Between them stands the peak, known as Macken's Rock. It takes its name from a tragic story.

A labourer named Macken was here employed raising stones for the Blackwood family of ill repute, who a few centuries ago occupied the spacious Castle of Clonervy. At this particular rock, Macken met his death by being blown through the air while quarrying. Part of the crow-bar he was using remains still in the hole from which the prematurely exploded charge escaped. The object of his work was to erect an enclosure for deer; as it was Blackwood's wish they should take the peasants' place on the mountain side. The ruins of this enclosure "the deer-park wall," are still in existence, but no more stones were taken from this spot. The heather has long since crept over the site on which stood the game-keeper's house.

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\* Castletara is the townland's name, and the townland has given its name to the parish. As a word, it has nothing to do with castles or cashels. In 1837 O'Donovan, in conversing with the people found that the proper pronunciation was Cussatirry. This, he states, represents the Irish Cos-a'-tsiorraigh, and means the foot of the colt.—Joyce's *Place Names*, 1869, p. 8.

Now we come to the Five Finger-Stones on the top of Shantamon. Beside them is a stone seat where it is said that, long before Tully-mongan was selected, the first honours were paid the O'Reilly princes. In formation, shape, spacing and proportion the Finger-Stones bear a distinct resemblance to the fingers of a human hand, a gigantic one. The third stone, the "fore finger" rises to a height of over six feet. Its approximate weight is about four tons. The others are in proportion. Though there are many opinions as to how these boulders came here one locally prevails, namely, that they are the work of nature alone. But the imaginative are dissatisfied with this explanation. Some of them will tell you that Finn Mac Cool standing on the top of Sleive Glagh, about five miles distant, flung them into their present position, the feat costing him the loss of his little finger.

A knoll close by the Five Finger-Stones is the site of a vitrified fort. A vitrified fort is one the materials of whose outer ring—gravel, stone, clay, slate, &c—were fused together and converted into a coarse glassy substance by the enormous fires set about it. In an ordinary fort the outer rampart was usually well lime-washed and its snowy whiteness rendered it a conspicuous object in the landscape. But in a vitrified fort the rampart shone in the sunlight like polished marble. Such forts are very rare. According to Westropp's careful approximate computations\* there are in Cavan as many as 909 forts and in Leitrim 536; but Shantamon is, as far as known, the sole vitrified fort amongst them. Westropp himself "with little fear of exaggeration" places the number of forts in all Ireland as about 30,000, but he quotes Wood-Martin as holding there are about 40,000. Among the 30,000 or 40,000 only 7 vitrified ones are alleged to exist† In Scotland examples of the vitrified fort are fairly numerous, at least 53 remaining. None remain in England, only one is claimed for Wales and there are a few scattered over the Continent. Further, Shantamon was the first of this class of forts found in Ireland. The discoverer was the Rev. Cæsar Otway and his description of it is published in the *Transactions* R.I.A., Vol. XIII (1817-18). In the *Proceedings* of the same body Vol. V. (1850-53) may also be seen a learned article on the same Cavan fort by Rev. W. Prior Moore M.A., Headmaster of the Royal School, Cavan. Soon after the discovery of the vitrified fort at Shantamon four other instances were found in Londonderry, in that portion of the county anciently owned by the Cruithne or Irish Picts. Petrie conjectures that all of them belonged to that people‡. Traces of the Shantamon fort are now almost obliterated. But a good search about the knoll brings to light pieces of quartzite and clay-slate melted and

\* *The Ancient Forts of Ireland*. Transactions R. I. A., Vol. XXXI.—Part XIV. (1902), p. 587.

† Do. p. 616.

‡ Stokes's *Life of Petrie*, p. 223.

cemented together, and stones whose fused faces are plainly due to the action of intense heat. On its discovery the fort was distinct enough, but the one hundred years since then have brought changes.

Descending the slopes of Shantamon we pass what is to all appearance the ruins of a peasant's abode. Here it is maintained the banshee's wail is often heard in the midnight hour. The weird cry starts from these old ruins and traverses the mountain's lonely ravines. There is a legend to account for it. The owner of the house, one evening as the shades of night were falling—it was Lammas eve—wended his way to the lake, and planted his marked rod in the water. He had not told his wife of his intentions, and in eagerness not to miss the mark, she too made her way to the lake, and put down a "marked-rod." On turning to leave the edge in the darkness, she perceived the form of a man coming to her. He stumbled when beside her and fell heavily in. She dashed to his rescue, discovering it was her husband; and in saving his life she lost her own; she was carried away by the dark deep waters. As to the "marked rod" to which is traced the death of this unfortunate woman for whom it is believed the banshee still mournfully croons, the meaning it conveys to the people is at least peculiar. Annually on the evening before the 1st August (Lammas eve) after sunset, a rod is sunk in a lake or better a stream of running water and is notched or marked down its sides. In the morning just before sunrise it is examined. If the water is above the mark, it is an indication that the prices for provisions for the ensuing year will increase; if below the mark the prices for provisions will correspondingly decrease; the water standing at the mark indicates that prices will remain as they are and go neither up nor down.

As you descend the unsheltered heights of Shantamon, you reach the road again at a noted spot called "Kettoes". Here Castletara old chapel and graveyard once stood. To-day there is nothing left but mossy stones and grass grown mounds; the flocks of mountain goats browsing lazily are all that disturb this sacred garden of the dead. A spirit is believed to haunt Kettoes. The spectre takes the form of an old white-haired woman leaning on a stick. No one doubts its occasional appearance, but there are numerous legends as to its identity. Some will tell you it is a spirit that had to come back to fulfil a promise made in life; others that it is "settled" here for a term of banishment; still others say it is the restless spirit of a peasant-woman, whose only son, (the famous Moc-na-bointha) was hanged at Cavan Jail in the old days, in the fight for freedom. She walked from here to Cavan town and carried home his head in her apron, and buried it in the old chapel. Soon afterwards she died suddenly herself but she still haunts the place.

About two miles from Shantamon, going northwards, lies



nestling among rich woods and smiling valleys the village of Ballyhaise. It presents a striking contrast to Shantamon's bare hillsides. There is one particular spot in this locality that above all others must be visited.

Leave Ballyhaise bridge and the main road behind you, and as you pass the modern up-to-date co-operative creamery, you will find a rough path piercing through the woods and shrubbery. Here, tradition says, the old bridge of Ballyhaise once stood. Any resident will point out its site. As you make your way to the lower angle beside the river, you are near the exact spot where in October 1649, the famous Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of Earl Hugh, halted for the last time on his death journey to Lough Oughter Castle.

There is a difference of opinion as to the particular spot where he rested. The writer will here relate the occurrence as traditionally recorded about Ballyhaise. Here is the tale :—

Gently the breeze rippled the waters of the sweet Annalee, the air was soft and misty and sickly sunbeams cast a delicate flame on the leafless trees around the old mill at the close of the chill October day. Stalwart youths supported a litter, in which was propped in a sitting posture the hero of Benburb and of many a blood-stained field, the great warrior-strategist and leader. Now he called a halt. He knew his counsels would be sorely missed and, like the last injunction of a dying parent, he spoke his last advice :—

“Leave tears for women” Owen Roe said, with a brave effort, as he viewed for the last time the flower of his army, now grief-stricken and silent. The very hush of death fell o'er them. Muffled sobs echoed from nigh broken hearts, as Owen Roe briefly continued—“Comrades, look for the day-dawn : never lose heart, charge to the shout of ‘O'Neill Abu’, face Cromwell's troopers and the Almighty will help you in a just cause.”

Natives of Ballyhaise have told the writer, that there is an authentic tradition handed down, that at this juncture of Owen Roe's farewell, his voice failed rapidly and a command was given by one of his lieutenants to stop the “old cogged water-wheel” close by as his tones could not be heard above its rumbling noise. In broken whispers Owen then continued :—

“Brothers in-arms, I can speak no longer. Fain would I remain by your side to cheer and lead you. Now I leave you to the protecting care of a just Providence.”

This living tradition goes to prove that it was not where the present massive bridge spans the river that Owen Roe rested. It was beside “the old cogged-wheel” farther up. To this day, the peasantry call the spot “Owen Roe's Tree.” History assures us his death was an irreparable loss to the cause of the Irish.

Among the rugged hills that range from Ballyhaise back to the town of Cavan, as well as doubtless elsewhere in the county, may still be found direct descendants of the princely O'Reillys. In Castletara the writer was privileged to receive interesting information from a branch who claim direct kinship with the O'Reillys of Belturbet. Their burying place is Drumlane. A tombstone inscribed with the family coat-of-arms marks the spot. These traditions are not culled from either State Papers or Annalists; they are facts handed down from generation to generation, and this O'Reilly family maintain that their own legends are quite as reliable as any Blue book. And seated around the homely fire-side, the writer felt that the tale told was no invention of bard or romancer; it was history accurately preserved.

"Aye sure it's true enough, we come of the old stock", said the old man of over eighty years, who sat in the chimney-nook. The fiery sparkle of youth glinted again in his eyes, through the mist of years, and his face beamed with honest pride, at the mention of the O'Reillys.

What branch of the O'Reillys do you come from? Where is your ancient burial-ground? And how came you to settle here? The old man's response echoed through the oak beamed kitchen.

"We are descended from the O'Reillys of Belturbet Castle. The site of our old stronghold there can still be seen and the bones of our kindred are lying in Drumlane." His voice took a sad turn and he continued—"Drumlane holds the dust of fightin' Hugh O'Reilly, who fell under the standard of Hugh O'Neill. If you are any good at deciphering epitaphs on moss-grown stones, try Drumlane graveyard. You will find there the tombstone of the O'Reillys. The carving may be worn, but examine it carefully and you will find an old oak tree, and a few lines of the O'Reilly's war song. During the plantation of Cavan we were hunted about from post to pillar and sometime in the beginning of the 17th century we settled in Castletara. Sure enough, our family to-day hold exclusive right to the tombstone in Drumlane, if to little else." The old man sighed as he finished. Then he went on:—

"In my young days I longed for the clangour of battle; my boyhood's fancies were filled with castles in the air—bygone days back again and the O'Reillys rulin' as of yore o'er Breffney."

Such is the call of the Gael whether the blood is nurtured on their native sod, or 'neath a foreign sky.

The historian would fain linger a little longer around Castletara and Ballyhaise. As one nears the town of Cavan back again, the visit ended, the matter-of-fact spirit of the present day seems a cold reality; when compared with the glamour of the past—the bygone times filled with Glimpses of Breffney O'Reilly and old time traditions, that the spoiling hand of time never will wrest from the soul of her clan.

B. M. SMYTH.

## THE DESCENDANTS OF COL. MYLES O'REILLY IN CO. LEITRIM, FROM TRADITION—1650—1830.

By THOMAS O'REILLY.  
[Read 8th March, 1923.]

That the election of Bishop McMahon to the leadership of the Ulster Army led to disastrous results is well known to every student of Irish history. After the defeat at Scariffholis on 21st June, 1650, the greater portion of what remained of that hitherto victorious army retreated to the fastnesses of Cavan and Leitrim, where they were re-organised as a fighting force by Colonel Myles O'Reilly, a famous cavalry officer who had greatly distinguished himself in many battles against the armies of the Commonwealth of England.

With a courage and determination scarcely ever equalled, the new Commander-in-Chief prepared for a defensive war. The numerous islands, the bogs, the mountains, and the immense forests of Breffney afforded great advantages for guerilla warfare. Cloughoughter, in Cavan, and an island in Garadice Lake, in Leitrim, were fortified and defended by cannon.

The British authorities became alarmed. A formidable native army would be likely to receive foreign aid. They ordered a concentration of all their available forces against O'Reilly.

After much skirmishing and the loss of many men, the British surrounded O'Reilly's army on all sides at Belaconnell mountain in June, 1652. During many hours desperate fighting the Irish stubbornly held their ground, till an overwhelming body of British cavalry charged their position in the rear. The Irish army, having no cavalry reserves, seemed to be captured at this juncture. But its commander charged the encircling enemy with such strength and skill that he cut his way through and escaped.

The following night he arrived at O'Reilly's Castle of Augharan, some three miles west of Carrigallen.

This castle was situated on the north side of the old road at a few perches east of the present Mr. Mitchel's residence. Its site was then one of the most beautiful imaginable. It was perched upon a low ridge of fertile land running east and west, but curving as if to embrace the rays of the sun at every stage of its passage across the sky. In the demesne is a *lis* or circular enclosure containing the remains of a stone building.

The Fort Lake, anciently Lough Caldra (probably Killydarragh),

takes its name from this *lis*. The standing uprights of more than a dozen crannoges or lake dwellings were exposed near its southern shore after drainage about 1845. This lake is a source of the Owenageirce (now Cloone River) mentioned in the Annals, wherein is recorded the tragic death of one of the O'Connor kings or princes while he was demolishing a church to obtain material to construct a bridge for the passage of his army across this river during an invasion of Breffney.

From Augharan the natural forest extended for miles in every direction. The Dohern wood, the last remnant of it, was cut down in 1799.

On the division of the demesne into holdings in the 18th c. the castle was pulled down to build houses for the tenants. Its last vestiges were removed to provide stones for the construction of the bridges and gulleets on the new road in 1812.

Notwithstanding his defeat at Belaconnell, O'Reilly continued the war with the enemy, and during another year his garrisons at Garadice and Cloughoughter held out. He surrendered on terms in 1653 \*; but soon afterwards he resolved upon organising another rebellion, in aid of which he set out to enlist the support of sympathisers on the Continent. While on this mission, which was a failure, he is said to have died of grief at Chalons-sur-Marne.

His son Edmond, known as

#### COLONEL EDMOND BUIDHE

lived in the castle of Augharan. He was a famous commander in the army of James II. According to an old Gaelic poem he raised and led two regiments of cavalry. He guarded the line on the Shannon from L. Ree to L. Allen. He defeated De Ginkle at Lanesboro'.

An incident I here relate shows how jealously our old nobility guarded the inviolability of their word or oath. Edmond's daughter eloped with one of her father's tenants. The old man, humiliated and angered exceedingly, swore an oath that he would never look on her face again. She durst not return to her father's house. She repented of her folly, did not marry her lover, and spent the remainder of her life in the homes of the gentry—a welcomed guest everywhere. Her father sent for her when he was about to die. He ordered her to sit on a chair outside his bedroom window with, on account of his oath, her back towards him. Thus he gave her his last blessing.

#### “THE COLONEL.”

His son Myles, called by courtesy “The Colonel,” succeeded. His property outside the cartron of Augharan was let to tenants at a rent of half-a-crown per acre. His tenants once mobbed him

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\* v. Journal, vol. I, p. 259.

for a reduction of their rents, but they got a thrashing from "The Colonel" instead. "You will yet pay more for your bogs than you pay me for your arable land," he exclaimed.

"The Colonel" once went to the Assize Court in Carrick-on-Shannon to appeal on behalf of one of his tenants who was put on trial for some breach of the law. His remarkable personality in the body of the court attracted the notice of the Judge, who enquired regarding him. On learning his identity the Judge ordered a passage to be cleared, and invited O'Reilly to a seat on the bench beside himself.

"The Colonel's" sons contracted the gambling and drinking habits of the new gentry of that time. At a fair in Ballymagovern, one of them, when in an inebriated state, and having lost all his money at the table, seized and pocketed a handful of coins from before the gamblers. The latter arrested and dragged him to the residence of the "Great Gore" at Woodford. They pushed him into the presence of the owner, who in anger thus addressed the mud-stained and excited prisoner:—

"Tat-tat-take off your hat, you pup-pup-puppy you." In a rage the young man thus insulted retorted back: "I-I'm be-better than you, you pup-puppy you." The former stammered by reason of an impediment in his speech, the latter through drink.

Gore then asked who the prisoner was. On being told his name and the charge against him, he (Gore) brought forth a box filled with gold or silver coins and told one of the gamblers to take a handful and begone. The gamblers are said to have brought away four times as much money as they had lost. "The Great Gore," I may add, was a noted personage in his time, though somewhat eccentric. In honour to a Lord Lieutenant who visited him this man had the avenues leading through his demesne covered with wheat corn. The Viceroy, surprised and angered at the sight, exclaimed: "A wilful waste makes a woeful want."

There is a tradition that Prince Charles Stuart visited Woodford during the owner's absence. He is said to have tied his handkerchief round the neck of a lion in the park, saying to the keeper as he did so, "When your master returns tell him to take that off." From the token Gore knew who his visitor was, and was sorry he had not been at home to receive him.

That "The Colonel" was once wealthy may be inferred from a tradition that he outbid the competitors for a large estate offered for sale near Carrigallen, which afterwards fell to the La Touches of Kildare. The representative of the Crown objected to his being declared the purchaser.

It would seem that his fortune afterwards rapidly declined, that his land became mortgaged to Humphry Galbraith, an official of the Government, who lived at Carrigallen, or to some person in whom Galbraith had an interest.

The latter once invited the local gentry, including "The Colonel," then an old man, to sports at Carrigallen. An item of the sports was a display of sword exercise. The Colonel, who was a noted swordsman, was asked to give an exhibition of his skill standing up against Humphry Galbraith himself, a young athlete in the prime of life.

During the contest the old man had reason to feel that his opponent meant to kill him, that for him the game meant life or death. "The Colonel," by a feat of skill, disarmed his opponent and, seizing him by the collar in one hand and by the seat of the breeches in the other, he hurled Galbraith into a deep pit of mud and water from whence he emerged, according to the storytellers, "dripping like a water dog." It is said Galbraith felt his disgrace keenly, and that the young bloods enjoyed the scene.\*

"The Colonel" secured a position for one of his sons in the British army, wherein the young man distinguished himself as a duellist on the Continent.

With the death of "The Colonel," about 1725 or 1730, the last of the possessions of the O'Reillys in Breffney passed away, if we except the barren rocks at Drumheel, near Bellanagh, which being worthless to anybody, were left in the possession of the Beltrasna family.

#### "THE COLONEL'S" DESCENDANTS.

After Edmond, son of "The Colonel," had settled on a farm in Coronary, near Cloone, a noble gentleman mounted on a splendid horse visited Augharan in search of him. The peasantry, fearing the stranger meant some injury to him, denied any knowledge of him. Edmond, on hearing this, was much troubled, for he knew it was one of his own relatives who had come from abroad to seek him out. Further tidings of the stranger he never heard.

Edmond was a man of powerful physique. At a trial of strength he was adjudged to be the strongest man in Co. Leitrim.

Bryan, son of Edmond, took the townland of Ilaundartry on a lease for the term of the life of George III.

Of Brian's many sons, two went to France; one, a land surveyor, lived at Castlefore, near Fenagh; one lived on a farm in Augharan; two on their father's holding; while another settled on a farm in Mullahoran parish.

On the death of King George, the landlord, through his agent, a Mr. Algeo, made an attempt to take over the holdings of the O'Reillys. Two brothers, grandsons of Brian, successfully defended

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\* It was a Humphry Galbraith, perhaps the above-named, who planted a highly respectable colony of farmers midway between Carrigallen and Cloone, on land let on lease for 999 years at half-a-crown per acre per annum. I saw a headstone in front of Carrigallen church inscribed "Here lieth the body of —, wife of Humphry Galbraith, died 1734, aged 38 years."

their home against 52 armed men. For resisting the king's authority they were put on trial for their lives, but while the Crown Solicitor was pressing his charge, their release was ordered by the Lord Lieutenant on the personal appeal of Mr. O'Brien, of Rockfield, Carrigallen (1825).

At this period the greater number of this family emigrated to America. Peter, another grandson of Brian, above-mentioned, was a leader among the Irish Societies in Lowell, Mass., U.S.A., for over 60 years.

Thomas, son of Edmond, son of "The Colonel," son of Colonel Edmond Buidhe (known as "Tom the Thumb" from the circumstance of his having in childhood cut off his thumb while toying with a scythe), settled on a farm at Bellanagh.

His son Andrew, known as "Andy the Thumb," was a leader of the Co. Cavan United Irishmen. Following a skirmish with the King's army in Bellanagh (Ballinagh) he was captured through the treachery of his host in Co. Meath, was tried and sentenced to death; but the sentence was afterwards commuted to one of penal servitude for life to Botany Bay. He was rescued on the high seas by a French man-of-war. He rose to fame in the army of Napoleon. During the French retreat from Spain he held Wellington in check for a day, on the hilly road above Saragossa, by which he saved the French army from capture. He married a French lady of title in the Isle of France. He died there. It is related that Andrew and his two sisters could speak seven languages fluently. They were, as indeed were all the descendants of Colonel Edmond Buidhe, black-haired and swarthy in complexion.

THOMAS O'REILLY.

## THE BELL OF ST. MOGUE.

By REV. J. B. MCGOVERN., F.S.A. SCOT., F.P.H.S.  
[Read 8th March, 1923.]

Yet another anciently prized possession of the MacGauran or McGovern Sept or Clan, for, in addition to the "Book of the MacGaurans or McGoverns," there was the Bell of St. Mogue, of both of which that Sept was the custodian. My attention was first called (as to the "Book" referred to above) to this curious relic of a long-by-gone age by an article in *Notes and Queries* of July 11, 1891, (7th S. xii. 21) by my brother, the late J. H. McGovern, Esq., L.R.I.B.A., of Liverpool, who himself was indebted to Miss Margaret Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1887, pp. 61-64 for his first knowledge of the subject, and who supplied the subjoined excerpt from that work:—

The MacGuirks of Tyrone were hereditary keepers of the Bell of Termon MacGuirk, now in the Dungannon Museum, which descended from Columba, the founder of the church; the McEnhills kept the iron Bell of Drumragh, near Omagh; the Magoverans [MacGaurans or McGoverns] that of St. Mogue in Templeport, County Cavan; the O'Rorkes were the keepers of the Bell of Fenagh, afterwards transported to Mohill; the Breslins that of Conell of Iniscail, now in the British Museum; and the Keanes of the County of Clare were hereditary keepers of St. Senan's Bell in Scatterry Island, called Clogh Oir, or Golden Bell. It may seem like exaggeration to suggest that these relics are twelve or thirteen hundred years old, and may be indeed the very bells used by the founders in those monasteries, by whose servants and successors they were preserved to the present century; and yet there is much evidence to support this assertion. The custom of enshrining these rude iron bells in cases adorned with gold, silver, and enamels and gems, which prevailed from the tenth to the twelfth century, shows the reverence with which the relics of the patron saint of the monastery were regarded. Thus we have the shrine of the original Bell of Culanus, which is apparently the work of the eleventh century (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx, p. 76). The shrine of St. Mura's Bell, who was patron of Fahan, in Londonderry, and was venerated on March 12th; the shrine of the Bell of St. Mogue, who was born A.D. 555, died 625.



Added to this excerpt was the following observation :—

The accomplished authoress again states at page 66, such covers or shrines for bells seemed to be unknown in any other branch of the Christian Church ; and that there are seven examples of these beautiful reliquaries still in existence, that of St. Mogue or Moedoc being one of them. Should any reader of *N. and Q.* know where this shrine is now located, or if the bell of this Saint is extant, I should be pleased to receive such information.

In July of the following year another article, headed “ Irish Bells,” appeared in *N. and Q.* (8th. S ii. 341), the bulk of which I here transcribe :—

The antiquarian readers of *N and Q.* will be pleased to know that I have at last discovered the possessor of the Bell of St. Mogue and its shrine. It came about in this way. Whilst perusing Lady Wilde’s most charming essay on “ Early Irish Art ” in her *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, 1887 (vol. ii, p. 268), I found that a reference was made to Mr. Westwood’s magnificent book on *Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, 1868, and the great praise justly awarded [to it] induced me to make an inspection of its artistically illuminated illustrations, when, to my intense joy, in an article on “ Sacred Bells,” in the Appendix at p. 152, I came across the following excerpt :—

‘The Clog Mogue or Bell of St. Mogue, with its shrine or cover, and an ancient bell called the Barre Garreaghan, are in the collection of Archdeacon Beresford, of Ardagh.’

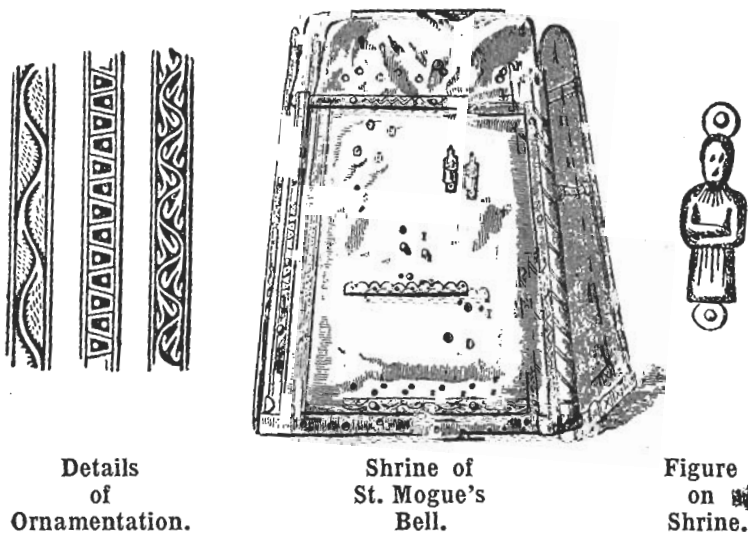
Subsequently, in a London periodical, I saw that the Archbishop of Dublin was in possession of these treasures ; so I wrote to Dr. Walsh, Primate of Ireland, and his Grace said it was not so, and advised me to write to the Royal Irish Academy. In reply to my query, the treasurer, M. H. Close, Esq., very kindly gave me this information, viz., that the Bell of St Mogue is one amongst other bells preserved in the palace of the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, and that.

in December, 1863, Dr. Reeves read a paper, which is in the *Proceedings* of the Academy, on those bells. He mentions that your family were the hereditary keepers of that of St. Mogue. It was of iron ; only three fragments of it remain. The case is of copper, which was ornamented with silver-plated bands ; on the front were two small figures, of which only one now remains, these were also plated with silver. The remaining one is a habited ecclesiastic holding a book at his breast. The case is much injured. The Rev. Marcus G. Beresford, who is now dead, purchased it from — Kelleher\* (who was married to a McGovern) ‘ about thirty years ago’,

that is about 1833. Your name, he says, is in Irish Mac G'amhradhain. He then gives an account of the Saint and the churches dedicated to him. *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. viii, p. 441.

Being desirous of knowing more of these relics of the past, I wrote to the Most Rev. Robert Knox, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, and was informed by His Grace that

the late Primate had four ancient bells, one of them the Clog Mogue. His executors gave them to the Armagh Library, but the Clog Mogue only exists in name, as there are only a few fragments of it attached to the broken shrine; but I send a memorandum where you will find a full account of it and drawings.



Details  
of  
Ornamentation.

Shrine of  
St. Mogue's  
Bell.

Figure  
on  
Shrine.

*Through the kindness of the R.S.A.I.*

On referring, accordingly, to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of London, June 15, 1865 (Second Series, vol. iii, pp. 149, 151), I read the following extract:—†

The Clog Mogue, or Bell of St. Mogue.—Three fragments only of the bell have been preserved, two of them attached to the shrine or case in which it was contained, the other a separate piece; they are of iron. The case is now in a very mutilated state. It is formed of four plates of brass‡ which have been joined at the angles by rounded mouldings, of which only one remains. To the front have been attached silver ornaments, consisting of bands forming margins to the panel, the pattern of each portion is different. A straight

band of silver is in the centre, and above have probably been a crucifix and two figures of the same metal. Of the latter only one remains. The front plate is 9 in. high and  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide at the base. The sides are  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide. The Clog Mogue was formerly preserved in the family of Magoveran in the County of Cavan, who were hereditary keepers of the relic, which was carefully rolled up in rags, and only exposed when it was required in the parish of Templeport or in the neighbourhood for the administration of oaths. The legend of the bell is that it was placed by St. Kilian on the floating stone which had conveyed St. Mogue as a child across the water to be baptized, and by the latter was left to the parish in which he had resided. St. Aedh, Moedoc, or Mogue, was born A.D. 555 and died A.D. 625 after founding a number of churches, both in Wales and Ireland. He was the first Bishop of Ferns.

J. B. MCGOVERN.

I place the somewhat lengthy footnotes here, not to break the continuity of the text.

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\* It would be interesting to know under what circumstances this person sold the saintly relic of the Clan Mac Gauran or McGovern, one which they treasured beyond a monetary value, considering that it was in their possession at least twelve hundred years.

† The Earl of Enniskillen, Local Secretary for Ireland, exhibited, by permission of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, the four ancient bells referred to previously, and a description of them was given by Mr. A. W. Franks, Director, to the members of the Society. Some of the particulars had been derived from the aforesaid paper by Dr. Reeves, the eminent ecclesiastical antiquary. These sacred hand-bells were held in great veneration, and were often used for the purpose of administering oaths, and any perjury committed in taking a false oath on a bell would be visited severely on the culprit. They are presumed to have been used by the early missionaries to summon their followers to prayer. The care of them was generally entrusted to some family, in whom the keepership of the bell was vested, and who received a small present when an oath was administered, or the bell was carried to some sick person to aid in the cure. See Westwood's *Essay in Archæologia Cambrensis*, vols. iii and iv; also Reeves' *Eccles Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 369-375.

‡ Mr. Close states that the case is formed of copper. The Clog na Fullah, or Bell of Blood (kept at Fenagh and afterwards at Mohill by its hereditary keepers the O'Rourke's), and the Clog Mogue now singularly repose together, typical of the ancient territories of their respective keepers, the O'Rourke's and the MacGaurans or McGovern's, who were firm friends and allies in many a well-fought battle and foray, which the *Annals of Loch Cé* and the *Four Masters* duly testify.

Regarding St. Mogue's (or St. Aidan's) Island, I cull the subjoined paragraphs from *Notes and Queries* :—

1.—7th S. xi. 422 :—

There is a tradition that the last royal chieftain of the Clan Mac Gauran or McGovern is buried in Inch or St. Mogue's (or St. Aidan's) Island, near to Bawnboy, and close to the ruins of Lissanover Castle, one of the ancient seats of the Chiefs. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 1837, states that in this year

" in the lake of Templeport is an island called Inch, on which are the picturesque ruins of an abbey founded by St. Mogue in the sixth century."

2.—7th S. xii. 21 :—

Dr. O'Donovan, in his *Annals of Ireland*, 2nd Ed., in a note *ad. an.*, 1496, gives a legend of St. Maidoc, who was born in Inis-Breach-Mhaigh, not far from Teampall-an-Phuirt (*i.e.*, the Church of the Bank, now anglicised Templeport, a town and parish in the Barony of Tullyhaw): Donnell Bearnagh Mac Gauran, royal chieftain of Tullyhaw, was slain before the altar of this church. St. Mogue, Maidoc, or Aidan founded an abbey in the "Island of Inch," or "St. Mogue's Isle," in the sixth century. And in Prof. O'Curry's *Ancient Irish History*, 1861, p. 27, is mentioned "a codex of Priscian, preserved in the library at St. Gall in Switzerland, and crowded with Irish glosses; a marginal gloss at p. 194, shows that the scribe was connected with Inis Madoc, an islet in the lake of Templeport."

3.—And at 8th S. v. 151. Mr. McGovern adds :—

There is a tradition that the last Ríg Tuatha, or tribe king of Tullyhaw, viz., Felim Mac Gauran, was buried there [St. Mogue's Island] about the year 1625, and that it is one of the Valhallas of the Sept.

4.—At 8th S. iv. 329, "J. H. M." wrote (October 21, 1893) :—

During a recent holiday I visited this island, situated in a lake in the parish of Templeport, near Bawnboy, Co. Cavan. It is an old burying ground, where interments do still at long intervals take place. Skulls and other bones are to be found strewn over the island. It is called, I understand, sometimes St. Mogue's and at other times St. Ninian's Island. . . . The situations of the Rectory and Church in this parish are extremely picturesque.

5.—Again at 8th S. iv. 431, "Kilmadock" writes :—

Mogue is the name of Aidan, Bishop of Ferns, in Wexford. He was born in 558 at Inis-Creighmuigh, a small island in a lake in the territory of East Breffny, which then belonged to Connach, and is now reckoned in Ulster, as part of Cavan. He is known as Aidan, Maedoc, Maodnog, Modoc, Madoc, Mogue. And traces of his influence are found in Scotland, e.g., in the parish of Kilmadock where he had a monastery, and in St. Madoc's in the Carse of Gowrie, and Balmadies, in Forfarshire. In 1830 (?) the Rev. Marcus Gervais Beresford, then Vicar of Drung and Larah, in Cavan, bought an extremely ancient Irish bell, which bore the name of Clog Mogue, or Bell of St. Mogue. It was long in the possession of a family called MacGoveran (*sic.*), and was used occasionally in the parish of Templeport, where there was a church dedicated to St. Mogue, for the purpose of administering oaths upon. We find the following entry in the *Kalendar of David Comerarius* :—

"Jan. 31. Hoc eodem die S. Madocus Episcopus et Confessor Sanctitate vitæ et miraculis clarans in ea Scotiæ parte, quæ ab eodem Kilmodok (quasi locus Modoco sacer) indigitatur."

Capgrove has a life of Modoc in his *Nova Legenda*, and in the *Acta Sanctorum* will be found all sorts of legends, some of which Baring-Gould refers to in his *Lives of the Saints*, under Jan 31.

In all probability the above excerpts furnish all that is likely to be gleaned by antiquaries on this one-time cherished possession of the MacGauran or McGovern Sept. With the legends connected with its original owner, or even with the details of his life, except in so far as they refer to his subsequently famous bell, one is not concerned here.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF LURGAN PARISH.

By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

[Read 8th March, 1923.]

THE old church of Lurgan, from which the parish derives its name, was one of the pre-Reformation Hospitals, of which Cavan possessed a large share.\* Like the other Hospitals, we have no historical data to enable us to fix definitely the date of its foundation. But it seems to have been under the patronage and protection of the O'Reilly Clan, and was liberally endowed with Termon land. It served the purpose of parish church probably from at least the time of the Norman invasion in the 12th c. until the confiscations at the end of the 16th. When the independence of the O'Reilly Clan ceased to manifest itself and the principality of Breiffne was divided into the counties of Cavan and Leitrim in 1584, both the churches and the termon lands attached to them passed under the jurisdiction of English law and suffered the same fate as the parish churches elsewhere in Ireland. The Church of Lurgan had not long to wait to realise the new authority's enactments. In the *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586 (*loc. cit.*) we find the issue of letters patent to "Ferrall o' Clearckane of Lourgan, Clerk." This is the first indication of the church being affected by the operation of English law. When Sir John O'Reilly accepted the Earldom of East Breiffne in 1583 he agreed to surrender the principality to Queen Eliz. on condition that he re-obtained it from the crown subject to English tenure. In consequence of this agreement the Letters Patent just noted were issued.

Soon afterwards an Inquisition was set up to inquire into the value and extent of the church lands in Cavan. This Inquisition, which was held at Cavan on 19th September, 1590,† found that "the Termon or Hospital of Lurgann [Lurgan], containing two polls or cartrons in the said county, pertain and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen and are worth 2 shillings Irish money *per ann.*" In the list of Cavan Hospitals given by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.*, 1st ed. *Addenda*, p. 783), and plainly copied from this Inquisition's report, the same entry occurs: "Lurgan, two cartrons of land, annual value, 2 shillings." In 1606 (*Cal. State*

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\* For a list of the "Hospitals" of Cavan see this *Journal*, vol. i, p. 220.

† Vide do., p. 216.

*Papers, Ireland, 1606*, p. 60) Sir Garrett Moore obtained large grants of Cavan termon lands, among them Lorgan, two polls. All these, however, were, as church lands, assigned to the bishops by a Commission which subsequently sat in Cavan, in Sept., 1609, with a view to establish definitely the status of the Hospitals. The Commission of 1609 confirmed the confiscation set on foot by the Inquisition of 1590, and the termon lands belonging to the parish church of Lurgan passed into the possession of the P. Bishop of Kilmore and his parochial Incumbents. The church lands were finally disposed of in the grants made by James I in 1626 (*loc. cit.*). These lands were very extensive. In the 1641 surveys (*Books of Survey and Distribution, loc. cit.*) the Bishop of Kilmore possessed 228a, 0r. 32p. in the townland of Lurgan; Rev. George Creighton, "Parson of the said Parish," 187 acres in Quillimoney and Lurginerin [Bruise], and 370 acres in Curragh, Coppinagh, and Drumderrigh. All these grants were perfected in 1626.

In the Plantation Map of 1609 the church of Lurgan is marked as roofless and in ruins, indicating that its use must have been discontinued shortly after 1590. The church is not included in the list of those of Kilmore utilised for religious services in the Inquisition of 1620. It was still a well-known land-mark in 1643. Friar O'Mellan,\* already referred to, has under Aug. 25th of that year:—

A Council of the Ulster Chiefs with the General [Owen Roe] was held to determine whether they should come to the province of Ulster or go to Meath to procure corn. They decided at length upon Meath, and leaving Slieve Brus [near Arva] they went to the *Church of Lurgen* (Teampoll na Lorgan) to Lough Ramor (Loc Reamar) and Balgeeth [in Meath-O'Donovan]. . . . "

According to local tradition the Church was in charge of a black order of friars and was afterwards used for Protestant services. As the Hospitals of Cavan were in general in the possession of religious communities the tradition appears to be correct. The friar tradition is perpetuated in the name of the tld. of Gallonambraher (Γαλλόν νὰ μὲρ αὐραῖρ), which signifies the Gallon (*i.e.*, portion of land) of the friars or monks. (The 1609 map has "Gallonnamraha," and the Down Survey (1654) has "Gallonenabere"). The "Friars' Well," and "Friars' Orchard," are yet pointed out in the northern end of the tld., about a mile and a half from Lurgan graveyard, and corroborate the friar tradition. Local tradition has it that a monastery existed near the "Friars' Well," and that the tlds. of Gallonambraher, Killyfinla, and Crossrule belonged to it. No traces of a monastery

\* *A Narrative of the Wars of 1641*, by Friar O'Mellan, O.S.F., Chaplain to Sir Phelim O'Neill. It is printed in *Young's Historical Notices of Old Belfast*, and annotated by O'Donovan, Hanna and Salmon.

or church are marked on the 17th c. maps, so it must have disappeared before this time. Neither is it mentioned in the confiscation records. A short distance from the "Friars' Well," and in the tld. of Killyfinla, is a spot called the "Caldragh" (Καλδραγ), meaning an old disused burial-place. It covers about a rood of a field on a hill-top, but no ruins exist. It was probably the burial-place attached to the monastery of Gallonabraher. No traces of the buildings of the monastery survive, but it is evident that it was the place of residence of the friars who tended to the church of Lurgan in pre-Reformation times. Another trace of those early friars exists in the tld. name *Dunancory*, near Virginia, meaning the shelter or residence of the hermit (Ὀϊον or Οὐν ἀνοϊρη). The early spellings of the name, *Donankery* (*Fiants* of Eliz., 1592 and 1602), *Dinancry* (1609 map), *Doonancry* (1610 *Plantation Papers*, loc. cit.), and *Deunancare* (1654 Down Survey Map), confirm its form and antiquity. Who this friar was who gave his name to the tld. many centuries ago is not recorded. His name is only written in the Book of Life. Local tradition claims that a monastery existed at Dunancory, but we must at all events concede that all these religious orders and hermits belonged to the church of Lurgan.

In the report of the Cavan Inquisition of 25th Sept., 1609, which also may be seen in *Morrin's Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls* (vol. ii, p. 134, note), the following passage enables us to understand the origin of the Cavan Hospitals:—

Touching the origin of the termon land the said jurors doe upon their oathes finde that before the distinguishinge of Parishes in these partes there were certain religious men, in nature of hermittes, who, sequestringe themsevels from all wordly business, did severally retire themselves to prayer and to other godly actes for their soule's health, and in testimony of their zeal . . . every one of them for the most parte erected a church; and that to every of the saide religious persones the temporall lordes gave a severall portion of land free for ever, to the intent that the saide religious persones should maintaine hospitallitie, pray for the soule's health of the saide lordes, and repair and keep the said churches and otherwise to advance the service of God in that place wherein he lives. And that the said religious persones ceasinge, every one of them made choice of the most sufficient person about, and to that person and his sept he gave his portion of land, to be inherited by him and his sept. for ever to the same uses and intentes for which the saide temporall lordes first gave them to the saide religious persones, and that to the saide landes were annexed certain liberties and freedomes, as sanctuarie and the like, for which cause the said landes were called "termon," or free and protected land, and the chief tennant thereof is in some places called "corbe" and

in some places "herenagh";\* and that afterwards when the temporall lordes in their severall warres, . . . began to tax the said termon lands with divers exactions and impositions the said corbes and herenachs fled unto the Bushop of the Diocese wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wrongs and injuries of the temporall lordes, and therefore gave voluntarily unto the bushop a rente or pension out of their lands . . . untill which time the bushop had never anythinge to do either in the landes or with the tennants there, but from hencefourth the bushop undertook the protection of the saide herenaghes and of their landes, and in process of time took on him a power to confirme every corbe and herenagh in their land, and uppon the alteration of every corbe or herenagh took of them certain duties, whereunto the saide corbe and herenagh voluntarilie yielded, the rather to continue themselves in the said bushop's protection. . . . And the difference betwixt a corbe and an herenagh is this, that the corbe, called in Latin *flubanus*, is head of a great familie or sept, and sometimes of several septs, and hath sometimes under him several herenaghes, but the herenagh was head or chief of a smaller number of people, and seldom had under him more than his own sept.

### LURGAN AND KELLS.

The Hospital of Lurgan, like many of the other parish churches in South Breiffne, was an off-shoot of the great Abbey of St. Mary's, Ceanannus [Kells], Co. Meath. The property of this Abbey was very extensive. After the Anglo-Norman invasion the Abbey was repaired and enlarged by Hugh de Lacy, and in 1173 further

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\* In every large territory there were church lands. The inhabitants of a church estate formed a little body politic by themselves, with a chief of their own, the *Airchinnech* (Oirchinneach, "erenagh," or "herenagh"), who was, perhaps, always a layman. He was the manager, who superintended the temporalities of the monastery. The office was hereditary in the tanistry sense. O'Donovan thought that the lay succession to this title was a consequence of the disorder caused by the Norse wars; in any case, it was merely an assimilation of the temporal government of church lands to the ordinary civil polity. The *Airchinnech* was obliged to provide from his revenue for the support of the clergy and the maintenance of religious services. Otherwise, his status was that of any territorial lord.

The *Comhorba*, or Coarb, was the successor of the original founder of the abbey or monastery. According to an original compact, recognised by the Brehon Laws, the coarb-ship of the church and its lands was vested in two families, viz., in that of the patron saint or founder, and in that of the person who gave the original site and endowment. The Abbot was invariably chosen from the family of the patron saint; and, when this was impracticable, he was chosen from the family of the owner of the land.—MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 351; O'Hanlon, *Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair*, p. 131; Cf. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 389.



enriched by him with large grants of land in Meath, Louth, and Cavan. The Abbey was founded by St. Columbkille, about the year 550, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. From the 7th to the 12th c. the *Annals* often mention this Abbey. They give the succession of its Abbots, and record the frequent occasions on which it was plundered and burned. The Diocese of Kilmore at one time extended as far as Kells. The *Annals of Ulster* record under 1355 the death of Concobur Mac Con Shnama, "Bishop of the Breifni from Drum-cliaibh to Cenannus" (*i.e.*, from Drum-cliff to Kells). Some Abbots of Kells succeeded to the Bishopric of Kilmore. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* (*loc. cit.*) has the following entry, dated 1162 \* :—

The Monastery of Trinity Island [was founded] by Mac na h-Aoidhche for Conchobar Mac Maoilin, Abbot of Loch Cé and Ceanannus who afterwards became Bishop of both Breiffnies.

Maurice, Abbot of St. Mary's, became Bishop of Kilmore in 1286 and died in 1307.† John O'Reilly, Abbot, was consecrated Bishop of Kilmore in 1467, and was living in 1470, according to Ware.‡ Another Abbot of Kells, Dermot O'Reilly, was Bishop of Kilmore from 1512 until his death in 1529. The Abbey of Kells appears to have exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over most of the Hospitals of Southern Breiffne. Hence their history is closely associated with that of the parent house. Before parishes came to be defined these Hospitals were the centres of religious administration. At the period of the institution of the present parishes the jurisdiction of the Hospital was accepted as the recognised limit and accordingly established. The friars remained in possession of the termon lands and churches until, as already shown, they were dispossessed at the close of the 16th century.

The Abbey of Ceanannus [Kells] retained its important ecclesiastical status from its foundation until its possessions were confiscated in the 16th c. The last Abbot was the Rev. Richard Plunkett, who was forced to surrender the Abbey and its possessions on the 18th November, 1539.§ In 1586 Queen Elizabeth granted to Garrett Fleming a large portion of the monastery lands in Cavan and Meath belonging to the Abbey. King James I in 1617 granted, *inter alia*, to Sir Robert Stewart, knight, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, "the three rectories of Lorgen [Lurgan], Moibolge, and Mointerconnought; all being parcel of the estate of the Abbey of Kells, in Meath county." ||

\* This should read 1262. The *F.M.* write the name of the founder of Trinity Abbey as Clarus MacMailin. In the *Annals of Boyle* and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* he is given as Clarus O'Mulconry, Archdeacon of Elphin. *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 247.

† Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III, p. 539, quoting Ware's *Bishops*, p. 227.

‡ *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 51.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 31 Henry VIII.

|| *Patent Rolls*, 15 James I.

## LURGAN'S RUINS.

The ruins of the Hospital in the graveyard of Lurgan are just adequate to help us to form an estimate of the style in which it was built. The two side walls have almost completely disappeared, but substantial portions of the S.E. and N.W. gables remain. The positions of the doors and windows cannot now be determined with certainty. The church would appear to have had no chancel. The masonry is of the plainest kind, and is typical of the minor religious foundations of pre-Reformation times. The stones are rough and uncut, the spaces between being filled with mortar. This in the course of centuries has become as hard as the stones themselves, a fact which in itself constitutes sufficient evidence of the antiquity of the building.

The general plan of the building is rectangular, measuring 68 feet long by  $27\frac{1}{2}$  broad. The church was divided into two separate portions by a transverse wall at a distance of 12 feet from the north-west gable. This forms an arched recess measuring 12 feet by 21 feet inside. The arch covering this rectangular recess rises to a height of 8 feet and springs from the N.W. gable on one side and from the transverse wall on the other. The greater portion of the arch has fallen in. A small splayed window, much broken, opens into the chamber through the S.E. wall at a few feet above the ground. The accumulation of debris in the interior of the chamber makes an estimate of the original height difficult, but it cannot have been more than 12 feet. The entrance door was from the church proper and was placed at a few feet from the N.W. wall. As the transverse wall, containing the door, is much broken barely the location of the doorway can be detected.

The arch serves as a buttress for the N.W. gable. Over the arch is a platform overgrown with weeds. The structure is well built and appears to be more modern than the rest of the church. At least the workmanship and style are different although the hardness of the mortar is sufficient evidence of its antiquity. It is not easy to conjecture what may have been the uses of this arched chamber. It was hardly used as a residence since no traces exist of a fire-place or chimney. Whether the platform may have been a residence it is now impossible to determine since the upper portions of both gable and transverse wall have disappeared. It was scarcely a sacristy since its position, at the N.W. end of the church, would render it totally unsuitable for such a purpose. Although at first it might appear to have been a tomb there is no indication that it was ever used for this purpose. Local tradition is silent regarding its origin. It seems to have been employed as a small oratory for the celebration of Mass during the penal times which followed the confiscations at the end of the 16th c., but it is certainly much older than this period, and, indeed, seems to be the oldest part of the building. Local

tradition has it that the church was used as a Protestant place of worship after its confiscation, until the erection of the present church of Virginia in 1818. Extensive repairs would have to be carried out before the church would have been suited for use, and the existing ruin shows no sign of such repairs. But the tradition further says that the greater part of the old church was carted to Virginia, for building purposes, when the present Protestant edifice was being erected. This explains why only a small portion remains. The road going through the tld. of Coppengagh, and joining the Oldcastle-Virginia road at Lurgan Glebe, is said to have been constructed at the instance of a rector for his convenience when going to Lurgan church. As already noted, the church is not mentioned among those used for any kind of religious services in the diocese of Kilmore in 1620. The ruin is usually referred to locally as the "Cully dhu," sometimes pronounced "Cuilli dhu," the initial consonant being broad. This is evidently *Cull Dubh*, meaning the "black church," and the name is explained as derived from the "black order of monks" to whom the church belonged. The existing ruins show no traces of ornamentation. It may be noted that in the ruined Hospital of Killan, near Shercock, a similarly constructed recess or chamber may be seen, the purpose of which it is equally difficult to explain.

Another local tradition has it that the ubiquitous Cromwell destroyed the church with a cannon placed on Carrigaphooka, a large rocky eminence in the tld. of Gallonambraher. As Cromwell was never in Cavan we must eliminate the person of the "Great Protector" himself, but it is quite possible that during the Cromwellian War a party of soldiers destroyed the church. Hence the tradition.

The graveyard contains the tomb of the Most Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, a native of the district, who was Bishop of Clogher from 1747 to 1778. He lived near Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan, and on his death, which occurred on 24th March, 1778, his remains were interred in his family burial-ground of Lurgan. His massive tombstone, which is now broken in several places, has the following inscription:—

**Hic jacent exuviae Reverendissimi  
Domini Danielis O'Reilly, per triginta annos  
Catholici Clogherensis Episcopi, obit  
24 Martii anno 1778 ætate 79.**

The names of many of the clan families of the locality can be read on the weather-worn tomb-stones. A small walled-in enclosure close to the N.W. gable, measuring 20 feet by 15, appears to mark a family tomb. The churchyard, situated on the long low ridge from which the tld. takes its name, bears all

the marks of great antiquity ; and the old ruined church surrounded by fir-trees is the only remnant of its former importance which has escaped the ravages of time and the hands of the destroyer.

### HOLY WELLS.

A short distance from the old church, in an angle between two roads, is a Holy Well, *ΤΟΒΑΡ ΠΑΥΡΑΙΣ*. The water is still used as a cure for colds, although a pilgrimage is now of rare occurrence. A number of small crosses to mark the stations are said to have stood around the well. These have disappeared. As it usually happens that Holy Wells beside ancient churches are named after the patron of the church there is ground for believing that the church of Lurgan was dedicated to St. Patrick. St. Matthew, whose feast-day occurs on 21st Sept., is the present recognised patron of the parish. O'Donovan, remarking this, writes (*Cavan Letters*, 1836, p. 63) :—

St. Matthew is the Patron Saint of the Parish of Lurgan, but, as he is not an Irish Saint, we must consider that he has not been long the president of this parish, unless it can be shown that the ancient Irish were in the habit of dedicating parishes to saints who were never in Ireland.

While St. Matthew was Patron of the parish it seems probable that St. Patrick was Patron of the ancient parish church. Another Holy Well in the tld. of Deepark—the ancient Clonmore—near Virginia, is also called after St. Patrick. It was once a great resort for pilgrims, and recently the pilgrimage has been revived. A plant, the *ΛΥΡ ΝΑ ΛΑΟΞ*—the Golden Saxifrage or *Sedum Telephium* of botany—which grew on its banks, was a specific for colds. The well is situated on a hillside surrounded by a dense wood and close to the small river dividing the tlds. of Deepark and Dunancory. A stream flows from the well into the river beneath. O'Donovan, whose visit to Virginia in 1836 was of a passing nature, does not appear to have heard of either the ancient church of Lurgan or the Holy Wells. At any rate he does not mention them. In the tld. of Drummoney is an old whitethorn locally called *ΤΟΡ ΠΕΙΘΗ*, or St. Fechin's Bush. Whether St. Fechin of Fore, Westmeath, (feast-day, 20th Jan.) is intended, or not, it is impossible to determine, and local tradition offers no suggestion.

### DEVOR IN EDENBURT.

An early eccl. foundation existed in the tld. of Edenburt on the southern border of the parish and adjoining Co. Meath. Not a vestige of the ancient church can now be traced, but a graveyard remains to mark its site. That there was once a church is

certain, as portions of the foundations have been unearthed from time to time in the graveyard. Although situated in the tld. of Rollagh, a sub-denomination of Edenburt, yet it is locally known as "Dervor churchyard." This would seem to indicate that it was formerly included in the adjoining tld. of Dervor, in the parish of Loughan, Co. Meath. The small stream which divides Meath and Cavan runs quite close to it. O'Donovan (*Letters from Meath*, p. 62) equates the present tld. of Dervor with  $\lambda\tau$  na  $\Theta\alpha\iota\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\zeta\epsilon$ , signifying "Ford of the oak-grove," where, according to the *F.M.*, A.D. 1160 :—

King Murtagh Mac Loughlin led the forces of the north of Ireland to  $\lambda\tau$  na  $\Theta\alpha\iota\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\zeta\epsilon$  for the purpose of making captives of the chiefs of Meath and Breffni. Roderic O'Conor led another army to Magh Gartchon to relieve Tiernan O'Rourke and Dermot O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, but they separated without coming to battle or skirmish.

It is probable that the original  $\lambda\tau$  na  $\Theta\alpha\iota\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\zeta\epsilon$  included the portion of the present tld. of Rollagh in Edenburt around the old churchyard. The ford, from which the name is derived, was across the River Blackwater close by and is now spanned by O'Daly's bridge.\* O'Donovan's identification is undoubtedly correct. No mention of this church occurs in any of the 16th or 17th c. records, nor is it marked on the older maps, so that it must have disappeared before the 16th c. O'Donovan, who has no notice of this church, mentions a Synod as held at  $\lambda\tau$  na  $\Theta\alpha\iota\upsilon\theta\mu\iota\zeta\epsilon$ . However he is most probably mistaken as another townland of the same name in Co. Louth (and written *Drum Deirbh* by the *F.M.*) appears to have been the place of this Synod.

The churchyard of Dervor bears all the marks and tokens of great antiquity. The monuments are very numerous, yet none older than the early 18th c.† The two oldest record the names of Patrick Fitzsimons, who died in 1725, and William Keegan who died in 1734. The head of an old cross, measuring 20 inches wide and 30 high, marks a modern grave near the south edge. One shaft is broken. No inscription can be traced on it. No local tradition lingers around to help us reconstruct the history of the ancient church. Its loneliness and seclusion are in keeping with the historical silence which surrounds it. A few perches away, in an ancient fort, are the ruins of a  $\tau\iota\zeta$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\upsilon\iota\upsilon\tau$ , or "sweating house," one of those hot-air baths the medicinal uses of which were recognised and highly regarded by our forefathers. This  $\tau\iota\zeta$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\upsilon\iota\upsilon\tau$  was in use until about 50 years ago. A remarkable

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\* So marked on all the O.S. maps. A stone in the battlement is inscribed : *O'Daly's Bridge, Built A.D. 1762.* The O'Dalys own the ruined mill close by. The bridge is beside Virginia Road Rly. station. For a village of the same name in the county, see this *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 158.

† Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 328.

moat, rounded and with a square annexe, exists in Dervor on the bank of the Blackwater in Co. Meath, a short distance from the site of the ancient church.\*

### MASS-ROCKS AND STATIONS.

After the Inquisition of 1590, when the parish church of Lurgan was confiscated, and during the penal times, no Catholic church existed in the parish. The rigorous enactments of the Penal Code suppressed public worship; and for almost two centuries, with the exception of short periods of temporary toleration, the priests had to remain in hiding: *E loco refugii nostri* was the usual address given in their letters. Evidence is available to show that the parish of Lurgan experienced the rigours of the Penal Code.

Dr. Hugh O'Reilly in his *Relatio Status* for Kilmore, dated 7th Sept., 1629 (though he had been transferred to Armagh the previous year), which is preserved in a Roman Archive, says that recently the sacrifice of the Mass was everywhere celebrated "either in the open (*sub dio*) or in unbecoming places." † Bedell, indeed, on the 1st April, 1630, *i.e.*, seven months later, informed Archbishop Laud that in his diocese priests have their "Mass-houses also; in some places Mass is said in the churches." ‡ This would show that occasionally resort was resumed (unauthoritatively, of course) to some of the Hospital churches, never much at any time, now deserted for forty years, neglected and crumbling, or, to use Bedell's words, "all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired." § But the "Mass-houses" can scarcely have been more than emergency shelters and the "unbecoming places." In the parish of Kilbride—which though in the diocese of Meath is mainly in the County of Cavan—a farmer in Balnacree had a barn which was entered through the stable. The barn door-way in the stable used to be stopped up and concealed with briars and bushes. The barn in these times served as a chapel. || This should be taken as a rather good specimen of the "unbecoming places" throughout the county.

Local tradition helps to locate many of the places in which Mass was celebrated furtively during the times of persecution. In the tld. of Cormaddyduff, now part of the parish of Castlelahan, is a small sequestered glen known as Glananehrin (Gleann an Aifinn), meaning the "Mass glen." A large hawthorn here marks the spot where the people assembled at Mass while sentinels kept watch and ward on the neighbouring hills of Cornakill and

\* Vide Westropp's *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, p. 131.

† *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V, p. 81.

‡ Burnett's *Life of Bedell*, 2nd ed., 1736, p. 35.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Cogan *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 315.

Garryross. This secluded glen was admirably adapted for such a purpose, as the sloping hillside commands an extensive view of the surrounding districts towards the east, south, and west. The approach from the back could easily be guarded. In front lies a morass which could only be crossed with difficulty. The Mass-rock was situated in the shelter of the bush, and was covered with a large flagstone. This flagstone was removed many years ago, but the remaining portions of the altar can be seen. A well springs from beneath the bush, and the waters are locally believed to possess curative powers. Tradition has it that a priest was martyred here during the penal times. We can infer from the local traditions that Mass was celebrated here as late as the last half of the 18th c. It is of great historic interest, and was one of the most important Mass-rocks in the county.

A rock called Carriglee (CARRAIS LIAT), or the grey rock, in the tld. of Dunancory, between Virginia and Lurgan, is still pointed out as having been utilised for a like purpose in these times. Another Mass-rock, tabular in form and locally known as the CROF SGOILTE, is to be seen in a small glen in the tld. of Cleggan: close by, too, is a rocky eminence from which an extensive view can be obtained. It bears the significant title of Carraigaur (CARRAIS AN AMAIRTE), the rock of the outlook. While Mass was being celebrated on the rock below a watchman took his place on this pinnacle to warn those assembled to disperse in case of danger. Beside the "Friars' Well" in the extreme northern end of the tld. of Gallonabraher, bordering Killyfinla and Lismeen, a temporary altar served as a Mass-station in the penal times. In the upper division of the parish Mass was celebrated during those times on a rock in a clump of trees in Carra-keelty-Beg, a short distance from the present church of Maghera. Here again tradition tells where the watchman kept his vigil. Although the official documents and written records of the period have nearly all perished, those Mass-rocks furnish evidence that in the district of Lurgan the penal enactments were by no means dead letters.

They were the law of the land; but it is to the credit of the gentry of Cavan that they, much more than their class in most other counties, showed themselves out of sympathy with their rigour. The evidence of this was well brought out in a paper by one of our members, Mr. D. Carolan Rushe, B.A., which appeared in the *Anglo-Cell* on Oct. 15th, 1904. In the registration of priests under the Act of 1703, Humphreys, Burrowes, Fosters and Hamiltons became sureties for those in their neighbourhood.

Bishop Hugh O'Reilly stated in 1629 (*loc. cit.*) that he had directed that chapels of some sort should be built in every parish,\* but it cannot be said that his orders were, or could be, carried

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\* *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V, p. 81.

out. When, towards the end of the 18th c., the laws were relaxing a small thatched chapel was raised in the tld. of Pollintemple, near the present church of Maghera. This old chapel, the use of which was only discontinued in 1858, when the present church was erected, was probably built on the site of a very old ecclesiastical foundation, all traces of which have long since disappeared. Local tradition says that a graveyard once existed here in which three bishops were buried. The title Pollintemple (poll an Teampall), which signifies the poll or division of the church, occurs as "Pollintemple" on the 1609 map, but no church is marked therein. However, it is of some interest to note that the same map has a ruin marked on "Woodward's Island" in Loch Ramor, adjacent to Pollintemple. Local tradition holds that friars lived on this island; so we may assume, with some probability, that the ruins existing in 1609 represent a church. If this were so the tld. of Pollintemple would have contained the lands attached to it. As already noted (*Journal*, vol. I, p. 28) this island takes its name from a former owner, a Colonel Woodward, who lived there until his violent death, caused by the explosion of a cannon, in the course of a Royal birth-day celebration, on 28th May, 1726.

About the same period as the erection of the chapel at Pollintemple, and during Rev. Francis O'Reilly's pastorate (1774—1808), another thatched chapel was built at Lurgan. It served as Parish Church until the present Parish Church was completed in 1831. The churches at Virginia and Maghera were afterwards erected as chapels-of-ease, the former in the town of Virginia and the latter in the townland of Stramatt.

The old Lurgan Parish Register commences in 1755 and is continued to 1795. It is extremely valuable, both as affording much information about the parish itself and its families during this period as well as furnishing interesting side-lights on neighbouring parishes and diocesan history. It contains details of ecclesiastical administration with numerous references to the movements of the proscribed ecclesiastics. It is divided into Matrimonial and Baptismal portions, the entries in both in excellent Latin. The names of the tlds. are given, and so we are able to trace back for many generations the families of the parish. Tld. is translated either *oppedum* or *villa*. The Visitations of Dr. Andrew Campbell, Bishop of Kilmore (1753-69) are frequently mentioned. Dispensations by Rev. Anthony Smith are recorded under many years. He was V.G. and also P.P. of Laragh, which then comprised the present parishes of Laragh, Kill, and Drung. His death occurred in 1769. He was grand-uncle of Rev. Anthony Smith, for some years curate of Lurgan, who afterwards died at Carrickcarolan, Laragh, in 1863. Dr. Denis Maguire, Bishop of Kilmore from 1770 till 1798, is also mentioned. He died at Enniskillen, and was buried beside the Round Tower on Devenish



Island. The entries in the Register preserve the names of many of the pastors of the period. It may be of interest to Meath diocesan archivists to note that Rev. Thomas Brady is mentioned as P.P. of Ardraccan in 1761. Few parishes in Ireland have preserved such an interesting 18th c. record.

### SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

In 1586 the Rev. Farrell Clerkin was pastor of Lurgan. This may be inferred from the reference to him in the *Fiants* of Eliz. (*loc. cit.*), dated 12th June, 1586, where he is described as: "Ferrall O'Clearckane of Lourgan, Clerk." This was four years prior to the Inquisition of 1590 (*loc. cit.*) which declared the confiscation of the church and termon lands, of Lurgan. Probably he was the last pastor attached to the old church before its dissolution.

Bishop Bedell, writing to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, on 1st April, 1630, states that there are in his dioceses—then both Kilmore and Ardagh—a R.C. "clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and officials; . . . . The Primate himself [Dr. Hugh O'Reilly] lives in my parish [Kilmore] within two miles of my house; the Bishop [Dr. Eugene Sweeney] in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its Priest and some two or three apiece." \* In a communication made to Abp. Usher, dated Sept., 18th of the same year, he is more definite. "There are," he writes, "besides the titular Primate and Bishop, of Priests in the Diocess of Kilmore and Ardagh 66, of Ministers and Curates but 32." † In view of what is said, especially in the last sentence of the first extract, it is not improbable that the number of Priests for the two dioceses is under-rated, and that 66 is at best nothing more than a rough estimate. At all events, the opinion, otherwise probable, that the important parish of Lurgan was not without some one to look after it in those days is confirmed as an inference from both quotations. As to who he was, there is no means of discovering.

During the 17th c. when the penal laws were enforced the priests had no fixed place of abode, and their identity is all the more difficult to establish. During the Revolution of 1641, when the Irish returned for a time to their former possessions, it was possible to hold worship openly. Rev. Owen Lynch was pastor of Lurgan in this year. A vivid account of him is given in Creighton's *Depositions* describing the state of Virginia in 1641 (*loc. cit.*) He is there spoken of as "Owen O'Linsey, priest of the parish of Lurgan" and also as "a proud young rogue." Accord-

\* *Life of Bedell, loc. cit.*

† *Do.*, p. 46. Cf. also p. 54.

ing to this *Deposition* he celebrated the first public Mass in the town of Virginia on the morning of 24th October, 1641. This was the first public Mass ever said there. The *Deposition* makes this point clear :—

The priest came to Virginia and called them to heare Masse in one Thomas Locke's stable, there having been never any Masse said at Virginia since it was a town before this time.

Locke's house in Virginia is described as "lately an inn in good condition, but now brought to ruin." This may be cited as another example of the "unbecoming places" mentioned by Dr. Hugh O'Reilly in 1629. It is evident also from this that no church then existed in the parish. The Mass, on this occasion was largely attended by the crowds who flocked, mainly from Mullagh and Lavey, into Virginia on that October morning. Father Lynch took a prominent part in the affairs of the Revolution. The *Deposition* further states that :—

The priest of the parish did so hate the Pale people that he would not that any of their priests or friars should say Masse in his parish ; and the Pale people did so hate him that they would not come to hear him, and they needed not, for many a priest they had of their own.

Except the occasional glimpses in the *Depositions* we are unable to gather any further information about Rev. Owen Lynch.

The *Relatio* of the visitations performed by the Most Rev. Dr. Oliver Plunket, Primate of Armagh, dated 6th March, 1675, describes the conditions then existing in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh.\*

The diocese of Kilmore [he writes] is 50 miles in length, and 20 in breadth ; there are in it about twenty-six parish priests, and two houses of Franciscans. All the Catholics, with the exception of two, are only tenants. The Vicar-General is Thomas Symons [Fitzsymons], a very learned and eloquent man. He was professor of theology in Belgium.

Dr. Plunkett emphasises the poverty of those in his province ; "the Catholic priests and bishops have only the alms and the offerings," he writes, "which are made by the poor Catholics ; they are, indeed, like those of the early Church." In 1678 Dr. Plunket again performed a visitation of his suffragan dioceses, having already, in the previous year, petitioned the Sacred Congregation to have Clogher annexed to Kilmore. This was owing to the extreme poverty of the former diocese.

In 1704 the Rev. Edmund Smith was P.P. of both Lurgan and Castlerahan. He was then aged 57, was ordained in 1671 at Ard-Patrick, Co. Louth, by Dr. Plunket just mentioned, and

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\* *Memoir of Ven. Oliver Plunket*, by Cardinal Moran, 2nd ed., p. 171.

lived at Gallanamraher. His sureties (for £50 each) were Patrick Magaghan of Crossdoney, and Ambrose Burrowes of Feugh. He was registered at Cavan pursuant to the Act of 1703 (2nd. Anne, c. 7) before Charles Mortimer, Clerk of the Peace, on the 10th July, 1704.\* The date of his death is unascertainable.

After the Act of 1709 (8 Anne, c. 3), requiring the priests to subscribe to the Oath of Abjuration, strenuous efforts were made to enforce the Penal Code, and from 1710 until the middle of the century a series of proclamations were issued against them.† After 25th March, 1710, all had to live in secret among the mountains and moors while adopting various disguises. For half a century afterwards the Mass-rocks were the only places where Mass could be celebrated with safety. In the Parish of Killan there is one in the river dividing the tlds. of Monaghanoose and Drumanespick adjacent to Bailieboro'. It is known as "Father Cleary's Mass-rock." Rev. Thomas Cleary was registered P.P. of Killan in 1704, and again in 1708, and lived at Curkish. He is mentioned again in 1715, among the other priests of the diocese of Kilmore, as having "neglected to come in to take the Oath of Abjuration notwithstanding summons and warrants have been often granted against them and they or any of them refusing to appear and who shuns being apprehended by the said warrants."‡ Rev. Michael O'Clery was registered P.P. of Killinkere in 1704. He then lived in Drumanespick, a tld. in Killan, but bordering his own parish. It is evident that this was the Mass-rock of either, or perhaps both, of those pastors during the subsequent time.

The Bishops were in the same plight. Dr. Michael MacDonagh, O.P., Bishop of Kilmore 1728—1746, for instance, in his Will, preserved in the P.R.O., Dublin, directed that his body "be inter'd in the church of Munterconachty [Munterconnacht]."§ but as he died an exile in Lisbon, Portugal, his wishes could not be carried out. In Cavan and Leitrim Dr. MacDonagh seems to have passed as Mr. Clarke. At all events he is so named in a contemporary Report from the High Sheriff of Cavan, Samuel Moore, as well as in a corresponding one from the High Sheriff of Leitrim, Arthur Ellis. The documents are dated respectively the 21st and the 26th March, 1744, and the originals are also in the P.R.O., Dublin.|| Mr. Ellis, indeed, knew that the Prelate was also called MacDonagh, but he makes the slip of describing

\* *The Registry of 1704*—Dublin. Printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

† Rev. W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660—1760), gives a very complete account mostly abstracted from the *State Papers* of the period. The Expulsion Proclamations of 1673, 1674, 1678, etc., are given either in part or in whole in the *Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Vol. II (1899), pp. 350 et seq.

‡ Burke (*op. cit.*), p. 285.

§ *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. I, p. 182.

|| They are copied *verbatim* into Burke (*op. cit.*), p. 291. and p. 444.

him as the "Titular Pope of the Diocese of Kilmore." Both officers affirm that "he lives in Dublin," which may, or may not, be true. His successor, Dr. Richardson (1747—1753), also a Dominican, certainly died there. Dr. Andrew Campbell, who followed, ruled over the Diocese of Kilmore from 1753 till 1769. He was parish priest of Togher, Co. Louth, and for three months of each year he left the care of this parish to a Dominican friar, and journeyed forth to make the visitation of his diocese of Kilmore. Marriage dispensations granted by him are recorded in the old Registers of both Virginia and Killinkere. He was something of a musician and was a good performer on the bag-pipes. He utilised his accomplishments and used to travel through the diocese disguised as a Highland piper. An oil painting in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, represents him doing his Visitations in this garb. The likeness lays no claim to authenticity; the painting is the work of a Mr. Harman, a gentleman artist who for years was the guest of Bishop Conaty, and was done about fifty years ago. The chancel roof of St. Killian's church, Mullagh, is overlaid with products of the same artist's brush; but they are not his best. The Bishop's disguise was effective. Old Virginia people tell that on one occasion as he was passing through the town, in his Glengarry cap and his plaid of many colours, a rowdy party of English soldiers hailed the piper. They commandeered him and brought him to an inn where their comrades were roystering. He played his best Scottish reels for hours and highly pleased them. At last the Prelate managed to disengage himself from his not too congenial surroundings, and pursued his journey undisturbed and unrecognised. Dr. Campbell was one of the seven bishops who assembled in the Castle of Trimlestown, Co. Meath—the ancestral home of the Barnwells—and drew up a joint Pastoral, dated Sept. 5th, 1757, dealing with questions of diocesan administration. The seven Prelates who met on this occasion were the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe, Kildare, Clogher, and Derry. A tradition existed in the neighbourhood that they all came to the meeting in Trimlestown Castle, clad in frieze, like farmers, in order to conceal their ecclesiastical dignity.\*

In his Report (*loc. cit.*), dated 1744, the High Sheriff of Cavan was unable to obtain information of the presence of any priest living in Lurgan. As he seems to have been well informed of the whereabouts of many of the Kilmore priests it is evident that those in the southern end of the diocese successfully evaded detection. However, he notes that: "John McKernan, a friar [friar] lives mostly in the parish of Castlerahen, [but] has no certain place of abode." † From the same Report we find that friars were then living, and performing their administrations,

\* Cogan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 165.

† Burke (*op. cit.*), p. 291.

in many other parishes of the diocese. Local tradition has it that Franciscan Friars from Drogheda used to visit Lurgan, Killinkere, and Lara in the penal times very often disguised as labouring men, or pedlars, in order more effectually to conceal their identity. The old Registers of Virginia and Killinkere contain occasional references to some of those friars; e.g., a Brother (*Frater*) Andrew Smith is recorded in the Killinkere register under the year 1768 as having administered Baptisms. It is evident that Rev. John McKernan was one of the many friars who were engaged in parochial work during this period. As both Lurgan and Castlerahan were administered by Rev. Edmund Smith in 1704—this amalgamation was due to the scarcity of priests—it is fairly certain that Rev. John McKernan was officiating as pastor of both in 1744. He may have been identical with Rev. John MacKiernan who is mentioned in the old Virginia Register as pastor of Killinkere in 1765, *i.e.*, 21 years later. During this period, including the first half of the 18th c. Mass was celebrated on the Mass-rocks and in the homes of the peasantry.

In 1750, and probably for some years earlier, Rev. John Smith was P.P. of Lurgan. He is mentioned as Pastor in the *Relatio Status* of Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore dated 9th June, 1750, and preserved in the Archive of the Congregation of the Council, Rome.\* In the document Dr. Richardson declares that “his people are for the most part very poor, nor is one of them owner (*dominus*) of even the smallest field; and that with a few exceptions they have to dwell in miserable hovels (*humilibus et miseris domunculis*), as have also the Parish Priests.” “No [Catholic] Bishop,” he adds, “has had a permanent residence in Kilmore in the memory of man, and on Visitation it is difficult to find a night’s lodging or a place for refecton.” Since 1641 Dr. Charles O’Reilly (Coadjutor 1793, and Bishop 1798—1800) is the first, as far as can be ascertained, who had a settled home in his diocese. Towards the end of his life he lived in Cootehill.† He died 6th March, 1800, and was interred in Kill graveyard.

Of the very great poverty of the generality of the people in his dioceses (Kilmore and Ardagh) a century before, Bishop Bedell often speaks in his writings. He traces some of the causes of their impoverishment, and strenuously did his best to remove such of them as were within his power. Replying on May 24th, 1629, to his intimate friend, Dr. Ward, Master of Sydney College, Cambridge, Bedell used words which it is hard to believe are not very much exaggerated. “The poor people of that country [Kilmore and Ardagh?] many are come to you into England (about 1000, as I am assured, out of one County in my Dioces),

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\* *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V, p. 134.

† Do., Vol. I, p. 189.

many are dead, the residue have no bread; horse and dogs' flesh is eaten, and an extraordinary Assises and gaole deliuey is granted as my Chancellor this day informed me, least the prisoners starve in the gaole." \*

The period of Father Smith's pastorate coincided with the rigorous exactions of the Penal Code. He died on the 2nd Sept., 1754, and was buried in the churchyard of Lurgan. His grave is marked by a simple head-stone which bears the inscription:—

**Pray for the Soul of Father  
John Smith who departed this  
life 7ber ye 2nd, 1754.  
Aged 64 years.**

Rev. Alexander MacCabe who succeeded was a native of Broomfield, near Virginia, and was P.P. from 1754 until 1774. He was a brother of Rev. Bartle MacCabe who was born in 1729 and was P.P. of the united parishes of Mullagh and Killinkere from 1766 till 1794. Father Bartle was educated at Louvain, and it is likely that Father Alexander received his education at the same place. It has already been noted (*Journal*, vol. I, p. 152) that their nephew, Rev. Felix MacCabe, was P.P. of Mullagh from 1794 until 1816. He also was educated abroad. The records of the College of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, near Paris, show that he entered there as a student in June, 1783. Father Alexander MacCabe commenced to keep his Register in 1755. It is a very interesting and valuable record, in classical Latin, of the strenuous years of his pastorate. He does not seem to have had any definite place of abode; the entries in the Register indicate that he went from place to place performing his parochial duties in the homes of the peasantry. He died in 1774, and was buried in the churchyard of Gallon, at Killinkere. There also his brother, Father Bartle, rests. A large flat stone marks their grave.

Rev. Francis O'Reilly was the next P.P. and succeeded in Sept., 1774. In 1781-2, at the close of the American war, a Relief Act was passed by which ecclesiastics, on taking an oath of allegiance to the crown, registering, and giving certain specified particulars about themselves, were exempt from the disabilities inflicted by various Acts of William and Anne. Two hundred and twenty-five priests throughout Ireland, of whom eighty-four were Dublin men, fulfilled the conditions; but Father O'Reilly was not among the number. Hence he continued legally liable to expulsion and banishment. In fact, no Kilmore ecclesiastic availed himself of the Act, and but two out of the bordering dioceses, Rev. John Cruise, pastor of Shrule, and Rev. Edward

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\* *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore.* Ed. by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. (Cambridge—1902), p 297.

Meagher, Dean of Ardagh.\* The numerous Acts of themselves had either become or were fast becoming dead letters. The extant records of the Episcopal Visitations of Meath, 1782-90, as well as 1791-1805, show a diocese fairly well organised and afford at last little evidence of contemporary persecution.† It may be assumed that Kilmore, its neighbour, was by then equally past its main troubles.

During the pastorate of Father O'Reilly thatched chapels and also schools were erected at Lurgan and Maghera. The old Virginia Register from 1774 to 1795 is continued in his handwriting. He died in 1808 at the age of 72. A native of Maudabawn, Cootehill, he was a brother of the Most Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore, 1807-1829. Both are interred, with their parents, in Moybolge where their tombstone has the following inscription:—

**This Monument was erected by the Rev. Francis Reilly Pastor of Lurgan and the Rev. Farrell Reilly Pastor of Drumlane in memory of their father Terence Reilly who departed this life the 10th July 1775 and of their mother Honora Reilly, alias Clarke, also in memory of their brothers Bryan and Owen who died also in the year 1775.**

**R. I. P.**

**The remains of the above Rev. Francis Reilly who died in the year 1808 aged 72 years and also of the above Rev. Farrell Reilly who was Bishop of Kilmore for 20 years and died in the year 1829 aged 88 years are laid in this tomb.**

**Requiescant in Pace.**

Most Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, here mentioned, who followed Most Rev. James Dillon as Bishop of Kilmore, died in Bailieboro', while on a Visitation, April 30th, 1829, in the 22nd year of his Episcopate. He was succeeded by Most Rev. James Browne, a native of Wexford, who had already been nominated Coadjutor in 1827 by a Bull of Pope Leo XII, and was the first Bishop, at least in recent times, to live in Cavan town.

Rev. John Brady was Lurgan's P.P. from 1808 until his death Feb. 3rd, 1831, at the age of 71. His memory is commemorated by a mural tablet in Lurgan parish church. He was succeeded by Rev. John O'Reilly who erected the present parish church of Lurgan in 1831, and died April 3rd, 1844, aged 56 years.

\* *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. I, pp. 48-76.

† Cogan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, chapters X-XIV, and Vol. III, chapters XXVII-XXXVII.

A mural tablet in the church is erected to his memory. The next P.P. was Rev. Owen O'Reilly who was appointed in 1844, and died Feb. 8th, 1858, aged 62 years. He built Virginia church as a chapel-of-ease, and in it a mural tablet commemorates him. In the church is also interred the Rev. James Mooney, a native of the parish, a well-remembered and revered priest. He was born in the townland of Lislea, near Maghera, and having ministered in Knockbride and Tierworker, was afterwards P.P. of Denn, where he died in 1860. His parents are buried in Dervor where a handsome monument is inscribed with their names.\* No tablet marks the last resting-place of Father Mooney, but the memory of his many excellent qualities is treasured by the people among whom he laboured.

The Very Rev. John O'Reilly, V.G., succeeded in 1858 and was P.P. until his death, in his 81st year, July 22nd, 1903. He was President of St. Augustine's Diocesan Seminary, Cavan, from 1846 to 1858. During his long pastorate he built the church of Maghera, in 1858, and schools at both it and Virginia. His mural tablet is in Virginia church. The present energetic P.P., Very Rev. B. Gaffney, V.F., became pastor in 1903.

In the churches in England and on the Continent the Pastors' names, as far back as they can be traced, are usually found framed on a printed tablet to the right or left of the main entrance. Arranging tabularly the names for this parish, as far as they have yet been reached, they would read as follows:—

#### LIST OF LURGAN PARISH PRIESTS.

—	1586	—	Rev. Farrell Clerkin.
—	1641	—	Rev. Owen Lynch.
—	1704	—	Rev. Edmund Smith.
[—	1744	—	Rev. John MacKiernan ?]
—	1750	1754	Rev. John Smith.
1754	—	1774	Rev. Alexander MacCabe.
1774	—	1808	Rev. Francis O'Reilly.
1808	—	1831	Rev. John Brady.
1831	—	1844	Rev. John O'Reilly.
1844	—	1858	Rev. Owen O'Reilly.
1858	—	1903	Very Rev. Doctor John O'Reilly, V.G.
1903	—		Very Rev. Bernard Gaffney, V.F.

I have to thank Father Meehan for his invaluable help in revising this paper, also Very Rev. B. Gaffney, P.P., and Rev. Peter O'Reilly, C.C., for permission to examine the old Parish Register.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

\* Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 330. The inscription reads "Moynagh" pron. "Mweenagh," which is the Gaelic form Ó Maonaidh.



## EXHIBITS AT SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[8th MARCH, 1923.]

### I.

The following objects were taken haphazard from the late Right Hon. Thomas Lough's fine collection which his wife has generously presented to the Society :—

1. An Early Stone Age Celt or 'Palaeolith.'—All races have passed through a stage during which the use of metals was unknown. This is called the Stone Age, and it is customary to divide it into two main portions or periods, the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic, or in the simpler terms the Early and the Late Stone Age. The Celt shown belongs to the former period and is a good specimen. It is of flint and was shaped by flaking. Such early Celts were held in the hand, never hafted. The name is taken from the Latin *Celbis* a chisel. They were excellent tools of their kind, and might be employed for half a dozen different purposes ; as knives for instance (they have cutting edges), adzes, scrapers, chisels, (they have pointed ends), for rounding or smoothing arrow shafts (on the side are several sharp concave hollows.) A well made one, versatile as a sailor's pocket-knife, could be turned to all these uses and many others. A hard stone was always needed. Quartz would do, but flint could be easiest flaked and fashioned. Its selection marks an advance, skill in flaking another step forward. The exhibit seems an almost exact fellow of the early Celt pictured in Sir B. Windle's "Remains of the Prehistoric Age," p. 50, 2nd ed., 1909. Many polished Celts have been shown at our meetings, but this is the first example of one of the more primitive pattern.

In the study of antiquities the importance of such an object, simple though it be, cannot be easily over-rated. For the earlier portions of prehistoric time we are almost wholly dependent on the evidence supplied by stone worked by the hand of man. In fact the question of stone implements is one which underlies all the problems of early archaeology, and a knowledge of it is essential if any light is to be thrown on those difficult problems. No doubt, in those far-away times they also used and fashioned to their simple needs other materials—bone, wood, reindeer horn, etc. But these have long since perished or are now unrecognisable.

When did the first man reach our district, the region in after ages named Breifny? The advantage of the knowledge alluded to may be illustrated by its bearing on this leading question. In a large island such as Ireland, should bronze weapons be found in plenty, but no stone ones, then the conclusion would be inevitable that man did not arrive on its shores till the period denominated from this metal, i.e., the Bronze Age. Now in this county a very large number of bronze spear heads and daggers, and a few bronze sickles, have been discovered. Accordingly it can be asserted with confidence that Cavan was inhabited in the Bronze Age, no matter what date be assigned to it. Further, a large proportion of the bronze Celts come upon in the county are of the flat, i.e., of the very earliest type. It is, therefore, a safe induction that man was here at the very dawn of the era mentioned. But was he here before its dawn, in the Stone Age? Finds, such as the one exhibited, are the main things that can carry us beyond pure surmise, and supply a direct proof of the fact, True, many polished stone Celts have been discovered. But that is not conclusive. For there was a considerable overlap between the Stone and Bronze Age, and in the early part of the latter polished Celts—the latest and most skilfully made form of the weapon—were manufactured in abundance. Flint arrow-heads have also turned up. But neither does that help us. Arrows are easily lost, so the heads were never of bronze. The metal was too precious. In the British Isles as well as in Northern Europe bronze arrow-heads are practically unknown. All through the bronze period flint was the raw material made use of. Dolmens and Cromlechs again are, of course, of stone; and we have many of them. But, according to the authorities, none were erected until after the Stone Age. So we have nothing in sight to go upon.

That in the Stone Age the district later called East Breifny, now Cavan, was ranged over by the wild boar and the gigantic Irish Elk, has already been fairly well established; but that man had by then also made his appearance in it remains unproved. No one can maintain it unless he can appeal to the existence of such rude stone implements as that exhibited. No doubt, man was in Ireland itself especially along its sea coasts; and if once it could be satisfactorily shown that at the distant Stone Age date he had colonised, say, Meath or Monaghan—and argument of any worth in favour of the contention has scarcely a possible basis except the same kind of evidence—then one might also venture to say he had likewise penetrated to Cavan. But it would by no means be a necessary deduction.

It may be added that up to less than a century ago these npolished Celts, or Palaeoliths, were practically unrecognised for what they are—products of human industry. Petrie knew very little about them. Barely within the last score of years have still rougher instruments of the same kind come to be noticed

and in the end allowed to be what they are, and given a special place in Museums and Collections. They have been named Eoliths, and their plentiful presence in a country is a sufficient guarantee, and the only one available, of the advent of man in the most remote period of prehistoric time. Palaeoliths (the exhibit is one) in comparison are perfect articles. Of the latter a learned antiquary quoted by Sir B. Windle states :—" The Palaeolithic implement is, on the face of it, a very advanced and artistic production. Neither in shape nor in workmanship does it show any indication of the prentice hand, and far from being the first-born of human tools, must represent the last stage in a long series of artistic development." (L. C. p. 42)

Eoliths, too, are as often as not of flint stone, the best of them chalk flint. Cavan is not a flint-bearing district, hence flints would be imported, and solely by man. Every such object come upon deserves careful examination. If flaked, particularly on both sides, and if manifesting attempts at being shaped into a useful tool of any sort, then human intelligence was at work, and it may be pronounced an Eolith. Should a fair number of such " arte-facts " be discovered there would at last be at hand if not decretorial at least fairly satisfying proof that this district was inhabited in the Early Stone Age. A fair number would be needed. An isolated instance would be of little use. A Mauser rifle might be found in the centre of New Guinea. It would prove nothing, except that a European traveller had passed that way. Eoliths, though humble and mean in appearance, are venerable for their hoary age. One would hesitate about stating how far back they may go, even though shielding himself behind the authority of the greatest names. Compared with them, forts and round towers and even dolmens are but things of yesterday. No more instructive or interesting exhibit could be brought before the Society than a few of them, provided they had been discovered in either Cavan or Leitrim. The great dramatist's saying about sermons in stones is a great truth. They teach much. It would be a mistake to assume, as is commonly done, that an acquaintance with metals has a necessary connection with the advance of civilisation, genuine civilisation. The Spanish conquest of Mexico exposes the fallacy. It gives strength in warfare certainly. But men are not to be taken for savages because they knew nothing about bronze or iron.

**2. A Bronze Sword.**—A very fine specimen without fault or flaw. The blade has a pronounced midrib. The tang is rather small. Both its smallness and the leaf pattern of the blade are indications that it is of the older and, therefore, more sought after type. The handle, which is always gone, may have been of bone or wood riveted on to the tang. There are five rivet holes for attaching it. The blade is of course plain, but the handle may

not have been. The Irish according to Joyce, were fond of adorning their swords elaborately, and those who could afford it had the hilt ornamented with gold and gems. That bronze swords are of native manufacture is now beyond question. "Where did you get these wonderful Greek swords?" exclaimed in astonishment an expert foreigner to Petrie. Petrie had much difficulty in convincing him they were not Grecian, but Irish. (Stokes' "Life of Petrie.")

**3. Two Stone Hammers.**—It must not be supposed that every implement of stone belongs to the Stone Age. A pair of stone querns, for example, had a place probably in almost every household in Cavan and Leitrim up to about 100 years ago. In isolated cases in the latter county they were kept working up to 50 years ago. In rare instances it is not impossible to find them yet. The late Mr. McGovern, of Glengevlin, the hydrophobia specialist, always ground the wheat and barley he used in his special preparations in querns. Millstones, overgrown querns, are with us yet. The hammers shown are too like iron ones in shape and too carefully perforated to be extremely old. Windle considers it most probable that such instruments were used long after metals were in common employment. They were cheaper. When iron became plentiful, say, 1,000 years ago, they were no longer worth the trouble of making. A common stone is often taken up and used as a hammer, but no one bothers about perforating it for a handle.

**4. A Champion's Handstone.**—This rare and very interesting object is a flat, large sized finger stone, milled on the side (to give a firm grasp) and perforated at one end. No one seeing either the examples in the Museums or the illustrations in Wakeman's handbook could have any doubt or misgiving as to what it is. In ancient Irish writings it is called the *lia-láimhe-láich* (Champion's handstone). It was carried ready for use in the hollow of the shield. It was attached to a line of some kind and was recoverable after each cast. In the records of the battle of the ford of Comar, Westmeath, in which Conall Cearnach, who was afterwards slain at Ballyconnell, took part it is stated—"There came not a man of Lohar's people without a broad green spear, nor without a dazzling shield, not without a *lia-láimhe-láich* stowed away in the hollow cavity of his shield." O'Curry has a long story about this stone with the fine sounding name and the great Finn before St. Patrick's time—too long to quote. (V. MS. Mat., p. 394.)

## II.

Photographic illustrations, full size, of the Breac Mogue of Drumlane, or Shrine of St. Mogue (or Aidan)

Besides the Shrine of St. Mogue's bell there are three other

shrines in which, as two of them belonged to Leitrim and the third to Cavan, the Society has a special interest. They are—(a) St. Molaise's, (b) St. Caillin's, and (c) the Breac Mogue, a second reliquary of St. Mogue's. The first of these, a splendid specimen of ancient Irish metal work, is a Leitrim shrine, or at least it was for centuries preserved in Leitrim. It has a history which, it is hoped, will be got over some time. The second, the Shrine of St. Caillin of Fenagh, is also Leitrim. It was minutely described and illustrated by lantern slides by Mr. Biggar at the inaugural lecture of this Society. It may be recalled that it was made for Mary, daughter of O'Brien of Thomond, at the instance of her husband, Brian, son of Owen O'Rourke of Dromahaire. It is now in the possession of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. The date of both these Leitrim shrines can be established beyond cavil. The Molaise one goes back to between the years 1001 und 1025. It is thus 900 years old. Probably it is the oldest shrine extant, though of late a few are for giving the palm of age to the Lough Erne shrine, which was discovered in 1891. The Caillin Shrine, on the other hand, was produced as recently as 1526. It is thus only 400, and as far as known it was the last made. Hence it is seen that Breifny may claim the distinction of having both the most ancient and the most modern of those highly venerated reliquaries.

As the Breac Mogue will be fully described and, it is hoped, illustrated in an article on Drumlane Abbey by one of our members which will appear in next year's *Journal* it is better not to delay on it here.

## THE COMMON QUERN.

By REV. J. B. MEEHAN.

(Read 2nd November, 1923.)

Querns are among the commonest of antiquarian objects, and accordingly among the most neglected. There is no Museum without many examples. The National Museum, Dublin, has a fine collection and its best ones are labelled as having come from the district of Killeshandra. In County Cavan they are fairly plentiful: by good searching you might find a pair or two in every townland. In Leitrim they are much more numerous, though equally ignored. In both counties about 100 years ago they were beginning to be disused; about 60 years ago they were generally discarded. Soon afterwards their day was over and they were utilized to pave a street or a cow house, or were thrown on the refuse heap to keep company with fragments of linen looms and spinning wheels. In Cavan I have never come across a person who had actually worked a quern, but in Leitrim I met half a score. Under their guidance, too, I ground the meal, as they used to in their early days, made the griddle cakes and ate them—at least bits of them. At the time—it is twenty years ago—I had a good deal of correspondence on the subject with the late Mr. Bennett of Liverpool, an antiquary of name who specialised on the history of corn milling, ancient and modern, devoting, indeed, all his life to it, and with as much earnestness as Mr. Dix, one of our members, has devoted his to the study of bibliography. A pair of the querns I had employed in the experiments I sent to Mr. Bennett. Later he presented them to the Liverpool Museum, George's Square. They are there now duly labelled "From Creevelea, County Leitrim." I should add that, in conjunction with a Mr. Elton, Mr. Bennett brought out a work on corn milling in four volumes, the first volume published in 1898. This work is regarded as the best existing authority on the subject. From it in this paper, besides some statements, I have taken bodily a few references to the classics.\*

As quern stones are so common and so little thought of, it may be worth while attempting to revive a little interest in them. In these counties for 1,000 years and more they were the most impor-

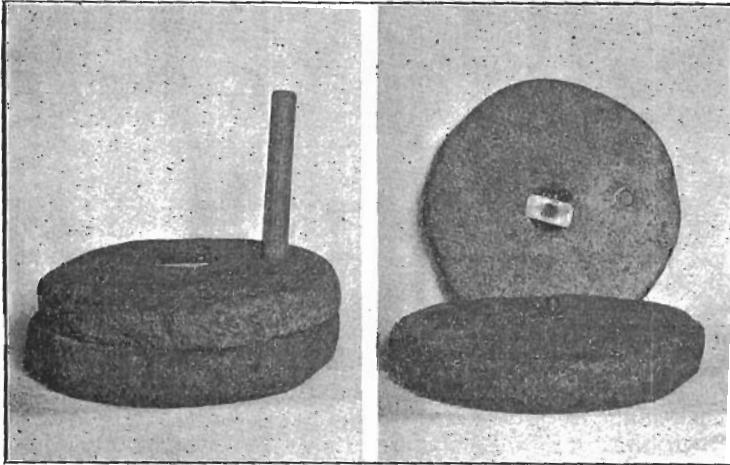
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\* *History of Corn Milling*: London—Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.

tant objects in the household, and the hum of them was going morning, noon, and night. Jamieson an old Scottish poet, appreciated their value, for he wrote :—

The cronach stills the dowie heart,  
 The jurran stills the bairnie ;  
 But the music for the hungry waine  
 Is the grinding o' the quernie.

Now their voice is a voice that is still, and they have fallen so low that no one condescends to take a second look at them. At Drom Mullac House, Killeshandra, a pair of them, indeed, is placed on a little pedestal in the centre of a little flower-bed. But this, as far as I know, is the only instance in the county in which they receive their due meed of respect. In this world man and beast and thing when their day of usefulness is over are thrust aside with scant courtesy. The quern is no exception. Sir Roger de Coverly is represented by Addison as having tended carefully in his stall his favourite steed as long as the old horse lived, broken down and past his work though he was. This fine feeling is rare. Sir Rogers are met with oftener in fiction than in fact.



An ordinary Quern (16-ins. diam.) ready for grinding ;  
 and the individual stones.

*Block kindly lent by R.S.A.I.*

The quern is so well known it calls for no description. Simple though it be it is a highly finished mill ; and, in the form our grandfathers had it, it embodies the accumulated improvements

and refinements of about twenty centuries. It would look like gross exaggeration to say that there is as much skill and inventive thought packed into it as into a modern motor car. Still, if the development of both were followed step by step, the statement would not appear ridiculous. The quern did not leap into existence from the human mind in one bound, as Minerva did from the head of Jove. It took about 30 or 40 years to incubate the motor car, if I may say so, but the perfect quern's period of incubation was over 1,000 years.

In all the ages of which we have anything better than mere conjectural knowledge man lived on bread, but not on bread alone. In its preparation the very first plan adopted was to crush the grain. The grain was laid on a large flat stone and a hand stone was used to pound it. Should the same large stone be constantly used a hole would be gradually worn in it; and soon this would be found to be an advantage. The mortar and pestle of our chemists is essentially the same in principle. In a little village the same large stone or rock might be resorted to by more than one family, and the women would work, and, of course, gossip together lightening their labours. Many stones with two or three holes, considered to have been soused in prehistoric times, are preserved in Museums. The learned have given them the name of bullán stones. By far the best example of them in the British Isles is in our own district. It is in County Cavan, near Blacklion. Drawings of it have gone round the world in historic and antiquarian books. It is known as St. Bridget's Stone.

This bullán lies quite close to the shore of Upper Lough Macnean, within a short distance of the ruins of the ancient parish Church or Hospital Church of Killinagh. It is a boulder of red sandstone about 3ft. high. Its rough table-like surface measures 5ft. 9ins. from E. to W. and 5ft. 2ins. from N. to S. This surface has nine cavities. Eight are arranged, not quite regularly, round the margin, and one, the largest, is in the centre. Each hollow is almost filled by a loose stone generally oval in shape. They are of different lithic character but all are smooth. Bennett and Elton in their standard work, *History of Corn Milling*, approve of the description that it is "one of the most impressive monuments of its curious class remaining in the country" (Vol. I, p. 20). Its purpose, they acknowledge, is something of a mystery; but they conclude, "we may recognise in the relic nothing more than the common mealing stone of the early settlement on the site of Killinagh; at which if necessary eight women could grind together the grain for their families." (Do., p. 21). Another theory presumes that these rock basins were used for collecting the blood of victims in druidical sacrifices. But this theory, we think, will find few patrons. The simplest and best explanation of "the



mystery" seems to be that endorsed by Messrs Bennett and Elton. But there should be one limitation. Though the old Killinagh ladies would be all on the best of terms no eight of them could possibly work together. They would be too crowded.

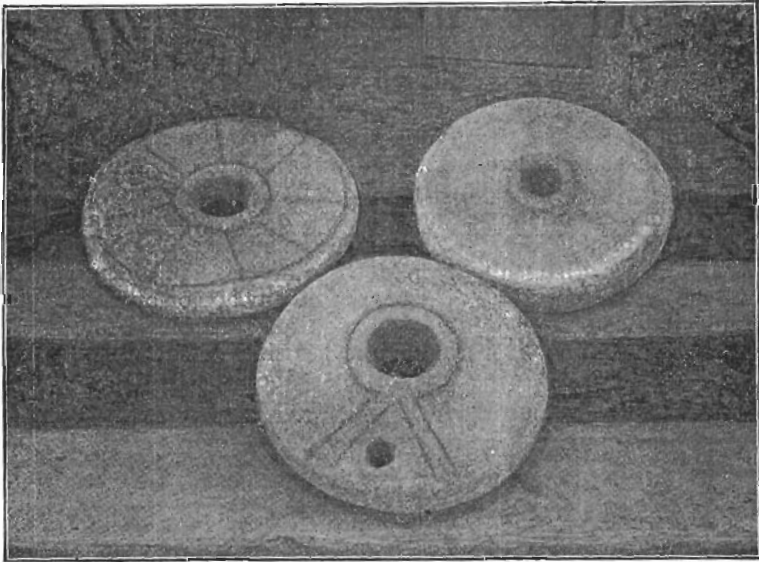
The next forward step in the process of making meal and flour was the saddlestone. The name is a good one; the concave upper surface of the nether stone bears a striking resemblance to the seat of a saddle. In this hollow the grain was crushed by a small stone muller working backwards and forwards, but not rolled. Pestle-and-mortar work was really pounding; this was properly speaking grinding. The saddlestone was the first contrivance for grinding. It has been used throughout the globe; enduring in barbaric ages, surviving in the midst of Grecian and Roman civilisations, and remaining in use with primitive peoples to the present day. Not quite so much can be said for our quern, since it seems never to have been known in prehistoric America, and never at all in Africa, except in the northern strip where European influences dominated. The prehistoric remains of almost every race in Europe have furnished abundant relics of the saddlestone. "They are discovered," testify Bennett and Elton, "in the pit dwellings, hut circles, crannogs and cists of the British Isles; the dolmens and earth forts of France, the lake dwellings of Switzerland, etc., etc." (Do., p. 67). Individual specimens differ mainly in size. Some specimens are 3ft. in length, but the ordinary length is from 12 to 18ins. Ireland has yielded some of the best examples, but I am not aware of any example having yet been found—or at least recognised—in Leitrim or Cavan. When, about 1920 B.C., Abraham on the visit of the angels directed Sarah to get ready three measures of "fine meal" or "flour" this was the contrivance that was used in the preparation of it.

As far as can be made out by the best authorities the quern did not make its appearance in the world till 1700 years after Abraham's time. It is always the first step that costs. The discovery of fire is claimed as man's greatest discovery, and the device of making one stone rotate on another was, according to one authority, a stroke of genius which bears no ill comparison with the invention of the steam engine. All was plain sailing after that. The radical device was improved upon and improved upon century by century until we, the heirs of all the ages of invention, have our splendid water-driven corn and flour mills. The most up-to-date steam mills, however, hark back to the saddlestone principle in their iron or steel rollers; or rather they combine both it and the quern principle.

The fixing of the approximate date of the invention of the quern is a nice problem in antiquities. It admits of a fairly satisfactory

solution. That it was in common use in Rome early in the Christian era can be established from contemporary literature. In Pompeii, too, there are gigantic querns and Pompeii was entombed in the lava in A.D. 79. Further back Virgil (70- 19 B.C.) clearly refers to the saddlestone mills "molae trusatiles" of his Homeric heroes in the *Aeneid*, while in a less known work, *Morctum*, he indicates the "mola versatilis" of the peasant of his own day. His description of the latter shows unmistakably that it was the quern:—

Upon the floor of the cottage [he writes] is piled a little heap of grain . . . . The labour begun, both hands share in the toil; the left supplies the grain, the right assiduously turns the circling orb. Ground by the repeated shock, the fine film of flour flies from the crushing stones.



**Ornamented Quern Stones.**

*Block kindly lent by the R.S.A.I.*

In the New Testament, St. Matthew's Gospel, written at latest before A.D. 67, contains an allusion to the same article. "Two (women) shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken, and one shall be left." (xxiv.-41.) A 14th century English Bible in the passage has "querne" for mill, and really it is a clearer translation. An obscure allusion or illustration never was made use of, and it is a safe inference that about A.D. 30 when the words

were spoken the little mill was quite familiar to the Jews of Palestine.\*

Exploring further back still Varro (116—27 B.C.), according to Pliny, makes the clear statement that “revolving millstones were invented by the Volsinians.” The Volsinians were subjugated by the Romans c. 280 B.C., and their city in Etruria destroyed; but they were much more highly civilised than their conquerors. They continued vassals of Rome. Earlier than Varro, Cato (232—147 B.C.), writing about 200 B.C., seems to include among farming effects a species of quern. Cato’s is the earliest known reference. Hand mills abound in ancient writings. Still no earlier mention of a revolving mill has been found in a Roman or any other writer; nor do early Greek writers refer to one at all.

There are grounds, then, for holding that the quern goes back to about 200 B.C., but no further; and there is authority also for stating that it was invented by the Volsinians or Romans. The first part of the conclusion receives some slight corroboration from the fact that no undisputed fragment of a quern older than about 100 B.C., has been found, and several considerations might be adduced to lend support to the second.

During their occupation of it (c. 100—420 A.D.) the Romans introduced the quern into Great Britain. From Britain most likely it came over to us. This could scarcely happen until about 50 or 100 years after it became known to the British, or, say, somewhere about A.D. 200.

The dates submitted have a bearing upon many other questions. For instance, should a crannoge or an old fort be explored, and in its lowest stratum a pair of querns be discovered, then it can be pronounced with confidence that the crannoge or fort is not prehistoric: 1600 or 1700 years is its maximum possible age. But should a saddlestone be come upon then limitation breaks down. For aught anybody can say—yet say—the crannoge may go away back to the days of Abraham. Twenty-five years ago at Glastonbury in Devonshire a lake settlement was come upon. Forthwith there were the wildest speculations as to its age. But the discovery of stone querns clipped the wings of imagination. Reluctantly it had to be admitted that the settlement was inhabited only after the Roman arrival.

As originally designed, the quern, as time went on, was very much improved. The latest are quite flat. The primitive ones were globular in form, the under stone conical, and the upper having a convex cavity to fit down upon it. Of the primitive fashion are the querns in the slave mills in Pompeii. The crude

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\* Cf. The “Μύλος ‘Ονικός” of XVIII.—6.

idea seems to have been that the ground corn would not fall from the stone unless enticed by a downward flow. Centrifugal force is quite sufficient, but it was hardly recognised. As experience was gained the stones were gradually flattened. Occasionally the flat top was ornamented. The commonest ornament is a crude cross. This is not necessarily the Christian symbol. But several querns found about old abbeys are adorned with a Keltic cross carefully and tastefully carved. These are called church querns, and it is supposed they were set aside and not used for ordinary domestic purposes.

J. B. MEEHAN.

## BREIFNE BEFORE THE UI-BRUIN

By JOHN P. DALTON, M.R.I.A.

Though richly endowed with natural beauty, and clothed with historical associations of manifold interest, neither historically nor geographically was Breifne vouchsafed an auspicious introduction in literature. In an old-Irish collection of Triads Breifne is ranked with Burren and Bearra as one of the three particularly rough districts in Ireland.\* This slighting allusion to Breifne's unevenness of surface was probably penned not later than the ninth century of our era. In that same century the "men of Breifne," then appearing for the first time on the historical stage, are exhibited as the victims of a most humiliating disaster. The Annals of Ulster thus record the event :—

"A slaughter of the men of Breibne, in presence of their king, Maelduin, son of Echtgal, by the Cinel Feidhilmtho." †

In the era of the Red-Branch Knighthood Breifne was the seat of the redoubtable champion Belchu, a man of the Homeric type of barbaric chivalry, who warded Connacht's frontier against the assaults of Ulidian raiders, and whose death Conall Cearnach compassed by treachery.‡ The slaying of Belchu Breifne and of his three sons was evidently a favourite theme of early poets and story-tellers ; but the few literary fragments that still commemorate the incident date back only to the spiritless re-settings of the epic which were fashioned by mediæval redactors. The unabridged version of the tale, if extant, would doubtless present the name of Belchu's march-lordship as Breibne ; such, on the showing of the extract already cited from the Ulster Annals, being the older form of the word.

A Dinnsenchus poet, who styles himself Fintan son of Lamech, has accounted in true bardic fashion for the naming of Breifne, "that land"—as he pictures it—"of abundant increase." His story is that a chieftainness of the Clanna-Nemidh, to wit Breifne daughter of Beoan macBethaig, contended for the land in question with Regan, a warrior of the Fomoire, and fell mortally wounded on its sward. The woman's name clave thenceforth to the disputed territory ; and with the same ground is the memory of Regan in like manner permanently entwined.§ When departing in triumph from the scene of the combat he was overtaken by an avenger of

\* *The Triads of Ireland* (ed. by Kuno Meyer), p. 7.

† *Annals of Ulster*, sub anno 822.

‡ *Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes* (ed. by K. Meyer : Todd Lecture Series, R.I.A.), pp. 36, etc.

§ Todd Lect. Series, pp. 252-5.

the fallen heroine, and slain beside "the rock of Asual's son." The precise spot where Regan's head was cut off, we are told, received from succeeding generations the name Tudim Regain; and as thus denominated the place has since become conspicuous in Breifne's Annals. Though I feel bound to reproduce Bard Fintan's derivation I am convinced that he exceeds the extremest licence of fancy permissible to his privileged order; and, his averment notwithstanding, we may not unreasonably presume that the term Breifne is a survival from the place-nomenclature of pre-Gaelic Ireland. A like presumption, I am disposed to think, might be entertained respecting the names Bearra and Burren, to which the Triad-artificer unflatteringly likens Breifne.

Among the readers of this paper there will, I feel assured, be some who have traversed diagonally the barony of Burren in North Clare, when driving by the magnificent Corkscrew route from Ballyvaughan to Lisdoonvarna. But they may not have noticed that, though few human habitations are now to be seen among the limestone terraces and ravines of that rugged country, abundant evidences persist on every side to prove that its surface was thickly peopled in prehistoric times. One may well ask, in sceptical astonishment, by what shifts could a big population have managed to subsist among the craggy elevations of Burren? But, doubt as we may, some primitive race assuredly abode there, at one time, in large numbers; for the marks of their dwelling places and of their burial sites, though often wantonly effaced, still cling by the score to every quarter of the district.

The Bearra, or Berre, of our ancient texts has invariably been taken by editors and toponomists to stand for the barony of Beare in West Cork. When Gilla Coemain distinguished the high-king Labraid Loingsech as Labraid Berre \* he surely did not mean to connect that personage by nativity or otherwise with a desolate promontory skirting the remote bay of Bantry.

High among the most powerful seats of royalty in early Ireland stood Temhair Luachra, † the chief oppidum of the clan Dedad, or Ernai—sometimes called "the race of Conaire"—the breed to which belonged the mighty Curoi MacDaire. The site of Temhair Luachra, incorrectly supposed by O'Donovan to lie near Castleisland in Kerry, has been brought to light in the south eastern barony of Co. Limerick, ‡ near the confines of Co. Cork. Farther east in the same barony lay Claire, the earliest stronghold of the Eoghanachta of Munster, that is of the Ebberian branch of the Gaels; and nearly midway between Claire and Temhair Luachra a monumental stone may still be seen which bears the suggestive

\* See Todd Lectures, Vol. IV, p. 187.

† Otherwise *Temhair Luachra Dedaid* and *Temhair Eraind* (see Hogan's *Onom. Goed.*).

‡ See Paper by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., in *Jour. R.S.A.I.* for December, 1920, pp. 109, *et seq.*

name Clochavarra,\* or rock of Bearra. It may be too much to assume that Clochavarra marks the spot where Clann Dedad or Ernai kings were inaugurated before the era of Eoghanacht hegemony in Munster; but that the appurtenant lands of Temhair Luachra included a Bearra,† and a Bearra which got identified in some way or other with royal functions, there is much reason to suspect.

The star of Temhair Luachra set when the descendants of Eoghan Mor overthrew the Clann Dedad, and appropriated for themselves the sovereignty of Munster; and eventually the location both of the dismantled fortress and of the circumjacent Bearra faded as completely from human memory as did the sites of the world-renowned cities Ilium and Carthage.

The corner of Coshlea barony in Limerick wherein hides the massive stone Clochavarra presents an irregularity of aspect which, though picturesquely diversified by hill and dale, would inevitably doom it on the map of a military engineer to be described as "rough country." There, too, mementos of early colonisations adhere to the soil with the same dogged tenacity that binds the like symbols to Breifne and to Burren. No doubt the old populations of all three localities who survived until the era of Gaelic dominance in Ireland enjoyed an evil repute at the courts of their Gaelic lords, and as disobedient subjects often came under the lash of Gaelic poets and satirists. Seeing that the Gaelic author of the Triads would naturally have participated in the feelings of his accomplished brethren towards pre-Gaelic tribes it is quite possible that racial antipathy prompted in a larger measure than topography the uncomplimentary aphorism that has come to us from his pen.

The story of Breifne, like the story of Ireland, or the story of Europe at large, consists of three main divisions, the historic, the proto-historic, and the pre-historic. The pre-historic chapters of the story come first in chronological order; but they are the hardest to unfold, for the remote epoch to which they relate is unilluminated by the faintest reflection of documentary light. The materials for elucidating prehistoric Breifne lie infixed on its soil, or hidden under its surface, or stored in museums, or dispersed among the hoards of curio-collectors. We may call them documents, perhaps, using the term in an extended sense; but they are documents whose interpretation must be referred

\* See *Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, June 1908 (Paper by P. J. Lynch), pp. 223-4; and Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 50.

† This was clearly the *Crich Berre* to which, the Dinnsenchus of Mag Luirg states, Conall Cearnach's head was carried by the three Ruadchoin of the Martini; and more than likely it was also the Bearra referred to in the expression *ri Beirre* of the Linnsenchus of Loch N-Erne (*vide infra*). The prose paraphrase of the Dinnsenchus, printed from the Rennes copy in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XV, no doubt says that Conall's head was taken to Corca Laighde, but this is only a conjecture of the writer. The Dinnsenchus of Lia Nothain (Todd Lect. Ser. XI, p. 27) further suggests interrelationship in our heroic age between *Crich Berre* and *Cruachan*.

to the archæologist, not to the palæographer. I feel convinced that the archæology of Breifne, could it be satisfactorily explored, would help much in unravelling the origins of our island's history. But, unhappily, the exploration has been too long delayed. The archæological treasures of Breifne can no longer be surveyed, as they should have been, *in situ*; for if a particular object, or group of objects, has not disappeared altogether it has too often been displaced or battered into fragments.

In neolithic times Breifne was but sparsely populated, for the non-mountainous portions of its surface were then largely covered by wood and water. The unafforested uplands alone would have attracted inhabitants; and such spaces appear to have been neither numerous nor of large extent. Yet occupied areas there undoubtedly were, and their situations are still traceable; for the occupiers belonged to the race of dolmen builders, and set up burial monuments that have outlasted the cenotaphs of the Cæsars. Though the dolmen builders fall mainly within the provinces of the archæologist and the anthropologist, yet they concern the historian much more than is generally supposed. In the evolution of those millions of human beings that are now collectively known as the Irish people the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country supplied the basal stock.\* Their blood, their physical traits, their temperament, their good and vicious qualities, have contributed to the moulding of the national character in a degree that is probably far from inconsiderable; and what, from first to last, is the history of Ireland, or of any nation, but the record of the nation's character as seen in the nation's strivings, ideals, and modes of reaction to the varieties of influence that affect it from without?

The neolithic population of the country practised a rudimentary type of agriculture; but for the means of subsistence, nevertheless, they had to rely chiefly on hunting and fishing. For these pursuits they were poorly equipped, their utensils being all made of stone, or horn, or wood, or bone. The social economy was necessarily simple in its organisation; but the normal life was doubtless peaceful, and by no means lacking in rude enjoyments.

The introduction of bronze into central Europe heralded the downfall of every neolithic community, dolmen-builders included, along the Atlantic seaboard, from the Pillars of Hercules to the shores of the Baltic. It was the invention of gunpowder that enabled a few companies of Spanish buccaneers, in the early sixteenth century of our era, to subvert the most flourishing monarchies and the ripest civilisations of the New World. A people who are known to history as the Celts were, in like manner, once made masters of western Europe by the use of iron.

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\* See Prof. Macalister's *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, pp. 50 and 237.



The Celts spoke an Aryan tongue, and belonged anthropologically to the primitive Aryan stock; but they were not the first Aryans who carved out vast dominions in Europe. An earlier wave of Aryans, or—as it is now becoming fashionable to call them—Wiros,\* had raised themselves to supremacy in Mid-Europe some centuries before the advent of the Celts. The earlier Wiros were unacquainted with iron, and their conquests were effected by means of bronze. Their language was not Celtic, but an older and purer Aryan speech which may be denominated, with equal fitness, either proto-Gaelic or proto-Latin.

A branch of those Wiros carried the language far down into Italy, where in course of time it became the speech of Imperial Rome, the speech that enshrines the thoughts of Cicero and Virgil. Another branch took the same language to Ireland; and in Ireland its original name—whatever that may have been—got changed to *Gaelic*. In Italy the pre-Celtic tongue of the Wiros was imposed on the Latins; and through them it became universally known as Latin. In Ireland the pre-Celtic tongue of the Wiros was adopted long centuries after its first introduction by the conquering Gaels; and as the speech of the Gaels it became *ipso facto* Gaelic. The term French, as applied to the language now spoken in France, supplies a parallel instance. French is not the language which Clovis and his Franks brought into Gaul. It is radically and historically the language which the Franks heard spoken by the Gallo-Romans. But, having been appropriated by the Franks, and substituted by them for their own speech, it naturally acquired the name *French*.

The most efficient of bronze implements of war was the large leaf-shaped sword that received its initial development in ancient Noricum and Pannonia, from a population residing around the famous necropolis of Hallstatt. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a race of men, armed with this formidable weapon, once issued from the Alpino-Danubian region, and moving in different directions overran the richest quarters of Europe.† More bronze swords of the foliate pattern have been found in Ireland than in any other European area of the same size. It is evident, therefore, that bronze-sword warriors in strong force once descended on our island, and imposed their yoke on its neolithic inhabitants. But that invasion would take us back to an era that ended on the continent not later than 800 B.C.

No memory of the bronze-sword conquest could possibly have reached the literati of the Gaels who first strung together the historic legends of the country. Though conquerors in Ireland, the leaf-sword migrants were themselves a beaten and a hunted host. Threatened with enslavement by a race that had acquired

\* See Dr. P. Giles's Art. *Aryan* in *Encycl. Britann.*, 11th Ed.

† See *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* by Harold Peake, F.S.A., chaps. VIII and XIV.

the use of iron, they first fled to the utmost bounds of the mainland. Thence escaping some detachments of them sought shelter among the islands of the Atlantic. In Ireland they flourished as lords and masters for many centuries; for, the iron-sword exterminators not choosing to pursue them hither, they enjoyed during that time undisputed possession of the country.

The bronze-age colonisers of Ireland, no doubt, gradually acquired in their new home some acquaintance with the use of iron. But for this knowledge they were indebted as much to commercial intercourse as to the assaults of foreign marauders. Sea-rovers, it may be presumed, periodically came and departed. But their trade was piracy; and, having preyed and harried our coasts, they returned to their continental bases.

The next great upheaval on the Continent took place when, the Eagles of Rome having surmounted the Alps, Roman armies menaced the existence of every transalpine people to the shores of the Atlantic and the North Sea. The maritime populations being then pressed out towards the deep, the more adventurous of their young men naturally sailed away to seek a happier destiny elsewhere. To this period belongs the series of invasions with which our legendary history associates the names Nemedh, Fir Bolg, Tuatha De Danann, and "Sons of Miledh." Though they contended here with might and main for the soil of Ireland, the immigrant hosts were probably all well known to one another, and all akin by racial stock.

Between the Danube and the high Alps the bronze-sword Wiros ruled over a population that had developed the neolithic phase of culture to an advanced stage.\* The lakes of that area were thickly covered with pile-dwellings before the arrival of the Wiros; nor were the lake-habitations abandoned until the iron-armed Wiros bore down on the region with fire and sword. The bronze Wiros had then become habituated to lacustrine modes of life, and no doubt had learned to appreciate the utility of water envelopments for shielding the domestic hearth against the predatory designs of men as well as of savage animals. That experience, we may be sure, the bronze-users treasured up during the era of their enforced wanderings, and subsequently turned to account in their permanent settlements.

In Ireland, too, there was once a well-defined lacustrine area of occupation; and the fact that Breifne lay centrally within its contour can hardly be devoid of ethnological significance. The lacustrine sites that have so far been discovered in Ireland number 221; and of that total the counties Fermanagh, Leitrim, and Cavan have yielded 84, or considerably more than a third.

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\* See Keller's *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland* (translated by J. E. Lee), and R. Munro's *Lake Dwellings of Europe*.

The yields from Monaghan, Sligo and Roscommon, when added together, come to 46, or rather more than a fifth.\* It follows that the sites disclosed in the six counties just named far out-number all that have come to light in the remaining 26 counties of Ireland. When viewed on the map the six counties that head the list are seen to lie in pairs along three parallel directions. Fermanagh and Monaghan constitute a northern zone; Sligo and Roscommon a southern; while the middle space is occupied by Leitrim and Cavan. Geographically, therefore, Breifne forms the nucleus of a tract which is pervaded throughout by the traces of ancient lake-dwellers, and which by reason of this specific feature deserves to be classed apart in our archæological schemes as distinctively the lacustrine region of Ireland.

Antrim and Galway come next in importance as seats of lake-dwelling settlements, Antrim having 20 sites to show and Galway 19. But of the earliest lake-folk who settled in the country the main bodies would appear to have come in through Breifne, probably *via* the Erne. Minor parties, no doubt, may have landed at other points of the coast, and established themselves in suitable localities as detached groups. But the only lake-dwelling colonies that have left permanent marks behind were associated with the Breifne water-systems, with Galway and with Antrim.

Our Annals supply ample evidence of the fact that in mediæval times Irish chieftains often chose to dwell in lake retreats. In 1512, for example, the crannog of Magauran, or the mansion of the Magauran chief in Ballymagauran lake, was captured by the Maguires.† In 1560 Tadhg O'Rourke, son of Brian Ballagh, was drowned when rowing to a crannog across a lough in Co. Leitrim.‡ Lake residences survived in Ireland to an exceptionally late period; but the date of origination of such residences, there can be no doubt, goes back to a remote antiquity. While the articles recovered from lacustrine sites represent, as might be expected, the newer archæological ages in greater abundance than the older, nevertheless a sufficiency of bronze objects, as well as of flint, bone, and wood implements, appears among the heterogeneous medley to prove that the pioneer lake-dwellers of the country must have passed away long before the commencement of our insular iron-age. Stone moulds for casting bronze celts, arrow-heads, and darts, such as those found in Lough Scur and Lough Ramor,§ were surely not fashioned after the lake-dwellers of Breifne had become familiar with the use of iron.

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\* For Map showing distribution of lacustrine sites see Col. Wood-Martin's *Lake Dwellings of Ireland*, p. 250.

† *Annals of the Four Masters*.

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ See Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the R.I.A. Museum, pp. 91 and 93.

The use of crannogs for royal residences was not less characteristic of the centuries preceding the Anglo-Norman invasion than of the centuries which followed. As a natural consequence of tribal warfare the practice had extended, *pari passu*, with the multiplication of septs. The kings and champions of our heroic tales abode in duns; and so, too, did the chiefs of the newer race that rose to power on the ruins of Temhair Luachra and Emhain Macha. In the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era, on the other hand, we come repeatedly in sight of royal seats that are shielded by water expanses. Even the palace of the great Brian Boru at Kincora stood on an insulated site at the lower end of Lough Derg.

It cannot be supposed that the earliest crannog-dwellers of the Breifne region were a people who had got cut up into conflicting factions. But Ireland had a widely diffused population in neolithic times; and might it not have been that the new race, albeit possessing superior war-weapons, took to the water as a measure of security against the uprisings of rebellious thralls? This supposition is, no doubt, possible; but when tested by facts it will be seen to be quite untenable. North-east Clare, comprising the baronies of Burren, Upper Bunratty, and Tulla, is more densely strewn with dolmens and megaliths than any other part of Ireland, not even the County Sligo excepted.\* This means that the pre-Aryan folk had exceptionally populous and powerful settlements in north-east Clare. Lakes and lakelets abound in the same quarter; yet from one end of it to the other not a vestige of any lake-dwelling has ever been found.

Cork County is enriched with a goodly array of megaliths; † nevertheless Cork has not a single lacustrine site to show. Neither has Kerry, a county which—though poorly supplied with dolmens—is proved by unmistakable marks to have harboured very ancient communities of coast-dwellers. Gaelic Leinster—in which I include the six south-eastern counties, or those lying between the Boyne mouth and Waterford harbour—supplies not a solitary trace of a lake-settlement, early or late. Parts of Leinster, nevertheless—South Dublin, for example, and South Kilkenny—were thickly peopled in neolithic times. ‡

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\* See Map in Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1.

† *Ibidem*.

‡ I am bound to note that Prof. Macalister, whose judgment of course is of immense weight, takes a different view of the genesis of our lake-dwellings. At page 256 of his *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times* he writes: "The Irish lake-dwellings are all of the Iron Age at the earliest"; and again, (the Gaelic invaders) "had seized the lands of the bronze-age aborigines, and had had to protect themselves against the wrath of their vassals. Accordingly they established themselves in islands in the lakes." The theory which I propound appears to me to be the only one that is capable of explaining *all* the facts of the case.

The original pile-builders of Breifne may, therefore, be presumed to have been a migrant branch of a race of lake-dwellers. Nobody would dream of suggesting that the bronze-sword Wiros who brought the proto-Gaelic speech to Ireland came here direct from the Alpine highlands. Generations—perhaps a century or more—must have intervened between the flight of the pile-builders from the Alps and the arrival of the bronze men in Ireland. But the retreating Wiros surely built themselves habitations for emergency purposes in many temporary settlements along the waterways that guided them outwards to the sea. It would be as reasonable to hold that during the period of their peregrinations they parted with the art of house construction altogether as that they allowed the traditional style of architecture to fall into disuse.

The initial founders of pile villages among the Alps were not the Wiros, but the more primitive people whom the Wiros had subdued. The Alpine aborigines, like the Irish dolmen-builders, fell under the yoke of the Wiros because they were equally ignorant of the use of metals. Neither population had advanced much beyond the neolithic stage of culture; but, apart from this negative characteristic, the two races had little in common. The Alpine folk built no dolmens. Tumuli are numerous throughout all sub-Danubian lands, but megaliths or stone monuments of the pre-historic ages are nowhere to be seen. Physically, too, the Alpines contrasted with the pre-Aryan Irish in features that differentiate them as distinct racial types.

The Alpine people were, and are, broad-headed, or brachycephalic. The Irish aborigines were narrow-headed, or dolichocephalic. While very unlike in build of body the two breeds approximated in the quality of pigmentation, that is, colour of skin, hair, and eyes; for darkness was the prevailing hue among both. The Wiros, on the other hand, were a white-skinned, fair-haired, blue-eyed race, taller than the Alpines, and still taller than the Mediterranean stock which supplied our country with its earliest inhabitants.\*

It is by no means improbable that some of the old-Alpine pile-constructors accompanied the bronze-sword Wiros who wrested Ireland from its Mediterranean occupiers; and if such was the fact—if broad-heads from the Alps co-operated in the bronze-age invasion of our island—it would follow that the three fundamental stocks that have contributed most largely to the peopling of Europe must have commingled here long years before the dawn of European history. There is no ground for believing that brachycephalic colonisers from any quarter of the globe ever gained a footing in Ireland as an isolated community, or

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\* On the anthropological topics here glanced at see Ripley's *Races of Europe*, Chap. VI; and H. J. Fleure's *Peoples of Europe*, Sections 1 and 2.

that the mass of our native population was ever sensibly impregnated by a brachycephalic strain, whether dark or fair. But symptoms of brachycephalic influence, nevertheless, are not wanting among the observed data of Irish craniology; and, all things considered, it seems not unlikely that ere our iron age commenced the Irish people were a well-mixed breed.

The Prose Dinnsenchus of Magh Sleacht informs us that the old divinity Crom Cruaich was "the god of every folk that colonised Ireland"; and the statement implicitly excludes the neolithic aborigines of the country from any right to be regarded as the initial propagators of Crom's religion on Irish soil. If the Dinnsenchus expounder is right Crom's worship must have been introduced by the earliest colonisers of Ireland, that is, by the people who are proved by the combined testimony of archæology and philology to have been the bronze-sword Wiros. How are we to explain the fact that Crom's metropolitan temple in Ireland was set up at the very navel of Breifne? The question, no doubt, has often been asked—has sometimes, perhaps, led inquiring minds to ponder on its solution—yet, so far as I am aware, no conclusive, or even plausible, answer to the question has so far seen the light.

In Cæsar's Gaul the oldest and most sacred tribe were the Carnutes. In their land stood the Celtic Dodona, or Delphi, wherein the Druids of Gaul held their annual assemblies. The selectest *stirps* of the bronze Wiros would, in like manner, have resided around their chief national shrine; or rather they would have erected the shrine at the focus of their territory. The Wiros who occupied Breifne after the fulfilment of the bronze-sword conquest must have held among their compatriots a rank corresponding to the status of the Carnutes in Celtic Gaul; and Wiros of such high social importance would not have chosen Breifne for their residential seat had the region not attracted them by its special suitability for pile-construction purposes. The pile-dwellings and the bronze-swords, when viewed in conjunction, will resolve the puzzle of the origin of Magh Sleacht's sanctity more satisfactorily than any other theory which I, at least, can entertain a present hope of conceiving. Several centuries before the deity Crom was brought from the Danube to Ireland Crom's *alter ego*, Kronos, was taken to Greece by one of the earliest outgoing waves of Wiros.

The hypothesis which I have here formulated would imply that Breifne, during the inception period of our bronze age, played an important part in the diffusion of proto-Gaelic speech through the country. The older language, we may be sure, took a long time to kill; and not improbably some cases of it withstood effacement to the end of the bronze-sword regime. As spoken by the more secluded tribes, remnants of the same language probably survived even under the Gaels; and, though the re-

motest tribes were eventually Gaelicised in speech it would be a mistake to imagine that their archaic vocabulary has yet been wholly eliminated from our geographical nomenclature.

For our knowledge of proto-historic Breifne we have to rely mainly on legends which were gathered up by the Gaels from the older races whom they had crushed into servitude. The ethnic traditions, compacted into a continuous narrative, have come to us through the medium of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, a tract which professes to outline in chronological sequence the whole series of invasions culminating with the Gaelic conquest. The coming of the Gaels and their overthrow of the Tuatha De Danann naturally constitute the main theme of a work composed for the conquerors by their own sycophantic bards. Not improbably, indeed, the scheme of antecedent colonisations is an adjunct of later introduction, intended to supply a suitable background to the national saga of the Gaels, and by so doing to heighten its dramatic effects. The *Leabhar Gabhala* in its existing shape is so overladen with adventitious embellishments, so altered by organic reconstructions, that no caution can be too strong against its uncritical use. Christian monks, intent on adjusting the old tale to the scriptural record, hesitated not to tamper radically with its contents; while professors of the new learning that streamed into Ireland in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era lavished their erudition in efforts to establish a synchronistic harmony between the shadowy Gaelic past and the history of the ancient world.

On the other hand, a counter warning must be registered against the temptation to reject our legendary inheritance in the mass because of the extent to which it is impregnated with fictitious ingredients. The imaginations of the bards invested the Tuatha De Danann and Fir Bolg world with a supernatural atmosphere. We view the human actors of that stage through a mirage of unreality, which magnifies them into demigods, and renders them indistinguishable from the divinities who mingle in their contests. In recent times the eminent *savant* D'Arbois de Jubainville, while conceding some degree of actuality to the Fir Bolg as a people, boldly pronounced the Tuatha De Danann and the Fomoiré to be rival orders of gods. The Tuatha De, he affirmed, were the "good gods", the Fomoiré being the opposing host of "wicked gods," or "gods of night and death." \* For a generation or more the interpretation of Gaelic mythology has been controlled by this *ipse dixit* of Monsieur D'Arbois. One might challenge his justification for summarily disposing of the Tuatha De and the Fomoiré by an arbitrary formula; but in doing so one would have run the risk of being

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\* See *The Irish Mythological Cycle* (transl. by R. I. Best) p. 93.

laughed out of court. The theory offered a plausible solution of a perplexing problem, in a form so simple that none could resist its fascination. A school of mythologists who elevated the dictum into an article of faith rose at once to ascendancy; and if an independent thinker dared even tentatively to re-examine the question he was certain to be branded as a "euhemerist."

But fashions change in all spheres of life, bringing about from time to time relaxation from the tyranny of cults and conventions. Old stocks of hero-tales and racial legends are no longer a drug in the ethnological market, and their value as aids to prehistoric inquiry is visibly appreciating from year to year. Even the British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was long discarded as a rubbish-heap of fables, is arousing a fresh interest, and by many its extravagances are now deemed worthy of a further sifting. Homer's description of Ilium has been amply vindicated by archæological exploration. Yet among the *dramatis personæ* of Homer's Iliad divinities from Olympus act leading parts. Homer's primacy in the domain of epic literature is nowise impaired—rather is it fortified—by that superb episode of his art's creation, Hephæstus forging the armour of Achilles. In comparison with Homer's masterpiece our own early sagas, it is true, represent only a crude and puerile standard of bard-craft. But if the use which the *Leabhar Gabhala* makes of supernatural apparatus condemns it to the worthless category of a tale of gods the position of the immortal poet of Chios as a witness to human happenings should be regarded, on the same principle, as hopelessly shaken.

The people whom the Gaels called Tuatha De Danann may, or may not, have known themselves by that name. But there is no adequate reason to doubt that a body of immigrants corresponding to that people in mundane characteristics once reached our shores, and contended for mastery in our country. The actual Tuatha De Danann were made formidable, not by the auxiliary gods and goddesses whom bardic fancy associated with their leaders, but by the superior knowledge of practical arts, more particularly of the art of metallurgy, which they brought with them from foreign parts. Practised smelters and manufacturers of iron ore, in Ireland they were naturally attracted to the region richest in iron, and they settled in the heart of Breifne. There constructing furnaces they set vigorously to work, and equipped themselves for the great battle of Magh Turedh where they overthrew the Fírbolg host.

The old tract in the Book of Leinster that relates the story of that battle tells that the Tuatha De Danann, having stolen secretly into Ireland, entrenched themselves among the mountains of Magh Rein.\* Keating rarely deviates from the Gaelic authori-

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\* *Leabhar Gabhala* (ed. by Macalister and MacNeill), p. 148.



ties; but, utilising in this instance a more modern geography, he fixes the camp of the Tuatha De Danann with greater precision on Sliabh-an-Iarainn.\*

Having shattered the Fir Bolg at the battle of southern Magh Turedh the Tuatha De Danann are said to have ruled over Ireland for a period of 197 years. Then a new host of invaders appeared, led by the "sons of Miledh," who vanquished the Tuatha De Danann at the battle of Tailtiu, and deprived them of the sovereignty of the country. The Four Masters fix the dates of these battles, respectively, at the years 1897 B.C. and 1700 B.C. Roderick O'Flaherty, the most critical of Gaelic chronologists, brings down the same events to the years 1212 B.C. and 1015 B.C.;† and his soberer estimates will serve even better than the fantastic figures of the Four Masters to illustrate the extravagant antiquity claimed by Gaelic historians for the advent of the Gaels to Ireland.

The traditions of the Gaels themselves, when read by the light of archæology, suffice to confute the date-systems of their professional chroniclers. "This," wrote Cormac MacCuillennain about the close of the ninth century A.D., "is the *senchas* (story) of the Gael. When the battle of Moytura was being fought Goibniu the Smith was in the forge making the weapons for the Tuatha De Danann, and Luchtine the Carpenter was making the shafts for the spears, and Creidne the Brazier was making rivets for the same spears. *Dicunt autem Scoti* that Goibniu the Smith *faciebat hastas* by three actions, and the last action was the finish." ‡

The character of the writer—"a king, a bishop, an anchorite, a scribe, and a man profoundly learned in the Scotie tongue" §—sufficiently guarantees the genuineness of the tradition here recorded from his pen. If the material of the *hastæ* which Goibniu manufactured were bronze, the weapons would have been completed by a single operation, the pouring of the molten metal into a mould. The *hastæ* of the Tuatha De Danann were evidently iron spears and darts. Goibniu drew an iron bar red-hot from the furnace, laid it on the anvil, turned it three times under the lightning blows of his hammer, and then flung it from him a finished lance-head or javelin.¶ Either of the dates cited for the first battle of Magh Turedh would rule out bronze not less effectually than iron from our speculations as to the substance on which the wonderful Goibniu wrought; for Ireland's bronze age did not commence until long after 1212 B.C.

\* Irish Texts Society's Edition Vol. I., p. 212.

† *Ogygia*, Part II., pp. 84, 5.

‡ *Sánas Chormaic* (ed. by W. Stokes), p. 123.

§ F. Masters, *sub. anno* 903 A.D.

¶ For a fuller description of the process see the Historic Tale *Cath Maige Tured* in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XII. (Text and Translation by W. Stokes), and O'Curry's MS. materials, p. 243 *et seq.*

The Fir Bolg and the Tuatha De Danann, just as well as the Gaels, went into battle armed with iron accoutrements. The period of strife which these names symbolise probably commenced in the first century B.C. and ended in the second century of our era.\* During that war-charged interval Breifne must have been regarded as a possession of superlative importance by every rival pair of combatants; for its central mountain yielded ready supplies of iron ore.

Both Horace and Ovid sound the praises of the *Noricus ensis*,† the sword-blade most prized by every Roman son of Mars. There is good reason to believe that in early times Breifne deserved to be reputed the Noricum of Ireland. Memories of ancient mining have not yet wholly faded from the districts around Slieve-Anierin; and the diggings apparently had not ceased in 1645 when Dr. Gerard Boate indited his treatise on "Ireland's Natural History." Iron mines, according to Boate, were then worked "in the county of Roscommon by the side of Lough Allen; and in the County of Leitrim, on the East-side of the said Lough, where the mountains are so full of this metal, that thereof it had got in Irish the name of Slew-Neren, that is, Mountains of Iron."‡

The noted armourer of the Tuatha De Danann stamped his name so indelibly on the same locality that it lives to-day but slightly disfigured by the effects of time or of speech-change. Our great topographer, Dr. John O'Donovan, visited the district of Glengevlin in Breifne over eighty years since, and there enriched his notes with a delightful piece of folk-lore. "I find it chronicled by tradition," writes O'Donovan, "that this immortal glen derived its name from the famous cow, Glas Gaibhlen, who belonged to a celebrated Tuatha De Danann smith, called Gaibhlen, who, according to the tradition that still lingers here, kept his furnace in the townland of Doire-na-tuan, near the source of the Shannon, where he melted the ore of the mountain Sliabh-an-Iarainn, and where there has been a forge ever since. The cow supplied all the glen with milk, and, when passing out of it, her udder, which was so vastly large, formed the gap between the two mountains called Beul-a-Bhealaigh, that is, the 'Mouth of the Pass.' What caused her to forsake the glen is no longer remembered by tradition."§

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\* As the result of a well-reasoned archaeological argument Sir C. Ridgeway refers the traditional invasions of Ireland to the late La Tène period of culture, that is, the century just preceding our era (see *The Date of the first Shaping of the Cuchullin Saga* in *Proc. of the British Academy*, Vol. II., pp. 135, 136).

† Horace, *Odes* I., 16, and *Epode*. XVII. Ovid *Metamorph.*, XIV, 712.

‡ Chap. XVI., Sec. 6. If the *vadum* of Ballyconnell be, as O'Donovan believed, the ancient *Ath na Mianna* (*vide infra*, p. 80) Sliabh Rossan (*Anglicæ Russell*) must also have been the seat of mining operations in early times; for *Ath na Mianna* means "the ford of the mine-workers." (See Thurneysen's *Irische Helden und Koenigsage*, p. 582).

§ Ordnance Survey Letters, Cavan and Leitrim, p. 16.

Among the Noric mountains, in Styria, in Carinthia, and in Carniola, the wave of Aryans who destroyed the bronze-sword domination in Europe unearthed the metal that made them irresistible in war.\* The mines of Breifne, in like manner, supplied the La Tène invaders of our island with material for extinguishing the reign of bronze-sword dominators, and for engaging among themselves in many subsequent bouts of mutual destruction. The word Aryans, though sanctioned by long usage, is misleading; for it implies that the people so named were originally nursed in an Asiatic cradle. We shall be on safer ground, therefore, if we discard the term Aryans, and substitute for it another that involves no hypothesis of the kind. The name Wiros, now coming into vogue as an alternative for Aryans,† so admirably serves its intended purpose that it may be adopted without reservation or misgiving.

The iron-using Wiros make their appearance on the historic stage about the middle of the fifth century B.C., under the time-honoured name of Celts.‡ Long before that date they had crushed their bronze-age forerunners, or chased them in many directions from the Alpine zone to the ocean. The fugitives whose leaf-shaped swords of bronze conquered Ireland from the primitive neolithic population were not different from the Celts by race, but they belonged to an older wave of the fundamental stock of Wiros. We do not possess the least warrant for calling these bronze-sword Wiros Celts; and we should take a gross liberty with ethnological terminology if even tentatively we denominated them Gaels. Yet we have ample justification for believing that they were the very people who brought the proto-Gaelic language to Ireland.

Those monster battles of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, that are said at different times to have decided the fate of Ireland on a single field, may safely be viewed as poetic conceptions which sum up and compress into episodic proportions struggles of long continuance and marked during their progress by many vicissitudes of fortune. It would have been utterly impossible for a body of invaders in any age to overcome the older occupiers of the country in a day or in a year, not to speak of achieving mastery within its shores by means of one concentrated blow. Clothed though much of its surface was with primeval forest, Ireland sustained a numerous and widely diffused population even in neolithic times.

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\* See Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, Chap. IX.

† See Peake's *The Bronze Age and The Celtic World*, *passim*.

‡ Herodotus II., 33 and IV., 49. Hecataeus of Miletus, who wrote perhaps half a century before Herodotus, is sometimes credited with being the first author to mention the Celts. The works of Hecataeus are lost; but in some fragments of them that are quoted by Stephen of Byzantium mention is made of Celtica (i.e. Celt-land) as bordering Massilia, and including Narbo or Narbonne. No surviving passage of Hecataeus speaks of *the Celts* as a people.

Cantonment by cantonment the scattered population-groups had to be rounded up and flagellated into submission.

At the very outset, in fact, our island had to be subdued in detail by the bronze-sword adventurers; and, their superiority in arms notwithstanding, the task most probably cost them long and laborious years of warfare. By what miracle could the so-called "children of Miledh," have accomplished in one day a feat which eluded the armies of Queen Elizabeth for half a score of strenuous campaigns?

The federated monarchy of the Fir Bolg, it is seriously alleged, was shattered in a single battle by the Tuatha De Danann; and then in turn the victors succumbed with equal rapidity under the blows of "the sons of Miledh." Such is the sequence of events as arranged by later historians of the Gael. But these historians, there is good reason to believe, have tampered with the older and purer tradition. In 886 died Maelmura Othna—Maelmura of Othan, or of Fahan in Donegal—a man of such surpassing eminence in letters that he was looked up to as "The King-Poet of Ireland." \* This "erudite historian of the Scotie tongue," as he is styled by the Four Masters, composed a poem on "The Gaedhal," in which it is related:—

"They spread themselves through Eri, to her coasts,  
As is recorded,  
They made an alliance with the Firbolg,  
And with the sons of Nemedh.

Their women having been stolen, they made alliance  
With the Tuatha Dea." †

According to the well-informed Maelmura, therefore, the Scoti, or Gaels, won their way to supremacy rather by astute policy than by superior valour. We learn from him, moreover, that the Gaels, before accomplishing their purpose, had to placate the Clanna Nemidh just as well as the Fir Bolg. Indeed, it is implied by the order in which the names are mentioned that the Fir Bolg colonisation preceded the coming of Nemedh and his sons.

Maelmura does not mention the Fomoire, those pitiless task-masters who are credited by the *Leabhar Gabhala* with having scourged the Clanna Nemidh out of Ireland. Yet the Fomoire, without a doubt, conflicted with the Gaels just as well as with the Clanna Nemidh. Who were all these mysterious people—Fomoire, Clanna Nemidh, Fir Bolg and Company—and whence did they come? The materials for tracking them supplied by

\* *Annals of Ulster* (886).

† *The Irish Version of Nennius* (ed. by J. H. Todd, D.D.), p. 251.

our native sources, Maelmura included, are unhappily of little assistance when taken by themselves; but, if I mistake not, clues are recoverable from the texts of Cæsar, Tacitus, Strabo, and Ptolemy that would render the task of unravelling our proto-historic ethnology less hopeless than it looks.

The offspring of Nemedh, at all events, cannot be supposed to have evacuated the country, or to have dwindled to impotence, seeing that the Gaels had to treat with them on Irish soil. The same people may be traced in Scotland by their stronghold of Nemetoduros, the Nemthur that in later years had the honour of giving birth to St. Patrick. A Munster Macbeth who murdered the high-king Conaire in 200 A.D., and usurped the provincial throne of the Clann Degaidh, lives in history as Nemedh son of Sraibhcenn.\*

The eponymous Nemedh was none other than the great sky-god whom the Continental Celts worshipped as Nemetos. As *neamh*, meaning heaven, the root-word of Nemedh functions vigorously in our current Irish speech. The Nemetes—a people who are proved by their tribal designation to have been likewise “children of Nemedh (=Nemetos)” —fought under Ariovistus against Julius Cæsar in 58 B.C., † and subsequently abode around Noviomagus, now Speyer, or Spires, on the Rhine. ‡ Cæsar numbers these Nemetes among the Germani. Such they doubtless were; but the name of their capital, Noviomagus, proves them to have been Celticised in speech. The Helvetii lived near the Lower Rhine before migrating to Switzerland, some fifty years before they conflicted with Cæsar.§ Most likely the Nemetes moved south, about the same time, from an earlier seat along the outer Rhine.

The Rhineland populations whom Cæsar names Germani must not be mistaken for the progenitors of the so-called “German nation” of to-day. The true Germani occupied a restricted area east of the Rhine, whence in Cæsar’s time some of them had broken into Gaul and settled among the Belgæ. The best authenticated of all the Germani, both east and west of the Rhine, were the Eburones of the Ardennes region in Belgium. Grouping the Eburones with three smaller tribes, Cæsar tells that they were all known by the common appellation Germani.|| Yet, these Eburones had kings bearing the characteristically Celtic names Ambiorix and Catuvolcus.

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\* *Vide infra*. It may be noted that the Scotch-Gaelic king Duncan, whom Macbeth assassinated, was a descendant of Conaire, through Cairbre Riada. In the Brehon Laws *nemedh* is used as a class-name to denote a dignitary or privileged person. See Glossary in Vol. VI.

† *De Bello Gallico*, I., 51.

‡ *Ptolemy II.*, 9, 9.

§ Tacitus, *Germania*, Chap. XXVIII.

|| “*Qui uno nomine Germani appellantur*” (*Caesar II.*, 4).

Though the Eburones, like other tribes of Germani, had cut their way into Gaul by force of arms, west of the Rhine they identified themselves in all respects with the national life of the Celts. When parleying with Caesar's envoy, Arpineius, Ambiorix pleaded the duty of patriotism as the motive which led him to stand by Gaul in the fight against Rome. "It is not easy for Gauls," he said, "to withhold help from their compatriots, particularly in a cause whose object is the recovery of national independence." \*

Inside Gaul, so far as is known, the system of joint-kingship was peculiar to the Eburones. Under the Gaelic regime in Ireland the practice of electing partner kings was far from uncommon. The institution of arch-sovereignty, which helped so powerfully to build up the strength and solidarity of the Gaels, had flourished among the continental Celts from time immemorial. In the fifth century B.C. Ambicatus, king of the Bituriges, was high-king of Celticum, † that is, of all the Celts both east and west of the Rhine. ‡ In the second century B.C. Bituitus, king of the Arverni, was over-king of the Celts, § the last of a long line of mighty, though unremembered, potentates. At the battle of Vindalium in 121 B.C. Bituitus was overthrown by the combined forces of Fabius Maximus and Domitius Ahenobarbus; and at Alba, near Rome, he ended his days in miserable captivity. With the fall of Bituitus collapsed the institution of high-kingship among the Celts, to be followed by an era of disintegration in Gaul which steadily paved the way for the eventual conquest of the country by Julius Caesar. The internal history of Gaul between the years 121 and 58 B.C. shows many points of resemblance to the history of Ireland from the death of Malachy the Great in 1022 A.D. to the coming of the Anglo-Normans.

The country which the Romans named Gaul, though the richest and most powerful dominion of the Celts, was only a part of ancient Celticum, or Celt-land. || The tribes who owned that vast territory formed collectively an aggregate of petty kindgoms, self-subsisting individually, but presided over in their totality by a single suzerain. What can be more likely than that a people who had been schooled in the statecraft of the Celts, when establishing themselves in a foreign land, would have framed their machinery of state according to the Celtic model? And, conversely, when we find a new colony setting up an exact copy of the Celtic scheme of government in the country of their adoption have we not strong ground for presuming that the colonisers had been bred

\* *Caesar*, V., 27.

† *Livy*, V., 34.

‡ This question is fully treated in C. Jullian's *Histoire de la Gaule*. See particularly Vol. II., Chap. XV.

§ *Strabo*, IV., 2, 3.

|| See *Dionysius Halicarnassus* XIV., 1, 1.

to the political ideas of the Celts? The Fir Bolg and associated hosts came from some quarter of Celticum—from some region that had not at that date discarded the traditional Celtic polity—and they naturally transferred to Ireland the hierarchical system of kingship to which they had been accustomed in their native seats.

So far as we know, the plan of dual kingship was never in use among the Celts. That device seems to have been an invention of the Germani; and no doubt it was designed, in the interests of civil concord, as an antidote against perpetually recurring rivalries for the tribal headship. It is not likely that states were often governed by companion kings, reigning in partnership. But in two instances, at least, we find such an arrangement in force.

The Eburones, as has been seen, had joint-kings, Ambiorix and Catuvolcus,\* in the year 54 B.C. About a century later the Frisians of the coast were similarly governed by a pair of kings, Malorix and Verritus.† The Frisians were Germani; but, like the Eburones, they had evidently been Celticised, for their kings, Malorix and Verritus, bore Celtic names. Verritus, or Veritus, is syllable by syllable the same word as the Virido of Viridomarus, the name of a nobleman of the Celtic Aedui.‡ In Ireland Veritus would have been Feradach, and Viridomarus would have been Feradach Mor. Malorix is simply Malo or Malos, with the suffix rix (=righ, or king) added. It will be remembered that one of the last high-kings of the Irian line in Ireland was named Mal.

Let us now look more closely at the doings of the Fir Bolg colonisers when they came to Ireland; and it may profit us also to keep an eye on their relations with the Fomoiré. The Fomoiré were primarily sea-rovers, robber gangs who subsisted by piracy, by pillaging coast-lands, and by levying tribute from coast-land communities. They had a fortress at Toirinis, now Tory Island, into which they gathered the spoils of the country and the contributions exacted by their chiefs.§ The Clanna Nemidh, in particular, suffered woefully at their hands; and, if we can trust the traditional historians, the Clanna Nemidh were eventually well-nigh exterminated by the Fomoiré. The few that survived broke up into three parties, and fled to foreign lands. One of the little companies multiplied in exile so abundantly that growing

\* Caesar V., 24.

† Tacitus Annals XIII, 54.

‡ Caesar VII., 38. The king of the Germani, or Gaesatae, whom Marcellus slew at Clastidium in 222 B.C. had the same name. (See Plutarch, *Marcellus*).

§ *L. Gabhala* (Macalister and MacNeill), p. 77; *Book of Fenagh*, p. 250; and Keating, Vol. I., p. 180. The country around Bundoran—the place appointed for collecting the tribute—was called “Magh Ceitne of the Fomoiré” down to comparatively recent times. (See O’Clery’s *Life of Hugh Roe O’Donnell*, p. 152).

strength of numbers revived in them the courage of their forefathers; and they set out again for Ireland to reassert their patrimonial right to its soil.

The descendants of Nemedh returned as a tripartite host, led by five captains, Slainghe, Rudhraighe, Sengann, Gann, and Genann.\* The three fleets put in at different harbours; and, disembarking one by one, the crews recaptured the country without meeting an enemy. The Fomoiré were evidently not colonisers; nor did it suit them to tarry in unpeopled regions. It was not the land of Ireland they wanted, but the goods and persons of Ireland's inhabitants. The children of Nemedh re-appeared under a new set of names, which they had seemingly acquired during the period of expatriation. The followers of Slainghe were called Gaileoin. The men of Rudhraighe and of Genann were styled Fir Domhnann. While the division led by Gann and Sengann bore more particularly the designation Fir Bolg, the word appears to have been a common appellative applicable to all alike.† "It is correct to call them all Fir Bolg in general," says the *Leabhar Gabhala*; and the statement is no doubt well-founded, notwithstanding the ludicrous etymology given in explanation of its origin.

A five-fold partition having been made of the country, each of the "Fifths" or "Provinces" was constituted a kingdom. But the unity of the nation was preserved by the agreed appointment of a high-king, to whom the provincial dynasts rendered fealty. Rudhraighe's "Fifth" extended from the Boyne to the Droghais, or Drowes. Genann's "Fifth" stretched from the Drowes to the Shannon. Slainghe and his Gaileoin received the south-eastern segment, from the Boyne to the outer Barrow. Sengann and Gann shared between them the whole round of Munster. To Slainghe, by common consent, was given suzerainty over the whole kingdom. It thus appears that the principle of development had nothing to do with moulding the Fir Bolg pentarchate. That scheme did not evolve itself on Irish soil as the result of experimental adaptations to local conditions. It was imported ready-made by the allied hosts, and put into operation the moment they had taken possession of the country.

Seeing that, according to Maelmura of Othan, the Gaels rose to power rather by dexterous policy than by force of arms—by forming advantageous unions with the folk-groups already in occupation rather than by provoking them in the gross into a temper of hostility—the pre-Gaelic possessors of Ireland cannot be supposed to have sunk instantaneously, or even rapidly, to the rank of helots. Conflicts there undoubtedly were, and many displacements of the population. But old tribes, nevertheless,

\* *L. Gabhala*, p. 119.

† "Ar roba d'aoine cenel agus d'aen bunadh doibh" ("They were of one race and one origin"). *loc cit.*



held their ground unshaken for long periods of time ; and through the instrumentality of politic "alliances," or leagues, some of them were eventually incorporated into the sovereign order of the so-called Gaels. Keeping all this in mind let us see how it fared with Breifne under the programme of land distribution which Slainghe and his confreres arranged.

The boundaries of the "Fifths," or provinces, of the new colonists were marked by certain well-known points of the coast. The interior of the country does not appear to have been delimited ; and the natural inference is that the central core of the island counted for little in the eyes of the adventurers. They distributed themselves around the coast, doubtless because they were offshoots of some maritime people, or peoples, and had contracted habits of life that attached them to the sea. Ptolemy has left us a list of the principal tribal-settlements of Ireland about the beginning of the second century of our era. They number sixteen ; and, curiously enough, they too lie along the seaboard. Ptolemy's Ireland, like that of the Fir Bolg colonisation, presents a vacant interior surrounded by a continuous ring of shore populations.

In Ptolemy's geography Breifne is occupied by the Erdini. But the territory of the Erdini was wider than Breifne ; for at one side they joined hands with the Vennicnii of Donegal, and at the other with the Nagnatæ of Connaught. On the map, in fact, they come in around the point where the Fifth of Rudhraighe joins the Fifth of Genann. But, inasmuch as the name Fir Domhnann applied equally to the people of Rudhraighe and to the people of Genann, Ptolemy's Erdini are seen to occupy a central position in the area assigned by the *Leabhar Gabhala* to the Fir Domhnann.

The men of Breifne, therefore, in the morning twilight of Irish history were known to foreigners by a name of like sound to Erdini. If the dental consonant be aspirated, in accordance with Gaelic usage, this name becomes nearly identical with Ernai, the designation of the people who once reigned in splendour at Temhair Luachra. While the more reputable Greek *codices* give the word as ERDINOI the Annotator of the *Editio Princeps* of Ptolemy suggests that its original form most probably read ERNAIOI.\* When compared with Ernai neither Ernaei nor Erdini will quite respond to the tests of complete phonological agreement. Yet I hold to the belief, nevertheless, that the people who appear in Ptolemy as Erdini were the very same as those whom the Four Masters called Ernai, under date 3751 A.M. In Müller's Atlas to Ptolemy the Erdini overlap the river Erne, or Saimer ; that is they occupy the identical ground which, as will appear in the sequel was the dwelling-place of the "red-armed Eraind," or Ernai.

\*"Ceterum Venniciorum vicinos consentaneum est habitasse circa magnum Erne fluvium . . . . ; ejusque accolæ non ERDINOUS sed ERNAIOUS dictos esse suspicor" *Claudii Ptolemæi Geographia* (ed. Carolus Müllerus), Vol. I, p. 77.

We cannot be certain that the reading which actually came from Ptolemy was either Erdini or Ernaei ; and, even if we could, we should remember that the famous geographer—who presumably copied from the Phoenician tablets of Marinus of Tyre—was at best able to supply phonetically only an approximation to an approximation to the name of the Saimer's riparian population as sounded in their own country. Known to eastern traders and navigators by some speech-mark like Erdini, that population our native literature reveals as Erainn, or Ernai. The "Erdini" of Breifne and the race of Curoi Mac Daire would thus appear to have been of the same stock in flesh and blood. Between Breifne and Coshlea (Cois-Sleibhe) barony in Limerick there seemingly existed a bond more intimate than could be woven out of any implications of the old Triadist's pronouncement.

When the antiquaries of the Gael set about co-ordinating and stratifying the racial traditions of the country they came face to face with at least three different family-groups of the Ernai. Two of these groups had enjoyed eras of prosperity ; but the third, having apparently never tempted fortune, had never risen to note. When dealing with problems of this kind the Gaelic antiquaries acted on a consistent and an extremely simple plan : they admitted the successful families to the brotherhood of Gaels, and left the failures out in the cold. We know from everyday experience that in all social grades a distinction is made between the people who have got on in life and their poor relations. The same principle governed the Gaelic classification of the Ernai. The erudite O'Flaherty, following the Book of Lecan and other venerable authorities, explains that a certain high-king of the Eremonian line had a son named Oilill Aronn, who acquired large domains in Ulster ; that Oilill's posterity, having appropriated his surname, became known as Ernai ; that these Ernai branched into two divisions, the Deaghads of Munster and the Dal Fiatach of Ulster ; and that neither should be confounded with the older Ernai of the Fir Bolg race, for between those obscure Ernai and themselves there was not the remotest affinity.\*

It is, to say the least, highly improbable that two royal breeds would have adopted an appellative that had got debased by its association with an unregarded servile tribe. But, passing over the inherent weakness in the credibility of the official classification as given by O'Flaherty, let us visit the Ernai in their northern and southern habitats, and see whether any marks of correspondence can there be detected. Of the Ernai of Breifne

\* "Fiachus enim Marinus AENEAE Turmeach regis filius ex Herimonia gente filium genuit Oilillum Aronn, qui terras in Ultonia obtinuit, a cuius cognomine Aronn posterii Ernai dicti, ab antiquioribus Ernais Belgarun e semine diversi, in Deagadas Momoniae, et Dalfiatachios Ultoniae postea distincti." (Ogygia, p. 266.)

an imperishable memorial survives in the name of the water-channel that irrigates their country. The Erdini, or Ernai, did not themselves give the name Erne to the fine river that traverses Breifne diagonally on its way to the Atlantic. There are instances in which Celtic tribes, or nations, bore names that were shared by rivers; but in every such case the name was ultimately a divine symbol, and represented a presiding deity.

The neighbours of the Ernai, and their successors in Breifne, knew the central waterway of the colony as the Ernai-river, and in course of time the name Erne usurped the river's older title. By the Ernai themselves the same river was called the Saimer,\* or the Sameir.† The fabled Partholan is reputed to have landed at its mouth, on the island of Inis Saimer; ‡ and the legend undoubtedly points to the entrance into Breifne, at a very remote date, of some body of invaders, quite possibly the bronze-sword Wiros, along the course of the Erne.

A second river Saimer comes repeatedly into view in early Ireland, and is still recognisable, though its name has been sportfully metamorphosed. By a remarkable coincidence that *alter ego* of the Erne flows medially through the barony of Coshlea, that is, through the central territory of the once mighty Ernai of Munster. An ode written by Dubhtach Ua Lugair, arch-bard of King Laegaire in the time of St. Patrick, to commemorate the military achievements of Crimthann, king of Leinster, is still extant; and among the many victories with which the poem emblazons Crimthann's record is numbered "*Cath na Samaire ar Samhain*" § (the battle of the Samair at Samhain). "This," writes O'Curry, in elucidation of the name Samair, "is the river now corruptly called the Camhair, || and, therefore, translated into the "Morning Star." It rises at the western extremity of the chain of the *Gailte*, or Galtee, Mountains; runs through the town of Bruff; and passes into the Maigue a little below Bruree in the county Limerick."

The plebeian Ernai of Breifne and the patrician Ernai of Temhair Luachra called the two rivers that fed the hearts of their respective territories by the same name, Samair; and in so doing they supplied us with at least one visible mark of their identity by race. It should be noted, too, that as rivers of the divided Ernai both the Erne and the Morning Star stood far first

\* Book of Lecan. O'Flaherty writes *fluvius Samarius* (*Ogygia*, p. 163.)

† "The Sameir which goes out of the lochs of Erne into the sea" (*Trip. Life of St. Patrick*, p. 251). In his *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, written early in the seventeenth century, Lughaidh O'Clery still used the old name, or *Samair* ("on the bank of the Saimer"). See p. 142 of Rev. D. Murphy's Edition.

‡ See Keating, Vol. I., p. 158.

§ O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 485.

|| Camhair means "the dawn" (O'Brien's Dictionary): hence the designation "Morning Star." See also Joyce's *Place Names*, II., 485-6.

in importance, for they were both main arteries of regions which the Ernai prized as their choicest domiciles.

An old tale of Ireland's heroic period\* relates that Conall Cearnach, when enfeebled by age, was pursued from Cruachan by three "Red-Wolves of the Martine," who cut off his head † in revenge for the slaying of Curoi Mac Daire. "*Is iat tall a cenn de i. d'Ernaibh doib-sein agus a tegluch Ailella robadur,*" says the narrator, in reference to the antecedents of the three *Ruadchoin*. I do not know whether it was by design or accident Kuno Meyer translated this passage: "They were from Erne, and they were in the household of Ailill." But the translation as it stands seems to transfer the discredit, or the glory, of the outrage to the Ernai of Breifne. The Martini, however, were a sub-tribe of the Munster Ernai, and their specific designation had no counterpart in Breifne.

The Ernai appear to have had a particular regard for the name Samair or Saimer. In the suburbs of Dublin, or of Brooklyn, or of Melbourne, one may sometimes see engraved on a brass plate the legend "Breifni House," or, perhaps, "Breifni Lodge"; and when these words meet the eye one may safely infer that the owner of the residence—or, if not he, his father or grandfather—was born not far from the banks of the Erne. On the same principle the Ernai may reasonably be suspected of having brought the name Samair with them from their continental fatherland. Possibly, therefore, the fact that Belgic Gaul had two rivers called Samara may not be devoid of significance.

One of those rivers flowed north through the territory of the Ambiani, and on its banks stood their principal oppidum Samarobriua. ‡ The other flowed east into the Mosa (the Meuse), which it joined at the spot where Namur city presently stands. § Around this eastern Samara was fought the battle in which Cæsar won his famous victory over the Nervii. The same Samara is now the Sambre. The western Samara is the Somme; and Samarobriua is the present city of Amiens. The Ambiani—whose name has been attenuated to Amiens—were a people who traced descent from some eponymous Ambios or Ambio. It has been seen that one of the partner kings who ruled the Eburones in Cæsar's time was Ambio-rix, or in other words that he was a namesake of the eponym of the Ambiani.

For part of its course the eastern Samara washed the lands of the Nervii, and for another part it skirted the Eburones. Cæsar

\* Edited by Kuno Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. I., pp. 102-111.

† O'Donovan (Note to F. Masters, 1470) associates Conall's death with Bel-atha-Chonail (now Ballyconnell) in Breifne; and the Dinnsenchus of Mag Luirg supports this location when it states that Conall fled "to Mag Slecht of Sen-Breifne" (Todd Lectures, X., p. 396). The older name of the ford was *Ath na Mianna*.

‡ *Caesar*, V., 24.

§ See Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, p. 1336.

says that the Eburones were known to everybody as Germani; while Tacitus affirms that the Nervii prided themselves on being Germani by blood.\* The Belgæ, in fact, were so extensively blended with the Germani that it was difficult to say which tribes among them were pure Belgæ, and which were not.†

The Eburones, at all events, were unquestionably Germani; yet in language and nationality they were thorough and uncompromising Celts. Undaunted by reverses Ambiorix stood out resolutely against Cæsar. Sinking under defeat and the fear of capture Catuvolcus put an end to his own life; but Ambiorix fought on to the bitter end. When at length the cause of the Eburones became hopeless he succeeded in eluding Cæsar's toils, and took shelter among the marsh-lands of the Scheldt. There he was within the borders of his neighbours the Menapii, with whom he had previously established a close friendship.‡

The subsequent fate of Ambiorix is unknown; but we may be sure that such an indomitable warrior did not give way to despair. It is safe to assume that he received protection from the Menapii, the people who then occupied the tract of the coast between the Rhine and the Scheldt. The Menapii, like the Eburones, were obstinate anti-Romans.§ They were likewise hardy mariners, as were all the tribes bordering the English Channel right round to the Bay of Biscay. They had evidently become inured to naval warfare; for when Cæsar resolved on assailing the Veneti of the Morbihan the Menapii sent a fleet to their assistance.||

As navigators the Menapii would have been familiar with the routes to Ireland. At some unrecorded time, indeed, they planted a colony in Ireland, along the south-east coast of Leinster.\*\* In calling these Irish colonists *Manapii* Ptolemy does not in the least obscure the identity of the people to whom the name applied. Ambiorix, it is clear, could confidently rely on the friendship and good offices of the Menapii. If, therefore, the Eburones whom Cæsar had made landless thought of emigrating to Ireland—and to what country in those days could a broken tribe have turned with a better prospect of retrieving the tribal fortunes?—we may feel assured that the ships of the Menapii would have been placed at their service.

In the passage which I have cited from O'Flaherty the Ernai of Breifne are distinguished as *antiquiores Ernai Belgarum*, that

\* Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 28. He says the same of the Treveri, whose leading chiefs in Cæsar's time were the pro-Roman Cingetorix and his rival Indutiomarus (*De Bello Gall.*, V. 3). These names are genuinely Celtic.

† "Sic reperiebat, plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis" (Cæsar, II., 6).

‡ "Cum his (*i.e.* Menapiis) esse hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat (Cæsar)" *De Bell. Gall.*, VI., T.

§ Cæsar, III., 28.

|| Cæsar, III., 9.

\*\* Ptolemy, II., 2, 8.

is the older Ernai of Fir Bolg extraction. O'Flaherty everywhere Latinises Fir Bolg as Belgæ; and, following his authority, the generality of our historians have identified the Belgæ with the Fir Bolg. But the philologists of our day have preemtorily vetoed this equation.\*

It seems to me that, underlying the prohibition of the philologists, there hides an assumption that the compound word Fir-Bolg has at one time or another been rolled about in Gaelic speech, as part and parcel of its current vocabulary. The Celts had undoubtedly a root-word which appears in a variety of forms such as Volc, Bolc, Bolg, and Belg. They had also a word Ver or Vir, whose meaning was identical with that of the Latin *Vir* and the Gaelic *Fer*. In Cæsar's time a people named Volcæ Tectosages resided east of the Rhine, around the Hercynian forest.† They were manifestly a branch of the Volcæ Tectosages of southern Gaul, whose capital was Tolosa or Toulouse. Ausonius of Burdigela, who knew these southern Volcæ well, tells us that their earliest name was Bolcæ.‡ A chief of the Tectosages immortalised himself among the Balkans in 282 B.C., by defeating and slaying the Macedonian king Ptolemy Ceraunus. Named Bolgius by the historian Pausanias,§ this Celtic chief appears in Justin as Belgius; || and Justin merely transcribed the word from Trogus Pompeius, who was born near Marseilles, close to the Mediterranean homeland of the Volcæ.

(To be continued.)

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\* For an elaborate treatment of the question see a paper by Julius Pokorny (Die *Fir Bolg*, die Urbevölkerung Irlands), in *Zeitschrift für Cell. Phil.* XI., pp. 189 *et seq.*

† *Caesar*, VI., 24.

‡ "Primaevio nomine Bolcas" (Ausonius *De Claris Urbibus : Narbo*).

§ *Pausanias*, X., 19.

|| *Justin*, XXIV., 5, 1.

## EXHIBITS AT THE EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING.

(November 2nd, 1923.)

### I.—BROOCHES.

The English word *brooch* (or *broach*) once signified a spit or an iron pin. This meaning is out of date, but in provincial English *brooch* is still used to designate both an awl or bodkin and what we call a thatcher's scollop. In Gaelic *eo* (pr. *yo*) and *dealg* are terms corresponding to brooch, and their primary sense is a thorn. These meanings sufficiently attest what the most primitive of primitive brooches was like. Occasionally a school boy may be observed cleverly employing in an emergency the genuine original—a stout spike from a whitethorn.

When metals came to be known and worked the original was copied, and the copy, no doubt, became fashionable. By degrees it was knobbed or headed, and otherwise improved upon; soon it began to be ornamental as well as useful. In the Museums there are numerous examples of this earliest artificial brooch, the bronze pin. In County Cavan a very good one was recently come across and was shown at the meeting. It was found in 1920 by Mr. Michael Reilly in Corr Bog, near Ballinagh, a dozen feet beneath the surface.

The Corr pin is almost  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and about the thickness of a slate pencil. It has a small triple head, one above the other; the two lower "wormed," *i.e.*, ringed round by wire-like lines. Along its length towards the point, it is similarly treated in two places. The worming is plainly the simplest attempt at ornamentation, and is recognised as the most primitive. The little object might, of course, have been made at any time; beautifully finished, enamelled ones were fashioned as late as the 10th and 11th centuries. But, as far as can be observed, there is nothing to bar its ascription to the Bronze Age and even to very near the dawn of that age that is, to about 1,500 B.C. Its simplicity and rudeness tell in favour of a 'prentice hand, and of a very great age. Unlike iron, bronze does not rust and is unaffected by time. Collectors and even Museum authorities are inclined to set value on the showy rather than on the more instructive. Hence, such simple objects are comparatively disregarded.

The head of a bronze pin was the only part exposed continuously to view; consequently it alone challenged the designers' taste and skill. In the course of time—when the head had been enlarged, ornamented, incrustated with translucent glass, and treated in a hundred different ways, every bronze smith, it may be supposed, doing his best to outshine his rival or predecessor—there was a new departure in its evolution as an adornment to the person;

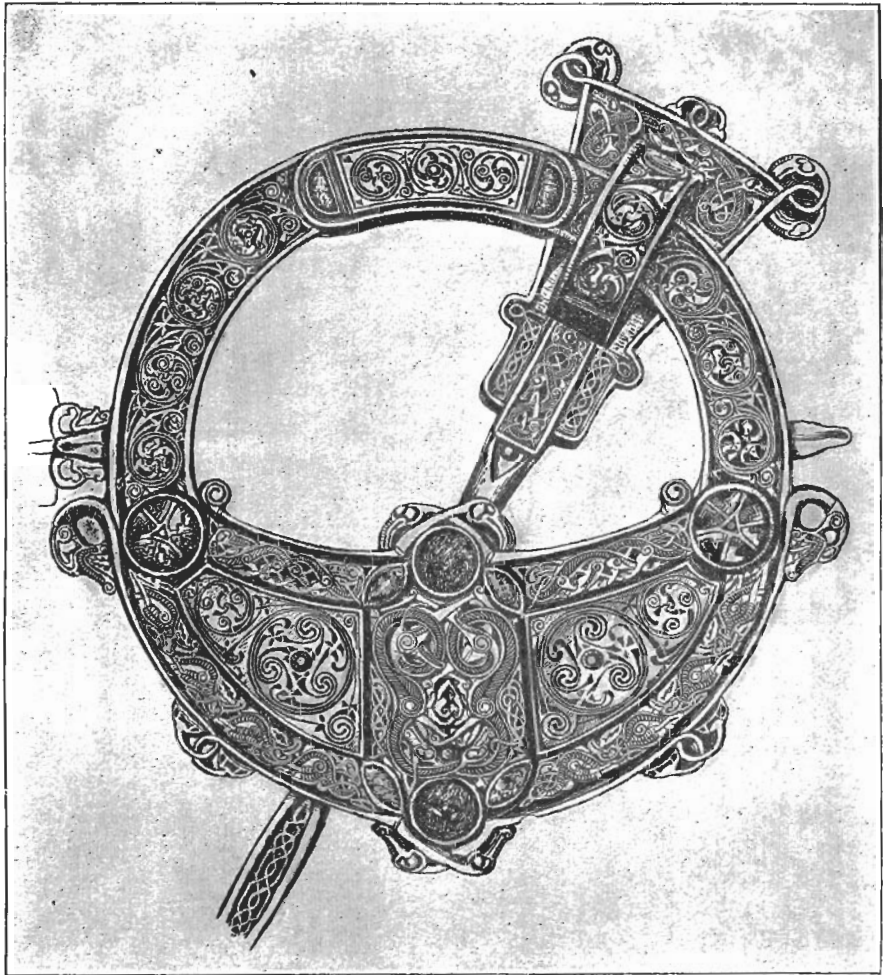
and this step brought it to the brooch proper. A ring was suspended from the head. This ring, in its turn, went through the same unceasing process of development as had the pin-brooch (which, indeed, many decline calling a brooch at all). It was enlarged. The lower quadrant or semi-circle, flattened into a half-moon, was divided into panels, and on their embellishment all the skill and ingenuity of expert art were lavished. They were studded with amber or enamels, or adorned with incised "spirals" or interlaced bands, or with filigree wire-work. At last, about A.D. 750, there was produced the consummate achievement of the jeweller's skill, the Tara brooch, Artistry could no further go. In the rich variety of its ornaments, in the exquisite delicacy and perfection of its execution, there is in the world nothing excelling or even approaching it. What the Book of Kells is in calligraphy or manuscript-writing, the Tara brooch is in metal-working. The ornamentation of both has many points of resemblance, and both are ascribed to about the same period. Nothing surpassing either has ever come from the hand of man.

Of ancient brooches of the Tara variety, at least four known examples belong to Co. Cavan, viz., (a) the Cavan, or Queen's brooch, (b) the Virginia brooch, (c) the Day brooch, and (d) the Shantamon brooch. Wakeman, indeed, refers to still another, "an exquisite brooch of findruine found in Cavan." (*Journal R. Hist. and Arch. Association*, 1887-8, p. 487). But this almost certainly is a slip of the pen. Evidently he refers to the one he describes in the previous volume for 1874, p. 158, the property of the Hon. F. King Harman, of Rockingham. It was found in Roscommon, not Cavan.

(A) The first-named of the four local brooches is preserved in the National Museum, Dublin. It is illustrated in the *Museum Guide* (Coffey's; 2nd ed., Plate III.), and labelled "Cavan"; but it must be acknowledged there is a shade of doubt as to its having been found in the County. Through the great kindness of the Royal Irish Academy we are enabled to reproduce the illustration; and to the same courteous body our Society is also indebted for the loan of all the other blocks of brooches which are used in this number of the *Journal*.

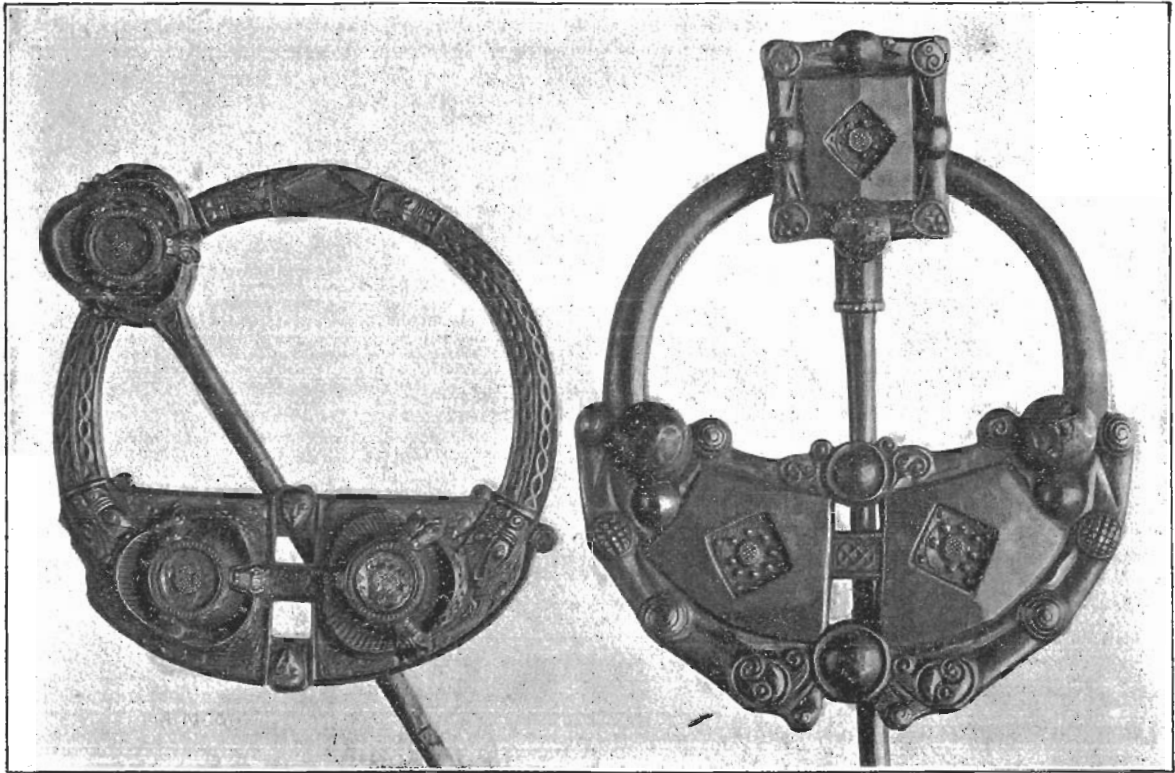
The "Cavan brooch" is silver-gilt; the diameter of the ring, measured exteriorly, is  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins. It is larger than the Tara brooch; some details of its ornamentation are the same; others resemble those on a splendid bronze brooch dug out of a crannoge at Dunshaughlin. It is a beautiful article. A replica of it was presented to Queen Victoria, and since then it has been more commonly called the Queen's brooch. For a minute description there would be need to requisition the hard technical terms of jewellery. But facsimiles of it, such as shown at the meeting by Mr. Haughton, Cavan, are not uncommon. Though rather coarse reproductions





**The Tara Brooch: Back.**

*Block kindly lent by the Royal Irish Academy.*



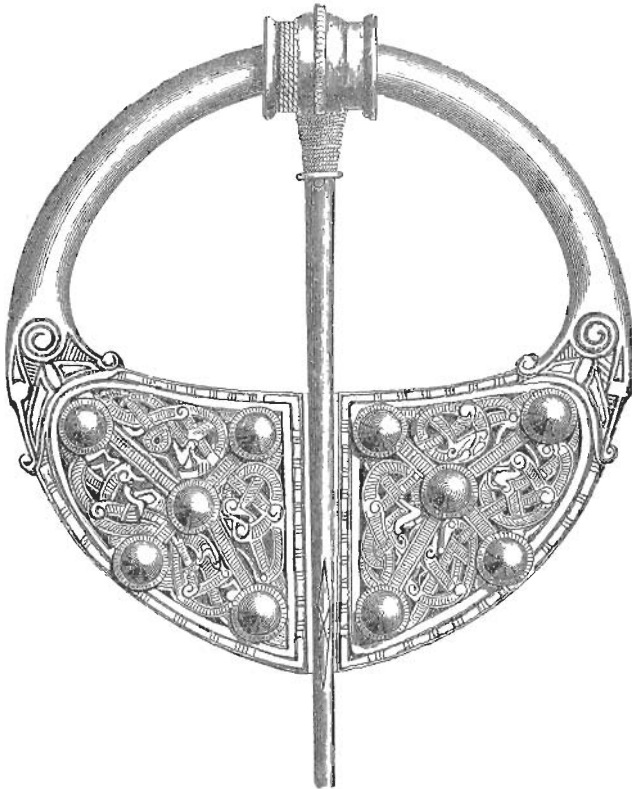
**The Cavan Brooch,  
Reduced about one-third.**

**A Kilkenny Brooch,  
Reduced about one-third.**

*Block kindly lent by the R.I.A.*

they give a better idea of its finish than could any description. It is very old. But nothing more definite can be said about its age than that most probably it belongs to a century or two later than the Tara masterpiece.

No brooch, it should be noted, bears a date. Experts have to rest content with such rough approximations as that just given. One must be cautioned, however, against supposing that the approximations are of the nature of guesswork. They are based on the minutest study and comparison of the articles, and are never advanced unless borne out by sufficient evidence. The similarity of their style of decoration to that of the illumination of MSS., the age of which has been ascertained, is a consideration that always carries much weight in determining their date. But this is unavailable except for the more modern.



**Brooch almost a facsimile of the Virginia Brooch.**

*Block kindly lent by R.I.A.*

(B) The second was found near Virginia. Hence it is named the Virginia brooch. It is considerably larger than even the Queen's or Cavan brooch, the exterior diameter of the ring being about 6 inches. It also is in the National Museum, and a photograph of it is given in the *Guide*. The unnamed brooch represented on previous page bears a close resemblance to it, but has a somewhat larger crescent and bears one more boss on each half. The ornamentation is in quite a different style from the Queen's brooch and cannot lay claim to the same delicacy of treatment. Its main feature consists in this: in each of the expanded terminals the webbing is set with four diamond-like bosses, cap-shaped. The bosses are joined together by metal strap-work dividing each terminal plate into panels; and the panels are enriched with interlaced work of a pattern very rare in Ireland. As to age, the Virginia brooch is probably older than the Queen's.

(C) The third Cavan brooch is described and illustrated by two beautiful engravings, front and back, in an article in the *Journal*, R. Hist. and Arch. Association, Vol. VIII., Fourth Series (that is the Vol. for 1887-8), p. 115. The writer of the article, Mr. Robert Day, M.R.I.A., of Cork, was also its possessor; but where it is now we have failed to ascertain. Mr. Day says of it that it came into his possession in July, 1886, shortly after its having been found in a crannoge near the town of Cavan. Tonymore crannoge was explored in 1882 by Dr. Malcolmson, probably it is the one referred to.

It is a "penannular" brooch. The crescent is beautifully ornamented, and the pin plays freely in and out between its two halves.

The bronze, of which it is made [states Mr. Day, *loc. cit.*] is hard, and of a close grain; and while having a peculiarly dark patination, it has also the appearance of having a larger proportion of tin than usual in its composition. The pin is of a lighter colour and coarser texture, and is an ancient mending or restoration, the original acus, which probably was ornamented, having been broken or lost. . . . . The reverse or back of the brooch has engraved lines, forming the segment of a circle, which cuts off its angles, and the arch, or outer circle of the ornament terminates in heads that resemble those of the fresh water eel or conger. The lacustrine dwellers must have drawn largely upon the resources of the surrounding water for their food supply, and it is reasonable to suppose that, in accordance with their taste for fish and fishing, the symbols of that seductive art should find a fitting place upon their decorative ornaments.

The obverse is, of course, much more richly decorated than the reverse. Interlaced "animals' legs form an open-work margin to the outer rim of the ornament, inside which is a rope-work fillet, the whole enclosing serpents twisted into an interlaced pattern in the usual manner of the Celtic art craftsmen of the

twelfth century" (Do.) The two engravings bring out very clearly these details of the ornament.

(D) The fourth Cavan brooch is an heirloom belonging to one of our members, Mr. Whelan of Cavan. It was picked up over 30 years ago on the side of Shantamon, and he has appropriately named it the Shantamon brooch. It was also shown at the Society's First General Meeting, but so many objects were exhibited on the occasion that due attention could not be directed to it. Found in the vicinity of the Shantamon rare vitrified fort, and not far from the mystic Five Finger Stones, the location of its discovery by itself suggests for it a very hoary age. But every mark and token about the brooch itself goes to establish that it is not merely by a long way the oldest connected with the county, but that it is one of the most ancient objects of the kind known about in Ireland. It, too, is of the ring variety. It is of bronze; and it is small in diameter ( $2\frac{1}{8}$  ins.) as are, save in exceptional instances, all the very earliest. Then it has no trace of the interlaced ornament. This began to appear in this country only towards the end of the 7th c. becoming universal in the three succeeding ones and quickly ousting the older. Just as the appearance of a living being, man or animal, in a picture demonstrates that the picture is not of Mahomedan origin, so does the presence of interlaced ornamentation exclude the object from the artistic productions of the first seven centuries of our era.\* This is something more than a negative argument. But, besides, it has spirals, and spirals are the characteristic design of the seven centuries just mentioned, and of centuries still earlier (the La Tène period). According to Miss Stokes (*Early Chr. Art.*, I., p. 74), they had totally disappeared from Irish Art at furthest by the beginning of the 11th.

A last indication of great age is that the ring is "penannular," *i.e.*, there is a break in the centre of the crescent through which the pin plays. The earliest forms were all of this description. After 700 A.D. the gap began to be closed, fixed metal straps being placed across it. It is worth noting that in the later ring brooches there is always this reminiscence of the original break; both the Tara and "Cavan" brooches have it, the latter very distinctly. But the Virginia brooch, like the Shantamon one, is penannular, and, so far, unless it be a return to the older form sacrificing ornament for utility, it also presents presumptive evidence of great age. The same is to be said of the Day brooch.

It should be added that there is the exact fellow of the Shantamon brooch depicted in the *Guide* already referred to (p. 21, Fig 23), except that the Shantamon ring is wormed, and the head

\* "It may be considered certain," writes Wakeman, "that any brooch-pin or other object of Irish art upon which interlacing tracery is displayed, should not be referred to a period antecedent to Christianity" (*Journal R. H. and A. Assn.*, for 1874, p. 158). As stated above, other authorities would place such an object later than the first seven centuries.

less ornate. Dr. Coffey, the compiler, places the counterpart among brooches "which can be safely claimed as not later than about 700 A.D." At least the same early date may be assigned to our local example and not improbably a century or two earlier still.

Brooches in ancient Ireland were much worn by men. The law prescribed that the sons of the higher kings were to have their mantles fastened with one in gold, the sons of a king of a tuath with one in silver. Men nowadays would vigorously repudiate the impeachment that they use such ornaments at all. Yet they favour the diamond tie-pin (brooch?). The mere name is not worth disputing about; but it may be recalled that in England up to at least two centuries ago men, for all their disclaimers of the weaknesses of vanity, wore the articles even in their head-dress. Ben Johnson could write, "Honour is a good brooch to wear in a man's hat at all times." The peacock feather, much in vogue with our dressy young countrymen of a generation ago, was possibly an attenuated survival or imitation of this foreign grandeur. In any case its display was similarly motived. Canterbury pilgrims returning from the shrine of St. Thomas wore brooches or "signs," usually in their hats, too. But pilgrim brooches are in quite a different class or category.

The subject may seem a bit frivolous and its discussion not worth while. But it is of more than theoretical importance. An antiquary, one of the greatest in the British Isles, the late J. Romilly Allen, maintains that:—

No relics of antiquity are more deserving of study than personal ornaments, and of all personal ornaments perhaps the brooch is the most important as affording an insight into the character of the people by whom it is worn. Their ingenuity can be measured by the perfection of the mechanism of the working parts, their culture by the refinement of the ornament, and their skill as craftsmen by the finish of the workmanship (*Celtic Art*, 2nd ed., p. 220).

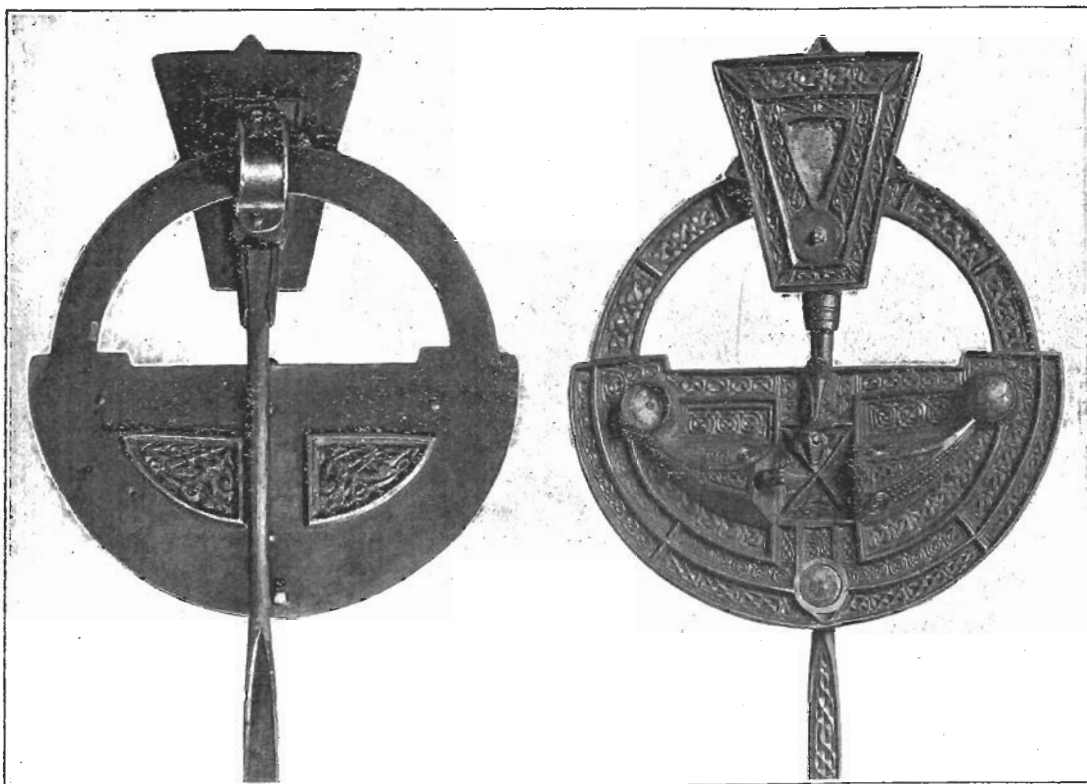
So tested, the culture of the ancient Irish and the skill and taste of their craftsmen do not come out badly; neither do the skill and culture of the old Breifnians.

Referring to our pins, fibulae, and brooches, Sir W. Wilde assures us that:—

they have been discovered in Ireland in greater number and variety, and of more beauty in design and workmanship, than in any country in Europe.\*

He also shows that every stage of the art is clearly defined; that not a single link is wanting in the process of development from the unadorned pin or spike, the metallic representation of the *dealg*, or thorn, to the most elaborately wrought ring-brooch of precious metals, the patterns of which are now being re-introduced by our modern jewellers.

\* Quoted by Wakeman, *Journal R. Hist. and Arch. Association*, Vol. for 1874, p. 156.



Brooch found in 1868 along with the Ardagh Chalice ; Back and Front.

*Block kindly lent by R.I.A.*

## II.—A RED DEER'S ANTLER.

This was recently found by Mr. Brady in Carrickateen bog between Cavan and Cootehill. It was over 6 feet beneath the surface, which implies that it must have been hundreds of years lying there. The horn or antlers is a fine specimen about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in height, and must have belonged to a magnificent quadruped. Its size, its "crochets," and the massiveness of "the beam of the antler," show that it was a well-matured adult stag of at least 7 years, one which, in the old language of the chase would be called a hart croched. It was a formidable weapon. An historic tale mentioned in the "Book of Leinster" tells how Tadhg, grandson of the King of Munster, was killed in A.D. 266 by a deer on the brink of the Boyne. (*O'Curry MS. Mat.*, p. 588).

The antler is that of the red deer. It cannot be mistaken for one of another kind. This was a species intermediate in size between the gigantic Irish elk and the common fallow deer kept in parks. It once roamed wild over the whole country; and the discovery of this horn is corroborative evidence of the fact, if it were needed. The elk became extinct in Ireland in pre-historic times, and the proof of its very existence is dependent mainly on such finds; but the red deer only some centuries ago. It is said to run wild still in the Highlands of Scotland. When it made its first appearance in the British Isles is unascertained, as far as we know; but the introduction of the fallow or park deer is commonly ascribed to James VI. of Scotland. He is credited with having taken it over with him from Norway when he brought home his queen, Anne of Denmark. Consequently, it can hardly have been seen in the country until well on in the 17th c. Since it was for it the numerous enclosures in Cavan and Leitrim called deerparks were walled in, they can date no further back than that period. Deer and walls are practically all gone now, but the name remains.

In ancient times hunting the red deer was a royal sport. The "Old Celtic Romances" contain some glowing descriptions of it. When Finn, for instance, rested on Knockainy Hill in Limerick, his companions hunted on the plain beneath,

and it was sweet music in Finn's ear the cry of the long-snouted dogs as they routed the deer from their covers and the badgers from their dens; . . . the whistling and signalling of the huntsmen, and the encouraging cheers of the heroes as they spread themselves through the glens and woods, and over the broad green plain of Cliach. (Joyce.)

In the chase of deer no less than that of the wild boar and wolves, the Irish wolfhound was employed. For speed and strength combined as well as for majesty of appearance, no animal of the dog kind, it is said, equalled it.

St. Molaise, of Devenish and Rossinver was noted for his



love of all God's creatures. One of the nicest things told about him in his "Life," and retold by Miss Stokes, illustrates this. It is about the saving of a hard-pressed deer. When he was a school-boy at Clonard a worn-out deer sought his protection from the fast-pursuing dogs. Laying his waxen tablets between the animal's horns he rendered it invisible till the dogs had passed.

Deer used also to be trapped. A deep pit was dug and covered over with brambles and light "scraws." The deer in rushing over it fell through and was impaled on a pointed stake of hard wood that had been firmly set point upwards in the bottom. Such stakes have been often found in Cavan bogs, the pits closed up by time. Sometimes, too, a circle of them has been pulled up; but no good suggestion has been made as to its use. That it formed a pound into which deer were driven and caught, does not commend itself. Apart from anything else the stakes are always short, no more than a few feet, and the enclosure would be too low to confine such a wonderfully agile animal.

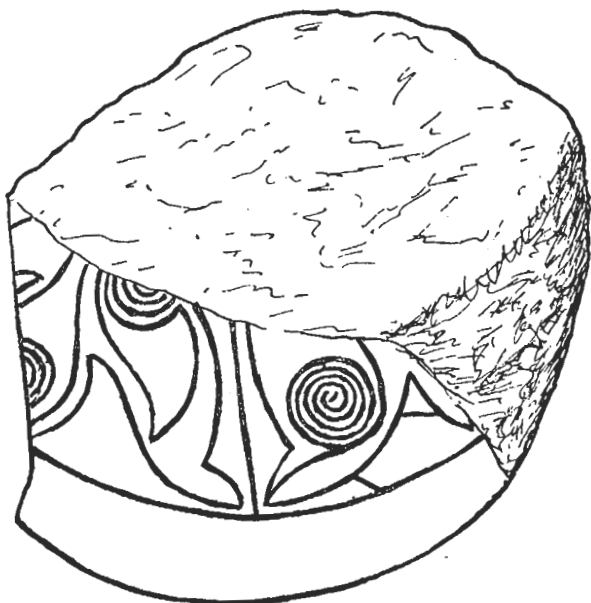
Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith.

# ON A STONE WITH LA TÈNE DECORATION

(RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN CO. CAVAN.)

By R. A. S. MACALISTER, F.S.A., LL.D.

It is a remarkable fact, well known to students of Irish Antiquities, that although the Bronze Age and the period of Celtic Christian Art have left rich remains in this country, the intervening Pagan Iron Age is but scantily represented, so far as the present condition of knowledge permits us to judge. This fact is the more remarkable when we consider that some of the finest existing examples of Late Iron Age art—such as (for example) the Broighter torque—have been found in Ireland: these show that the type of decoration associated with the name of La Tène was appreciated



Stone with La Tène Decoration, found in Co. Cavan.

*Block kindly lent by the R.S.A.I.*

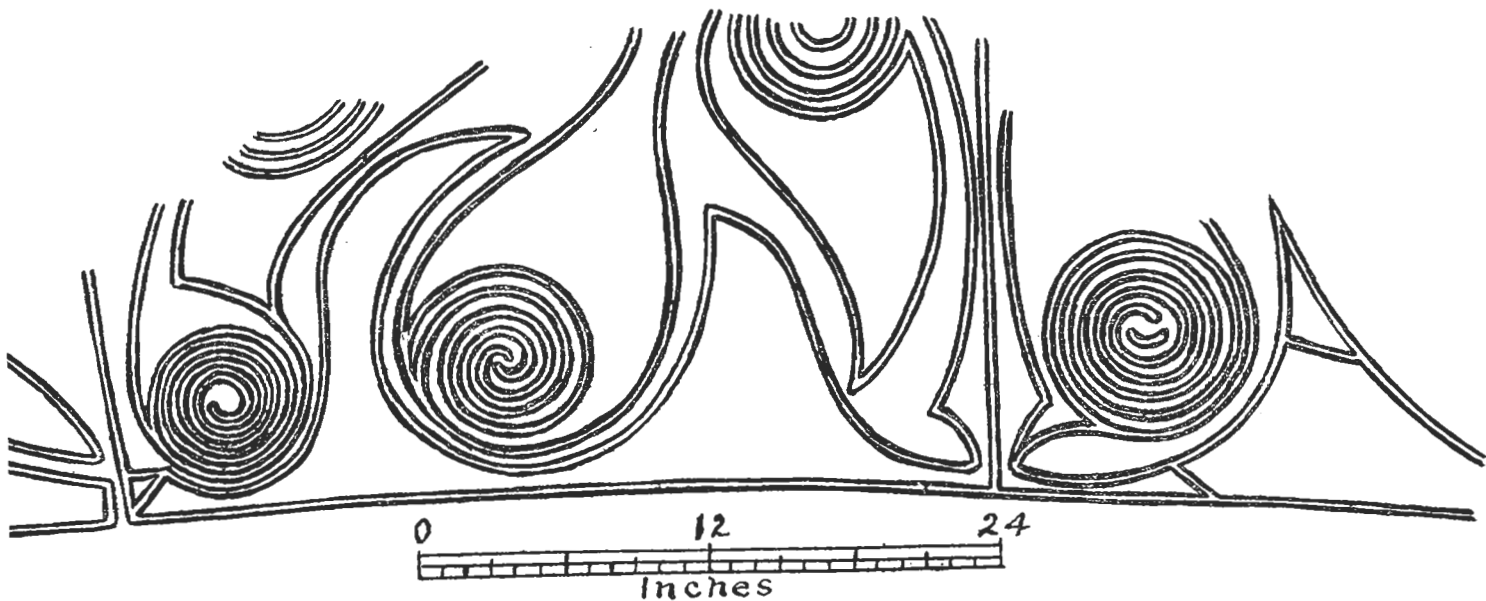
in the country. This is true whether such ornaments as that just mentioned were actually manufactured in Ireland or were imported from oversea.

This alternative is possible in the case of a small portable object such as a brooch or a torque. But when we find stones weighing several tons which bear sculptural decoration of La Tène type upon them, we may, with assurance, regard them as of native Irish manufacture. Two such stones have hitherto come to light. The first is the well-known monument which stands on the lawn in front of Turoe House, Co. Galway and which is richly decorated with La Tène phyllomorphic ornament on a geometrical basis. The second is a later stone of inferior style—probably La Tène III.—from Castle Strange, Co. Roscommon. In this the devices are simply outlined: in the Turoe stone the sculpture is in two planes, a background being recessed behind the outer surface of the stone.

Casts of both of these stones are to be seen in the National Museum. With them is a third stone—no cast, but the original monument—from Mullaghmast. I have some doubts as to whether this last named stone is to be ascribed to the La Tène series: to me it looks much more like a rather early Christian relic, possibly with La Tène reminiscences in its art.

I have now the pleasure of reporting the discovery of another La Tène stone monument. This important find is due to Mr. R. Vincent Walker, of Clones, who was good enough to inform me of it in the course of the summer of 1921.

The stone is on the farm of Mr. William Bannon, at Killycluggin, in the parish of Templeport, Co. Cavan: O. S. Map, Cavan, Sheet 13, upper right hand corner. Though the stone itself is not indicated on the map, its exact site can be fixed thus:—Let the reader note the words *Level Crossing* that occur on the map just above the railway line as it passes along the south boundary of the townland. The final *g* is surrounded with marks denoting broken ground with trees. The stone should be indicated just east of this group of marks. Mr. Walker states that he was led to its examination by hearing from a man living in the neighbourhood that it is inscribed with Oghams. It is hardly necessary to say that this is not the case. When Mr. Walker first saw the stone, only a very small part of the decoration was visible above ground. In fact the upper surface of the stone was more or less irregularly flush with the ground level. This upper surface is broken all over: obviously the monument was once a pillar or stele, which has been smashed away all but the portion below ground. It seems to be uncertain when this act of destruction was perpetrated: it may have been by some previous occupants of the land, anxious to get rid of the obstruction to the plough; it may not impossibly have been the work of people who lived so early that Iron Age paganism was not yet forgotten, and when it would seem both desirable and laudable to destroy pagan monuments. A ring of earth, about 10 feet in diameter, surrounding the monument, appears to be locally attributed to the deflection of the plough.



Development of the Design on the Stone.

*Block kindly lent by the R.S.A.I.*

At various times excavations were conducted by Mr. Walker and by sundry local folk round the foot of the stone ; and thus the nature and extent of the inscribings came gradually to light. During the recent political troubles, a group of young men, while examining the stone, were dispersed by a passing body of soldiers, as being an illegal assembly ! This damped the ardour of research for a time ; but more recently the inevitable treasure-hunter has made his appearance, and has dug all round the monument, with the result that the whole surface is now exposed. Unfortunately, these people, in the course of their researches, discovered a small burial-cist, which they proceeded to destroy. It is not known what, if anything, was found within this sepulchre. It was just beside the stone, sunk about 3 feet in the ground, on the eastern side.

However, thanks to these diggings, legitimate or illegitimate, it is possible to give a full description of the stone. It is in the shape of a truncated cone, on a very irregular base, turned up-side down. It is 4 feet high, and in axial dimensions over its upper surface it measures 5 feet 10 inches by 4 feet 10 inches.

As for the ornament, it closely resembles in style and in technique that on the Castle Strange stone. A line is cut on the waist of the stone, fulfilling the same function as the band of "Wail of Troy" pattern on the Turoe stone—forming a limit to the inscribed surface. Above it are three spirals, each treated differently from the rest, and united by curves of the asymmetry in which the La Tène artists delighted. Obviously the monument has been decorated over its surface, like the Turoe stone : but what survives is only the lowest band of the ornament.

A small stone circle, much ruined and overgrown with trees, measuring 60 feet by 40 feet, lies to the west of this stone, and may or may not have some essential connexion with it.

# EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTERS OF KILLINKERE

(1761-1845).\*

Copied by the REV. H. B. SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.

The parish registers of Killinkere, Co. Cavan, from 1761 to 1877 in the case of baptisms and burials, and from 1761 to 1845 in the case of marriages, were destroyed in the explosion at the Four Courts on June 29th, 1922.

The following extracts from them, taken some years ago, are probably the only remaining evidence of the events to which they refer.

John Foster, of Rantavan, parish of Mollagh, otherwise Killinkere; bapt. 15th April, 1761; Godfathers, John Luther, Fras. Chartres; Godmother, Elinor Rocke.

Rose Kellett, daughter of Mr. James Kellett, of Aghnamadda, in parish of Mullagh, bapt. 7th June, 1761, by Rev. Dawson Crowe.

Henrietta Kellett, daughter of Mr. James Kellett, of Aghnamaddow, bapt. 1st August, 1762.

Mr. John Gage, of Rabane, parish of Moynalty, married to Miss Letitia Kellett, of Aghnamaddow, parish of Mullagh, 13th July, 1763.

Margaret Murphy, bapt. by Rev. Humphrey French, 7th Aug., 1763.

James Kellett, son of David Kellett, of Mollagh, parish of Mollagh, bapt. 11th Dec., 1763.

Jane Kellett, daughter of James Kellett, of Aghanmadow, bapt. 12th Feb., 1764.

Mary Kells of Graklagh, parish of Mollagh, married to Edward Foster, parish of Ballyheas, 30th Oct., 1764.

Robert Kellett, son to Mr. James Kellett, of Aghnamadow, bapt. 13th Feb., 1765.

Francis Foster, son to Mr. Foster of Graklagh, bapt. 26th Sept., 1765.

Susanna Kellett, daughter to Mr. David Kellett, of Mollagh, bapt. 24th Feb., 1766.

Edward Kellett, son to Mr. James Kellett, of Aghnamaddow, bapt. 28th April, 1766.

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\* The corresponding Records in the custody of the parish priest of Killinkere begin in June, 1766, and extend continuously to the present day. But there are many gaps.—Editor.

Charles Kellett, of Cornasesk, in the parish of Lurgan, was married to Miss Susannah Young, of Togher, in the parish of Killinkere, 16th Feb., 1767.

William Hope Luther, son of John Luther, of Mullagh, bapt. 3rd May, 1767, Godfathers, Rev. William Luther and Capt. Hope Luther; Godmother, Charlotte Brooke.

William Mortimer, of Cloghally married Miss Mary Kellett, of Mollagh, both in the parish of Mollagh, 6 Sept., 1767.

Letitia Foster, of the Quilka, buried in Temple Kelly, in parish of Mollagh, 21st January, 1768.

Charles Kellett, son to Mr. David Kellett, of Mollagh, bapt. 24th April, 1768.

Young Parr, of Cornaveagh, in parish of Killinkere, married to Miss Ann Kellett, of Beaklon, parish of Killan, 3rd May, 1768.

Charles Soden, and Mary Kellett, both of Envigary, parish of Killinkere, married 25th September, 1768.

Ann Foster, daughter of Edward Foster of Graklagh, parish of Mollagh, bapt. 2nd April, 1769.

William Luther, Son of Mr. John Luther, buried at Templekelly, 21st June, 1769.

Jane Kellett, daughter of Simon Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 12th April, 1770.

Latecia Kellett, daughter to Mr. David Kellett of Mollagh, bapt. 13th May, 1770.

Mary Kellett, daughter of Mr. Robert Kellett, bapt. 30th June, 1771.

Eliza Kellett, daughter to Simon Kellett, bapt. 14th Nov., 1771.

Cherry Kellett, daughter to Charles Kellett, bapt., 13th April, 1772.

Mrs. Catherine Brooke buried at Templekelly 1st August, 1772.

John Brooke, son to Thos. Brooke, buried at Templekelly, 25th July, 1773.

Bartholomy Kellett, son to Simon Kellett, bapt. 12th June, 1774.

Patience Kellett, daughter to Robert Kellett, bapt. 25th Sept., 1774.

Mr. John Young, of Carrigorman, in the parish of Killinkere, was buried in the Church of Nubber, 29th December, 1775.

Mary Kellett, daughter to Edward Kellett, of Envigarra, bapt. 24th December, 1775. [This entry not in chronological order.]

Edward Foster, son to Edwd. Foster, of Graughlaugh, bapt. 10th Jan., 1776.

Robert Kellett, son to Mr. Robert K. of Creagh, par. Mollagh, bapt. 11th Nov., 1776.

— Kellett, — to Mr. Robert K., bapt. 30th Nov. 1777.

Thomas Foster, son to Edward Foster, of Graughclaugh, par. Mollagh, bapt. 20th Dec., 1777.

Harriett Kellett, dau. to Edward Kellett, of Envigara, bapt. 15th Jan., 1778.

Frances Elizabeth Young, daughter to Mr. Richard Young, of Carragorman, bapt. 15th Feb., 1778.

Thomas Foster, son to Edwd. Foster, of Graughleagh, par. Mollagh, buried in Church of Balliheas, 7th Nov., 1778.

Mrs. Jane Young, wife to Mr. Francis Young, of Caragorman, par. of Killinkere, was buried in Moynalty Churchyard by the Rev. Mr. M'Gusty 17th day of April, 1779.

James Foster, son to Edward Foster, of Graghlagh, bapt. 18th April, 1780.

Mr. Bernard Parr, junior, and Miss Jane Young, both of the parish of Killinkere, married 12th May, 1780.

Mrs. Kellett, of Envigarah, buried in the Churchyard of Lurgan, 8th August, 1780.

Jane Parr, daughter to Mr. Bernard Parr, of Carricknavea, par. of Killinkere, bapt. 27th Jan., 1781.

Mrs. Young, wife to Mr. John Young, of Caragorman, par. Killinkere, Decd. was buried in ch. of Lurgan, 5th Jan., 1785.

Mrs. Hutson, sister to above named Mrs. Young, buried in ch. of Lurgan, 8th July, 1785.

Mr. Bernard Parr of Carnaveagh, par. of Killinkere, buried in ch. of Lurgan 9th June, 1786.

Miss Anne Young of Carignaveagh, par. of Killinkere, buried in Ch. of Moynalty, 1st March, 1787.

Susanna Parr, daughter to Mr. Bernard Parr, of Carricknaveagh, bapt. 20th Aug., 1787.

Henry Foster, son to Edward Foster, of Graslagh, par of Mollagh, buried in ch. of Ballyheas, 19th Sept., 1787.

James Foster, son to Edwd. Foster of same, buried in ch. of Ballyheas, 23rd Sept., 1787.

Edward Sterling Reilly was married to Miss Sarah Barns, both of Mollagh in par. of Mollagh, 1st Oct., 1788.

Mrs. Parr, wife to Mr. Bernard Parr, of Carnaveagh, in par. of Killinkere; dec. was buried in Ch. of Lurgan, 18th April, 1789.

Thos. Soden, of Envigaroge and Susanna Kellett, of Ardanagh, married 24th Nov., 1789.

Mrs. Mary Kinkead, of Ligham, orwse McClean, orwse Banks, was married to Mr. Young Parr, 26th March, 1790.

[Rev. James Young officiated at baptisms from March, 1791.]

James Kellett, of Rathbane (of Good Memory) was Inter'd in Lurgan 14th April, 1794.

Hellen Reilly, daughter to Edward Reilly, Esq., of Mollagh, bapt. 25th May, 1794.

James John Parr, son to Mr. Bernard Parr, of Carricknaveah, in par. of Killina (sic.), bapt. by Rev. Jas. Young, 5th Feb., 1795.

Joseph Kellett, of Envigaroge, buried in Lurgan, 18th April, 1795.

George Leslie and Elinor Kellet of Envigaroge married 10th Nov., 1795, by Rev. James Young.



Ally Kellett, of Invigaroge, buried at Lurgan 4th Oct., 1795.  
[This entry out of chronological order.]

John Parr, of Carnaveagh, married Miss Margaret Deyoss, of Kells, 13th April, 1796.

Charles Kellett of Envigaroge, buried at Lurgan 5th June, 1797.

Patt. Cullen and Sarah Kellett, daughter to Mr. Charles K. of Caraclogher, par. of Lurgan, married 20th Aug., 1797.

Charles Kellett, son to Charles K. of Carvigarah, bapt. 10th Sept., 1797.

Harres Parr of Carnaveagh, Sergeant of the Killinkere Yeomanry. Interred at Lurgan, 22nd Nov., 1798.

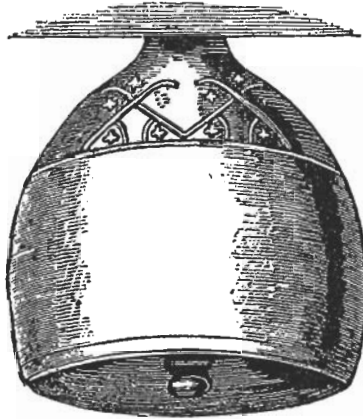
Bartholomew Kellett, son to Edwd. and Jane Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 9th June, 1799.

(To be continued.)

## THE BELL OF FENAGH.

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St. Caillin's bell, known as *Clogh-na-Righ*, or the Bell of Kings, is at present in the custody of Rev. John Duffy, P.P. of Fenagh, in the diocese of Ardagh. The parochial residence is within two miles of the Abbey from which the parish takes its name, and six miles almost due south of Ballinamore. The bell has been in the custody of the parish priests of the same parish since at least 1833 when Petrie read to the Academy an essay on the Ancient Consecrated Bells of Ireland. In Petrie's paper\* are described both it and the bells of Clogher and Armagh. It was also there in 1875 when the Book of Fenagh was published. In September last year (1922) a few members of our Society motored from Cavan to see it. It is now suspended in a graceful frame of polished oak. About a dozen years ago the Franciscans gave a mission in the parish. Father Leonard, O.S.F.C., one of them, on his return to Dublin, had the frame made and presented it to the parish priest. The illustration, which displays



The Bell of Fenagh.

*Block kindly lent by R.S.A.I.*

part of the cross-piece of the frame, gives a clearer idea of what the bell is like than could a page of description. Both it and the illustration of the shrine of St. Mogue's bell, which appears on

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\* Stokes' *Life of Petrie*, p. 279.

page 22, are taken from Part II. of a most instructive article, *A Descriptive List of Irish Shrines and Reliquaries*, which is printed in the Journal R.S.A.I.; just issued (Dec., 1923). The learned author, Mr. H. S. Crawford, M.R.I.A., there says of the *Clogh-na-Righ*:—

There is no complete shrine for this bell, but it has an ornamental cap of pale bronze rivetted on and pierced with four panels of network, all different. The bell itself is of thin bronze, circular in shape, resembling an inverted goblet,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height and the same in diameter; it seems to have been cast and hammered.

The Old Book of Fenagh "must have been compiled judging by its contents, about, or previous to A.D. 1300" (Introduction, p. VI.). It was all in poetry. In 1516 it was transcribed by Maurice O'Mulconry for the then comharb of Caillin of Fenagh, Teige, or Thady, O'Roddy; moreover, prose narratives or paraphrases were, in obedience to Teige, prefixed to the individual poems at the same time by the same scribe. The Old Book of Fenagh is lost; but the original O'Mulconry copy, so written and enlarged (said to be a beautiful MS.), was in 1875 in the possession of Dr. Conroy, R.C. Bishop of Ardagh, and presumably is still extant. Of this MS. O'Donovan made a transcript for O'Reilly of the Heath, and O'Donovan's copy was deposited in the R.I.A.. The last-mentioned copy D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A. used as his text. He was assisted in translating it by the greatest scholars of his time, spared no expense or trouble in collating it with other MSS., and "for love of the ancient literature of his native land" spent nearly thirty years on its production, publishing it in 1875. The Irish text and the English translation are on opposite pages. This is the work that is nowadays referred to as "The Book of Fenagh."

In it the *Clogh-na-Righ* occupies a large space. It is glorified beyond all bells. The work tells of its virtues and powers and of the tributes due to it, threatens with dire calamities the refractory, and prophecies of the wonderful blessings to crown such as will honour and obey it.

The Book of Fenagh is "an indubitable specimen of very ancient Gaelic literature." It also, its editor further assures us, "contains the history and traditions from the fifth century of the Two Breifneys, comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan." For both reasons it is very interesting. But as to the value of its evidence it is scarcely higher than that of the early books of Livy and Tacitus, and must not be expected to stand the close scrutiny and cross-questioning of the critical historian. In the Introduction Mr. Kelly summarises the contents very fairly. It is he states, "a Rental of the rents, tributes, privileges, and immunities of St. Caillin's right-royally endowed Abbey of Fenagh, in the County of Leitrim, consisting of poems and rhap-

sodies, and legendary historical accounts of their origin and extent; . . .” Nevertheless, mixed up with its legends is much genuine history. The difficulty is to say with any confidence what is fact and what may be as mythical as the suckling by the wolf of Romulus and Remus.

The ancient volume relates both in verse (penned about 1300) and in prose (freely paraphrased from the verse in 1516) how St. Caillin obtained the famous bell. The following is the prose narrative :—

Patrick, son of Calpurnius, chief apostle of Ireland and the west of Europe . . . gave immense honour and respect to Caillin, son of Niata, for his seniority beyond the saints of Ireland. He blessed his church and his *Cahir* [city or stone fort], and gave him the Arch-legateship of Ireland, so that he [Caillin] was Arch-legate during 100 years. Other great honour was moreover given by Patrick to Caillin, when they were after expelling Crom Cruach, the chief idol of all Ireland. Thereafter it was that Patrick gave his own bell to Caillin. And Patrick said, “I have refused and denied many of the saints of Ireland, until this day, regarding the bell; and I gave it to none of them. Bear away the bell, however, O Caillin; and though it may be thrice taken from thee, it shall be thine till the day of Judgment.

*Clogh-na-Righ* is the name of that bell, for many of the kings of Ireland were baptized out of it. (p. 232.)

Among the kings Conall Gulban, son of Niall, “was one of those from whom its name was derived” (p. 141), for he too was baptized out of it. His case is worth going into, as an instance of the wonders in the book. Conall was slain at Fidnacha (Fenagh) by the Masraidhe, a Firbolg tribe settled at Magh Slecht [Co. Cavan]. He was slain and “the stone and grave of Conall were placed on Magh Rein at Dun-Baile,” as Fenagh was called in very old times. It is not impossible, according to Kelly, that the still existing Fenagh Dolmen, an illustration of which he gives, may be this very stone marking the interment. Then the Book of Fenagh continues :—

Five years and a half, moreover, after Conall’s death, Caillin came to that place; and he was making a circuit of that fair land [S. Leitrim], until he found the grave of battle-strong Conall, when it was manifested to him how Conall died, and that he was afterwards in torment. This was sad and grievous to Caillin (p. 141).

So Conall was “resuscitated from death and pain” by the prayers and fasting of Caillin, assisted by most of the saints of Ireland, “the name of God and the name of Caillin being magnified thereby.” Conall *redeivivus* came along with them as far as the Church; and “was afterwards baptized out of *Clogh-na-Righ*.”

The bell, as well as the Book of Fenagh, was preserved in the family of O'Roddy. The O'Roddies were the successors of St. Caillin, and the Comharbs of Fenagh—*i.e.*, the hereditary farmers and wardens of the churchlands belonging to the monastery. In the Book of Fenagh O'Mulconry, writing in 1516, traces back the O'Roddy of his day in 67 descents to Sitric, who is said to have flourished about 300 B.C.; and in 1688 Teige O'Roddy supplied the links between himself and his ancestor of 1516, adding them in the margin of the O'Mulconry MS.

The Comharb, Teige, of 1516 "that caused Maurice O'Mulconry to put this book [of Fenagh] here in a narrative form, through the extent of his learning, and through the excess of his devotion to Caillin" (p. 311), married Honora O'Molloy in 1517. He was a Latin and *Scotic* scholar and a composer of Sidna poetry. He kept a house for general hospitality, "day and night, for strangers and paupers, and people of every profession," and did "not deny the face of a man" (Do). In his time was expected the fulfilment of St. Caillin's prophecy regarding the wealth and dignity of Fenagh.

His descendant, the second Teige O'Roddy, was alive in 1702 (a note of his is dated 19th May of that year) but was then about 90, and in his second childhood. An autograph letter of his to Edward Llwyd the celebrated Welsh antiquary, written exactly two years before that, is quoted by Leland and others. In 1846 it was published with an introduction and annotations by the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D.\* In preparing it Dr. Todd applied for information about Teige's character and history to O'Donovan. O'Donovan's reply, dated July, 1845, is printed in the introduction. He says, amongst other things:—

Teige was a remarkable man, and a great linguist. . . . He wrote Latin as well as O'Flaherty, and seems to have been educated abroad. He was certainly a *pean* orge or lawyer, and practised in the reign of James II. . . . He seems to have lost all his property in the revolution. The O'Roddys were Coarbs, not princes, . . . ; and this Teige seemed to have farmed the monastic lands of Fenagh, under the Protestant Bishop, as O'Meehin and O'Fergus [Ferguson] do still at Rossinver. I examined the site of his house at Fenagh in 1837, but found not a stone of it remaining; even the name Crossfield (so called from an old stone cross, which was destroyed by the Cromwellians) is forgotten. . . .

Dr. Todd himself shows that Teige was "a great patron of Irish literature, and well skilled in the ancient dialects of the language." Nor was his knowledge confined to Irish. O'Donovan further tells us that he instructed a MacNamara youth from a

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\* *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, Vol. I., p. 112.

“ young Virgilian in the Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and Irish languages,” and from the autograph letter to Llywyd it can be inferred he was well versed in mathematics, law and philosophy. Such scholarship in the 17th century in a district of rural Leitrim is not what our historians lead us to expect.

As the MS. Book of Fenagh was in this Teige's possession, so presumably was also the Bell of Fenagh. Both were equally sacred in his eyes, and he was their hereditary custodian. The Book can be traced to the present day ; but as to the bell there is a gap in our information as to its whereabouts between 1702 and 1833 which we cannot fill otherwise than by surmise.

There are numerous instances on record of St. Patrick bestowing a bell to a church or saint. Presenting one to St. Caillin would be in accordance with his custom. That he made the gift can scarcely be questioned. But that the bell preserved for the last ninety years at least in Fenagh Church and at present in the Foxfield Presbytery is the identical one presented to Caillin close on 1500 years ago is, we have to admit, open to very serious doubt. Its beauty is the very thing that tells most against the supposition. As the illustration shows it seems too well done for St. Patrick's time. All the very old 5th to 7th century bells that we have heard about are of iron and quadrilateral. This is of bronze and a perfect circle. The date of the bell of Armagh is known to within a few years. The body of it, also of bronze, is not nearly as well done as the body of Fenagh's bell ; yet it is more than four centuries after St. Patrick's time.

Then, bells were probably first sounded by being struck on the outside. In the Book of Fenagh the *Clogh-na-Righ* is never said to be tolled, but always struck. Even should the Irish word bear a secondary meaning, “ tolled or rung,” the text excludes this meaning. For in one passage (p. 235) it is seen that the bell has to be “ struck in the proper place.” This could hardly be done by a clapper. Hence at least the Fenagh tongue or clapper is most probably comparatively modern. It was not uncommon to insert clappers in old bells so this feature tells neither for nor against the age of the bell itself.

For the singular use to which the old *Clogh-na-Righ* was put and from which it derives its name, a tongue, however, would have been an inconvenience. Mr. Crawford, in the article already quoted from, ends his description of this bell by saying that its “ peculiarities suggest that it cannot be nearly so old as the square-shaped bells ” he had previously discussed. In *Notes on the Irish Bell-Shrines in the British Museum and the Wallace Collection* published in last year's Journal R.S.A.I. the same reliable antiquary testifies (p. 4) that as a rule “ there seems no reason to doubt that the early sheet iron bells belonged to the saints to whom they are attributed.” But when he comes across a fine example of cast bronze, such as that of St. Maura of Donegal, he has his

doubts, and considers it may have superseded a ruder bell. Yet the Leitrim bell is circular, the Donegal one square, and judged by this feature alone most probably older. However, the former is of the shape described in the Old Book of Fenagh of A.D. 1300. If not the genuine original it was not improbably cast three or four hundred years before the date just given, in the flourishing age of Irish metallurgy. It is, moreover, at least the successor of the famous *Clogh-na-Righ*. As such it can hardly be too highly honoured.

In fairness it should not be omitted that the celebrated antiquary Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., writing between 1862 and 1864, seems to pronounce in favour of the very greatest age. He recognises that the Fenagh bell is "very unlike other [very ancient] bells in shape and pattern, wherefore" he continues, "it might be considered of modern date if it were not mentioned in old authorities." (Requoted from Book of Fenagh, p. 140, note). Later opinion, we regret, is not with him; nor, as we have just seen, can the evidence of the Book of Fenagh, then in MS. but most probably the authority he most relied on, be accepted without misgiving.

It might also be urged that as the bell was St. Patrick's own and was coveted beyond all other bells—statements from the Book of Fenagh—it must have been a particularly fine article. On the other hand, were it of that date it would be hard to explain why artificers refused to copy from it, but continued invariably producing four-sided instruments for centuries afterwards. St. Gall died about 646 and his bell, still extant, is quadrilateral. So are 20 or 30 yet later examples. Bells were first cast in bronze about the 9th c., at least as early as the end of it, Coffee says (*Guide*, 2nd ed., p. 66). The earliest of them were of the same primitive shape, but the later abandoned it, adopting the rotundity of our modern bells.

As to the metal then used it may be worth noticing that bell-makers have not yet found anything more sonorous and suitable. The bell-metal of the present day, like bronze, is a composition of copper and tin, though the proportions vary in the alloys.

It much enhances the general interest in our bells of the most ancient type to know that their use for ecclesiastical purposes belongs especially to Ireland, and from Ireland it spread to England and Scotland and parts of the Continent (cp. Coffey's *Guide*, 2nd ed., p. 65). Omitting the *Clogh-na-Righ*, Breifny can boast of three certain examples, viz., the Rossinver bell, now in the British Museum; the *Clogh-na-Fullah* (or Bell of Blood), a second Fenagh bell, now in Armagh; and the bell of St. Mogue, fully described in a previous article.

Further, it is generally agreed upon that bells were unknown in this country in pagan times; they were introduced with Christianity. According to an old Irish story, immortalised by

Moore in "Silent, O Moyle", the sound of the first Christian bell was to break the spell of enchantment which had turned Lir's daughters into swan and restore them to their original form. In the Ossianic poems St. Patrick is usually designated "the clerk of the bells and bachals (croziers)." In the Book of Armagh he is described as introducing bells through the country. According to Petrie, "he carried with him across the Shannon 50 bells, 50 patens, 50 chalices, altar books of the law, books of the Gospel, and left them in new places."\* Three smiths, "experts at shaping," MacCeht, Laebhan, and Fortchern (native Irish, Petrie says) belonged to his family, *i.e.*, to the religious associates who went about with him; and mention is also made of three artificers of great skill, whose names are likewise given. In the Tripartite Life, it is explicitly laid down that the smiths should make the bells, and the braziers should make the patents, etc.

It may also be added that though no passage has been found in Irish MSS. which distinctly states that bells were first introduced into Ireland with Christianity, it can be inferred from all their ancient romances and historical tales that such was the universal opinion of the Irish themselves (Petrie). . . .

The use of bells for the service of the Church, from the time of St. Patrick down, can be abundantly proved by our ancient historians. And in after times the consecrated bells of the early saints were applied to various superstitious practices. . . . These bells, enshrined in costly cases of elaborate workmanship, were preserved in the Churches to which they had originally belonged and many of them are still remaining in the country.†

The shrines were constructed centuries after the bells themselves. The *Clogh-na-Righ* has no shrine. But the ornamental cap of pale bronze riveted on to it, an unique feature, serves a little of the same purpose, assuring us of the respect shown to it also. In St. Patrick's College, Thurles, there is, indeed, the Shrine of St. Caillin. It is a beautiful shrine, and it would occur to anyone that it might have been designed for the Bell of Fenagh. But it is not a Bell shrine at all, its shape is conclusive on that point. In the Journal R.S.A.I., Vol. for 1892, p. 151, the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A., gives illustrations of it and a full description. From its peculiarities he judges that it was "evidently intended to hold a book, or it may be relics," but he leaves the point undetermined. If for a book, there is nothing, as far as we are aware, to negative its having been the Old Book of Fenagh. This splendid shrine was made in 1526 (not 1536). It was made

\* Stokes' *Life of Petrie*, p. 278.

† Do. p. 278. The first paragraph is a quotation from Petrie's unpublished *Essay on Bells*.



to quote in English the Irish inscription on it, for "Brian, son of Owen Ruark, and for Margaret, daughter of O'Brien, and the year of our Lord then was MCCCCXXVI." Brian (d. 1562), and Margaret, his wife, lived at Dromahair. They are now "sleeping their last sleep" in Creevelea (Fr. Murphy) beside Dromahair, the burying place of the O'Rourkes, but nobody can point out the exact spot.

St. Caillin was regarded as the patron Saint of the O'Rourkes. This costly shrine testifies both to their religious feeling, and to their power and opulence even so late as in the first quarter of the 16th century.

But, unshrined as it is and perhaps because of it, the Bell of Fenagh has always been, as far as can be ascertained, practically in the same place. The dispute about its age amounts to nothing more than this, whether it is very, very old (end of 5th c.) or merely very old (9th or 10th c.). No one, we think, with the Book of Fenagh before him, would venture to assign it to so modern a date as the 13th or even the 12th c. There is no more remarkable relic in Breifny. It has always been in Fenagh; and, it is to be hoped that, in fulfilment of St. Caillin's prophecy, it will in veneration remain there "till the day of judgment."

JOSEPH B. MEEHAN.

## LITERARY NOTES.

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In *Notes and Queries*, now published fortnightly, there is a valuable series of articles bearing upon Cavan History. They are contributed by one of our members, Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.R.I.A. He gives in four successive issues, beginning with May 17th, 1924, lists of the Officers who received Militia Commissions in Co. Cavan. The lists are dated 1659-'60, 1702, 1708-'26, 1708, and 1715. All the lists except the first, were copied in the Public Record Office, Dublin; fortunately, as the originals perished in the destruction of the Four Courts. The lists in themselves are interesting, but much more so are the fairly full biographical and genealogical notes which he appends to many of the names. The following, for instance, are so annotated; Richard Lewis, Lismore; Th. Bayly, Kilnacrott; Jn. Beatty, Corr, Killeshandra; Thos. Fleming, Belville; Arnold Cosby, Lismore; D. French, Belturbet; Th. Townley, Thomas Court (Drumrooske); Th. Burrowes, Stradone; Jn. Jones, Belturbet; Ed. Cosby, Skeas; Ch. Mortimer, Lislin; Jn. Stanford, Cam, Belturbet; Humphrey Gwyllym of Gwyllymbrook, otherwise Ballyconnell; Fr. Young, Corlismore, Ballintemple; &c., &c. Perhaps the name of most general interest is Grattan; and to "Captain Henry," who is indicated as dead in the list of 1715, is appended the following note:—

Henry Grattan, of Garrycross, Co. Cavan, High Sheriff 1710, J.P. Nov. 10, 1708, was the eldest of the seven famous Grattan brothers (Swift's friends), and son of the Rev. Patrick Grattan, D.D., of Belcamp, Co. Dublin, Senior Fellow, T.C.D., Prebendary of Howth, by Gissel, daughter and co-heir of Arthur Brereton. He married before 1707, Bridget, daughter of Thomas Fleming, of Lisnalong, Co. Cavan, and by her (who married 2nd, before July 9, 1724, George Nixon, then of Dublin) had a son, James Grattan, M.P., father of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, M.P., the well known statesman. Chancery Bill, Dec. 3, 1729, *Babington v. Grattan*, Nixon, etc., which contained the information that the seven brothers had two sisters, Mary, and Rose, who married June 10, 1721, Peter Babington, of Dublin, merchant, and died Aug. 31, 1723.

In the issue of the previous April 5th of the same little Magazine there is, as one of a series of papers on Irish Family History contributed by one of our members, an article on Reynolds of Loughscur, Co. Leitrim. The contributor is Mr. Henry Fitzgerald

Reynolds of Cardiff, and the source of his information was the Wills and other documents likewise deposited in the P.R.O. now destroyed. He begins with Thomas whose Will was proved on 1st Dec., 1632, and ends with George Nugent Reynolds, the Poet, who died Jan. 1802. From the documents it is seen that the latter's mother was Jane Connell of (Cranary ?) Co. Longford, and in his unproved Will Hugh Connell of Cranary in the same county, probably a cousin, is mentioned. One of the Connells also enjoyed a high local fame for his poetic compositions. Whether his relative Reynolds who has just been mentioned, or Th. Campbell, of Glasgow wrote "The Exile of Erin," is a question that has been under debate for a century. Reynolds' latest champion is Rev. P. A. Walsh, C.M., Editor of "Songs of the Gael" &c., &c. He upholds Reynolds in a brochure "The Exile of Erin, who wrote it?" (Fallon Brothers—Dublin), and no one should venture to deny him the authorship unless he has carefully weighed Father Walsh's arguments and found them wanting. No serious attempt to controvert them was left unanswered.

Granted Reynolds as author, then without any doubt he composed the poem in Ford Lodge on the verge of Cavan town.

In the succeeding issue of "N. and Q.," April 12th, our Cardiff member has another interesting local article. It consists of extracts dealing with Leitrim from the "Book of Depositions 1641" preserved in T.C.D. The Leitrim Depositions, as far as we are aware, have never before appeared in print. The extracts may be fully relied on as having been copied with minutest accuracy. The whole article would make a good supplement to Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the 17th Century*.

The half dozen numbers of "N. and Q." particularised above, as well as a full set containing his series on Irish Family History, Mr. Reynolds has presented to the Society's Library. They may be there consulted.

The same gentleman has done a still more kindly act. He has compiled for the Society a MS. Book of Genealogies of Cavan and Leitrim families. The Book he wrote with his own hand. It ends with both an *Index Nominum* and an *Index Locorum*, so the information sought is easily got at, in the 185 pages. Both the P.R.O., now a heap of ruins, and the Registry of Deeds, Henrietta St., were put under contribution and the extracts were made by himself on his visits to Dublin between 1900 and 1910. In the Preface he says :—

As I am unfortunately too far away to be able to attend the Meetings and take a more active part in the proceedings of our Society, I feel that the least I can do is to place such of my records of Irish Genealogy as I think are likely to be of use

and interest to my fellow members at their disposal . . . . . ; and as I have a large number of Extracts which I made with a view to tracing out my own and the allied Families, it has given me the greatest pleasure to make this copy of all which relate to the Counties of Cavan, Leitrim, &c., in order that it may be placed in our Society's Library, where it will be accessible to all who are interested in the Genealogical History of our Country. . . . .

The work is now invaluable. Owing to the destruction of the P.R.O. it could not be repeated. The Society is under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Reynolds. If all its Members took in it the same interest, it would be a flourishing Society indeed. At present his MS. work is where he desires ; but the Committee is not without hope of being yet able either to print it in its coming Journals or else publishing it as a supplementary volume.

The Breifny Society stands under very great obligations to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland. Not alone has it lent us for this number the printing blocks for all the illustrations we requested, so repeating its assistance of previous years, but it has permitted us to reprint in full from its Journals Professor Macalister's article on the La Tène decorated stone in Templeport parish. This stone was discovered by one of our Committee, Mr. Walker, of Clones, and on his invitation Mr. Macalister, the highest authority on such subjects there is, kindly came down from Dublin to examine and make drawings of it. The drawings the R.S.A.I. has also enabled us to reproduce.

From the Royal Irish Academy our Society has also obtained valuable help and encouragement. To its courtesy we are indebted for all the illustrations of ancient brooches.

Athlone, a gentleman equally distinguished as an historian and *litterateur*, and as a Churchman. His *Early Haunts of Oliver Goldsmith* is a most pleasing and authoritative work. In the face of its scholarly research it would be hazardous to seek further to maintain that the poet was born at Pallas, Co. Westmeath, and not at Elphin. Pallas is recorded in the famous inscription in Westminster Abbey, but as to its inaccuracy Dean Kelly has no doubt or misgiving.

Mr. Louis Smith received his early education in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, as did his four brothers; consequently he was intimately known to a large number who are the local clergymen, professional and business men of to-day and the personal friend of all of them. His name was familiar far beyond the confines of the county. Mere passing acquaintances were struck by his geniality and optimistic view of life; but his closer associates laud this distinguishing characteristic of his in the highest terms. It was always a pleasure to meet him and one felt refreshed by the contact. Hence despite himself he was the most popular of men. His colleagues described him as a leading light at the bar. But apart from his professional duties, he was Chairman of almost all the local Societies there are from the Cavan Agricultural Society to the Cavan Golf Club; and his tact and courtesy, his shrewdness, and above all his unfailing good humour, made him as Chairman ideal.

The funeral cortege, as might be expected, was about the largest ever seen in Cavan; the remains were laid in the family burying ground in Ballinagh. But two years before to the adjoining church he in conjunction with his brothers had presented a massive gold Chalice of beautiful workmanship as a memento of another member of the family, Philip Law Smith, County Court Judge of Limerick, who died at Bath in England on 5th Jan., 1920.

The Society recognises the loss the county has sustained in one who was always ready to lend his hearty assistance to every good work, and who shouldered manfully and cheerfully his share of the burdens of citizenship. To his wife, children, and relatives, it begs to tender its sympathy.

On the 2nd August, 1923, another Life Member of the Society Lord Walter Fitzgerald, M.R.I.A., passed away at his residence, Kilkea Castle, Co. Kildare, universally regretted.

Lord Walter was the fourth son of the fourth Duke of Leinster and of Lady Caroline daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland. He was uncle to the present Duke, and during the latter's minority he acted as trustee of the Leinster Estates. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, who represented Cavan Borough in the Irish Parliament from 1790 till 1797, was the third son of James, the first Duke of Leinster and consequently a relative of the deceased nobleman.

## OBITUARY NOTICES.

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The Society has to regret the passing away of an unusual number of its members in the year (1923) now coming to a close.

On the 28th April, 1923, it lost its first Life Member, William Fleck Reynolds. He died rather suddenly at his residence Moy Rein House, Andersonstown, Belfast.

Mr. Reynolds belonged to an old North of Ireland family being a direct descendant of John Reynolds of Co. Derry (1649-1736) who is buried at Desertlyn near Moneymore. In 1845, J.S. Reynolds established the Lenfield Foundry, Belfast. The deceased was his eldest son. Born on the 5th Feb., 1855 in the city just named and educated at its R. Academical Institution, he became Works Manager of his father's firm and subsequently senior partner. About 1894, however, he dropped his connection with it. For the last 27 years he was Manager of the Britannia Works, Belfast. A member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers he was the inventor and patentee of many improvements in textile machinery, and during the Great War he perfected many tools and devices for the accurate and speedy production of munitions. He took no active part in politics but was a staunch Presbyterian and his views were Conservative. His only son died in 1888.

In his spare time Mr. Reynolds was a keen student of Irish Genealogy, a subject allied to or, rather, implicitly contained in Antiquities. He compiled extensive pedigrees of several branches of Reynolds families and allied families in counties Derry, Down, and Tyrone. Copies of these he presented to his close friend, Mr. H. Fitzgerald Reynolds of Cardiff (one of our members) to whom we are indebted for very full particulars of his active life. A great deal, too, of his leisure time and holidays he devoted to visiting all the old Burial Grounds of the North and copying the inscriptions on the monuments. These are published in the *Journals* of the praiseworthy Irish body "The Society for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead".

The Breifny Society regrets his loss and begs to offer its sympathy to his wife and daughter, who survive him.

Mr. Louis C. P. Smith, Avonmore, Cavan, passed away on the 29th April, 1923.

He was the fourth son of the late Philip Smith, J.P., D.L., Kevit Castle, Crossdoney. His mother, of a well-known Western family, was a near relative of the late Dean Kelly, D.D., M.R.I.A.,

(*V. Journal, Vol I, p, 107*). Lord Walter was born 22nd Jan. 1858, educated at Eton and Sandhurst, joined the 60th Rifles in 1879 and served in India.

Since his retirement from the Army in 1888 he took no part in public affairs but devoted himself enthusiastically to archaeology. He was a fellow and Vice-President of the R.S.A.I., and Hon. Sec. to the Kildare Archaeological Society. To both their *Journals* he contributed numerous papers. One of the best of them appears in the *Kildare Journal* of July, 1903. It deals with Patrick Sarsfield, a Kildare man born and bred, who fell at the battle of Landen, 29th July, 1693. The carefully compiled pedigree goes back to 1531. It shows that the Sarsfields sprung from neighbouring Meath but gives no countenance to the contention that the famous Jacobite General had Sheridan blood in his veins. Through his mother, Anne O'More, he was grandson of Col. Rory O'More, but the Sheridans were men of the pen not of the sword. A great-grandfather of his, indeed, also a Patrick Sarsfield, who died in 1630, married a lady from Kilcavan, Co. Wexford. Nothing more substantial connects him with this county.

Lord Walter took a keen interest in our Society, and frequently sent appreciative and helpful notes and criticisms on the papers read as they appeared in the local paper. On his demise long obituary notices occupied the columns of the metropolitan newspapers. No notice of him failed to allude to his kindness of nature and his extreme popularity throughout Kildare and in the city of Dublin.

In the death of Patrick J. McGovern, U.S.A., the Society loses still another member. He was a Leitrim man and by steady industry became one of the merchant princes of St. Louis, Mo. In applying for membership, in March last year, he wrote "I take a pride in my native land, though I have not seen its shores for 40 years, and I am keenly interested in the traditions of my native Breifni. I read in some history that the McGoverns were stubborn pagans and resisted St. Patrick's teaching for some 200 years." Mr. McGovern lived to a ripe old age.

# RULES OF BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

## OBJECTS.

1. The Society, which shall be non-sectarian and non-political, is formed :—
  - (a) to throw light upon the ancient monuments and memorials of the Diocese of Kilmore, and of the Counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and to foster an interest in their preservation ;
  - (b) to study the social and domestic life of the periods to which these memorials belong ;
  - (c) to collect, preserve and diffuse information regarding the history, traditions and folk-lore of the districts mentioned ; and
  - (d) to record and help to perpetuate the names and doings of distinguished individuals of past generations connected with the diocese or counties named.

## CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of Patrons, Members, Life Members and Honorary Members ;
3. The Patrons will be the Bishops of Kilmore, if they are pleased to act.
4. During this year (1920) all interested in the objects of the Society may become Members on payment of the entrance fee and the annual subscription.
5. After 31st December, 1920, a Candidate for Membership besides complying with the conditions in the preceding Rule must :—
  - (a) be proposed in writing by an existing Member,
  - (b) have his name submitted to the Committee, and, if approved of,
  - (c) be elected at a meeting of the Society.
6. The entrance fee shall be 10/-. The annual subscription shall also be 10/- payable on or before election and on each subsequent 1st day of January.
7. A single subscription of £5 covers the entrance fee and entitles to Life Membership.
8. A Member ceases to have any right or privilege in the Society until his subscription for the year is paid.
9. At the end of the year such defaulters, failing a special resolution of the Committee to the contrary, shall be considered to have resigned, and their names shall be removed from the list of Members.



**GOVERNMENT.**

10. The Officers of the Society shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer and an Honorary Registrar.
11. The affairs of the Society shall be managed and controlled by a Committee. This Committee shall consist of :—
  - (a) the Officers just mentioned, who shall be Ex-officio members ;
  - (b) the Patrons and Past Chairmen, who shall be Honorary Members ; and
  - (c) Six others specially elected.
12. For ordinary business of the Committee three shall form a quorum. But any contentious matter shall be reserved for a meeting at which five, at least, shall be present.
13. All cheques on the funds of the Society shall be signed by two Members of the Committee, as well as by the Honorary Treasurer.
14. In the event of a vacancy in any Office or on the Committee occurring during the year the Committee shall have power to fill the former by appointment and the latter by co-option until the next Annual General Meeting. It also shall have power to select to act on the Editorial Sub-Committee any Member or Members of the Society it may consider specially qualified.
15. **THE CHAIRMAN**
  - (a) along with his deliberative vote shall have a casting vote at Committee Meetings, but at the Society's Meetings only the latter ;
  - (b) on his own responsibility may at any time call a Special Meeting of either the Committee or the Society ; on joint requisition in writing by five Members of the Society for either, he shall on cause shown summon such meeting ;
  - (c) shall hold office for two years only and until the end of the Session at which his successor should be appointed ; he shall be ineligible for re-election but afterwards shall continue as Honorary Member of the Committee ;
  - (d) if appointed by the Committee under Rule 14 the time of such temporary appointment shall not be considered as part of the two years just referred to.
16. **THE HON. SECRETARY**
  - (a) shall convene Committee Meetings as business may arise ;
  - (b) shall send to each Member a clear week in advance notification of General Meetings, together with the Agenda paper ;

- (c) shall take and preserve Minutes of all Meetings ;
- (d) shall forward to each Member entitled to it (vide Rule 30) a copy of the Journal on its publication.

#### 17. THE HONORARY TREASURER

- (a) shall receive all moneys paid to the Society and make such payments as are authorized by the Committee ;
  - (b) shall keep accurate accounts of receipts and payments, and submit them for audit whenever required either by the Rules or by the Committee ;
  - (c) shall keep an accurate list of Members of the Society, showing the dates upon which their subscriptions have been paid, this list to be available for inspection at reasonable times ; and
  - (d) in the first week of December shall remind any Member in arrears of the provisions of Rule 9.
18. It shall be the duty of the Hon. Registrar to aim at procuring information on Antiquarian and Historical matters. He shall preserve and index it, and assist all the workers of the Society.
19. Due regard being given to the provisions contained in (c) and (d) Rule 15, all Officers and Members of the Committee, Hon. Members excepted, shall be elected from and by the Society's Members and Life Members at the Annual Meeting of each year. They shall remain in office until the opening of the Annual Meeting in the succeeding year, and shall be eligible for re-election.
20. No Member who during the year has failed to attend at least one-fourth of the Committee Meetings to which he was summoned shall be eligible at the next Annual Meeting for election as Officer or Member of Committee.
21. Resignations either from the Committee or from the Society shall be lodged with the Secretary in writing. On acceptance by the Committee the individual's obligations cease.

#### MEETINGS.

22. The Society shall hold three Ordinary Meetings in the year, two mainly for the purpose of reading and discussing papers, and one for an excursion to some place of archaeological interest in either of the counties named.
23. The Chairman shall preside at both Committee and General Meetings. In his absence (a) the Vice-Chairman, or (b) the Senior Past Chairman present, or failing these (c) a Member selected by the Meeting shall preside and be entitled to the same powers as the Chairman.

24. The first of these Meetings shall be held, if possible, in January, and shall be called the Annual Meeting.  
At its opening Session :—
- (a) The Committee shall submit a report on the work of the Society during the previous year ;
  - (b) the Hon. Treasurer shall furnish a detailed balance sheet, duly audited, ending with the previous 31st December ;
  - (c) the Hon. Auditor for the current year shall be appointed;
  - (d) the election of Officers and Members of Committee shall take place ;
  - (e) any amendments to the Rules, duly proposed, shall be discussed ; and
  - (f) any other matter appertaining to the Society's well-being or working shall be brought forward.
25. Except to the business Session just mentioned, Members may introduce visitors to all the meetings of the Society.

#### PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

26. A paper to be read before the Society must be first submitted to and approved of by the Committee. The writer of it, however, will alone be responsible for its contents.
27. All reference to existing religious or political differences must be rigidly excluded from such papers, as well as from the discussions at the Society's meetings.
28. It rests with the Committee to determine what papers or part of papers shall be published.
29. All papers read before the Society shall become the property of the Society.
30. At the end of each year the Society shall endeavour to publish, as far as the funds will permit, a Journal containing these papers, together with the proceedings of the year and other matters of local antiquarian interest. Every Member not in arrears with his subscription is entitled to a copy of this Journal.

#### ALTERATIONS IN RULES.

31. Amendments or additions to the Rules can be made only at the Annual Meeting.
32. Notice of such alterations must be lodged in writing with the Honorary Secretary on or before the last day of the previous year and the modifications proposed must appear on the Agenda paper.

**LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS AND MEMBERS AT THE END  
OF THE YEAR, 1923.**

**LIFE MEMBERS.**

- BIGGER, F. J., M.R.I.A. ... Ardriagh, Belfast (Honorary).  
 BRADY, Rev. Francis J. ... St. Michael's Church, Calhan,  
 Colorado, U.S.A.  
 BRADY, Right Rev. Msgr. Loretto, Colo., U.S.A.  
 Richard.  
 BRADY, Rev. Stephen J. ... 6309 Cote Brilliant Ave., St. Louis,  
 Mo., U.S.A.
- CONLON, M. V. ... Ministry L.G.B., Dublin.
- FINEGAN, Most Rev. Patrick, Bishop's House, Culliss, Cavan.  
 D.D.
- FINLAY, Rev. Peter, S.J. ... Milltown Park, Dublin.  
 FINLAY, Rev. Thomas A., S.J. 35, Lower Leeson St., Dublin.  
 FLOOD, Very Rev. James F. 3040, Walnut St., Chicago, Ill.,  
 U.S.A.
- FLYNN, Very Rev. Michael J. St. Michael's, West Derby Rd.,  
 Liverpool.
- GILFILLAN, Right Rev. 519 N. 10th St., St. Joseph, Mo.,  
 Francis X., D.D. U.S.A.
- LOUGH, Mrs. ... 4, Willow Terrace, Booterstown.  
 (Honorary.)
- MASTERSON, Rev. Ed., S.J. Milltown Park, Dublin.  
 MOORE, Right Rev. W. R., See House, Cavan.  
 D.D., Bishop of Kilmore.
- O'CONNELL, His Eminence 49 Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass.,  
 William Cardinal O'Connell U.S.A.
- O'FARRELLY, Agnes W., M.A. 26 Highfield Rd., Rathgar, Dublin.
- O'REILLY, Right Rev. James, Bishop's House, 608 Broadway,  
 D.D. Fargo, N. Dakota, U.S.A.
- O'REILLY, Rev, Patrick ... St. John's Church, 2820 Mariposa  
 St., Fresno, Cal., U.S.A.
- O'REILLY, William, D.I. ... Knockabbey, Co. Louth.
- SMYTH, Very Rev., H. P., ... St. Mary's Rectory, 1421 Oak Ave.,  
 Evanstown, Ill., U.S.A.

## MEMBERS.

---

BAXTER, Philip	... ..	Ballinagh, Cavan.
BENISON, J. A., D.L.	... ..	Slieve Russel, Ballyconnell, Cavan.
BERRY, T. F.	... ..	Belturbet, Cavan.
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BOURKE, Doctor	... ..	Portaliff House, Killeshandra.
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P.P., V.F.		
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P.P., V.F.		
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COLUM, Padraic	... ..	64, 5th Avenue, New York.
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COONEY, Peter	... ..	Manorhamilton.
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DOLAN, Rev. Michael, C.C.	... ..	Drumkilly, Kilnaleck.
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     Wicklow.  
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     P.P., V.F.
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 GREEN, J. Maxwell, D.L. ... Tullyvin, Cootehill.
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 HALPIN, W. H. ... .. Farnham St., Cavan.  
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 HAMILTON, Major, W. J. ... Castlehamilton, Killeshandra.  
 HOARE, Most Rev. Joseph, St. Michael's, Longford.  
     D.D.
- JUDGE, Very Rev. Js., P.P., St. Brigid's, Killeshandra.  
     V.F.
- KELLY, Rev. Thos. J., C.C. Shercock, Cavan.  
 KENNEDY, Frederick ... .. Farnham St., Cavan.  
 KENNEDY, M. F. ... .. Munster and Leinster Bank, Cavan  
 KIMMET, John ... .. 98-100, Holm St., Glasgow.
- LOWE, Rev. William P., M.A. The Rectory, Bailieborough.  
 LYNCH, Very Rev. John, Killenummery, Dromahair.  
     P.P., V.F.
- McCABE, Aiden E. R. ... .. Church St., Cavan.  
 McCAY, Cyril, B.L. ... .. Main St., Cavan.  
 McGOVERN, Rev. J. B., St. Stephen's Rectory, Charlton-  
     F.S.A.(Scot.), F.Ph.S. on-Medlock, Manchester, S.E.  
 McGOVERN, Owen, N.T. ... Aughaloor, Kilnaleck.  
 MacGOVERN, Sean ... .. Ardilla House, Cavan.  
 MCGUINNESS, Thomas ... .. Main St., Cavan.  
 MCKEON, Rev. John F. ... St. Patrick's, College, Cavan.  
 McMULLEN, Surgeon. ... St. Patrick's Hospital, Cavan.

- MACNAMARA, Jeremiah, Cavan.  
A.R.C.Sc.
- MCQUAID, Mathew, M.D. ... Ballyjamesduff.
- MAGAURAN, Raymond, M.D. Church St., Cavan.
- MAGUIRE, Rev. Francis, C.C. Loughduff, Cavan.
- MAGUIRE, Hugh, ... ... Ulster Bank, Cavan.
- MAGUIRE, Rev. John, B.D. ... St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
- MAGUIRE, Rev. Thomas, C.C. Bruskey, Ballinagh.
- MANLY, Rev. P. J., P.P. ... Killoe, Longford.
- MARTIN, Peter ... Carrigan N. School, Ballinagh.
- MAYNE, The Ven. Archdeacon Dublin.  
Joseph, M.A.
- MEEHAN, Rev. Joseph B. ... Virginia, Kells.
- MEEHAN, Rev. Patrick, P.P. Keadue, Carrick-on-Shannon.
- MICKS, W. L. ... ... 3, Palmerston Villas, Palmerston  
Park, Dublin.
- O'CONNELL, Philip, M.Sc. ... 20, Mary St., Clonmel.
- O'CONNELL, Michael ... National Bank, Virginia.
- O'DONOHUE, Rev. Charles Kinlough, Bundoran.
- O'DONOHUE, Rev. P., C.C. ... Killeshandra.
- O'HANLON, E. J. ... Church St., Cavan.
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PP., V.F.
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- O'REILLY, Thos. ... Loughduff, Cavan.
- O'SULLIVAN, J. J., A.R.C.Sc. Lurganboy, Manorhamilton.
- PEYTON, Rev. W. W., M.A. 37, Rue de Faecz, Avenue Louise,  
Brussels.
- REHILL, Rev. John P., C.C. Crosskeys, Cavan.
- REID, William, M.B.E. ... Cavan.
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- RUSHE D. Carolan, B.A. ... Far Meehul, Monaghan.
- RYAN, David J. ... The Villa, Bailieborough
- SEMPLE, Archibald M. ... Hibernian Bank, Virginia.
- SHERIDAN, Michael ... Ballinagh, Cavan.
- SHERIDAN, Nicholas ... Omard House, Kilnaleck.
- SMALL, Rev. Terence, P.P. ... Tierworker, Bailieborough.
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SMITH, Miss B.	...	...	9, Fairview, Clontarf, Dublin.
SMITH, Frederick P., M.D., D.L.			Kevit Castle, Crossdoney, Cavan.
SMITH, Mrs.	...	...	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney, Cavan
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SMYTH T. J., B.L.	...	...	Cavan.
SMYTH, Terence S.	...	...	60, Main St., Cavan.
SUPERIOR, The	...	...	Marist Institute, Bailieborough.
SWANZY, Rev. H. B., M.A., M.R.I.A.			The Vicarage, Newry.
TIERNEY, John	...	...	Virginia, Kells.
WALKER, Rev. R. J., B.A.	...	...	Ballintemple, Ballinagh, Cavan.
WALKER, R. V., B.A.	...	...	Erne Square, Clones.
WHELAN, Bernard	...	...	Main St., Cavan.
WORRALL, Rev. F. B.	...	...	Killegar, Killeshandra.
YOUNG, Rev. Michael, C.C.			Redhills, Co. Cavan.





**BREIFNY  
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.**

**JOURNAL, 1924.**



**EAST WINDOW, DRUMLANE.**

**VOL. II.**

**No. II.**

THE  
BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S  
JOURNAL, 1924.

**Whatever (else) may not be read by me  
Of the books of the high saints of Erin,  
I read with delight without vow  
The book of Molaise and Maedoc.**

—Plummer, *Lives of Irish Saints*, Vol. II., p. 252.

VOL. II.      No. II.

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CAVAN :  
THE ANGLO-CELT LTD. PRINTING WORKS.

**PATRONS :**

MOST REV. PATRICK FINEGAN, D.D., Bishop of  
Kilmore, Bishop's House, Cavan.

RIGHT REV. W. R. MOORE, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore,  
See House, Cavan.

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**OFFICERS FOR 1924.**

**Chairman :**

REV. M. COMEY, D.D., Adm., Cavan.

---

**Vice-Chairman :**

REV. R. J. WALKER, B.A., Ballintemple.

---

**Hon. Treasurer :**

ULSTER BANK, Cavan.

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**Hon. Secretary and Registrar :**

WILLIAM M. REID, M.B.E., Church Street, Cavan.

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**Committee :**

REV. E. D. CROWE, M.A. (Honorary).	E. T. O'HANLON. H. O'REILLY, B.E.
REV. J. B. MEEHAN. (Honorary).	TH. O'REILLY. F. P. SMITH, M.D., D.L.
A. E. R. McCABE.	R. V. WALKER, B.A.



Photo by]

**MOYBOLGE IN 1924.**

[J. A. COLEMAN, M.P.P.A., BAILIEBORO'.

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## REPORT OF MEETINGS.

THE fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Thursday, 27th March, 1924. The Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A. (Chairman), Cavan, presided. The following members also attended:—Rev. M. Comey, D.D., Adm., Cavan; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple; Rev. J. B. Meehan, Killinkere; Rev. T. J. Kelly, C.C., Shercock; Rev. John O'Reilly, C.C., Cavan; Rev. P. O'Reilly, C.C., Bailieboro'; Messrs. P. J. Brady, C.E., Broomfield House, Ballyhaise; S. Duke, A.R.C.Sc., Agril. College, Do.; Peter Martin, Kilnaleck; Aiden E. McCabe, Solicitor, Cavan; Henry O'Reilly, B.E., Ricehill, Cavan; Thomas O'Reilly, Dundaven, Ballinagh; D. J. Ryan, Bailieboro'; A. M. Semple, Virginia; F. P. Smith, M.D., D.L., Kevit Castle, Crossdoney; T. S. Smyth, Cavan; John Tierney, Virginia; Bernard Whelan, Cavan; and William Reid, Cavan (Hon. Secretary).

Apologies were received from Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, Bishop of Kilmore, Mr. E. J. O'Hanlon, Editor *Anglo-Cell*, and Professor O'Connell, M.Sc., Clonmel.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and signed.

The Committee's report on the work of the Society during the previous year was read and considered satisfactory.

The balance-sheet laid before the meeting by the Hon. Treasurer will be found on the last page of the last number of the *Journal*. It also was deemed satisfactory.

Mr. Joseph P. Gannon was unanimously re-elected auditor for the current year, 1924.

The Chairman's two years of office having expired, as he was ineligible for re-election (Rule 15, c.), Rev. Doctor Comey was named as Chairman for 1924 and 1925, and Rev. R. J. Walker as Vice-Chairman. Both were elected unanimously.

The late Chairman, according to the Rule of the Society referred to, became a permanent honorary member of the Committee, and Mr. Thomas O'Reilly was elected to it to fill a vacancy (Rule 11, c). The resulting list of officers will be found on the third page of this Number of the *Journal*.

### NINTH GENERAL MEETING.

On the conclusion of the business, as laid down in Rule 24, of the Annual Meeting, a General Meeting for the reading of papers was held.

The members above mentioned, together with a few visitors, were present.

The following three new members, proposed by the Committee, were elected :—

Mr. Edward J. Duffy, B.A., S.S., Virginia ;

Mr. R. Figgis, Nassau Street, Dublin ; and

Mr. Archibald M. Semple, Hibernian Bank, Virginia.

Two most carefully written papers were read and commented upon, and several interesting antiquarian objects were shown. Both the papers are printed in the early pages of this Number of the *Journal*, and a description of the exhibits immediately follows them.

### THE TENTH GENERAL MEETING.

The tenth General Meeting assembled in the usual place on Thursday, 13th November, 1925, at 4 p.m. Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Vice-Chairman, presided. The following were also present :—Rev. J. B. Meehan, Killinkere ; Rev. T. J. Kelly, Shercock ; Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, Bailieboro' ; Messrs. P. Duffy, Agricultural Instructor ; Edward J. Duffy, B.A., Virginia ; W. H. Halpin, Solicitor, Cavan ; Thomas O'Reilly, Dundaven ; T. S. Smyth, Cavan ; Philip Brady, Cavan ; Lawrence Farrelly, Kingscourt, and William Reid, Hon. Secretary, Cavan.

Apologies were read from Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, regretting inability to attend, and wishing the Society continued success, Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm. (Chairman of the Society), Cavan ; Major Hamilton, Castlehamilton, Killeshandra, and Mr. R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones.

Deep regret was felt at the recent passing away of two of the original and most esteemed members of the Society—Mrs. R. T. Burke, Cavan, who died on the 27th July, and Colonel Story, Bingfield, Crossdoney, who died in Dublin. Votes of sympathy with both the deceaseds' relatives were passed in silence, all standing. Brief obituary notices will follow.

On the motion of Father Meehan, seconded by Mr. Halpin, Very Rev. Francis McCabe, LL.D., V.F., Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A., was elected a Life Member.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Reid, mentioned that subscriptions to the funds of the Society of £1 each had been received from three Australian priests, natives of Cavan—Rev. Patrick Lynch, Maylands, and Rev. Thomas Gilroy, Albany, both of the diocese of Perth, and Rev. Owen Clarke, New South Wales.

The Society's thanks and appreciation of their interest were expressed ; and it was directed that copies of the Society's publication be sent them.

A request for the *Breijny Journal* for the National Library was introduced by Father O'Reilly.



On the motion of Father Kelly, seconded by Mr. Reid, a resolution was passed directing that a copy of the *Annual*, on its publication, should be sent to the National Library, Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the R. Society of Antiquaries, Dublin, and, on application, to any place in which such records are preserved for consultation.

The Hon. Secretary stated that the last mentioned body, the R.S.A.I., had always been forwarded a copy, and that it had presented him, for the use of the Society's library, with a copy of all their own Journals.

It was also mentioned that the Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy had offered the Breifny Library any copies of their publications which might be considered of use and interest to the members of the Society. The offer was gladly accepted, and the thanks of the meeting was heartily expressed for its generosity.

Two papers were then submitted to the meeting, viz., "History of Drumlane Abbey, Part II.," by Rev. P. O'Reilly, and "Sketch of the History of the Parish of Castlerahan," by Mr. Ph. O'Connell, M.Sc. Both will appear in the next number of the *Journal*, which, it is hoped, will be much larger than the present one. "The Adventures of Captain Cuellar, of the Spanish Armada, in N. Leitrim, in 1588" (also on the Agenda), were described from notes by Rev. J. B. Meehan. Captain Cuellar's personal narrative is dated Oct. 4th, 1589. After lying in oblivion for three centuries, it was discovered in the archives of the *Academia de la Historia*, Madrid. Translated from the Spanish, and prefaced by an illustrated introduction, the document was brought out by Hugh Allingham, M.R.I.A., Ballyshannon, half-brother of the celebrated poet, Willie Allingham (London: Elliot Stock—1897). The pamphlet is out of print but is still procurable. Besides, articles on the subject are contained in *The Nineteenth Century* (Sept., 1885), in *Longman's Magazine* (Sept.-Nov., 1891), in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (April, 1895), and in several other publications. Owing, then, to their fairly easy accessibility, Father Meehan considered it better to postpone printing an article on "The Adventures" until there would be more room in the *Journal*.

The exhibits at the tenth Meeting are described in the middle pages of this number of the *Journal*.

## DRUMLANE ABBEY—I.

By REV. PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.

(Read 18th March, 1924.)

"Alack, and what would good old Mogue there see,  
But empty lodgings and unfurnished walls,  
Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?"\*

Anon.

No survey of Drumlane would be complete that failed to take into account its environment. Situate in a picturesque district, it is surrounded by a chain of what were once spiritual fortresses.

Within a stone's throw of us, here in Cavan town, was founded a monastery by Gilla Isa Rua O'Reilly, more than 600 years ago, to be occupied first by the Dominicans and later by the Franciscans.†

Few thoughtful men of Breifny can pass its hallowed ground unmindful of three great Irishmen whose remains rest underneath—"The Slasher," Owen Roe O'Neill, no less brilliant as a statesman than as a soldier, and Primate Hugh O'Reilly, to whom justice has not yet been done. A rare scholar, Meehan‡ calls him; the patron and financial prop of Colgan; the first bishop in Ireland to advocate the universal acceptance of the Gregorian Calendar, and one of the founders of the Kilkenny Confederation. "Surely," continues Meehan—who tells us that his remains were brought from Trinity Island, where he died in 1652, and laid in the same grave with Owen Roe and the Slasher—"it was well thought to lay the bones of so true a prelate in the same soil with the great chieftains of his own race and kindred."§

If we pursue a course to the north, we observe the ruins of St. Brigid's parish Church at Urney,|| St. Motana's¶ at Annagh, and the site of a Church at Cionosey,\*\* which had its two poles of termon land. Behind these, to the east, lies Kiloughter, notable for fulfilling the functions of both a Church and a fortress. "The Church of Kill-Uachtair was erected by Philip, the son of Brian,

\* *Round Towers of Ulster*, p. 78.

† *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, by Rev. C. P. Meehan (6th Ed.), p. 160, etc.

‡ Do. do.

§ Do. p. 173. Renehan, however, has it that the prelate died on Trinity Island on the 7th July, 1651, and that his remains were interred in "Annagellion" [Annageliffe?] *Collections on Irish Church History*, Vol. I., p. 47.

|| *De Annalis Hiberniæ*, Vol. I., Passim.

¶ Do., p. 251.

\*\* Pat. Roll, James. I., p. 385.

as a place for Mass, and as a fortress against the county of Monaghan. It is said that there were seven bishops present at the consecration of it.”\*

At Tulske, Co. Roscommon, is a notable building which similarly fulfilled a double purpose.†

If we take a line due west we reach Kildallan, the Church of St. Dallan—St. Mogue’s first cousin—who, as we shall see later, stood by his bedside at his impending death. Traversing a district studded with lakes the “Church of the old Rath,” Killehandra, is passed, and we sail over Lough Oughter, as did Clarus Mac Mailin and his White Canons, on their way to Trinity Island, in 1237 (F.F.M.). To the left frowns Clough-Oughter, severe and grim, like the times it has survived; to our right lies the site of Slanore, adequately treated by a member of this Society in an earlier No. of the Journal. Adjacent to Slanore we see Kilmore, the site of an Augustinian Monastery,‡ and also St. Felim’s Church and later Cathedral.

It would be an arduous task to discover, within a similar compass, anywhere in Ireland, so many sites of sacred edifices. The fertile hills and valleys adjoining those venerable ruins still bear witness to the strenuous toil and untiring labours of their quondam inmates.

To the centre of this group, on the southern slope of the “broad ridge,” which gives it its name, repose, in a setting of rich pasture and silver lakes, the Abbey, Church and Round Tower of Drumlane.

### THE FOUNDER.

When it came into existence and who was its founder are questions not easy to answer satisfactorily.

Dr. John O’Donovan, having visited Drumlane in May, 1836, wrote:—

“According to the tradition that now lingers in the parish of Drumlane, St. Mogue was the original founder of the round steeple and the Abbey; still, it would appear from the life of that distinguished bishop, given by Colgan, that there had been an ecclesiastical establishment there before he (Mogue) was born.§

He then quotes from Colgan:—

“There was a certain nobleman in the county of the Connacians whose name was Setna and who was married to Ethnia of the seed of Amalgaid. These having no heir, entreated God to grant them a son, and for that end they performed many acts of charity, paying frequent visits to

\* O’Reilly Pedigree, MS. in T.C.D.

† O’Donovan’s *Cavan Letters*, p. 11b.

‡ Alemand’s *Mon. Hib.*, p. 416.

§ O’Donovan’s *Cavan Letters*, p. 46.

the saints who resided in the Monastery of Druimleathan. These saints also interceded with God to bless this couple with a son'.<sup>\*</sup>

Colgan narrates two dreams that Setna and Ethnia had, the latter seeing a star falling from heaven into her husband's mouth. For this reason, soon after his birth, St. Mogue was called the "Son of the Star."

Lanigan gives more detailed information :—

Aedan was the celebrated St. Aidan or Maidoc, Bishop of Ferns. His original name was *Aodh* or *Aedh*, a name exceedingly common amongst the ancient Irish, which, besides being modified in various ways, both in Irish and Latin, has been anglicised into *Hugh*. As this saint's name appears more generally under the form *Maidoc*, I shall use it in preference to *Aedan* or *Aidan*, by which some distinguished persons, with whom he must not be confounded, are usually designated. He was of an illustrious family of Connaught. His father Setna was of the Hy-briuin sept., and his mother Ethnia of the race of Aulai. Having been married for some considerable time they had no heir, and accordingly prayed to God that he might grant them a son, for which purpose they also gave great alms, and often went to the monastery of Druim-leathan, where they used to request the prayers of the holy men, who resided there. The Almighty being pleased to listen to their supplications, St. Maidoc was born in a small island called *Inis-Breagh-muigh*, in the now County of Cavan. The time of his birth was about the year 560, as appears from his having been, when a small boy, one of the hostages, whom the chiefs of Hy-briuin were compelled to give to Anmiracus, king of Ireland, whose reign began in 568 and ended in 571.†.

In a note to the above Lanigan adds :—"It is very strange that Colgan, in a list of monasteries founded by Maidoc, has amongst them Druim-lethan, which, as appears from what we have now seen, existed before he was born."<sup>‡</sup>

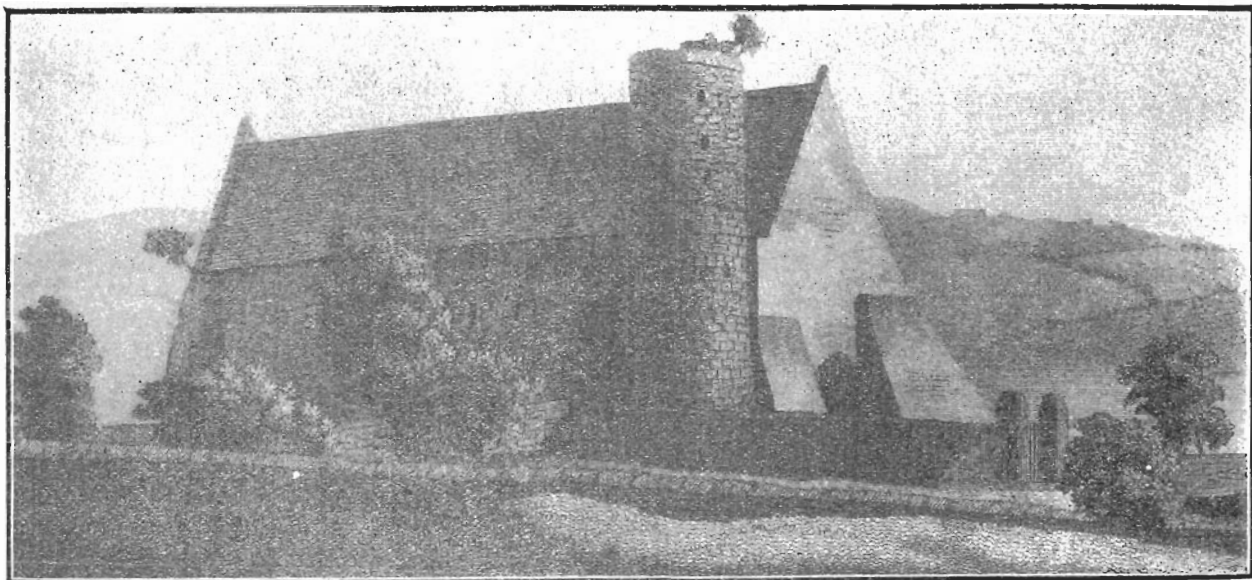
Two Irish Lives of St. Mogue were recently translated and edited by the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Oxford University. § *The Life of Maedoc I*, the editor describes as having a southern source, being concerned mainly with Ferns. To the *Life of Maedoc II.*, he attributes a northern origin. Strange to say, while the first *Life* details the story of the visit of Mogue's parents to Drumlane, the second *Life*, although it contains numerous references to Drumlane, leaves out that incident. Plummer thinks that this omission implies that Drumlane existed before St. Mogue's birth.

\* *Acta SS.* Vol. I., p. 208.

† *Ecll. His. of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 333.

‡ *Do.* p. 336.

§ *Cf. Journal*, Vol. I., p. 344.



Reproduced from]

**DRUMLANE CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER IN 1791.**

[GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

The solitary passage bearing on Drumlane in the first *Life* of *Maedoc* differs slightly from the foregoing extracts :—

“ They (Mogue’s parents) went to Drumlane to fast there with a view to obtaining an heir ; and the woman saw a vision of the moon entering the mouth of the king, and the king in likewise saw a star entering the mouth of the queen. And this was the interpretation that was put upon the vision, that an eminent birth would proceed from them, whose fame would fill the lips of men ; and like as a star guided the prophets (i.e. the Magi) to Jesus, so this star would guide the child to the Holy Ghost. . . . Not long afterwards the woman bore a son to whom the name of Moeog was given ;

. . . . .  
”\*

To this quotation, taken in conjunction with what goes before, must be conceded, at least, a high traditional value. The antiquity of the work from which it is drawn should guarantee that, for Gilla Mochuda O’Cassidy, who gets the credit of being its compiler, died about the middle of the 12th century.† Both Colgan’s and Lanigan’s statements (quoted above) are drawn from the same source—an early life of *Maedoc*, but a different *Life* from that of *Maedoc I.* edited by Plummer. This, a comparison of the texts will show. Yet these two independent *Lives* agree that Drumlane was inhabited before our Saint’s birth.

That Drumlane existed before the time of St. Mogue seems a fair conclusion to come to, after examining these passages carefully. Natives of this area in East Breifny, then, may be pardoned if they pride themselves not a little on having *one* sanctuary that reaches back into dim antiquity ; a temple that was old when Brian Boru was an infant, around which battled the storms of fourteen centuries.

Who, then, was *the* Founder of Drumlane ?

While we may concede to the *Life of Maedoc II.* a traditional value, as already noted, the work cannot be regarded as historical. From this standpoint let us examine the following account of St. Patrick’s visit to Drumlane abstracted from it :—

“ So the father of baptism and of lasting belief to the men of Erin, St. Patrick, prophesied of the same patron saint, *Maedoc*, the mighty of the sweet words, as he was traversing the deserts and fastnesses of the *Ui Briuin*,‡ where he heard the melodious and harmonious chant of the angels near him, and the many varied songs, and the sweet angelic harping and the heavenly sound of their utterance and swift chanting. The thrice fifty holy clerks who were with Patrick asked : ‘ Why do we not settle in this place, in which are

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\* *Lives of Irish Saints*, Clarendon Press, 1922, — II., p. 177.

† *Do.* Introd., p. xxxiii.

‡ *Ui-Briuin*, lit. descendants of Brian, King of Connacht ; here it means people occupying Breifny East and West.

the cry and song of the angels, and make our habitation and abode on this ridge which is beside the water ?' (Druim leth re han). 'That shall be its name for ever,' said Patrick, 'namely, Druim-Lethan. However, not to us is it granted to settle there, but to Aed the son of Setna, that is Maedoc of Ferns . . . and he will serve Breifne, for in it he will be born, as is understood and foretold, in Inis-Breghmaighe in Magh Slecht of Connaught at the end of thirty years from to-day. And he is destined to inhabit and occupy this place . . . , Patrick baptised and blessed the place for Maedoc there. He bequeathed to it grace and good fortune, bliss and blessing, wealth and hospitality, pre-eminence in foot-washing and in service and honour above every (place).'\*

That there is an error in chronology here is manifest, for if we take 465† as the year of St. Patrick's death, Maedoc was not born for nearly a century later.

We know for certain that the National Apostle was at Granard and Templeport, and it is conjectured, from the number of ancient wells for miles around the latter place, that he made a circuit of the district, preaching to the people and administering baptism.‡ Was Drumlane included in the Saint's itinerary? And he, having once drawn attention to the place, not improbably one of his disciples, as a local votary of the saint, would establish there a hermit's cell; others would join him, and its fame increased.

The absence of Patrick's Wells in the vicinity of Drumlane, as well as the silence of local tradition, are strong objections to this theory. The extraordinary reverence for St. Mogue—the "divus tutelaris utriusque Breffniae," their pet saint whose works and miracles were magnified to a superlative degree—might eclipse even the memory of St. Patrick. It is important also to observe that though the names of several saints are connected with Drumlane in Irish Festologies, no tradition whatever lingers of these holy men; their memory has completely vanished. For instance, Danem is given in the *Martyrology of Gorman* (Vol. I., p. 216) as a Drumlane saint, his feast, according to the *Martyrology of Donegal* (p. 306), falls on November 12th. Indem occurs, in the *Book of Leinster* (p. 368, col. 6) as a saint of Drumlane; while Saints Fintan§ and Indecht are attached to the same sanctuary by the *Book of Lecan* (p. 116, col. 5 & p. 119, col. 1). Any of these might have been the pioneer of Christianity on the "broad ridge."

In putting forward St. Columbcille as the probable founder of Drumlane we are getting on to, perhaps, surer ground. One

\* Plummer, Op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 187-8.

† Lanigan, Op. cit., — I., p. 363.

‡ Dalton, *Cromm Cruaich*, Proceedings R.I.A., Vol., XXXII., p. 47.

§ O'Donovan says that Mogue was first called Fintan (*Cavan Letters*, p. 7).

pregnant sentence Alemand devotes to Drumlane. Describing Kells Abbey, he remarks :—

“ The Priory of Drumlane in the County of Cavan, has a dependence on this (Kells) Abbey, and the monks thereof pretended they had the Latin version of the Four Evangelists made by St. Columb, their founder.”\*

It cannot be denied that Alemand† was the most accurate and industrious of the monastic historians.

What the character of their dependence was we are not able to say : that it survived down to the 15th century can be established beyond question.

In a Bull of Pope Eugene IV. of the year 1436, Patrick O’Farrelly, vicar of the parish church of St. Brigid of Nurnaig (Urney) is authorised to be admitted as a Canon to the conventual priory of St. Mary of Drumlane . . . . “ which is a dependency of the Monastery of St. Mary, Kells, of the same order, in the diocese of Meath, etc.”‡

Here is another mandate from Rome, confirmatory of Drumlane’s dependence on Kells :—

To the dean and archdeacon of Ardagh and Eugenius Orodachain, a canon of the same, Mandate to summon the below named bishop and others concerned, and to collate and assign to Peter Magaurughan (Magaheran), a canon of the Augustinian priory of St. Mary, Drumlane, in the diocese of Kilmore, the said priory, conventual and with cure of souls, *dependent* on the Monastery of St. Mary without the walls of the town of Kenlys in the diocese of Meath.”§

Drumlane’s dependence on Kells most probably would not have been referred to in the Roman documents unless specific mention of this relation had been made in the applications that gave birth to these documents sent from Rome to Drumlane.

From this we can infer that the religious at Drumlane recognised that that connection exalted their prestige. If St. Columcille was the founder, this would be a powerful motive impelling the Drumlane Canons to keep alive their relationship with Kells, and through Kells, their connection with St. Columba. Further—

\* *Mon. Hib.*, p. 39.

† Alemand’s *Monasticon Hibernicum*, in French, was dedicated to King James II., and printed at Paris in 1690. It was translated into English, and enlarged by Capt. J. Stephens, and printed without a name in London, 1722. In a work entitled “ The Augustinians in Ireland,” by M. J. Battersby, published in Dublin in 1856, the author quotes McGeoghegan (at page 47) as recommending Alemand to be “ Followed as the most accurate of all who have written (to our time) on the Irish Monasteries.” An earlier work, called the “ Complete Monastic History of Ireland”—given in an appendix to the *Catholic Directory* of 1839—by M. J. B. (no doubt the above M. J. Battersby) tells us that Alemand availed himself of the labours of Fr. Colgan, and of many Irish MSS., then for safety sent beyond the seas.

‡ *De Annatis Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 249.

§ *Papal Registers*, July, 1456.



more, those Canons could scarcely, with any becoming semblance of credibility, advance a claim to possession of a MS. copy of the Four Evangelists, in St. Columba's own handwriting, unless they were able to produce substantial evidence of an unusually close union with that eminent saint.

St. Columbcille founded the Abbey of Kells in A.D. 550.\* We know from Adamnan that he was at Slanore.† He presided over the Kilmore Monastic School (Colgan quoted in Moran's ed. of *Archdall*, vol. i., p. 70). He also founded a church on Saints' Island in Lough Gowna.‡ Evidently then, he was familiar with the topography of this part of Ireland.

Seeing that Alemand expressly ascribes the foundation of Drumlane to Columba, that the Drumlane Canons both lay claim to a Columban MS. and jealously insist on their connection with Kells, and that the locality in which Drumlane is situated was well known to St. Columba, we may fairly assign to this East Breifnian fane a Columban rather than a Patrician origin.

#### ST. MOGUE (c.560-632.)

Before proceeding to give historical references to, or to describe the ruins of Drumlane, it may not be inopportune to give a brief sketch of the life of St. Mogue, so intensely and tenaciously revered there. We have already seen that he was born in the modern Port island, in Templeport Lough,§ about A.D. 560. His name, Mo-Aedh-og, signifying "My little fire" was given him at, or soon after, his birth.|| At an early age, Mogue, with other youths, was delivered as a hostage by the Hy-Briuin,¶ to the Ard-Ri, Ainmire, but the youthful saint so captivated the king, that not only he but his companions, at his request, were released. His boyhood was spent among shepherds till he was sent by his parents to St. Finian's school, at Clonard. There he met and formed a life-long friendship with St. Molaise of Devenish.\*\*

Their school days were drawing to a close when Maedoc (or Mogue) and Molaise were seated beneath the shadows of two trees. They prayed that God might convey to them whether their labours should be in the same or in different regions. As they prayed, the tree under which Molaise sat fell to the north, while his companion's fell to the south. This token the friends took as a definite expression of God's will. Molaise, turning to the north,

\* Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I., p. 39.

† Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, p. 73.

‡ O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, p. 111.

§ Cf. this Journal, Vol. I., p. 204.

|| Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 200. Mo- was often prefixed, and -og and -an affixed to the names of saints. They indicated respect and endearment. Both prefix and affix in the case of Mo-Aedh-og mean the same thing.

¶ Plummer, *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Vol. II., p. 143.

\*\* Reeves, *Proceed.*, R.I.A., Vol. VIII., p. 443.

founded the celebrated monastery of Devenish; Maidoc going south, first crossed over to Britain, where in Wales he is still remembered as Aeddan Faeddag.\* The churches of Cawhaven, Nolton and West Harold's Town are ascribed to him under the name of Madog.† Returning to Ireland, he founded churches in Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, Leitrim, and Fermanagh. Of Ferns diocese in Wexford he became the first bishop. He is invariably known there as Aidan or Moses. His feast is on the 31st of January. St. Maidoc left Ferns and came to Drumlane "in the maturity of his age and days,"‡ returning occasionally to the former place, and spent the remainder of his life between Drumlane and Rossinver. Most authorities on Irish Ecclesiastical History fix St. Maidoc's death at A.D. 632.§

### THE BREAC MOGUE.

We are told in the life of St. Molaise|| that on making a pilgrimage to Rome, he called on St. Mogue, at Ferns, on his outward and return journeys. He carried back with him certain relics, some of which he presented to Mogue. The latter on receiving them said "I am well variegated by thee now," meaning, "You have given me such a variety of objects that I am speckled all over with them." Then, speaking of the reliquary containing the relics, he said "Breac Maedog (i.e. the Speckled of Maedog) shall be its name for ever." This legend was reduced to writing as far back as the 13th century, for the MS. whence it was taken is undoubtedly of that date. It proves that at that period a shrine bearing the name of Breac Maedog did exist and was held in veneration; and as the shrine or reliquary presently to be described is certainly of very great antiquity, and has long borne the name of Breac Maedog in the County of Cavan, it may not be too much to assume that in this interesting relic we have the shrine to which the story refers, though it be not the original receptacle of the relics imported by St. Molaise.¶ It was preserved for many years in Drumlane Monastery. Little is known of the history of the shrine from the confiscation of the monastery till the beginning of the 18th century. About that time its last lay custodian, Pat McGaghran, transferred it to the P.P. of Drumlane.

We have good reasons for thinking that it was a companion to a crucifix in the writer's possession. As the two have a somewhat similar history, I purpose here outlining the little that is known

\* Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 227. The traveller from London to Holyhead cannot fail to have noticed in Wales a railway station bearing the significant name—Port-Madoc.

† Reeves, *Loc cit.*, p. 447.

‡ Plummer, *Life of Maedoc of Ferns*, Vol. II., p. 201.

§ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. I., p. 570.

|| MS. *Irish Life of St. Molaisius of Devenish*, R.I.A. Translated by O'Grady, and published in his *Silva Gadelica*.

¶ Stokes, *The Breac Maedog*, p. 4.

of the latter. Tradition in the McGaghan family—the guardians of both—makes Piarais McGaghan, a Drumlane Religious, perhaps the last prior, the first to bring it into the family. It is not too much to assume that this may have been the identical crucifix that was used on the altar in the old church in Drumlane. Two members of this family are given in the 1704 list of registered priests; one of them, Rev. Edmund Magaghan, actually living in the townland, Tirliffin, in which the crucifix was kept till about 1840. As long as a priest remained in the family he would be the custodian. About 1884 Mrs. Mary Brady (*née* McGaghan), who had brought it with her from Tirliffin to Dromkeen at her marriage, handed it over to the Very Rev. Bernard Finegan, V.G., pastor of Drumlane, who placed it in Miltown Catholic Church.

The shrine, which can now be seen in the National Museum, Dublin, eventually came into the hands of Dr. Petrie—the famous archæologist—in a very curious way. Being an object of great reverence—as the people believed that a false oath taken upon it was followed inevitably by a visible judgment—it was used for the purpose of swearing persons accused of some crime, to enable them, if innocent, to clear their characters.\* “It’s as true as if I swore it on the Breac,” used to be an emphatic form of expression in Drumlane and the neighbourhood. Sometimes it was carried long distances. To ensure its prompt return, a guinea, as guarantee, had to be lodged with the Parish Priest before its removal.

In 1846, it was borrowed from the Rev. Philip Donegan, P.P., on the usual understanding; but, instead of returning it, the borrower sold it to a Dublin jeweller. From the latter Dr. Petrie purchased it. On his death, it passed, with his collection, into the care of the Trustees of the National Museum.

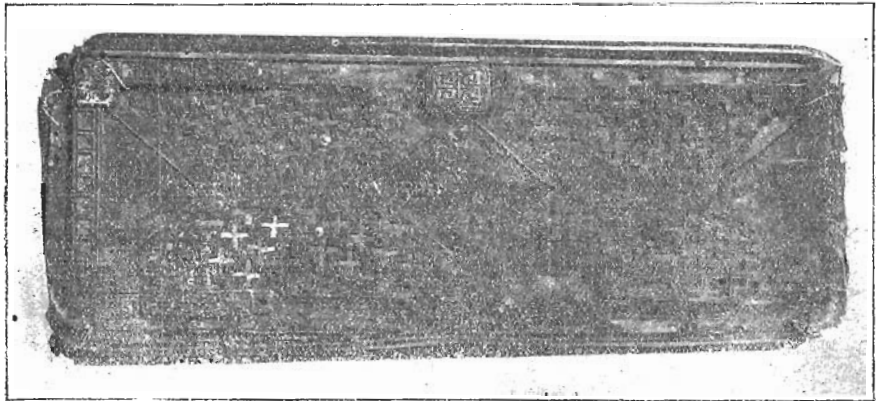
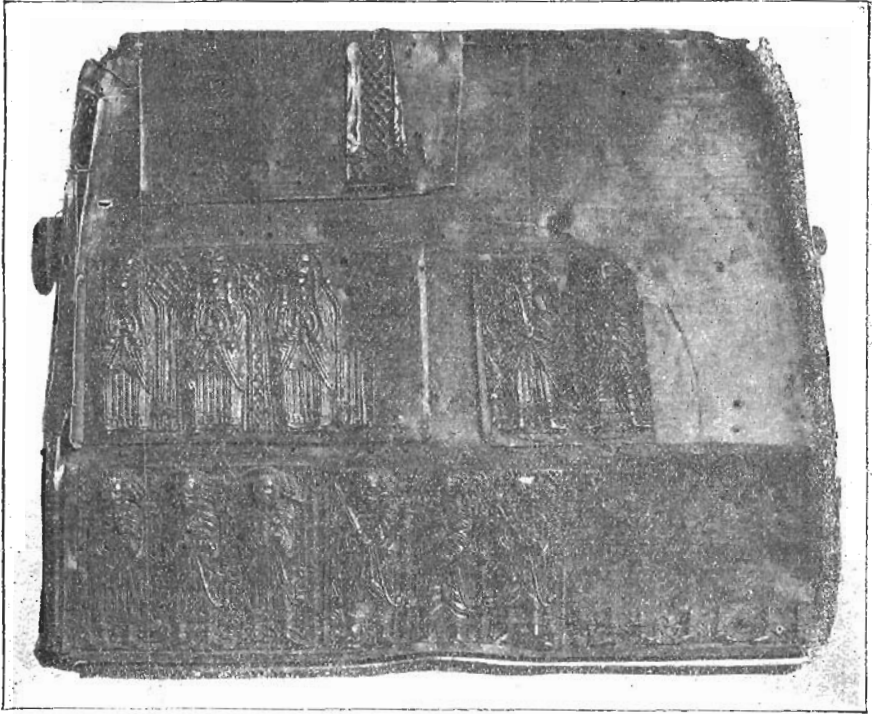
A general impression prevailed that the shrine closely resembled the exterior of the great Church of Drumlane. In confirmation of this Miss Stokes quoted the following sentence from a letter written in 1866, by the Very Rev. P. O’Reilly, P.P., of Drumlane: “It is said by the people of this parish who saw it, to resemble very closely in shape the great Church of Drumlane, now in ruins, of which it is here generally believed to have been the place in miniature.”†

It resembles St. Columba’s house at Kells, to some extent, and bears a striking similarity to St. MacDara’s primitive church, in St. MacDara’s Island, off the coast of Galway, as illustrated in Joyce’s “Social History of Ancient Ireland,” Vol. I., p. 355.

The height of the reliquary is  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches, length  $8\frac{3}{8}$  inches, breadth of the base  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. For about one-third of the height its sides are vertical; they then slope inwards until they meet at a very acute angle, resembling the roof of a house.

\* Stokes, *The Breac Maedog*, pp. 5 and 6.

† Stokes, *The Breac Maedog*, p. 9.



**SHRINE OF ST. MOEDOC: FRONT AND BASE.**

(Through the courtesy of the R.I.A.)

The following descriptive extracts, in a slightly condensed form, are taken from Canon O'Hanlon's sketch of the Life of St. Mogue :—

“ The shrine of St. Mogue is formed like an ancient Irish cill or church. Its sides were covered with exquisitely formed figures of ecclesiastics, habited in 7th or 8th century costumes. . . . Besides the figures, a great variety of ornamental designs, executed in brown and variegated enamel may be seen. By competent critics this shrine has been pronounced to be the oldest, and the Irish workmanship the most interesting of its class known to remain in the world.

The front of the Breac Mogue is divided into three tiers, or rows of figures. The lower tier has three compartments ; each of these had originally three figures, the central and the right compartments are still entire, but only the feet of three figures remain in the left compartment. The central division is only capable of receiving two compartments, each one of these has a group of figures. One of these groups is still preserved, and it presents, in an arcade, three female figures, with hands gracefully clasped on the bosom. Their dress is uniform, while their countenances are peculiarly sweet . . . There is something in their attitude, so noble and divine, that there can be little hesitation in reckoning this group among the most perfect works of art belonging to our early Irish Church. The uppermost tier of the Breac Mogue allows only of two compartments ; and as these spaces are smaller than those of the middle tiers, each one may possibly have contained only two figures. It was to this tier, perhaps, that a group of two figures, now loosely appended to the middle compartment, originally belonged. In the form and faces of the female figures, there is not only strong individuality of character, but their character is one of sweetness, benevolence and simple goodness, carried out not only in facial expression, but in the figure attitudes, and in the quiet clasping of the hands upon the breast. Impassioned sorrow, an earnest, tearful gaze, a cheerful common-sense expression ; solemn, severe dignity ; these characteristics are noticeable in the faces of the various groups. All this, and the treatment of details, manifest the existence of a dramatic, as also of a religious element, in early Irish art. It elevates above that which is purely decorative, and it is as much beyond the art of the mere savage, as the faith which teaches of goodness, purity and love transcends the dark superstitions of heathenism.

Canon O'Hanlon adds the following note :—

In it are represented Christ with the Apostles, Peter and Paul. The Redeemer holds in His right hand the book of the Law, and in the left a vase, closely resembling in form

some old Irish chalices, yet preserved in the R.I.A. ; while in the arcade or where He stands are birds, symbolical of the angelic choir, St. Paul is at the right of Christ, with a sword in the right, and a sceptre in his left hand. St. Peter stands at the left of Christ—this in many ancient monuments being the post of highest honour, with a sceptre in the right and a crosier in his left hand.

Two townlands near Drumlane keep alive the memory of the Breac, viz., Derriscrines (better known as Ashgrove), “the Wood of the Shrine,” and Deriybrick, “the Wood of the Bric or Breac.”

Another curious relic connected with the Breac is a satchel or leathern case (called in Irish “polaire”) made for carrying the reliquary. This is also in the National Museum, Dublin.

Speaking of this polaire, Petrie observes :—

As a specimen of earlier and more beautiful work of this kind, I am tempted to present an outline of one of the sides of the leather case of the Shrine of St. Maidoc or Aidan, the first bishop of Ferns, the age of which, in the opinion of some of the most skilful antiquaries of Great Britain, can hardly be later than the eighth century.\*

Speaking of the leather satchels of the Book of Armagh and of St. Maedoc, he continues :—

The two leathern cases from which the preceding illustrations have been copied, are, as far as I know, the only specimens of the kind remaining in Ireland, or, as I should suppose, in the British Islands ; yet it cannot be doubted that such leather cases were anciently as common in Ireland as the sacred books, shrines, and other reliquaries, which they were designed to preserve, such cases being necessary, in consequence of the usage of the Irish, to carry the honoured memorials of their primitive saints from place to place on necessary or important occasions ; and hence these relique covers are provided with broad leather straps fastened to them at each end, by which they could be suspended round the neck.†

The next passage is from Miss Stokes :—

In an ancient legend preserved in the *Leabhar-Breac*, St. Patrick is described as appearing followed by the boy Benen with his polaire on his back.‡

In his will, St. Maedoc bequeathed to Drumlane, among other relics, “my beautiful wonder-working reliquary which travelled with me to many places.”§

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\* *Round Towers*, p. 332.

† *Round Towers*, p. 333.

‡ *Breac Maedog*, p. 7.

§ *Plummer*, Vol. II., p. 258.

Two articles of great antiquarian interest, which conjointly bear the name of Clog Mogue, may be mentioned here. They are a bell and its shrine. The bell is reputed to have been given by St. Caillin of Fenagh to the infant Mogue on the occasion of the latter's baptism.

Mogue, towards the end of his life, presented the bell to the parish of Templeport. In Templeport it was carefully preserved for centuries by its keepers, the Magaurans. It was used, like the Breac, to administer or rather to give additional sanction to social compacts. Eventually, the last Magauran keeper died, and his son-in-law sold it. It was transferred later to the Armagh Library where it still remains. A long description of Clog Mogue, and the traditions associated with it, is given in Proc. R.I.A., Vol. VIII. (1864).

The following passages, from Plummer's *Life of Maedoc of Ferns II.*, are not, by any means, exhaustive. The *Life* itself covers roughly 100 pages of closely printed matter, and space forbids unlimited freedom of transcription.

Here is an epitome of the tribute payable by the Hy-Briuin to Mogue:—A scruple yearly from every house; a horse and robe from every king and every queen; the robes and dress from every chief and chieftainess; a beast from every estate to Maedoc's coarb; one animal from every flock or drove at every festival of the saint; a charge of iron from every smith to the great church [Drumlane]; circuit dues at Easter and Christmas to Maedoc's monks and stewards; Maedoc's coarb to be the first in every banqueting hall, in councils and conferences; the coarb to have the privilege of making and drawing up terms of peace in Ui-Briuin. A foster-child from the coarb of Maedoc to be fostered, supported and educated by the King of Breitny. Moreover, the King of Breifny is to go on the morrow of his coronation to Drumlane or Rossinver, and then he need not fear sickness or disease till the last sickness (II., pp. 196-7). Unless the tribute is paid, the family of Maedoc is to fast thrice on the Ui Briuin; the first fast in Drumlane in the great church; the second at Lec na Nemand, where Maedoc himself used to perform vigil and genuflection with long prayer; the third at Rossinver, for it is there that God and Maedoc must hear the prayers of each one of his family. (Do.)

Lec-na-Nemand mentioned above may mean the miraculous stone, called Leac-Maedog, at Killybeg, in Fermanagh,\* or more more probably Gloon-na-Mogue, or the flag of Mogue, at St. Mogue's Well in Derrintinny, near Drumlane, on which the impression of St. Mogue's knee was supposed to be visible.†

“ After binding and establishing his tribute and due honour on

\* Stokes, *Breac Maedog*, p. 5.

† O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, p. 7.

Aed Finn,\* and his race and posterity after him. . . . Maeodoc proceeded to Drumlane," at the suggestion of Aed Finn and by the joint exhortations of Kings and royal chiefs of the Ui-Briuin, and of the people, both high and low, laie and cleric." (Do. p. 200.) "He bequeathed to the place grace of clergy and coarbs, grace of prosperity and abundance, grace of welcome and entertainment for ever, according to the proverb, 'the welcome of Erin is in Drumlane.' And he was some time in Drumlane, on this wise, attending to it and serving it, till it came into his mind to leave Ireland secretly, to avoid and shun the honour and high reverence which all entertained for him." (Do. p. 201.) The king would not consent to let Maeodoc go, "for he disliked that the abode and dwelling [of Maeodoc] should not be in his own land and country. However, in spite of his prohibition and power, the Trinity guided Maeodoc in all secrecy to the territory of Leinster, and thence to Britain to a holy bishop who was there, viz., David of Menevia; and he was there with him for a long time." (Do.). Many miracles were attributed to Maeodoc during his sojourn in Britain and in Leinster. Brandub, King of Leinster is relieved of a severe illness by Maeodoc, in return for which he gave him many offerings and extensive lands, on which the saint built a fair and venerable church, *Ferna mór* Maeodoc. Maeodoc becomes high bishop of Ferns and builds a monastery there. (Do. p. 211). He goes back to Wales at the urgent request of St. David, who found death approaching, making another prolonged sojourn there. (Do. p. 215.)

After fasting, praying, working miracles, visiting and healing the sick, working in the fields with his monks, at *Ferna Mór*, Maeodoc returns to Drumlane. Seven years he was fasting there "without milk or ale, without flesh or kitchen, but only a little bit of barley bread and a drink of water from one evening to another, and a little drink of milk every third Sunday, lying on the bare ground or a stone full hard, without any covering or clothing except the skins of wild untamed animals, continually reciting his psalms and psalters, and praying zealously to God on *Lec na Nemhann* . . . . And he never rejected the face of any man in the world, in respect of food, or drink, or clothing, if only he saw that he was (really) in need of them." (Do. p. 226.)

"Some time after this a strange and wondrous vision appeared to Maeodoc in Drumlane; to wit, all the ramifications of the family (lit. battalion) of Aed Finn simultaneously, and their genealogical branches, and ramifications of relationship, and further the name of every king and every great chief of them who should obtain sovereignty and authority to the end of the world." (Do. p. 227). St. Mogue is puzzled, and, in his perplexity, sends for St. Columcille. An angel told the meaning of the vision to Columcille,

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\* Aed-Finn, *i.e.*, Hugh the Fair. He was the common ancestor of the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys—O'Donovan, F. M. note to year 1421.



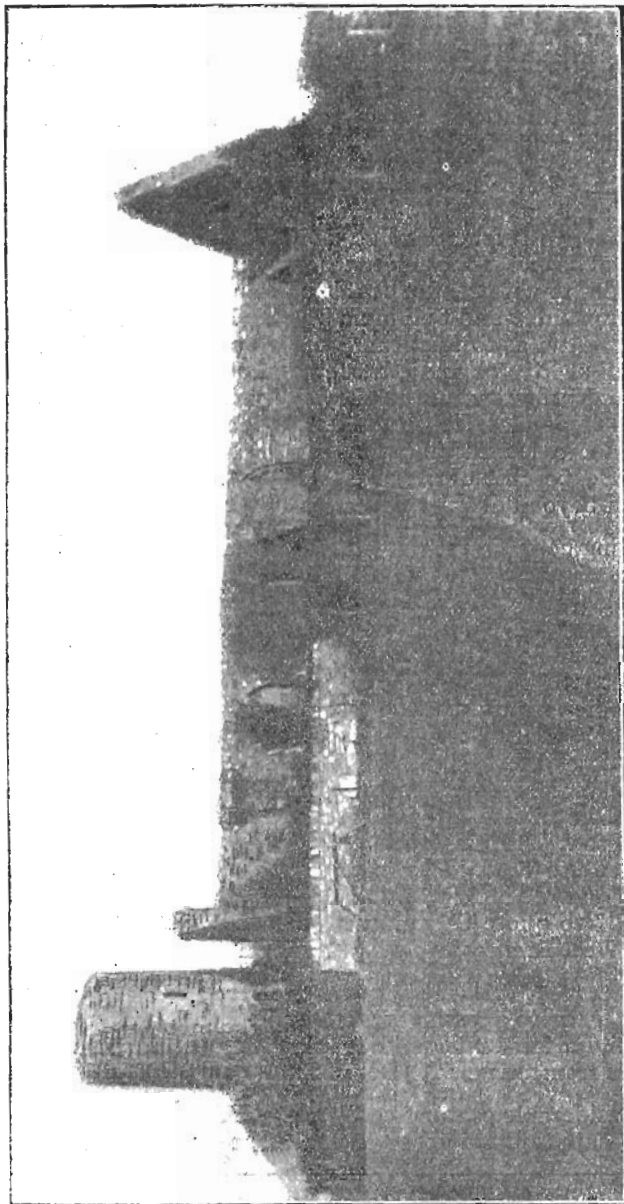


Photo by]

[REV. THOMAS J. BRADLEY, C.C., DRUMLANE.  
**DRUMLANE CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER IN 1924.**

and said, "What the vision reveals is the way in which the race and descendants of the proud and mighty man, Aed Finn, son of Fergna, under whom are the churches and fellow-habitants of Maedoc, with his great companies, will fork and ramify, and his race and posterity will be enemies and unfriends, and contentious and disunited towards one another; and these are their names, Ruarc and Ragallach." . . . . (Do. p. 227.)

"Let there be raised and strongly built in another land by Maedoc," said the angel, "another honourable place in addition to Drumlane, to receive his due and tribute from all in general; and this will be one of the three most lasting fires for entertainment in Ui-Briuin, to wit, the fire of this place, whence Maedoc saw the vision, Drumlane; and Cuillin na bFer *or* Rossinver, and Cell mor Feidlimid. And as to this Ruarc that I spoke of," said the angel, "God shall swiftly pour down the raging fire of his wrath on his progeny and posterity, unless they submit to and greatly honour Maedoc in respect of tribute and due. The seed of Ragallach are bound to increase and maintain beyond all others the revenues of Drumlane, because of the care and zeal which Maedoc bestowed upon them beyond every other race in the neighbourhood. (Do.)

Reading between the lines here, it is evident that the compiler of this passage was living at Drumlane, since he speaks of the "fire of this place, whence Maedoc saw the vision, Drumlane." He shows prejudice against O'Rourke and partiality towards O'Reilly. Further, this incident must refer to a period long subsequent to St. Mogue and Columbcille, since surnames did not come into use till the 10th century.\* It evidently refers to a dispute between East and West Breifny, the people of the latter place refusing to pay tribute to Drumlane. The invocation of St. Columcille, too, by a resident in Drumlane would give colour to the claim that he was its original founder. Incidentally it may be remarked that Drumlane, being the "temple mor" or "great church," as the Four Masters call it,† on the confines of both Breifnies, and "a noble burial place of the chief men of both countries,"‡ to quote Colgan, was the chief factor in cementing East and West Breifny into what is known to-day as the diocese of Kilmore.

Maedoc goes to Rossinver and builds "a strong and ample oratory, and a fair-built quadrangular regular church in preparation for his resurrection." (Do. p. 228.)

As a considerable part of the *Life of St. Maedoc* is given in verse it may be appropriate to give a few specimens here, as trans-

\* Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, Introduction.

† O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, Anno. 1484.

‡ Quoted by O'Donovan, page 48, *Cavan Letters*.

lated from the Irish by Plummer (II., pp. 250, 251, and 254) :—

“ Columbeille and fair Caillin,  
The two high saints ordained  
That the division of the tribute dues without fault  
Should be made in Drumlane.

. . . . .  
A third of his tribute and dues  
Maedoc the modest ordained  
To glorious Drumlane  
In which Aed made his abode.

Another third of the tribute without loss  
To Cuillin na bFer nAlainn  
Maedoc gave as chartered right  
To his fair cemetery.

A third of every tribute levied here  
Ferns evidently claims  
As its portion from the northern quarter,  
But without its being once delivered (there).

Two-thirds of Ferns' own tribute  
Is to go by command of the righteous one  
To Drumlane without hindrance,  
And they themselves are to deliver it.

. . . . .  
Over the men of Breifne, as is right,  
To save them from the wrath of the Creator,  
In Drumlane, on his own sacred soil,  
Gentle Maedoc is judge.

Once when Maedoc was at Ferns at the end of his time, it was revealed to him that the term of his days was approaching.

He went thence to Drumlane. “ He left the headship and the coarbship of that church with Urcain, son of Oilhill, who was called Faircellach [Farrelly]. Maedoc had baptised this man, Urcain, and given him the name of Faircellach.” (Do. p. 256).

He then went to Rossinver, and sent in haste to Kildallan for Dallan Forgall, “ to be witness to his (testamentary) disposition in respect of his relics and high insignia, etc.”

Dallan comes at Maedoc's summons. The saint's bequest to Drumlane is :—“ I further leave the bell of the brooch and the bell of the hours to Drumlane, together with the other illustrious

and potent relic, namely, my beautiful wonder-working reliquary, which travelled with me to every place in which are relics of the saints and patriarchs . . . which had been divided with variegated arrangement between the Brec and the reliquary ; and this is why the name Brec (variegated) was given to it, because of the variegated arrangement together of the relics of the saints and virgins which had been united and made fast in it." (Do., p. 258).

Then he requests Dallan to convey his blessing to his various disciples, (Plummer, II., p. 263) :—

Take my blessing with thee eastwards,  
O, Dallan, to the men of Breifne ;  
'Tis to them I entrust my fair church,  
Both men and cattle.

They never refused a monk of mine  
In my lifetime clothing or food ;  
There never was heard by beloved man  
My rejection (?) by one of their princes.

Thus will they do for ever,  
The family of Maelmorda above all,\*  
So that Christ may be ever gracious,  
To their seed and descendants

My blessing on the descendants of Dunchad†  
On the pleasant friendly band  
Their society we have forsaken,  
More beautiful the habitation to which I go.

Blessing on the house of Eochaid‡  
The hardy plundering host,  
They have as sod of possession  
The well-known sod of my birth.§

Maedoc sent a hasty message to Dallan and to all the saints and other patriarchs who were not on the spot that they should come together in view of the death of the true saints and righteous men.||

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\* The O'Reillys.

† The McKiernan's and Masterson's of Tullyhunco.

‡ The Magaurans of Tullyhaw.

§ Port Island, in Templeport Lake.

|| Plummer, Vol. II., p. 265.

After Maedoc's death we read :—

Good is the saint of whom we speak,  
Great Maedoc of Drumlane,  
He went with renown on a victorious expedition  
Un to the house of the Creator.

When fierce Maedoc died  
Both wall and great garden,\*  
The church with its horned cattle,  
Were entrusted by him to Faircellach. (Do. p. 278).

The last reference to Drumlane in Plummer, Vol. II., tells of the billeting, by Fergal O'Rourke, Prince of Tara, of soldiers on Drumlane, of the controversy between the coarb and Fergal, and the consequences. Observe here again the compiler's bias :—

Maelbrigde of the melodious voice  
Concobar was his son ;  
Maelbrigde did not succeed to the fair church,  
But his son Concobar succeeded.

In the time of Concobar, head of schools,  
After every one in Drumlane,  
Came O'Rourke, with no weakly band,  
To exact questing from the high church.

This was the number of the household of Fergal†  
(Which came) to the city of elegant Maedoc,  
Thirteen good men without concealment  
Three and three hundred men of war.

· · · · ·  
' To a prince like thee it is not fitting,'  
Such was the answer of Concobar,  
' To be quartering soldiers on a church  
Since thy care is for Ireland.

' Though thou wert Maedoc himself,'  
Said Fergal then,  
' I would quarter soldiers on thy church  
While I am King over Erin.'

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\* The garden is still pointed out at Drumlane.

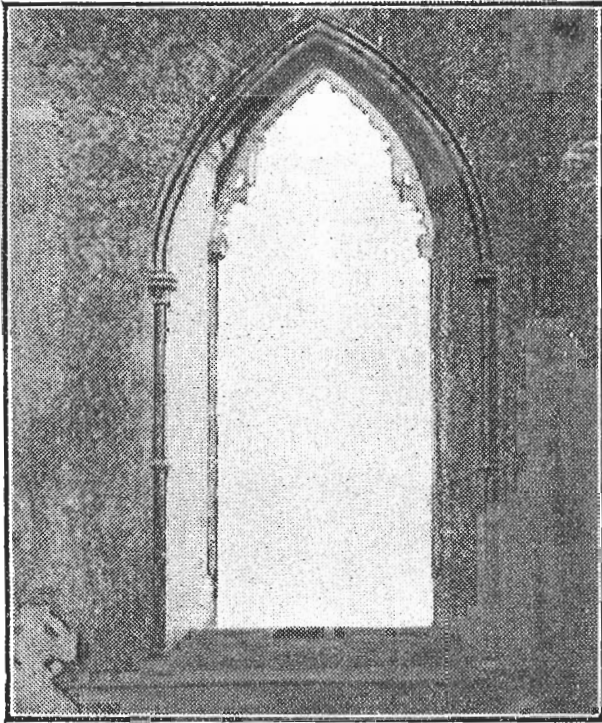
† This was Fergal O'Rourke, King of Connaught in 964.

Then arose and went  
 O'Rourke and his household,  
 They leave Drumlane without any stock,  
 They carry it all to one place.

Abundant compensation for his plundering,  
 Concohar, the coarb, received,  
 Both depriving of O'Rourke of his Kingdom,  
 And the exemption of his place for the billeting  
 of soldiers. (Do., p. 278).

### DRUMLANE CHURCH.

Let us now turn our attention to the Church, Round Tower and  
 Abbey.



**EAST WINDOW DRUMLANE CHURCH.**

Photo by]

[REV. THOMAS J. BRADLEY, C.C., DRUMLANE.

“There was a church in existence at Drumlane in the sixth century, but this was totally destroyed before the year 1025, and the present edifice appears to belong to the 12th century,” Miss Stokes informs us.\*

“There was here a celebrated monastery,” states Archdall, “which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was founded before the year 550, in which year St. Maidoc was born; to whom some have erroneously given the foundation.”†

In Vol. II. of Lord Dunraven’s *Irish Arch.* there is a map of Ireland illustrative of the invasions of the Norsemen. This map points out the line which they followed from Tir Aeda (Tirhugh in Donegal) on the Erne, in A.D. 836, to attack Devinish, Clones, and Drumlane. An ecclesiastical tower and church are marked at Drumlane. This church has long since disappeared. The more modern one is roofless, but, for a ruin, is in a good state of preservation. It has an internal area of 89 × 24 feet, and is as large as many of our modern churches. It has a door on the west gable, and a smaller door on each of the north and south sides.

The eastern gable contains a beautiful window (see illustration), though its stone mullions have disappeared.

On the south side there are three large windows, apparently modern. The north side contains two smaller rectangular ones. With the exception of the west gable, part of which has been demolished, the walls are still intact. This is due, to some extent, to repairs executed by the Board of Works in 1886-7, and subsequently.

From the illustrations, it will be noticed that a peculiarity of this church is the stone buttresses. They seem to have been erected, for the purpose of strengthening it, either during its construction or, perhaps, long afterwards.

#### THE ROUND TOWER.

Of the origin and uses of Round Towers, Dr. Petrie’s conclusions are:—

(1) “That the Towers are of Christian and Ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the 5th and 13th centuries.

(2) “That they were designed to answer, at least, a two fold use, namely, to serve as belfries, and as keeps, or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics, to whom they belonged, could retire for security in case of sudden predatory attack.

(3) “That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons, and watch-towers.”‡

\* *Breac Maedoc*, p. 5.

† *Mon. Hib.*, Archdall, 1st Ed., p. 41.

‡ *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 4.

Drumlane Round Tower is the sole structure of the kind now remaining in the diocese of Kilmore ; indeed, it cannot be said with any approach to certainty that any other was ever erected in Breifny, East or West.

A very full description of it, well illustrated with drawings, is found in the *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, Vol. V., pp. 110 and 116 :—

“ The tower (we are there told) when viewed in connection with the Church, as shown in the sketch already given, inclines the observer to consider the opinion, that one object of these buildings was defence, as having some plausibility ; and this is confirmed by the very remarkable mode of building adopted in the tower ; for the lower part, to the height of twenty-two feet, is constructed of carefully wrought sandstone, and is equal in execution to the tower of Devenish itself, the stones being fitted to their places with great care. The doorway, which is in this part of the structure, partakes of the same skilful and admirable workmanship, being formed of stone of the full thickness of the walls, which in this part is three feet three inches. Its architrave projects boldly three or four inches from the general line of the ashlar, and the top, which is arched, is keyed in a workmanlike manner, as shown in the accompanying sketch.

“ In the upper part of what now remains of this building, a peculiarity of construction is observed which deserves to be noticed. After the point already mentioned is reached, a change takes place both in the material and workmanship, the remainder of the tower being built of coarse work of the meanest description. As there is no evidence whatever of the lower portion having been repaired or cased, at a period subsequent to its erection, there is little doubt that this work, at least what remains of it, now stands as originally erected ; another mystery connected with round Towers.

“ The probable solution is, that the object of the builder was to make the structure a place of defence ; and this was fully attained by the plan pursued ; for the lower portion would have resisted a degree of violence quite sufficient to destroy the upper part. It may also be noticed that the height of the ashlar-work reaches to about the same elevation as the walls of the church. If the parts had been reversed, the conclusion would have been that the building was the work of different periods ; one part exhibiting the first efforts of a rude people, and the other showing unmistakable evidence of an advanced state of architecture. Of this tower about 45 feet only now remain. Its exterior circumference at the base is 52 feet ; at the same part the internal diameter is ten feet six inches ; and, as already mentioned, the thickness of the wall, measured at the door, is three feet three inches. The entrance itself which is several feet above the ground,



is five feet six inches in height, and two feet wide at the sill, tapering to one foot eight inches and a half at the spring of the arch. Above the door, in the upper part of the tower, a small angular-headed window is observed, the top formed in the most simple manner, by two pieces of sand-stone inclined towards one another and meeting at the top."

Drumlane is in a limestone district. There is no sandstone except large boulders on or near the surface. The nearest sandstone quarries are near Cavan, in Latt, in an area on the lake side of Crossdoney, and near Ballyconnell. The builders of the tower probably used up all the available and suitable sandstone in the vicinity. Satisfied that the lower part of the building was secure, they then utilised coarser material which lay at hand.

Miss Stokes (loc. cit.) adverts to the same peculiarity of construction:—

"The round tower is peculiar in this respect, that while the lower part is built of fine ashlar masonry, the upper part is of the rude rubble work generally thought characteristic of an earlier period; the top is wanting, and it is not more than half its original height."

O'Donovan (*Cavan Letters*, pp. 4 and 5) opens his comments on Drumlane thus:—

"Drumlane, however, is so imposing that I am tempted to write a few words about it. It is called by the Irish, *Druim Leathan—Dorsum Latum*—a name which is not of ecclesiastical origin, but alludes to a beautiful ridge in the townland. The constant tradition of the country is that the 'round steeple' was built for a 'belfry.' Dean Richardson's story of an anchorite living on the top is not now known in the country, and old Kennedy, of Killycor House, a very intelligent gentleman, now in the 82nd year of his age, states that he never heard of an anchorite living in the steeple, *though he did* of a hermit living in a *cell* near the church. This tradition of a hermit living near the church must allude to Brian O'Farrelly who is recorded by the Four Masters to have commenced the erection of a *cloch angcoire* near the church." A.D. 1484 died John O'Faircheallaigh, a canon of the family of Drumlane, and Brian O'Faircheallaigh, a priest who had commenced the erection of an anchorite's stone cell at the Templemore of Drumlane.

In his edition of the Four Masters, O'Donovan, under the year 1484, returns to the subject:—

The late Mr. Kennedy, of Killycar, near Drumlane, who was maternally descended from the O'Farrellys, told the Editor, in May, 1836, that this *Cloch-Angcoire*, or anchorite's stone domicile, was a small, low, stone cell, situated near the great church of Drumlane. Harris, in his edition of

*Ware's Antiquities*, p. 135, states that *Cloch angoire* was the Irish name for the Round Tower of Drumlane; but Mr. Kennedy, who knew the Irish language and the tradition of Drumlane better than Harris, told the editor that the Round Tower of Drumlane was always called *claiḡtead*, in Irish, and that he always understood that it was the Irish term for *belfry*, and added, that the round steeple at Drumlane was originally built, and always, till about two centuries since, used, as a belfry.

The hypothesis that the towers were erected for the use of anchorites in imitation of the pillar of St. Simon the Stylite, Dr. Petrie remarks, originated with Dean Richardson of Belturbet, and has been warmly advocated by Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware's works, pp. 130-135, and in later times by the celebrated architectural antiquaries, Dr. Milner and Mr. King. . . .

As to the tradition [that an anchorite lived on the top of Drumlane tower] it scarcely deserves comment. If there were a tradition of a recluse having lived on the tower of Drumlahan, it must have referred to a period not very remote; and the circumstance of a religious enthusiast having taken up his residence there—as the hermit of Killarney did, in the abbey of Mucross—would no more make the one than the other, an *anchorite stone*, or tower. But I have the authority of the Rev. Mr. Beresford, the present Rector of Drumlahan, that the only tradition relative to the tower preserved there is, that it was a *cloitheach*, or belfry (p. 113). . . .

What description of cell the *cloch angoire* of Drumlahan was, or whether it was of any particular form, it is scarcely necessary to our purpose to inquire. It is enough for us to know that it was certainly not the existing tower, which is of very remote antiquity, nor a building of the round tower form or character, as there could have been no necessity to erect such a structure there, if that which already existed had been considered applicable to the purpose. But it cannot be questioned that the habitation of the anchorite at Drumlahan, or as it is now called, Drumlane, was, like other hermits' cells, a small, low, stone cell; for it was so described to Mr. O'Donovan in 1836, by the late Mr. Kennedy\* of that place . . . who also told him that the building was partly remaining in his grandfather's time, and situated near the church (p. 114).

In confirmation of the last sentence, let me present the views of the author of the *Round Towers of Ulster*. He writes in 1844:—

“The writer is not aware of this tradition existing at pre-

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\* The Mr. Kennedy, of Killycar, mentioned so often here, was a retired East Indian Civil Servant, and well educated. He left Killycar, some time before his death, to live with members of his family resident in Dublin. After his death his remains were interred in Drumlane.

sent. He recollects, when pursuing his enquiries at Drumlane, being shown what was said to be the remains of a cell, at some distance from the church, wherein tradition said a recluse had at some time resided.”\*

In July, 1844, two Belfast antiquarians—Messrs. Getty and Grattan†—carried out an examination of the interior of the tower. They found it filled to within eight feet of the door or window with rubbish, which they set about removing. Having thrown out the usual kind of debris to a depth of three feet, they came to a solid clay floor with distinct traces of lime, similar to what they observed in other towers. Under this floor, they discovered the greater part of a human skull and the principal bones of a skeleton, as well as the bones of oxen, deer, and a dog. Nothing of importance beyond these was unearthed, though the excavators went down to where the foundation stones narrowed the interior.

The Rev. Charles O’Reilly, then C.C., of Drumlane, who assisted in the investigations, drew their attention to a part of the solid floor which evidently had been tampered with before. The excavators were relieved of their perplexity by the timely and unexpected arrival of a young man, Philip Rudden (later a well-known teacher in the district) who threw light on the object of the earlier diggers. An old woman had dreamt that opposite the “cock and hen” engraved on the exterior, a crock of gold was buried within. Her friends hastened to the tower, and, having made vain efforts in search of the illusive treasure—so often reputed to be hidden underneath old ruins—departed, unbelievers, we may be sure, in the visionary dreams of old women.

Tradition alleges that an underground passage led from the church to the abbey by the lake shore; that a woman erected the first stage of the tower; and that a silver bell that once sat on the apex of this tower now lies submerged in Drumlane Lough.

It is of this bell O’Donovan writes :—“The bell which spoke with a silver tongue in the top of the tower is now in the bottom of the adjoining lake, and it is reported that its silver tongue was found not many years ago.”‡

Of the Abbey only one solitary wall remains. It seems to have had a frontage facing the west, with a wing attached to its north end projecting eastward.

The Papal Registers give an item, under July, 1431, that possibly may be connected with this wing. It reads :—

“Relaxation of three years and three quarantines of enjoined penance to penitents, who, on the feast of the Assump-

\* Getty, *Round Towers of Ulster*, p. 11, note.

† *Ibid.*, p. 79.

‡ *Cavan Letters*, p. 6.

tion, visit the church of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Mary, the Virgin, Druimleathan, in the diocese of Kilmore, and give alms for the building (ad fabricam) of a cloister, refectory and several other necessary edifices.”

We know the funds were required for an addition to the Monastery, since the latter was already existing; a wing attached to the main building would be, then, as now, the more usual method of making an extension.

That the Canons succeeded in getting a favourable response to their appeal we may conclude, since, as we shall see further on, their next undertaking was to repair the church, for which more extensive privileges were offered to almsgivers and penitents.

Some thirty years ago, a farmer in the neighbourhood set about removing stones from the ruins of the old abbey to erect a byre. The late Rev. Robert Leech—to his eternal credit be it told—promptly exposed this bit of vandalism in the *Anglo-Celt*, and succeeded in preserving the abbey from further desecration.

## COARB AND ERENACH.

Definitions of two terms that will frequently occur, in the course of a summary, in chronological order, of events pertaining to Drumlane, are necessary here. These are the words Coarb or Comharba and Erenach.

In Canon O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*, the following explanation of these terms is given:—

The Comhorba was the vicar, a legal representative of the patron saint or founder of the church; but the word Comhorba is not exclusively ecclesiastical, for in the ancient laws of Erin it meant the heir and conservator of the inheritance, and it is in the latter sense it is always used in our ecclesiastical writings.

There was an understood original compact, recognised by the Brehon laws, which vested the Comharbship of the church and its lands in two families, namely, in that of the patron saint or founder, and in that of the person who gave the original site and endowment.

It was the family of the patron saint that invariably supplied the Abbot, as long as there could be found among them even a psalm-singer to take the office; and when they failed to supply a fit person, then he was sought from the family of the owner of the land. If, in the meantime, a better and more learned man of the patron's family should spring up, the abbacy was to be handed over to him; but if he were not better, he should wait until it became vacant by death or otherwise

It, however, in the absence of a qualified person from either family, an unqualified person should succeed as temporal heir, he was obliged to provide a suitable clergyman to discharge the offices of the church, according to its dignity, whilst the natural Abbot administered the temporal offices and the management of the land.



**A REGULAR CANON OF ST. AUGUSTIN.**

(Reproduced from Alemand & Stevens' *Monasticon Hibernicum*—  
London, 1722).

The Airchinnech or Erenach was a mere temporal agent or steward of the church lands, under the Comharba, whoever he might be. He sometimes took the tonsure and some other minor order, which raised his *eric*, or composition, in case of

any injury or insult offered to him. He was generally a married man, without any official value or reverence of person but what was derived from the character or ecclesiastical dignity of the patron saint, whose secular inheritance he managed. It happened often, however, that the whole administration of the church and its land was performed by one and the same person. This was when the Abbott, bishop, or priest performed himself the clerical duties, and also acted as his own Airchinnech or steward.

That the offices of Abbot, Coarb and Erenach were vested in the same person in Drumlane is obvious from the early obits of superiors of that sanctuary.

*Sub anno 1025*, the *Four Masters* record the death of an Abbot of Drumlane; under the same year, the *Annals of Ulster*, speaking of this identical person, call him *Erenach*. In 1059, the *Four Masters*, recording the demise of another Drumlane superior, call him Erenach and Successor of Maedoc, i.e., Coarb.

#### MODE OF LIFE.

It is relevant to the subject we are discussing to ask what sort of life the residents of this and other old Irish Monasteries led.

In the *Life of St. Columban*, Mrs. Conannon delineates in picturesque diction (pp. 69-75) the indoor and outdoor occupation of the monks of St. Columban's time:—

During the whole year, except between Easter and Pentecost the fourth and sixth feriac i.e., Wednesday and Friday, were fast days and no food was taken before "None," unless some "troublesome guest" rendered a dispensation desirable, for charity went before sacrifice in the spirit of the old Irish canon. During the Lents—the "Summer Lent" and the "Winter Lent"—the solitary meal was taken in the evening. But apart from these specialised forms of prayer, it is true to say that every action of the monks was a prayer. They never left their little bothies without kneeling for a blessing. They never raised a spoonful of food to their lips without signing the spoon with the sign of the cross. The "improbable labor" with which they conquered the stubborn earth, and wrung it into generous fruitfulness, was accompanied by prayer. Every homely duty—the milking of the cows, the building of the huts, the labours of seed-time and harvest—was sanctified by prayer.

So in a very special way, in a way that goes beyond the ordinary signification which we attach to the teaching *laborare est orare*, their lives were a continual prayer.

In communities like the Irish Monasteries, which were practically self-supporting, one had no occasion to look very far for an opportunity of practising the precept of work.

It lay ready to hand in sufficient quantity. Everything eaten, and worn, and used by the monks themselves, and the scholars who came to them for instruction, and the poor who flocked to the gate of their vallum, had to be produced by the labour of their own hands. . . . Their farming operations were thus necessarily extensive; and farm work, in those days, with primitive tools, must have been very difficult and very heavy.

While the monks on the farm laboured to produce the raw food materials, there was plenty of work for others in the preparation of it. . . . Was there a special "Miller" among the monks, or are the old tales right which show us students and monks taking their turn at the mill—as in more primitive establishments they took them at the quern? The "baker" whose functions demanded expert skill was, apparently, a permanent functionary; and the same is probable true of the cook. We must imagine both these officers kept pretty busy in their own premises where they kept the tools of their trade—a sieve, a kneading trough and a baking stone in the case of the baker, and a cauldron with its fork, and hazel rod spit and skewers, and even gridirons, in the case of the cook.

Boats were needed for their journeys and for their fishing expeditions; and boatmaking must, therefore, have formed a large proportion of the manual work, etc.

The clothing of a large community . . . gave plenty of employment in itself. Every process, from the shearing of the sheep to the sewing of the garments, was performed within the monastery enclosure. The wool, after being cut with long shears, not unlike hedge-cutters, was greased and scoured; then it was teased and double-corded, and spun into balls with distaff and spindle. The next process was weaving, and this would appear to have been carried out on a hand-loom, not unlike those at present in use. The "tailoring" was of the simplest description. The monks wore a long, plain garment of undyed wool, belted round the waist, and a cowl of the same material.

They wore on their feet coverings identical with the "pampooties" worn by the Arran Islanders to the present day. They were made of untanned hide, shaped roughly to the feet, and fastened with thongs.

To specially skilled monks were assigned the duties of Carpenter, and Smith, and Brazier. We know from the Breton Laws, and the old tales, how high these craftsmen ranked in the social scale, and the fact argues for the long years of expensive preparation which were recognised as necessary, and the distinction such highly specialised training conferred.

One famous craftsman in brass—a cerdd, to use his technical name—is associated with Bangor, St. Daigh, and we may picture him going each morning . . . to his own special workshop, a little hut of wood fitted up with anvil and bellow and moulds and hammers, and bags of charcoal, and all the other tools and appliances necessary for his work, and with the help of some young monk, whom he was training in the craft, manufacturing what the martyrology of Donegal ascribes to him :—

Thrice fifty bells, victorious deed,  
With one hundred strong-ringed, croziers,  
With sixty perfect Gospels  
By the hand of Daigh alone.

PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.,  
Bailieboro'.

*(To be continued.)*

#### APPENDIX.

In May, 1925, an authority on Mediæval Architecture, Mr. Liam S. Gógan, M.A., of the National Museum, Dublin, kindly came down and paid a visit to Drumlane. Subjoined are his observations :—

Ard-Mhusaeum na h-Eireann,  
Baile Átha Cliath,  
25/5/25.

REV. FATHER O'REILLY,  
Maide Ban, Co. Cavan.

A CHARA,

I trust that you have not been impatient at my delay in writing, but I thought it well to refrain until the photograph of the O.P.W. [Office of Public Works] plan was ready. This I now send you, and, while some details are open to question, I believe you will find it of considerable interest. You will notice for example that the author of the plan ignored the interesting north window (two lights under horizontal hood-moulding) which your helper cleared of ivy for us. You will also notice that the heads decorating the E. window hood-moulding are not in accordance with our observations (actually two crowned heads and one mitred head).

The existing remains of an ecclesiastical character are those of :—

1. Belfry or round tower ;
2. An abbey church ;



3. Abbey domestic buildings : while from literary evidence we are led to infer the existence of

- (a) A pre-Maodhog cell (between 450-555), perhaps the successor of a pagan shrine ;
- (b) A Maodhog foundation (circa 575) ;
- (c) Post-Maodhog structures corresponding to tower (circa 1025).
- (d) A church and abbey of Austin Canons (established at Colchester, England, in 1105).

1. The belfry may, on the basis of her own data, be classed in the last of the four divisions drawn up by Miss Margaret Stokes (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 147). The masonry is of two kinds, (a) good sandstone, well coursed for one-half the actual height, the rest being (b) of roughly coursed rubble masonry in which is embedded many blocks similar to those composing the Abbey church and buildings, presenting the appearance of two separate cylinders of masonry one superimposed on the other. The builders of the rubble wall either found or made the lower wall level before starting : the Board of Works in due course levelled the top of the rubble portion and filled up a considerable gap at the same time. These two unkeyed sections of masonry are flush outside, but the upper wall begins its flight some six inches thinner than the lower. The doorway, the threshold of which is about nine feet from the ground, is covered by a true arch of good workmanship, consisting of three voussoirs which are also "through stones". The inner jambs are recessed for a door. The windows, which are found in the upper portion, are headed with cut arches which are not at all through stones. Vastly different hands, therefore, built the upper and lower sections. The vague carvings found about six feet from the ground on the eastern arc of the tower wall are worthy of comment.

2. The church, which has, we may safely presume, replaced an earlier building, is rectangular in plan and is devoid of aisles, transept and annexes : there is no marked division of nave and chancel. The masonry consists of moderately well squared and coursed blocks. The buttressing is remarkable. The buttresses, which are disposed irregularly, are in most cases massive in character and now present a side elevation triangular in shape. They are difficult to understand, but the following explanations are feasible :—(a) Remains of buttress capping indicate that some are original, (b) Sagging of walls, (c) Weakening of fabric by the introduction of modern windows, tomb-niches etc., may have led to the introduction of others, (d) Some are perhaps the remains of annexes. It is a point that deserves investigation. The west end doorway is notable for its roundhead and its archivolt of simple mouldings, the most striking of which is the nail-head or simple dog-tooth moulding. There is none of the recessing

characteristic of Irish and English Romanesque styles. As keystone there is a finely carved mitred head of the same style as the console inserted "ar nós cuma liom" over the repaired two-light window in the south wall, the mullion, head and hood of which have disappeared leaving but slight traces behind. Taking this doorway in conjunction with the pointed windows of the south wall, I would be inclined to put the building in the second half of the 13th century. The east window may be dated to about 1350 and the two-light window under a horizontal hood in the north wall at least a quarter of a century later. The window in the north wall, nearest the door in the north wall, is rather a casemate than a window proper, and is probably post-suppression. A more prolonged examination of the building than we were able to give it would no doubt repay the trouble.

3. Regarding the remains of the domestic buildings I do not wish to offer any comment. I refer you to the O.P.W. plan, which compares rather well with that indicated on your geological map of Cavan, and to the subjoined note still legible in the photograph. The surveyor was apparently under the impression that he had to do with a building much older than the church, and this is scarcely likely. I have no doubt however that your researches on the historical side will help to settle some of the still outstanding problems.

Le meas,

L. S. GÓGAN.

P.S.—In the *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. XVII, (Consecutive Series)—*i.e.*, vol. for 1885-6, is to be found the account of the finding of an iron caldron on the shore of the lake near the ruins, attributed tentatively by the late E. C. R. Armstrong to the Halstatt period of the early Iron Age (*op. cit.* vol. LIV. p. 114).

In glancing through the *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, there seems to have been at least a dozen Maedhógs, if Madog is British form of the name.

# BREIFNE BEFORE THE UL-BRIUIN.

(PART II).

BY JOHN P. DALTON, M.R.I.A.

Historians and ethnologists have gone far afield in search of the parent stock of the Belgæ; yet all the time that stock lay close at hand in the transrhene quarter indicated by Cæsar. It was the Hercynian Volcae who Celticised the Germani of the Rhineland during the centuries when the Germani lived under them as subjects.\* As time progressed hordes of the Volcae crossed the Rhine and settled in north-east Gaul, attracted by the superior fertility of the soil. The Germani eventually rose out against the Volcae, threw off the yoke of servitude, and made independent incursions into Gaul. In Gaul the Volcae reappear as Belgæ, this being not necessarily the name in use among themselves, but the name they bore among the Western Celts; and when Cæsar reached Gaul the Belgæ and Germani had become so thoroughly intermixed everywhere between the Rhine and the Seine that territorially the breeds were well-nigh indistinguishable. All this emerges patently and readily from the informations left us by Julius Cæsar and Titus Livius.†

The choicest troops of the armies which followed Bolgius and Brennus to the Balkans in the third century B.C. were recruited among the same Hercynian populations, and were officered by young chiefs of the Volcae.‡ As Tectosages those Volcae enriched the Galatian capital at Ancyra with the spoils and the tributes of Western Asia. From their eyrie on Mount Scordus, now the Schar Dagh, another division of Tectosages overawed every sub-Danubian kingdom between the Adriatic and the Euxine; nor did they desist from flaying that wide region when they subsequently settled in Pannonia§ around the fortress of Singidunum, the present Belgrade, on the Danube.

The sovereignty which the Celts wielded in Thrace for upwards of eighty years originated in the conquest of that country by Comontorius,|| a Celtic general whose battalions, there is good

\* See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes*, pp. 170-2.

† Livy, Bk. V., chap. 34, contains the fundamental text. I might have included C. Cornelius Tacitus, for in his *Germania*, cap. 28, he corroborates and amplifies the testimony of Cæsar and Livy.

‡ See Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, II., p. 276 *et seq.*

§ See Justin, XXXII., chap. 3.

|| Polybius, IV., chap. 46.

reason to believe, were manned chiefly by Tectosages. The Tectosages, or Volcae, of Illyria and Pannonia appear in Roman history as Scordisci,\* having been thus renamed in the south because of their association with Mount Scordus. When the Celts sank from rulers to subjects in Thrace, after the death of their last king, Cavarus, an exodus of Celtic aristocrats from the country no doubt ensued. But the rank and file of the Celtic colony apparently remained behind in considerable numbers, and begot a progeny which, for several generations, transmitted the martial qualities of the race, without impairment, from sire to son. Writing of the Balkan populations as they had regrouped themselves a full century after the reign of Cavarus, the historian Florus declares that "of all the Thracians the Scordisci were the most intractable."†

In ancient Greece the belief was universally entertained that the Celts who pillaged Delphi, and swarmed over the Propontis into Asia, had been nurtured near the northmost bounds of Europe, among the inhospitable tracts that adjoined the ocean and the river Eridanus, or Rhine.‡ If we are to appreciate the significance of this tradition it will behove us to take note of the wide distribution of Tectosages, in the third century B.C., among the Balkan and Asiatic borderlands of the Euxine, and then to turn our eyes backwards to the transrhenane seat where Cæsar long afterwards discovered the last remnant of the Hercynian Volcae Tectosages. Our mediæval literature abounds in allusions to Thrace and Greece, which not merely associate the exiled Fir Bolg intimately with these countries, but trace to the same source the mischievous propensities that were believed to have ineradicably infected the Fir-Bolg character. That literature clearly presupposes the existence, in the Ireland which was taken over governmentally by the Gaels, of a body of traditions closely identifying the Bolg as a people with Greece and Thrace.

During the time when the Tectosages ruled in Thrace the direct overland routes between the North Sea and the Euxine were all controlled by Celts; and the Celts whose chain-works of military encampments dominated those routes belonged mainly, if not solely, to the generic family of Volcae. During the same period the armies of Celts operating around Macedonia and Thrace were frequently reinforced by bands of youthful volunteers from the

\* See, e.g. Livy, Bk. XI., chap. 57.

† "Saeuissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere." Florus, II, 4. In view of this evidence Polybius would seem to overstate when he says (*loc. cit.*) that the Thracian Celts were annihilated after the destruction of their kingdom (*circa* 200 B.C.).

‡ See e.g., Plutarch's *Camillus*, sec. 22, and Pausanias, Bk. I., secs. 3 and 4. The original Eridanus of the Greeks, though the name got associated in later centuries with both the Rhone and the Po, was a north-flowing river which discharged its waters among a group of amber islands (Electrides). See Julian's *Histoire de la Gaule*, I., 229.

Hercynian homelands. A steady tide of Celtic emigration thus flowed south across the Danube conveying to Balkan lands relays of young Volcae, all thirsting for the prizes, the distinctions, the glorious excitements of a warrior's life amidst those resounding camps and battlefields which were winning riches and new realms for the race.

The supremacy of the Celts in Thrace collapsed; and within fifty years of that event Rome, having in succession overthrown Antiochus the Great, conquered the Celts of Galatia, and shattered the Macedonian dynasty, became the paramount power at both sides of the Archipelago. The Balkans then ceased to be a profitable, or even a safe, abode for the Tectosages, and the southward flow of Celtic soldiers of fortune from the Elbe and the Rhine was arrested. For another century Scordisci roamed the countries below the Danube; but they did so rather as freebooters than as an organised military force. At length, in 71 B.C., a Roman general having cut his way to the bank of the great Celtic river, the last available entrance to the south was closed for ever against the incursions of Hercynian Volcae. The Celts were rolled back to their northern latitudes, and thenceforth they could gratify their passion for foreign adventure only by traversing the seas beyond.

The Bolg invaders of Ireland came hither armed with La Tène weapons, and brought with them, I suspect, an abundant store of tales about the exploits of their kinsmen around Greece and Thrace. These traditions were travestied by the Gaels, in obedience to the universal principle which dooms every pretension of a subject people to be reviled and misrepresented by that people's rulers. From earliest times, no doubt, our coasts were assailed at intervals by raiders who put to sea from Rhineland ports; but when the Celts had been hurled north beyond the Alps and the Danube such sporadic ventures assuredly developed into schemes of tribal transplantation from the outer Rhinelands to Ireland.

To this era belongs the invasion, or sequence of invasions, with which our legends link the names of Slinghe and his four associate commanders. The personal followers of Slinghe were called Gaileoin, a name which the Leabhar Gabhala derives from the matchless valour (*gal*) of that fighting stock\*. The quality of a people's valour is demonstrable only in warfare, and in proportion to the efficiency there exhibited in the use of deadly weapons rises the measure of its worth. *Gal* primarily meant something more than valour in the abstract.

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\* The Irish version of Nennius (p. 44) enlarges the name into *Fir Gaileoin* and equates it with *Viri Armorum*.

He who hurled his *ga*,\* or javelin, with unerringly destructive effect against the enemy was preeminently the man of *gal*.

The *Wiro* ground-form of *ga*, or *gae*, was *gaiso*, the theme of the Greek *gaisos* and of the Latin *gaesum*, words which both mean a spear. The transalpine allies who aided the Italian Celts in their life and death encounters with Rome, and whom Polybius and Plutarch style GAISATOI (Gaesatae), appear in the Capitoline Fasti as *Germani*.† By origin *Gaesatae* and *Germani* are military designations whose import would place them in the same category as the English terms *archers*, *lancers*, *grenadiers* or *fusiliers*. They were applied, one by the Celts,‡ the other by the Romans, to those formidable regiments of spear-men that sprang up perennially along the Rhine and the upper Rhone, among the seats of an old and prolific population whose hereditary calling was war. Identical in breed and in name with the same *Germani*, or *Gaesatae*, were the *Galleoin*§ of our iron age invasions. But just as the tribal occupiers of north-east Gaul in Cæsar's time, though largely interblended with *Germani*, were collectively known as *Belgæ*, so most likely is the *Leabhar Gabhala* quite warranted in saying of the triple host that seized on Ireland, "it is correct to call them all *Fir Bolg* in general."

The mist of enigma that has gathered round *Fir-Bolg* may be dissipated, I think, by the simple expedient of eliminating its extrinsic element *Fir*. The residual *Bolg*, wherein we see plainly reflected the shape and countenance of *Bolgæ*, would appear to me to have infixéd itself in Gaelic as an unequivocal loan-word from some Celtic dialect; and the dialect, I surmise, was none other than the Rhineland *patois* of the *Germani*. The school of Gaelic historians represented by Keating and O'Clery, for whom the miscellany of late-born romances known as the *Leabhar Gabhala* possesses the authority of a contemporary record of events, not

\* The Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension, which has been edited by Whitley Stokes, explains *hasta* in Irish by *ga*. (Irish Glosses, p. 8). In the Heroic Tales the forms used are *gae* and *gai*. The implement with which Cuchulainn slew Ferdiad was the *gae bulgae* (gapped *gae*).

† See Mommsen's *History of Rome*, II., p. 78.

‡ *Germani* is a Celtic word (see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und Die Nachbarstämme*, p. 59), used to denote the pre-Celtic, but not pre-*Wiro*, population of the Rhenish provinces whom the Celts of Segovesus (see *Ivry V.*, 34) had subjugated and Celticised. The geographical name *Germania*, on the other hand, dates only from the time of Cæsar ("vocabulum recens et nuper additum," Tacitus, *Germania*, II). The Romans, under Augustus, extended the name over the vast, unknown region between Gaul and Scythia, thus turning a medley of diverse races into "Germani."

§ Philological authorities are in complete agreement as to the phonetic equivalence of *gaisos*, *ger*, and *gai* (*gae* or *ga*). See e.g. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch (sub voce ger)*; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 340; W. Stokes, in *Irish Glosses*, p. 57; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, p. 41. The proofs of such equivalence are supplied by two well-established postulates, viz., the interchangeability of *r* and *s* in *Wiro* languages, and the disappearance of inter-vocalic *s* from Gaelic inlaut.

alone at every turn of the legendary wanderings of the Gaels, but also at every stage of the pre-Gaelic story of our country, have unheedingly degraded the Fir-Bolg, doubtless beyond the possibility of redemption, into a body of earth-carriers, or "Men of the Sacks." In Irish the word *bolg* or *bolc* undoubtedly did, and does, mean a sack. But, seeing that in old Irish *bolc* likewise meant a gap,\* it seems strange that, among a school of historians who had a particular fondness for etymological puerilities,† not one should have thought of transforming the Fir Bolg into "Men of the Gaps."‡

Unfortunately for the social credit of the Bolg some innovating scholastic, or raconteur, at an early date prefixed a pleonastic *fir* to their name,§ and thus tempted their disdainful oppressors, the Gaels, to read a depreciatory meaning into a venerable name-word. He who would render Fir-Bolg worthily in English should write, I feel convinced, not "Men of the Sacks," but "that virile race, I mean the Bolg."

Though, in the historical notation of the Gaels, the formula Fir-Bolg became the professorial symbol, it did not quite succeed in ousting the original name from Gaelic literature. As late as the tenth century Eochaidh Ua Floinn, who enjoyed a foremost celebrity among his contemporaries both in history and in poetry, used the primitive form in its dual shapes Bolg and Bolcc. In his poem on the Tuatha De Danann he twice replaces the conventional *Fir* by *Tuath*; and, while presenting the pair of compounds in the accusative case, the poet evidently treats Bolg and Bolcc as genitives, for in both instances the initial consonant is eclipsed.||

What interpretation should we admit for Ua Floinn's *Tuath Bolg*? *Tuath* signifies a folk-group having a separate social and political status. A political or social entity can be composed only of human beings; and I doubt whether the most wildly imaginative of fabulists could conceive the idea of a self-subsisting

\* See Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 236.

† A typical illustration of this weakness is afforded by the L. Gabhala's derivation of *Fir Domnann*, viz., *fir doman-shuinn*, "the men who used to deepen (or dig, *doimhninghedh*) the earth." It is not easy to realise that this pun was perpetrated by serious antiquaries who knew perfectly well that *doman*, or *domun*, stands for *mundus*, not for *terra*.

‡ This hypothesis has been actually proposed in recent years by a scholar of eminence. (See *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.* Vol. X., p. 188).

§ The Irish translator of Nennius—who is supposed to have been the eleventh century poet, and historian, Giolla Caoimhghin—similarly amplified *Gaileoin* into *Fir Gaileoin*, and discovered said people to be the offspring of Galeoin, "son of Ercal" (Hercules). *Irish Nennius*, p. 49.

|| "For Tuath mBolcc" (*L. Gabhala*, edited by Macalister and MacNeill, p. 154). "For Thuath mBolg" (*Ibid.*, p. 158).

“Community of Sacks.”\* Eochaidh Ua Floinn’s Tuath Bolg means, not the “tuath of the sacks,” but the confederacy, or commonwealth, of the Bolg colonisers of Ireland.

Still some objector may urge that the *m-Bolg* of “for Tuath *m-Bolg*” was intended to serve as a contraction of *Fer mBolg*. Grammar, no doubt, has often been invoked in mitigation of very flagrant licences of language. But the grammarian who would fain uphold the equation “Tuath Bolg = the nation of sackmen” must be prepared to answer the further challenge to his ingenuity that is offered by the syntax of *Bolg Tuath*. The O’Kelly kingdom of Ui-Maine had two subordinate *pagi*, or family-clusters, which were registered in the kingdom’s archives by their official designation Bolg Tuath. The seat of one of these folk-groups lay in North Roscommon, in the region of Sliabh Badhna. The second occupied a small territory in South Galway, around the slopes of Sliabh Echtge. We read in the Book of Lecan “*Le Bolg-thuathaib bagna denam a isdad*”; and, again, “*Biáthad a graidi ocus a comed ar Bolg thuath Echthgi*.”† In O’Donovan’s translation these passages are construed, respectively, “The Bolgic tribes of Badhna have the building of his”—that is, of the O’Kelly over-king’s—“edifices, etc.,” and “The Bolgic tribe of Echtge have the feeding and keeping of his stud.”

The genitive plural of the common noun *bolg* being likewise *bolg*, it is undeniable that “men of the sacks” is correctly rendered in Irish by “Fir bolg.” But, inasmuch as this *bolg* becomes *bolga* in the nominative and accusative plural, and *bolgaib* in the dative plural, it can have nothing whatever to do with either one or other of the expressions, *le Bolg thuathaib bagna* and *ar Bolg thuath Echthgi*. The fact that the Irish equivalent of “men of the sacks” is “Fir bolg” might count for much if *bolg* were a word of only one signification;‡ but even so that fact would yield us little help for resolving the constructions *le Bolg thuathaib* and *ar Bolg thuath*.

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\* The monstrosity of such a notion must have been apparent to the Editors of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, whose trusty judgment is demonstrated by their English renderings of the expressions here cited, viz., “against the race of Bolg,” and “from the Bolg race,” respectively. I would suggest *nation*, in the sense which it conveys in our sixteenth century records [e.g., “commission”—issued to divers magnates of the Pale in May, 1565—] to treat with Hugh O’Reigly (O’Reilly), captain of his nation.” Fiants of Elizabeth, I, p. 112] as a more suitable term than *race*.

† *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, ed. by O’Donovan, pp. 90 and 92. In a poem cited by MacFirbis, *Bolg thuath Muighe Luirg* and *Bolghuath buird Baghna* are mentioned (*L. Geneal.*, p. 51).

‡ In modern Irish *bolg* may mean quite a variety of objects, such as sack, stomach, belly, bulge, pustule, belows, etc. (See Dinneen’s Dictionary), all of which involve the idea of expansibility or inflation. It is fundamentally the same word as the English *bag*, which in the Anglo-Saxon of Northumbria was written *baelig* and *baelg* (see Skeat’s *Etymol. Dict. of the English Language*).



The *Bolg* of these phrases cannot be an adjective, for no such adjectival form ever existed in Irish. The *thuath* of *Bolg thuath*, being transparently a genitive of either the dual or plural number, needs a substantive for its government. The governing *Bolg*, moreover, being itself governed by the preposition *ar*, must be taken as a noun in the accusative case; and the clause when translated literally will read in English: "To the *Bolg* of the cantonments of Echtge is the foddering and the stewardship of his steed-herds." In the companion clause *Bolg*, not being an adjective, must necessarily be a substantive in apposition with *thuathaib*,\* that is to say, a dual or plural substantive in the dative case; and in this instance the literal translation would run: "With the *Bolg*, to wit, the petty folk-units of Badhna, is the making of his buildings, etc."

Thus *Bolg* functions both as an accusative—a case which for o-stem nouns does not differ in shape from the nominative—and as a dative, in verbal collocations which invest it with a manifest character of plurality; while, as has been seen, the same term appears unchanged in the genitive form employed by Eochaidh Ua-Floinn. From these premises I draw the necessary inference that the body-shape of *Bolg* has never been affected by Gaelic accident.† The older school of grammarians, who were content to classify inflectionless nouns as indeclinable, would have been fully justified in relegating *Bolg* to that category.

The analogy of *Fir Dommann* would suggest that the *Bolg* of *Fir Bolg* was, from an early date, regarded as a genitive. Yet I am strongly disposed to believe that the originator of the appellative *Fir Bolg* meant *Bolg* to be read as a nominative, standing in apposition with *Fir*.‡ The tradition of an incursive folk-troop called *Bolg* was known to the Cymric author Nennius in the eighth century, and in the section of his *Historia Britonum* which pertains to the early peopling of Ireland the tradition was recorded by him thus: "Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter" (Builc with his followers took possession of Man and other adjacent islands).§ The name-word *Builc* of this passage is clearly ethnic, not personal, in connotation; just as, in the opinion of C. Jullian,|| is the name *Belgius* or *Bolgius*, the reputed vanquisher of Ptolemy Ceraunos in 282 B.C. The *Leabhar*

\* If the first member of the combination (*Bolg-thuathaib*) stood for sack, as personifying sack-men, it would have been written *bolgaib*.

† It will hardly be claimed that the eclipsis or aspiration of the anlaut constitutes inflection.

‡ The normal declension of the compound term, as shown in the *Dinnsenchus* poems and other mediæval texts, would run: nom. and acc. *Fir Bolg*; gen. *Fer mBolg*; dat. *Feraib Bolg*. Stokes's *Coir Anmann* aspirates the initial *b* in the nominative, making the combination *Fir Bholg*; and later writers (e.g. Keating and MacFirbis) do likewise, though not invariably. O'Clery (F. Masters and L. Gabhala) replaces *Bolg* by *Bolcc*.

§ Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, cap. 14.

|| See his *Histoire de la Gaule*, I., p. 300.

Gabhala tells that, when overthrown by the Tuatha De Danann, the Fir Bolg who survived fled "into the outer isles and islets of the sea, so that they dwelt in them after that."\*

With good warrant, therefore, did A. G. Van Hamel of Rotterdam maintain: "The name *Fir Bolg* is older than the tradition of their coming over on their bags, and must have a different origin. That tradition was invented as an explanation of the name at a time when its true meaning was no longer understood (800-1000);"† and he might have affirmed furthermore, with substantial justification, that the name *Fir Bolg* is of later genesis than *Bolg*. The Leabhar Gabhala had probably not developed from its embryonic origins—at all events had not passed the sapling stage of growth—when the fading reminiscence of "Buile cum suis" was rescued from extinction by the British historian Nennius.‡ In view of all these facts and considerations the philological argument of Pokorny, based as it is on the assumption that the Bolg landed in Ireland bearing the full-blossomed title of *Fir Bolg*, would seem in essence to be of the nature of an *ignoratio elenchi*.§

I see no difficulty in believing that the combination *Fir Bolg* was a Gaelic resetting of the name which the Germani used for their Belgæ associates. In Ireland the archetypal form of Bolg would quite naturally have shrunk to a monosyllable after a century or so of circulation in the medium of an unaccustomed vernacular; but the sound of the radical element would not of necessity have been sensibly affected. Phonetic law neither would, nor could, have forbidden the survival of Bolcae as Bolg in the era antecedent to the word's colligation with *fir*.

\* The oldest manuscript version of the L. Gabhala now existing adds "ut dicitur in Britannia" (see Van Hamel in *Zeitsch. f. Celt. Phil.*, X., p. 158). The Irish Nennius (p. 48) gives the same information thus: "The Fir Bolg seized upon Mann, and certain islands in like manner, Aran, Islay, and Rathlin." In his note on the passage Dr. Todd writes:—"Buile is most probably a corruption of Bolg, or Fir Bolg."

† *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

‡ The unverified—and, I fear, unverifiable—hypothesis that the termination *raige* in Irish indicated a sort of trade guild, or a homogeneous community of industrial operatives (see MacNeill's "Early Irish Population Groups," p. 81), may be admitted without any real danger of prejudicing the identity of our Irish Bolg. The *Bolgraige* of MacFirbis (L. Genealach, p. 54) may have been sack-makers, and some or all of these sack-makers may have sprung from the enslaved Bolg. But "may be" implies "may not be"; and, whether they actually were or not, the supposition that guilds of sack-makers may be presumed to have existed in Ireland (Joyce, *Place-Names*, II., 197, gravely assures us that even forts, such as Dunbolg and Caherbullog, etc., "for some reason or other took their names from sacks") will not enlighten us on the ethnology of the original Bolg race.

§ Instructively learned though his dissertation is, Pokorny, strange to say, does not appear to realise that the question of seniority, in point of age, as between *Bolg* and *Fir-Bolg* is of any importance or relevancy. At all events he ignores the chronological factor of the problem which Nennius presents to our notice. Van Hamel overlooks this factor likewise, though in combating the "sack" theory he uses Nennius to good effect.

Before the eighth century the Gaels must have outlived all reminiscences of the Celts—must have forfeited every inherited trace of a Celtic consciousness—for the proud name of the Celts is not once mentioned in their literature. Is it surprising that the Gaels, in whose legends survive not a solitary tradition of kinship or of political relationship with the world-renowned race that had ravaged Rome and Delphi, should have forgotten or misremembered the identity of their martial precursors, the *Bólcaë*, and have thus become oblivious of the provenance of our Irish *Bolg*?

Though the Germani and their confederate adventurers in Ireland were Gaelicised in speech a rarely used term of their imported vocabulary would speedily have become archaic in the linguistic world of the Gaels. Such most certainly would have been the fate of an ethnic symbol like *Bolg*, whose use must have been confined almost exclusively to the narrations of professional lecturers and story-tellers. These were a select class, limited in number, and entitled by their learned status to employ a technical terminology. The English language has absorbed words directly from the speech of the American Indians, of the aborigines of Australia, and of other primitive races; yet the fact that such words have never undergone phonetic change—have never assimilated their crude sounds to the genius of the matrix tongue—does not prohibit their inclusion in English dictionaries. The *Bolg* or *Fir-Bolg* I hold to be a name of transparent ethnological import. In form an exotic, but an exotic that has long been acclimatised, it retains its primitive structure uninfluenced by Gaelic phonology, even under the disabilities to which it has been subjected as a make-believe genitive.

Many years may possibly elapse before the last word is written on the etymology or meaning of *Fir-Bolg*. But the elucidation of the question does not further concern us here; for whether the *Bolg* of *Fir-Bolg* does, or does not, stand for *Belgæ*, there cannot be the slightest doubt that emigrant *Belgæ* settled in Ireland. The *Menapii*, or *Manapii*, were *Belgæ*; and Ptolemy fixes a colony of *Manapii* on the Wexford coast, between the *Cauci* at the north side and the *Coriondi* and *Brigantes* at the south.\* Ptolemy had heard, or read, of these people as named in their native language. But the Celtic name inevitably got Gaelicised in Ireland.

The speech of the Gaels is commonly classed as Q-Celtic, to differentiate it from the language of the Continental Celts, that language being called, by contradistinction, P-Celtic. This

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\* *Ptolemy*, Bk. II., chap. 2. Geographical and other considerations suggest that the Hercynian *Volcae* of Cæsar eventually got absorbed into the *Chauci* confederacy—the “*Chaucorum gentes*” of Pliny (IV., 28), the “*populus inter Germanos nobilissimus*” of Tacitus (*Germania*, XXXV)—and if this happened, the *Volcæ*, or *Belgæ*, element would probably have been well represented among the Irish colony of *Cauci*.

classification rests on the false assumption that Gaelic is an offshoot or dialect of Celtic. Historically it would be more correct to speak of Celtic as a dialectical variety of Gaelic. Gaelic and Latin are sister languages, diverse forms of a primitive speech which was spoken by the Alpino-Danubian Wiros long before the birth of Celtic. In the family group the twin tongues Gaelic and Latin stand in relation to Celtic not as sisters to sister, but rather as aunts to niece.

Nevertheless, the terms P-Celtic and Q-Celtic serve a useful philological purpose; for they direct attention to the chief plane of cleavage that pervades the Latino-Celtic group of languages, separating them into two broad divisions that contrast sharply in structure. The Latin for horse is *equus*; the Irish is *ech* or *each*\*; the Celtic was *epos*; the Greek is *hippos*. The radix consonant thus appears as a velar sound in Latin and Irish, and as a labial sound in Greek and Celtic. The Celts and the Dorian Greeks belonged to the same wave of Wiros, the men who rose to ascendancy in Europe by the power of their iron swords.† Latin and Gaelic originated in the speech of the earlier bronze-sword Wiros.

By the time when the Celts first appear, *eo nomine*, in history, the swarm of Wiros to which they and the Dorians belonged had labialised the velar consonants, and converted the Q-language of the bronze-sword men into a lip-sound variant. The Menapii, as their very name indicates, spoke P-Celtic; and they did so because they were either Celts or a Celticised people. But when the Manapii of Ireland were Gaelicised the tribal-name inevitably changed its shape. The language of the Belgæ is still represented in Britain by Cymric, or Welsh; and a mediæval elegy of the Cymry, bewailing the death of Curoi MacDaire, recalls him by his Belgic name Corroi Mab Dairy.‡ The word son being *mab* or *map* in Cymric, and *mac* in Gaelic, it follows by the rule of three principle that the Gaels would have turned Manapii into *Manach* (*aigh*).

In Ireland the Aryan termination *os* disappeared from the old-Aryan *ec(v)os*, leaving behind only the stem *ec* to denote a horse. Loss of terminations is an invariable consequence of the imposition of a language by one people on another. The proto-Gaelic which the bronze-men brought to Ireland was transferred twice—first to the aboriginal population, secondly to the Belgæ-Germani colonisers of a long later age—and each transference produced a fresh set of parings and contractions of the primitive speech. It was by such prunings and crushings the Franks turned *hominem* into *homme*, *feminam* into *femme*, and reduced generally the many-syllabled words of the Gallo-Romans to abridgments that are sometimes less than half the original size. The Gaelic analogue of

\* The old form was *ec*.

† See Peake, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

‡ See the *Myvrian Archaeology of Wales*, p. 80.

the Latin *equus* and of the Celtic *epos* thus became *ec*, or *ech*: and we may feel assured that the Gaels similarly shortened Manapii into Manach or Monach.

Dubhald MacFirbis tells us that a little colony of Monach, who were of the seed of Daire Barrach—second son of Cahirmore—on being expelled from Leinster migrated to the Erne, and settled along its outer course.\* There they were known as Fir-Monach, and from them the county Fermanagh has inherited its name. With good reason have modern scholars pronounced these Fir-Monach to be a disguised branch of the Leinster Manapii.† MacFirbis, it is true, brings the Fir-Monach to the Erne in the time, and under the protection, of St. Tigernach of Clones. St. Tigernach flourished in the early half of the sixth century; and it would have been quite impossible for a refugee colony from Leinster to appropriate lands near the Erne at such a date.

In 332—just a century before the coming of St. Patrick—the three Collas, cousins of Muiredhach Tirech, had shattered the Fir Ulaid and the Dal Fiatach—that is the Clanna Rudhraighe of Emain Macha and the northern Ernai—at the battle of Achad Iethderg in Co. Monaghan, and had driven the two septs eastward into Antrim and Down.‡ For a hundred years the children of Colla da Crioch were supreme between the Erne and the Foyle; but when Niall of the Nine Hostages planted two of his sons in the North, Eoghan at Ailech and Conall Gulban in Tir-Chonail,§ the expansion of the Clann Colla-da-Crioch was effectually checked. Pressed south towards the Erne, and east towards the Blackwater, the race of the Collas had to evacuate all Tir-Eoghan, and to withdraw permanently into the counties Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Armagh. Even the lordships of Fermanagh and Monaghan were held eventually by the Clann-Colla O'Hegnys, Maguires, and MacMahons as feudatories of the northern Ui-Neill.

In the sixth century the Clann Colla were steadily giving way before the pressure of Ailech's rulers, and falling back step by step towards the Erne. Is it conceivable that, under such circumstances, the Clann-Colla would have handed over the County Fermanagh, or a single cantred of it, to an outcast tribelet from

\* *Book of Genealogies*, pp. 466 and 501. MacFirbis distinguishes these people from their cognates as *Monach Locha hÉrne*. See also O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Cearth*, p. 173.

† MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 58; Julius Pokorny, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.*, p. 170. Pokorny might profitably have noted that the *Fir* of this compound is obviously a Gaelic accretion, and that, such being the case, its union with Monach must necessarily have been posterior to the immigration of our Irish Manapii. This illuminative fact seems to have escaped him when his philological microscope was focussed on *Fir-Bolg*.

‡ *Annals of Tigernach* (in O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernic. Scriptores*), Vol. II., p. 69.

§ A third son, Enda, seized the smaller lordship of Tir-Enna (barony of Raphoe). See *Book of Fenagh*, p. 397.

Leinster? The Fir-Monach, or Feara-Manach,\* reached the Erne long before the sixth, or even the fifth, century; and they were received there as guests and old friends of the Ernai. Comparatively few in number, as apparently they were, they could not have come as aggressors. They were admitted to the district by the Ernai, in all probability, because both the Ernai and the Manapii entertained, each towards the other, the sentiments begotten of an ancient kinship.

The Fir-Monach were descendants of Daire Barrach; and Daire Barrach appears in the Leinster genealogies as the second son of Cahirmore, the eponymous head of all the Leinster Eremonians. Just as the patent of nobility in Connaught, in Meath, and in Ailech consisted, in pre-Norman times, of a pedigree going back to Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin—son of Muiredhach Tirech, and father of Brian, the ancestor of all the Ui-Briuin—so likewise were the chiefs and lordlings who could trace descent from Cahirmore the acknowledged noblemen of Leinster. But it is more than doubtful whether Daire Barrach was a true son of Cahirmore; and a like doubt applies to his elder brother, Ros Failghe. Though the two are set down as the eldest of Cahirmore's ten surviving sons it is a remarkable fact that neither they, nor any of their descendants, ever reigned over Leinster.

The Leinster kings were descended from Fiacha Ba h-Aicidh, whom the genealogists represent as the youngest son of Cahirmore. Ros Failghe was the ancestor of the Ui-Failghe; and when St. Patrick passed through the territory of the Ui-Failghe the ruling chief was Failghe Berraide. It was this Failghe—a descendant of Ros Failghe—who slew Odran, the Saint's charioteer, in mistake for the Saint himself. The motive of the crime was revenge for the destruction by St. Patrick of the idol Cenn-Cruaich, "For Crom was Failghe's god."†

The Ui-Failghe worshippers of Crom Cruaich were evidently an old race whom, in recognition of their strength and territorial consequence, the genealogists linked up with the "Leinster Eremonians." Such genealogical graftings were necessary products of the political alliances which the "sons of Miledh," or "Mil,"‡ so industriously cultivated in their own interests. As

\* This is the form used by the F. Masters, who commonly pluralise *fer* in the later style, *feara*. A branch of the Monach migrated to the County Lown, the abode of Ptolemy's Larini, where they were known as Moncha Ulaid. In the *Book of Rights* (*loc. cit.*) their name appears in the dative case, Manchaibh.

† *Trip. Life*, pp. 218-9. As a matter of fact Domhnach Crom Dubh celebrations were regularly held until recent years on Arderin, a Slieve Bloom peak that looks right down on the scene of Odran's murder.

‡ Though this august patriarch has come to be popularly known as Miledh, his more correct name is Mil, *Miled* being the gen. case in the declension of *mil*. The nom. *mil* in old Irish was a common noun of the dental-stem class, and therefore the self-same word as the Latin miles, or mile(t)s. In the 9th century Féilire of Oengus we read, at February 12th, "Daman mil mind martra," *i.e.*, "Damianus a soldier, a diadem of martyrdom" (W. Stokes); and again, at October 21st, St. Fintan, son of Tulchán, is distinguished as "cath-mil," a battle-soldier.

progenitor of the Fir-Monach, Daire Barrach may safely be presumed to have been some powerful chief of the Manapii on whom has been bestowed the like honour of a place among Cahirmore's "sons." His name, Daire, would suggest that a mixture of Ernai blood flowed in his veins, for not alone was the redoubtable Curoi of nautical fame the son of a Daire\*, but of Curoi's kindred also was a Daire Dornmhar who stands out in the Clann-Degaid pedigrees as great-grandfather of Mogh Lamha, and, therefore, grandson of the celebrated Conaire Mor. The ardrigh Conaire, who was murdered by Nemedh, had this Mogh Lamha for father.

An interesting Irish Tract which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, and which has been published by Dr. Whitley Stokes under the title *Coir Anmann* (Fitness of Names), contains the information: "Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, it was that fostered Mogh Nuadhat, that is Eoghan Mor the son of Mogh Neid."† Eoghan Mor is the outstanding personage in the proto-history of our Irish Clann Ebir, or Ebherians. Perhaps the most suitable parallel for him will be seen in the person of Romulus, the founder of Rome. With the dim figure of Romulus—magnified by the semblance much more than by the substance of reality—begins the tale of Rome's marvellous history. But Livy and Virgil push the starting point of the story back to the flight of the pious Æneas from the flames of Ilium.

The so-called "children of Ebher" are first seen on the stage of Irish history late in the second century A.D.; but though they were slow in appearing, the abruptness and the aggressiveness of their entrance made them at once exceptionally conspicuous. They came in under the leadership of Eoghan Mor, a champion of such might that after a protracted fight he compelled Conn of the Hundred Battles to share with him, half and half, the entire dominion of Ireland. The dividing line followed the Eiscir Riada, or the range of sandhills that stretches from Ath Cliath of the Liffey to Ath Cliath Medraighe, beside Galway Bay; and the fact that such division was made cannot be doubted, for, in attestation of it, Leath Chuinn and Leath Mogha (Conn's Half and Mogh's Half) survived, not alone as permanent name-words

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\* A Daire of the northern Ernai was father of Fiatach Finn (*vide infra*, p. 21); and a Daire Sirrechtach (O'Flaherty's Darius Prædabundus and MacFirbis's Daire Doimthech) was ancestor of the MacClanchy's of Dartry in West Breifne. The parent Daire was probably the eponym of Ptolemy's Darini, and of Keating's Sliocht Dairine, or Dairfhine.

† O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, *Introd.*, p. xxi. Stokes's rendering is "'Tis he (Daire Barrach) that reared Mog Nuadat" (*Irische Texte*, II., p. 303).

hold Daire's rath-builders constructed the great fortress of Dun Ailline;\* and the information would imply that, by the time the Eburones reached Ireland, the Manapii had succeeded in extending their sway west through Kildare to the Barrow.

From the temporary home which they owed to Daire Barrach's hospitality the Eburones passed into Munster, a province that was then torn by political feuds. It is not likely that any single field force in Munster was fit to face those aliens; for the men who had collided in Gaul with Cæsar's legions had surely acquired from that severe training, and had transmitted to their children, new resources of strategy in the arts of attack and defence. The Eburones being moreover—as we may well assume them to have been—a band of brave fellows, many youths of the Manapii, eager for adventure and thirsting still more for spoils, would doubtless have flocked to their standard.

The Book of Lecan relates:—"Eoghan Mor went after that to assume the kingship of Mumhan, accompanied by his foster-father, that is Daire Barrach."† Many battles having been fought and won by Eoghan—including a *Cath Samaire*, or Battle of the Morning Star—the victor threw down the gage to the redoubtable Conn himself, then flushed with a brilliant succession of triumphs. And "Mogh Nuadhat broke ten battles upon Conn,"‡ with unflinching success, compelling him in the end to relinquish the sovereignty of half of Ireland. The strife ended in making Eoghan practically *leath-ri*,§ or joint-king, of Ireland. The Book of Leinster genealogist places Mogh Nuadhat "in co-reign with Conn Ced-Chathach, until he was slain at Magh Leana."|| In fact Mogh and Conn entered into a royal partnership similar to that which Ambiorix and Catuvolcus had held over the Eburones.

The contests and achievements that have got crowded into the life-span of Eoghan probably represent several generations of Ebherian history. The Ebherians make their first appearance in Munster at Claire, or Sliabh Claire,¶ a station which lay not many miles to the east of Temhair Luachra. In the time of Oilill Olum, Eoghan Mor's son, the chief strongholds of the Clann-Ebir and the Clann-Dedad are seen standing within easy view, one of the other, in the ancient territory of the Ernai. This propinquity of capitals will surely not consist with tales of an antecedent hostility between the races of Dedad and of Ebher. The Ebherians, I think, were first admitted to Dun Claire as

\* Now Knockaulin, near Old Kilcullen, in Co. Kildare.

† See O'Curry's *Cath Muighe Leana* (Introd., p. xvi.).

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ Whitley Stokes translates this compound, "king of the half of."

|| Facsimile copy, p. 319.

¶ Now Duntyleague, in Coshlea barony, near the confines of Co. Tipperary.



of Irish geography, but as territorial symbols that long embittered the relations between the races of Conn and of Eoghan.\*

The people who rose into such sudden prominence under Eoghan Mor must surely have been in the country for some considerable time previously, feeling their way, consolidating their forces, and making the ground sure under their feet. Very probably the doings of three or four generations of Ebherians have been worked into the career of Eoghan Mor; but Eoghan, nevertheless, may safely be regarded as the first really big man of the Ebherians, the chief who led his followers into the Irish land of promise. The principal branch of the Ebherians were appropriately known as Eoghanachta. It is likely enough that the name Connachta emerged contemporaneously, to denote the tribes who gathered round Conn; the name Connachta being to Conn as Eoghanachta is to Eoghan. But though the name Connachta got attached to Conn's province, the name Eoghanachta never extended itself over all Munster.

The Clann-Ebir or Ebherians, were "the people of Eber." The Eburones of the Meuse were likewise a "people of Ebur." These Eburones were friends and neighbours of the foreign Menapii. Reasons have already been adduced for believing that Daire Barrach, the begetter of the Feara-Manach, was a Manapian regulus; and Daire Barrach it was who by "fostering" Eoghan Mor nursed the Ebherians from infancy to adolescence in Ireland. Fostérage was a dearly-loved institution of the Gaels, and an institution that profoundly affected their social life. But in the historic period kings did not become foster-fathers to princes of equal, or of lower, estate.† Neither could the earliest chroniclers of the Gaels, who were separated by several centuries from the era of Daire Barrach, have been supplied with any particulars of young Eoghan's bringing-up.

The story of Eoghan's "fostering" may safely be placed on a level with the mythical suckling of Romulus and Remus by a she-wolf; for both are of the figurative genus. Each, no doubt, images a happening of real life, a turning of the tide in the affairs of the people of Romulus and the people of Eoghan that led from indigence on to fortune. The natural, indeed the only probable, interpretation of Eoghan's legend is that the exiled Eburones (Ebherians) abode in Ireland under the protection of the Manapii for some time after their arrival in the country. The tale relates that while the stripling Eoghan dwelt in Daire Barrach's house-

\* "In the third year after (Conn's accession), Ireland was divided from one Ath Cliath to the other, between Conn Ced Chathach and Mogh Nuadhat, *cui nomen erat Eoghan Taidlech, a quo nominatur Eoghanachta*" (*Annals of Tigernach, circa 170 A.D.*). O'Flaherty's date for this event is 192 A.D., but the true date seems to be about 180 A.D. (177 plus 3). The Four Masters place it some fifty years earlier.

† The elaborate Cain-law of fostérage is set out in the published *Senchus Mor*, Vol. II, pp. 146-193.

friends and guests of the Ernai,\* probably too as mercenary allies. History shows many examples of mercenary gangs turning against their masters, and usurping the functions of government. There is good ground for suspecting that the uprising of the Eoghanachta in Munster was the sequel of an outbreak or revolution of such kind.

The Eoghanachta might well have been tempted into treacherous designs by the internal divisions that sapped the strength of the Ernai. At the battle of Cenn Abrat, or Cenn Febrat—which was likewise fought around the Samair or Morning Star†—the senior family of the Ernai co-operated with the sons of Oilill Olum, being prompted to array themselves against their own people by the desire of avenging an atrocious crime. In 220 Conaire, king of the Munster Clann Dedad and high-king of Ireland, was slain by Nemedh, son of Sraibhcenn, an ambitious prince of the Ernai. Conaire's sons, the three Cairbres, had to quit Munster, leaving the vacant throne of the Clann-Dedad to the regicide Nemedh. The Cairbres subsequently returned to unite with the Eoghanachta at the battle of Cenn Febrat, a battle which resulted in the death of Nemedh and the flight of his ally Lugaidh Mac Con.‡ It was that battle that won for the Eoghanachta lasting supremacy over Munster.

In the professorial genealogies Duach Dalta Degaid (fosterling of Degad), the Ebherian high-king who brought the Ernai of the north to Munster,§ comes in as the grandson of Iondatmar, which Iondatmar had for father a certain Niad Segamain. Both Niad and his son have been duly installed by the historians in the illustrious line of potentates who, from time immemorial, occupied in succession the supereminent throne of Tara.|| Niad Segamain has a title to our regard which no Gaelic historian ever suspected, for, though he was unknown in Tara, we are indebted to him for a concrete link which connects our island with Gaul.

In the County Waterford three Ogham stones have been discovered on which are inscribed the same name in the genitive form, Neta Segamonas, of the transitional period when Celtic was being transmuted into Gaelic¶ “ This,” writes Pokorny, referring:

\* This view is further favoured by the circumstance that Eoghan's mother (Mogh Neid's wife) belonged to a family of the Ernai. See *Keating*, II, 262.

† See *Jour. R.S.A.I.* for December, 1920, pp. 113, 114.

‡ *Annals of Tigernach sub. anno 212.* See also *Keating*, II., pp. 277, etc. The old tale *Cath Cinn Abra*d is printed in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, Vol. II, pp. 76-80.

§ *Vide Infra*, p. 20.

|| See *F. Masters*, A.M., 4881, and A.M. 4982; and *Keating*, II., pp. 178, 180.

¶ See Profr. Macalister's valuable “ Studies in Irish Epigraphy,” Pt. III., pp. 177, 196, and 207.

to one of these inscriptions, "gives testimony of a late settlement of Gaulish emigrants in Ireland."\* Niad Segamain stood for a champion of Segomo, and Segomo was a war-god of the Celts.† Seeing that, according to Livy, the Celts reached the Hercynian slopes, beyond the Rhine, under the leadership of Segovesus, we may well believe that they would have venerated in an especial degree the god Segomo, who impersonated *segos*, that is, strength or power.‡ When the Belgæ-Germani broke west over the Rhine they would naturally have remained faithful to the worship of this Segomo. The Niad Segamain who appears in our Ogham inscriptions, in the genitival attire Neta Segamonas, represented simply "A champion of the war-victory god, Segomo"; and from this champion may, quite conceivably, have issued, in the course of some few generations, the mighty Eoghan Mor, who effected the rehabilitation of his exiled people in the pride of a sovereign territorial and political existence.

Closely associated with the Eburones of Gaul in a last bold stand against the Romans§ were the Nervii and the Treveri, two contiguous tribes who habitually boasted of being Germani by descent.|| The life and soul of the resistance to Cæsar among the Treveri was the chief Indutiomarus, who was slain in 54 B.C. while investing the camp of Labienus near the river Aisne.¶ The list of Ireland's overkings includes an Indutiomarus, whose name, but slightly modified in old-Gaelic, was registered as Iondatmar;° and assuredly significance attaches to the fact that this Iondat- (or Ionnat-) mar is set down in the pedigrees as the son of Niad Segamain.

Long before the close of Cæsar's campaigns the leaders of the anti-Roman faction in every Gallic state had become marked men; and such of them as survived the carnage of Cæsar's victories and slayings had to choose between flight from their fatherland and the certainty of being hunted like wild-beasts to death. Escape for an individual refugee being in that era difficult, and emigration impossible, we may reasonably assume that parties of the beaten Nervii and Treveri were banded with the fugitive Eburones who sailed to our shores, to seek refuge in the only remaining retreat wherein they could reckon on being safe from pursuit by the Roman enemy.

The Ogham mementoes of Niad Segamain were set up in the

\* Pokorny: "A Historical Reader of Old Irish," p. 23.

† See Holder's *Sprachschatz*, p. 1447. The word survives in modern German in the form *sieg*, meaning victory, and in personal names like Siegfried.

‡ Consult Holder, *op. cit.*, pp. 1443, 1451.

§ At Aduatuca, *De Bell. Gall.*, V., pp. 26-39.

|| "Treveri et Nervii circa affectionem Germanicæ originis ultra ambitiosi sunt." Tacitus, *Germania*, 28.

¶ *Cæsar*, V. 58.

° *F. Masters*, A.M. 4982.

country of the Deisi ;\* and the Deisi were reputed to be descendants of Fiacha Suighde, brother of Conn Ced-Chathach. Recasting the old manuscript story of the Deisi,† Keating relates that, when expelled from Tara, they were allowed to settle in Co. Waterford by the reigning king of Munster, that is, Oilill Olum, son of Eoghan Mor.‡ “These three sons of Fiacha Suighde,” writes Keating, “divided that territory between them into three parts, and they are called Éarna, the offspring of Oilill Éarann.”§ Thus Keating himself acknowledges that more than one account of the origin of the Deisi had come to him among the manuscript materials of his history ; but, not daring to discredit the orthodox historians, he decides the question in characteristic fashion thus : “However, they are not the Éarna, but the descendants of Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, it is these that were styled the Éarna.”

The legend which makes the Deisi descendants of Fiacha Suighde may at once be set aside ; for Deisi cantonments existed in Ireland a full century and a half before Fiacha’s birth. In an old tale of the Cuchulainn cycle, which recounts the destruction of Temair Luachra by the Fir Ulaid, it is told that the northern champions lost their way in a wild night march, and reached Druim-Coll-chailli, “which is called Ani-Cliach, in the territory of the Deisebeg” before becoming aware of the fact.|| Ani-Cliach, or Ani of Cliu Mail, is the present Knockainey Hill, near Bruff ; and Cliu Mail mic Ugaine was “the land of Curui, son of Daire, son of Dedad.”¶ The Deisi-Beg occupied, in the days of Curoi and of Conor MacNessa, a territory now represented, on a reduced scale, by the Limerick barony of Small County.º The Samair, or Morning Star, flowed through their ground ; and Athneasy [Ath na-(d)heise] bridge, spanning that river, is to-day a tangible mark of the river’s ancient association with those long forgotten people. . .

The Deisi-Beg must have been held in high estimation at Temair Luachra, for their domain lay close to Curoi’s fortress and was unsurpassed in fertility by any other tribe-land of Munster.

\* This territory, called *The Decies* in post-Norman times, was co-extensive with the present diocese of Lismore.

† The earliest version of the saga has been published by Kuno Meyer, in *Eriu*, III., pp. 134-142.

‡ Vol. II., p. 313.

§ It is further told that North Decies—or Decies above the Suir (in Co. Tipperary)—was given to the Deisi by Oengus MacNadfraech, King of Cashel (Munster) in St. Patrick’s time.

|| *The Mesca Ulad* (Ed. by Hennessy, in Todd Lect. Series, Vol. I) p. 16.

¶ *Ibid.*

º For the locations of Ani-Cliach and Deisi-beg see Hogan’s *Onom.*

∴ Until Irish died out in the district the river was generally called *Abhainn na n-Dheiseach* (see O’Donovan’s Supplement).

The Irish name for Bruff, situated beside the Morning Star, was and is, *Brugh-na-n-Dheise*.

It is by no means unlikely, therefore, that the Deisi of Clu Mail may, as Keating unwillingly discloses, have been a branch of the Ernai; and it is certain that, if they were not such, they must have been an ancient stock who performed for Temair Luachra some superior kind of vassal service which the Clann Dedad specially prized. At all events, the Deisi of Co. Limerick were not sprung from Fiacha Suighde; and, as the supposition of a diversity of breeds cannot be entertained, neither were the Deisi of Co. Waterford.\* The Eburones evidently tarried for a considerable time in the country of the southern Deisi before they marched up by the Suir to Clu Mail, whence, as it would seem, they soon ejected the Ernai.

So far as I know only one name has come to us from the Menapii that can be treated as authentic. The notorious *Comes littoris Saxonici* of Diocletian who assumed the Roman purple in Britain, in 287 A.D., and had coins struck in assertion of his imperial authority, was named Carausius; and Aurelius Victor tells us that he was "a citizen of Menapia."† Camden, surmising that the Menapia here in question stood at or near Wexford, took Carausius to be by nativity a Leinster man. Incredible though it may seem, an eminent Celticist once seriously essayed to prove that Carausius was none other than our Irish Curoi Mac Daire.‡ Rejecting the ending of the Romanised name—which is little more than a Latin tag—Rhys compared the stem *Carau(s)i*§ with Curoi and found them to be phonetic equivalents.

The careers of the two men, there can be little doubt, were dedicated to similar pursuits. Curoi was well known in Wales, in Britain, probably along the coasts of Gaul, as a daring pirate-admiral. The Welsh elegy on Curoi proclaims that "Dairy's son held a helm on the Southern Sea," which sea would have been the English Channel.|| Yet neither these facts, nor the weighty authority of Sir John Rhys, will suffice to bridge for us the chronological chasm that separates the era of Carausius from the era of Curoi.

But there remains a fact which, notwithstanding its manifest importance, was quite overlooked by Rhys. Family names, it is well known, are regularly transmitted from generation to generation. Treasured as precious heirlooms of the household they survive the alienation of every other species of the family's belongings. Carausius assuredly was not the first man of his name to whom the "city Menapia" gave birth. It is much more likely that

\* Fiacha Suighde's descendants probably acquired lordship over the Deisi, after the fall of the Ernai, and thus became "Deisi" in the same sense as that whereby Conall Cearnach's offspring got turned into Cruithni.

† "Carausius, Menapiae civis" (Aurel. Victor, *De Caeasribus*, XXXIX.)

‡ The late Profr. Rhys, in *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, for 1891, p. 651 *et seq.*

§ In one of the older texts of Aurelius Victor I have seen the Latin name printed Corausius. Rhys restated his argument in 1900 in one of his most ambitious works (*The Welsh People*, p. 100).

|| *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, p. 80.

have given a Munster kingdom to Degad. Neither would the stranger, Degad, have been accepted as provincial king by the subjects of Duach. Every line of the story bears the impress of falsity. But of one important fact, the fact that mainly concerns us here, there is no attempt at concealment; and that is, that the Clann Degaid of Munster were a migrant branch of the Ulster Ernai.

O'Flaherty had previously told us that the northern Ernai—who included the Ernai of Breifne—took their name from Oilill Aronn, an Eremonian prospector who, by some means or other, grabbed a principality in Ulster. *Aronn* is structurally the same word as *Erann*, and *Erann* is the genitive of Ernai.\* Oilill Aronn means Oilill of the Ernai. The Ernai did not take their name from this Oilill, but Oilill took his cognomeh from them.† Oilill was a native chief of Ptolemy's Erdini; and recognising him for such we shall not marvel to learn that his father's name was Fiacha Fermara,‡ or Fiach the Navigator.§ From this Oilill, through his descendant Sen, and Sen's son Degad, sprang the Munster Clann Degaid, the race that produced the high-kings Ederscel, Conaire the Great, and the second Conaire, who was assassinated by Nemedh. From the same stock, through Cairbre Riada—Conaire's son—issued the family of Gaels that attained to the sovereignty of Scotland; and of the "race of Conaire," too, was a man whose name is deservedly writ large on the page of Irish history, the Emancipator Daniel O'Connell.

In our Gaelic genealogies Sen is assigned two sons, Degad, who went to Munster, and Eochaidh, who inherited the ancestral patrimony around the Erne.|| From this Eochaidh came, in the fourth generation, a certain Fiatach Finn, a man who so exalted the northern Ernai that he may fairly be regarded as their Charlemagne, or their Frederick the Great. Under date 108 A.D. the Annalist Tigernach records: "Fiatach Finn regnat an Emain, annis xvi.;"¶ and O'Flaherty tells us that the same Fiatach Finn became *Rex Hiberniæ*, or Monarch of Ireland, in 116 A.D.° In token of the distinction to which they had been raised by Fiatach Finn the northern Ernai were thenceforth known as Dal Fiatach.

The Clanna Rudhraighe had previously enjoyed unchallenged supremacy at Emain Macha; but after the time of Conor

\* Nom. *Ernai* or *Erna*; gen. *Erann* or *Erand*; dat. *Ernaib*; acc. *Ernu*. The oldest forms of the nominative appear to have been *Erainn*, *Eraind*, and *Herainn*; gen. *Erann*, *Erand*, or *Herann*. The form *Erna* used as the gen. of Ernai and the acc. (=Ernu) both of Erainn and Ernai, is late.

† The *Coir Anmann* (p. 313) acknowledges this, but at the same time confuses the subject by a further application of the "fostering" principle. "In the Erna of Munster Ailill was fostered. Hence he was named Ailill *Erann*."

‡ See *Keating*, Vol. II., p. 239.

§ O'Flaherty writes the name *Fiachus Marinus*.

¶ See *Ogygia*, p. 142.

|| O'Conor's *Rev. Script. Hibernic*, II., p. 27.

° *Ogygia*, p. 301. "Fiatachus Finn, ex Ultoniæ Ernaeis Herimone satus."

among the Menapians there was at least one noble family that produced a long catalogue of individuals so named.

Carausius could not possibly have been Curoi MacDaire, but he might well have been a scion of Curoi's family stock. If we hear of a Brian O'Rourke whose *floruit* belongs to the eighteenth, or the nineteenth, century, we know that he could not have been Brian of the Ramparts, or Brian of the Battle-Axes; but we know equally well that he could, and must, have been by lineage an O'Rourke of Breifne. The correspondence of the names Curoi and Corausi(us)\* strengthens considerably the chain of circumstantial evidence that convicts the Ernai of being, if not actual Menapii, at all events a people closely allied to the Menapii by blood and breeding.

On comparing Ptolemy's geographical notes with our own Leabhar Gabhala we see that the Ernai of Breifne came in midway on the coast-line assigned to the Fir Domhnann. The Munster Ernai, on the other hand, had no connection with the area allotted to the people of Rudhraighe or of Genann. Where should we look for the cradle-land of the Irish Ernai? Whether did it lie around the Erne or around the Morning Star? Our Gaelic historians have already answered this question; and I shall cite the answer as given by the most careful and sententious of them all, Roderick O'Flaherty. He writes:—

“Deagus igitur Olilli Aronn ex Seno filio nepos ex Ultonia a Rudricii regis filiis pulsus, Duacho alumno suo Hiberniæ clavum tenente, in Momonia ditionem adeptus est, et post Duachi mortem totius Momoniæ gubernaculum.”†

Briefly explained this means that an Ebherian prince of Munster named Duach was fostered among the northern Ernai by a certain Deag, or Degad, who had Sen for father, and for ancestor Oilill Aronn; that Duach subsequently became king of Munster and ardrigh of Ireland; that Degad, on the other hand, was ostracised by the Clanna-Rudhraighe; that he fled south to his foster-son, Duach, by whom he was placed over a minor kingdom in Munster; and that on Duach's death Degad became king of all Munster.

Such is the pretty tale that was fabricated, transparently for the purpose of making the Ebherians the real old stock of Munster. The “fostering” of Duach by Degad may at once be relegated to the same category as the invented fostering of Eoghan Mor by Daire Barrach. But, even if Degad had been the actual foster-father of Duach, and if Duach, furthermore, was the mighty potentate he is represented to have been, he could not

\* *Vide supra*, p. 3, note 5.

† “Hence Deag (= Degad), a descendant of Oilill Aronn through his son Sen, having been banished from Ulster by the sons of Rudhraighe, obtained a royal estate in Munster during the time when his pupil, or fosterling, Duach, held the sovereignty of Ireland; and, after Duach's death, he succeeded to the regency of Munster.” (*Ogygia*, p. 266).

the family called *Dal Fiatach*, which at an early date became engrafted into the *Clanna Rudhraighe*.\* Dr. Reeves should have seen that this postulate of an "engrafting" of the *Dal Fiatach* on the *Clanna Rudhraighe* stem would seriously compromise the title of the *Dal-Fiatach* to be granted an Eremonian pedigree. By the happy devices of grafting and fostering Gaelic historiographers were able at will to elevate tribes, just as well as to depress them, in genealogical status; and once the apocryphal "Eremon" had come into being, to fill the rôle of chief parent of Ireland's imperial families, temptations inciting to the use of such manipulative artifices multiplied apace.

Eugene O'Curry lays great stress on the sanctity which clothed our Gaelic genealogies, and on the responsibility that rested on the official *Ollamhs* to preserve such important records intact.† Seeing that, in his view, the corpus of our royal pedigrees could not by any possibility have been falsified or contaminated, he will permit nobody to doubt its absolute authenticity in every line and word. Unfortunately in all ages and countries the passion for gain has prompted the counterfeiting of documents, and more especially of documents which convey legal ownership of the possessions most coveted of men, namely, material wealth and power. The activities of forgers are never wasted on papers that can bring nobody worldly credit or profit.

The surpassing importance of genealogies in connection with elections to kingship in Gaelic Ireland is well known; but in the transcendent character of that importance lay the chief danger of vitiation which threatened the integrity of those instruments. Candidates for regal office did not hesitate sometimes to disqualify rivals by blinding and maiming. Not infrequently, indeed, rightful heirs to kingdoms were fated to die prematurely by violence. *Ollamh*-guardians might easily have been coerced, or purchased, by unscrupulous and ambitious aspirants to royal dignities. The Ebherians of Munster produced more than one usurping sovereign who would not have submitted to be checked in his career by documentary deficiencies which any accommodating scribe might remedy.

Even in the pedigrees of the dynastic houses of post-Patrician Ireland—among whom are to be numbered the *Ui Briuin*, *O'Rourkes* and *O'Reillys* of Breifne—the genealogical tracts of our best manuscript compilations are often at variance as to individual names and relationships. But while we may, nevertheless, permit O'Curry's contention to pass without actual demur in respect of the composition of those bulky assemblages of family trees we dare not, except ironically, allow his claim to be extended back to the legendary forefathers of the Gael.

(To be concluded.)

\* *Opus Citat.*, p. 352.

† See *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, Lecture X.



MacNessa the Clanna Rudhraighe steadily declined, and a century later the Ernai snatched from them the headship of all Uladh, from the Boyne to the Drowse. The Clanna Rudhraighe were not absolutely effaced. From time to time men of the race regained the sovereignty of the North. But during the ten centuries that followed the reign of Fiatach Finn the Ernai, or Dal-Fiatach, supplied fully three-fourths of the kings of Uladh. For most of that time—to be more precise, from 332 A.D. onward—Uladh comprised only the restricted area now covered by the counties Down and Antrim.

Thomas Moore sings of the proud days when Erin's kings  
 "Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger."

These leader-kings were sovereigns of Emain Macha, not of Erin; and Emain Macha perished in the flames in the year 332. In that year the victorious Collas pillaged and burned Emain Macha, consigning Conor MacNessa's renowned oppidum to the same doom which the sons of Atreus had inflicted on Priam's noble city of the Troad. When the three Collas levied war against Uladh the Fir-Ulaid king, Fergus Foghá, belonged to the Clanna-Rudhraighe line; but this Fergus was slain at the fateful battle of Achadh Iethderg. The Clanna Rudhraighe and the Dal-Fiatach were then swept together east of the Glionn Righe and the Bann rivers, and there confined to a corner of ancient Uladh.

This reduced territory they swayed together until the era of collapse inaugurated by the Anglo-Norman invasion. The Dal-Fiatach supplied the vast majority of kings of the curtailed Uladh;\* but they did so in virtue of being at that period the foremost sept of the northern Fir-Domhnann. The two races, Clanna Rudhraighe and Dal-Fiatach—or Ernai—became thenceforth indistinguishable, while constituting together the new Uladh commonwealth. The Ernai and the Clanna Rudhraighe were, *de facto*, collateral branches of a single Pan-Ulaid stock; and as such both were jointly and severally integral constituents of the Leabhar Gabhala's Fir-Domhnann. In the faint light of our dawning history, it is true, the Fir-Domhnann as a specific *gens* come into view only between the Drowse and the Shannon. But this simply means that the older and more comprehensive appellation of the people of Rudhraighe and the people of Genann had then got restricted in application, the generic having been replaced by more particular names in those northern areas which comprised Rudhraighe's "Fifth."†

The learned Dr. W. Reeves, most circumspect of investigators, and always an orthodox expositor of Gaelic history, explains the fusion of the pseudo-Eremonian Dal-Fiatach with the Clanna Rudhraighe thus: "From him (*i.e.* Fiatach Finn) descended

\* For an exhaustive list of those kings see Dr. Reeves's *Antiquities of Down Connor and Dromore*, p. 363 *et seq.*

† "To Rudhraighe and to Genann with their people was the name applied," L. Gabhala, p. 119.

## EXHIBITS AT NINTH GENERAL MEETING.

[27th March, 1924.]

1. **Bronze Gouge or Scoop.**—Length,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches, diameter of end,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. It was discovered in 1922 in the townland of Crosserlough, in the parish of Crosserlough or Kildrumfertin.

Shown by Patrick McGennis, Esq., Kilnaleck.

2. **A Number of Flint Arrow Heads.**—Discovered about Cavan town.

Shown by William Reid, Esq., Cavan.

3. **The Drumlane Cross.**—Its description will be found in the article on Drumlane. (See Index).

Shown by Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, C.C., Bailieborough.

4. **A Cavan Spinning Wheel.**—

In the Belfast Museum there is a unique collection of spinning wheels. The collection was presented to the Museum in 1908 by a Mr. Horner. Mr. Horner, who had made a special study of spinning wheels, by request also prepared a catalogue dealing with them. It sells at a penny, and contains descriptions and illustrations of about a score of the different patterns used all over the world. The Indian, still employed in the East, Mr. Horner regards as the parent of all spinning wheels. A 14th century MS. in the British Museum, he states, has on some of its pages spinning wheels "designed merely as elaborations, and quite unconnected with the text. So far as is known, this is the first authentic record of wheels in Europe." ("Catalogue," p. 6). The spindle and distaff was the precursor of the spinning wheel, and in distant ages far beyond historic times, served as a spinning medium. In Shetland and remote parts of Scotland it was in use at least as recently as 1864, just as it was in Egypt in the time of King Tutenkhamen (*Past in the Present*, by Mitchell); and in Africa, Asia, and even in many parts of Europe, it alone is still employed.

Three types of wheels are known of in Ireland, viz. :—(a) The Irish Castle Wheel, (b) the Picardy Wheel, and (c) the Low Irish Wheel.

The first is peculiar to Ireland, "no other country possessing one quite like it" (C., p. 8). In shape it bears some resemblance to a castle. Hence its name. It belongs principally to Donegal and Antrim, "and is still used in these counties for the spinning of wool, flax spinning by wheels having long since ceased to exist." (Do.).

The second is met with in Galway. There is no treadle, the wheel being turned by the hand.

The third is the sole spinning wheel ever seen in Breifny. In shape it is more graceful than the Irish Castle wheel, and it is the one most sought after by collectors. It is the wheel that was "mostly in vogue in Ireland during the palmy days of hand flax spinning. In records of 100 years ago or more this wheel is always called, and with truth, the 'Dutch wheel.' It was introduced into Ireland from Holland by the Earl of Strafford (about 1636). . . . Definite records are extant of the introduction of this wheel into Ireland, with information accurate enough to stamp it as being distinctly Dutch. Irish spinning wheels are prized, as Ireland was the foremost of the three kingdoms in the great hand flax-spinning industry, and to-day Ireland takes the lead in modern mechanical flax-spinning of the world." (Do.).

This wheel is usually called the Old Irish spinning wheel. It can be easily met with working in West Breifny. At a cattle show held in North Leitrim (Creevelea) in 1906, prizes were offered the best spinners. In a "confined class," many competitors entered and three sturdy ones appeared with their wheels. Their work was so excellent (and the excitement so high) that the judge, Professor Carroll, of Glasnevin, was unable to decide between them, and so he wisely divided the prizes equally, and all three exultingly marched home 1st prize winners. Further west the spinning wheel is also yet going. But in East Breifny, as far as can be ascertained, its hum has not been heard for a generation. Even a discarded wheel is hard to come across. In neighbouring counties meritorious efforts are being made to revive the cottage industry.

Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

## MOYBOLGE AND ITS ANCIENT CHURCH

By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

In the barony of Clankee, and in the present townland of Srahan, about midway between Mullagh and Bailieboro', rises the hill of Moybolge, crowned by its conspicuous moat and the ruins of an old church. The latter, in pre-Reformation times, was the parish church of the old parish of Moybolge (or Moybolgue). Part of this old parish is now merged in Killann, but the greater portion forms the present parish of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood. From the main road between Mullagh and Bailieboro' a steep ascent of about a mile leads to the top which commands a beautiful and extensive view over many of the surrounding counties. Both the extensive ruins of the church and the fine moat testify to the importance of Moybolge in far-off days.

Local tradition says that the church itself was founded by St. Patrick, but the name can be traced to a period nearly eight centuries before the Apostle's time. It had its origin in the Fir Bolg colony, which settled in Ireland many centuries before the Christian Era.

The Fir Bolg were the most celebrated of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. According to some ancient writers they were Scythians who, having sailed to Ireland from Greece, landed with a large force at Eriis in Mayo, while another force landed at Inbhear Slainge, now the Bay of Waterford. The date of this landing is placed at about the 13th century before the Christian Era. The Fomorians, who were then masters of the country, were reduced to a state of subjection by the Fir Bolg, who divided the country between them. One tribe, the Fir-Domnán, took Connacht, and another tribe, the Fir-Gaillian, or spearmen, occupied Leinster. Other accounts say they were a colony from ancient Gaul, from the country called by Cæsar *Gallia Belgica* or Belgic Gaul, comprising Belgium and Northern France. These Belgæ were celebrated by Cæsar for their prowess and skill in their wars with the Romans. All accounts agree that the Fir Bolg colony came to Ireland at least a thousand years before the Christian Era. The story of the origin of the name as found both in Keating's History and in the Book of Invasions is adopted by Professor MacNeill and now generally accepted. Having migrated from Ireland to Greece (*i.e.*, the Eastern Empire) they became

slaves and were deprived of their rights as citizens. They were forced to carry earth in leathern bags from the low lands to the rocky places so as to make the land fertile. Hence the name Fir Bolg, meaning "Men of the bags, or sacks." Not content with this occupation they made use of the leathern bags to construct boats in which to escape back to Ireland. The story is given thus by Keating:—

The posterity of Simeon Breac, son of Starn, son of Neimheadh, having been in Greece, *i.e.*, Thrace, as we have said, they grew so that the people who were there of them were numerous. How be it, the Greeks, put bondage and great tyranny on them, such as their being digging the ground, raising earth, and carrying it in bags or in sacks of leather for putting it on stony crags, until it should become fruitful soil. Great sadness seized them, and enmity to the Greeks through the slavery in which they had them: and with that it was resolved by them to leave that evil plight. Having determined on that counsel, five thousand of them get together, and they make boats of the bags or of the wallets of leather in which they used to be drawing the clay: or it is the fleet of the king of the Greeks they stole, as the Cin of Druim Sneachta says, so that this posterity of Simeon Breac, son of Starin, came back to Ireland at the end of two hundred and seventeen years after Neimheadh had occupied Ireland\*

Keating says that the fleet numbered one thousand one hundred and thirty ships carrying five thousand persons. The Fir Domhnann were so named from the pits (Doimhne) they used to dig in the soil when raising the earth; and the Fir Gaillian from the spears with which they used to defend themselves when at work. All these powerful tribes have come under one generic name of Fir Bolg and were governed by one supreme monarch.

The Fir Bolg race ruled at Tara for a period of about eighty years, under nine successive kings. The ninth and last Fir Bolg sovereign was Eochaidh MacÉrc. During his reign another colony, the Tuatha De Danann, invaded Ireland. The Fir Bolg rallied all their forces and a fierce battle was fought, Anno Mundi, 3303, at Magh Tuireadh, on the shores of Loch Mask, County Mayo, in which the Tuatha De Danann were victorious. The Fir Bolg had ten thousand of their army slain, together with King Eochaidh MacÉrc. About thirty years later the united forces of the Fir Bolg and Fomorian fought another great battle at Magh Tuireadh against the Tuatha De Danann, but were again defeated. The Tuatha De Danann then became the rulers of the country.

Two centuries afterwards the Tuatha De Danann were dis-

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\* "FORAS FEARA AN ÉIRINN," edited by Comyn, Irish Text Society, p. 189.

placed by the Milesians who conquered the country about 1000 B.C. The Fir Bolg having assisted the Milesians against their old enemies, were restored to a large portion of their former possessions in Leinster and Connacht. Fir Bolg kings ruled over Leinster and Connacht for several centuries. A Fir Bolg tribe, under the name of Ernaigh, is recorded as inhabiting the territory around Loch Erne including Cavan, Fermanagh and Leitrim. But later the Fir Bolg appear to have been reduced to a state of vassalage by the Milesians who constituted the ruling power. About the commencement of the Christian Era the Fir Bolg tribes resident in Leinster were obliged, owing to the excessive rents imposed on them, to remove into Connacht where they obtained lands on more reasonable terms. The Books of Leacan and Ballymote contain a poem describing the Fir Bolg possessions in Meath and Connacht. The author is Giolla Mac Liag, a bard of the eleventh century who was secretary and historian to Brian Boru. The various lands enumerated in the poem include the district around Ceanannus in Meath:—

The plain of Tailteann, the land of Cearmna,  
 Tlachtga of the three Fineamnas,  
 The ford of Sigi, in Meath and Bridam  
 Were the territories which they possessed.

The district of Tailten stretched from near Navan to Sliabh na Cailliche, or the Loughcrew Hills, at Oldcastle. The old records say that Queen Tailte, wife of Eochaidh MacErc, the last Fir Bolg ruler, chose those hills as her place of burial, and that she was the first person buried in this great pagan cemetery. She was daughter of Madhmor, King of Spain, and was famous for her great beauty and learning. From the hill of Moybolge the cairn-topped Sliabh na Cailliche is a conspicuous object on the western horizon. The Fir Bolg and Milesians appear to have continued in a state of war down to the time of the Christian Era. But the Milesians were able to retain their superiority. In the first century the Fir Bolg race revolted and conspired to seize the country from the Milesians. They invited the principal Milesian chieftains to a banquet in Co. Mayo, and there had them seized and murdered. About thirty years afterwards another Fir Bolg revolt took place, in which they were joined by the Clann Rudhraidh of Ulster. A great battle was fought at Moybolge, A.D. 56, in which the Heremonians were defeated and their monarch, Fiacha Finnfolaidh, slain. Elim, King of Ulster, then became monarch of Ireland.

The battle of Moybolge is thus described by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 56 (Ed. by O'Donovan):—

Fiacha Finnfolaidh, after having been seventeen years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by the provincial

Kings, at the instigation of the Aitheach-Tuatha in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg (*Orgain Moighe Bolg*.) These were the provincial Kings by whom he was killed: Elim, son of Conra, King of Ulster; Sanbh, son of Ceat MacMagach, King of Connaught; Foirbre, son of Finn, King of Munster; and Eochaidh Aincheann, King of Leinster. He left of children but one son only, who was in the womb of Eithne, daughter of the King of Alba (Scotland.) Tuathal was [the son's] name.

In this battle the Heremonians, *i.e.*, Milesians, were almost annihilated. The term Aitheach-Tuatha, meaning the plebian, *i.e.*, vulgar race, was applied to the Fir Bolg tribes. This was Latinised *Attacotti* and Anglicised *Attacots*. The various wars in which the Fir Bolg were engaged are usually known as the Attacotic Wars. McNeill, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that the Attacotti received the name in Britain or Gaul.\* Elim, son of Conra, ruled for twenty years after the battle of Moybolge. Tuathal Teachtmhar (*supra*), son of Fiacha Finnfolaidh, having lived an exile in Alba, returned and wrested the monarchy from the Fir Bolg. In a battle fought A.D. 76 Elim was killed and Tuathal Teachtmhar became monarch of Ireland. The *Four Masters* describe this battle A.D. 76:—

Elim, son of Conra, after having been twenty years in the Sovereignty of Ireland, was slain in the battle of Aichill by Tuathal Teachtmhar. God took vengeance on the Aitheach-Tuatha for their evil deed, during the time that Elim was in the Sovereignty, namely, Ireland was without corn, without milk, without fruit, without fish, and without every other great advantage, since the Aitheach-Tuatha had killed Fiacha-Finnfolaidh in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg till the time of Tuathal Teachtmhar.

The Fir Bolg forces engaged in these rebellions were expelled in large numbers from Ireland and settled in the Hebrides and in the Scottish Highlands. There they became mixed with the Picts and Scots whom they assisted in the wars with the Romans in the third and fourth centuries. They are usually referred to under the name of Attacotti. According to many writers, large numbers of the Attacotti joined the Roman legions and distinguished themselves in defending the Roman Empire. In the third century the Fir Bolg warriors of Connacht—the Clan Moirne—figured prominently in the Fenian ranks and are frequently mentioned in the Ossianic poems. The last provincial Fir Bolg King was Aodh MacGaradh, King of Connacht, who ruled in the third century. He was attacked and defeated by Cormac, King of Ireland, and Connacht was transferred to the Heremonians. After this the Fir Bolg race finally lost its power and became subject to the Milesians.

\* *Phases of Irish History*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

The battle of Moybolge fought A.D. 56, *i.e.*, 376 years before the coming of St. Patrick, has established the name for the district. Through the mists of time the memory of this great pre-Celtic people is preserved. It is probable, however, that the district received the name *Magh Bolg* or "Plain of the Fir Bolg" long before this battle and that the surrounding district was inhabited by the Fir Bolg tribes. The whole of Magh Breg, according to the *Dinnsenchus* was called Magh Bolgaide before the name of the Brega was fixed on it.

The district of Moybolge appears to have witnessed many historic scenes in those pre-Celtic times long before the advent of Christianity. According to local tradition this battle was fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient church and moat. Going from the old church of Moybolge towards the present church of Tievurcier, we pass through a large plain. The adjacent townlands of Carnans Upper and Carnans Lower have received their name from a number of monumental cairns (*i.e.*, great heaps of stones raised over the graves of warriors) which formerly stood in the place. These cairns were usually erected on the spot where the person was killed, or to mark the place of his burial.

#### THE MOAT OF MOYBOLGE.

On the summit of the hill, about a hundred yards from the old church, is to be seen one of the largest and most remarkable moats in Breiffne. From its size and prominent position it is visible for many miles around, a conspicuous object in the landscape. Judging from its shape and situation there can be no doubt that it is a sepulchral mound. The slant height is about 27 feet, and the circumference of the base about 345 feet. The accompanying illustration shows the aspect looking westward. A wide and deep fosse, circular in shape, surrounds the moat, and encloses a small area stretching on the eastern side. The moat is not situated in the centre of this ring, but the base just touches where the circumference of the circle would pass if completed. However, a modern fence, which passes along the western base of the moat, cutting away a portion, has somewhat broken the continuity of the circular fosse. The top of the moat is flat and circular. A solitary whitethorn, shown in illustration, grows on the east edge.

No indication of an entrance can be detected. Some shallow cuttings on the east side show that some attempts, of a superficial nature, were made at excavation in recent times. However, these cuttings do not reveal anything. Both moat and fosse are in a good state of preservation. The area enclosed by the fosse is now under tillage. Viewed in the light of history one is forced to conjecture that the moat may be the sepulchre of King Fiacha



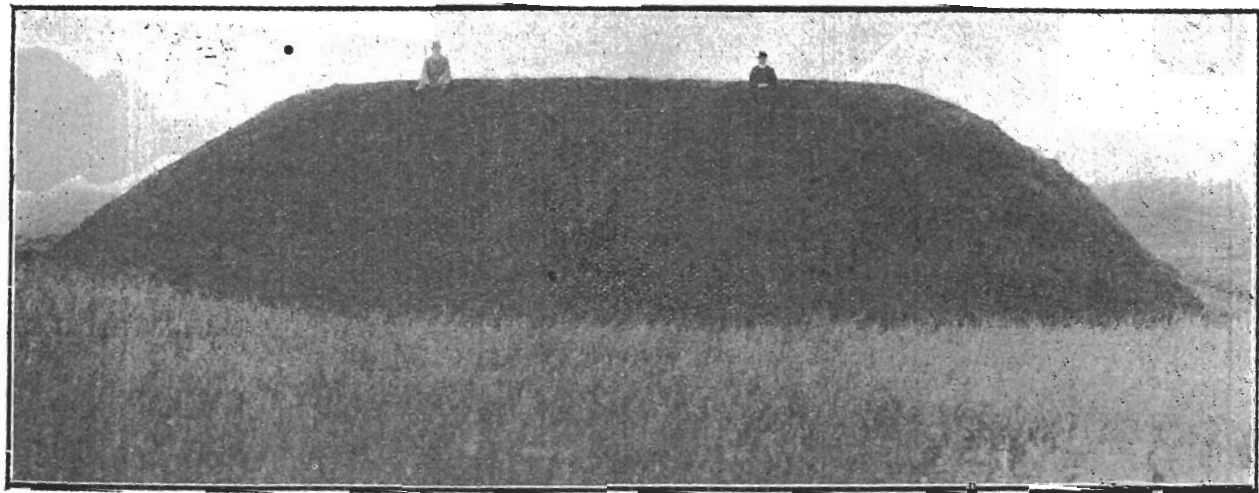


Photo by]

[J. A. COLEMAN, M.P.P.A., BAILIEBORO'.

**THE MOAT OF MOYBOLGE.**

Finnfolaidh, Monarch of Ireland, who fell in battle close to this spot, A.D. 56. This fine moat, in such a commanding position, is befitting a monarch's tomb. Just as the cairn on the shores of Loch Mask was raised by the Danann victors over the grave of Eochaidh MacErc, after the battle of Magh Tuireadh, so we may assume that the moat of Moybolge was raised by the Fir Bolg victors over the grave of Fiacha Finnfolaidh.

#### LEGEND OF THE *CAILLEACH GEARAGAIN*.

Tradition insists that the church of Moybolge was founded by St. Patrick himself. Although we have no positive proof, yet the tradition is too strong to be ignored. When St. Patrick visited Slane and Tailtean it is not improbable that he visited this district and placed it under his jurisdiction. The legend has it that St. Patrick set out on a long journey *via* Ardee, driving his donkey before him, and wherever the beast would lie down he was to erect a church.\* After many days he reached Moybolge, where the tired animal stretched itself upon the ground, and here he erected his church. Here he performed many miracles, including the following, which forms the extraordinary climax to the legend:—

One Sunday morning the people were gathering to hear Mass in the church. A woman, young and beautiful, named Gargan, (or Gawraga as it is locally pronounced), was making her way along a laneway close to the church. She was fasting, intent upon receiving the Blessed Eucharist. Coming upon a horseman in the laneway, she asked him to hand her a few of the blackberries which were on the top of the fence. He complied with the request, and on receiving the berries, she, disregarding her intentions, eat them. Instantly she was transformed into a ferocious black swine, which swallowed both man and horse. Fuming and foaming, she dashed among the people, devouring them one by one as they crossed her path. The Saint, who was in the vicinity, hearing the tumult and learning its cause, quickly made his way to the spot. Going down on one knee, he hurled his holy water brush in her direction, whereupon she was blown in four quarters, each going in a different direction—one to Lenanavragh lake, one up in the air, and the other two to respective places in and alongside the roadway leading to Tievurcher, where the present Catholic church is situated. But the legend has it that prior to her demise she pronounced a sort of anathema on the district, in which it was

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\* According to Mahaffy, the ass, as a beast of burden, was not introduced into Ireland until about 1780. Hence, this portion of the legend is to be accepted with some reservation. Mahaffy's conclusions, however, are not to be accepted as definitely deciding the question.

Vide J. P. Mahaffy *On the Introduction of the Ass as a Beast of Burden into Ireland* (*Proc. Royal Ir. Acad.*, Vol. xxxiii, 1917).

stipulated that when ninety-nine generations of red-haired Gargans crossed the stream on the roadway wherein she lies she would rise again and destroy the land. So persistent was the belief in this tradition that up to the middle of the last century, funerals and other processions of people, would avoid crossing this particular spot by going into the fields. A strong aversion to crossing it at all existed in some people's minds up to recent times. At the other place where part of her body is supposed to have been deposited in the townland of Cornaville and near the church of Tievurcher, is a huge dolmen or "Giant's Grave," but tradition does not connect this dolmen with the story of this female monster. The stone on which St Patrick is supposed to have knelt when he hurled the holy water brush at the monster was shown in the district till some years ago when it was wantonly destroyed. The imprint of his toe and knee is said to have been deeply outlined in the stone. Some miles from Moybolge in the sacristy wall of Clannaphilip church there is the sculptured head of a wrinkled old woman, which is claimed to represent the Cailleach Gearagain. Among the allegorical pictures which covered the walls of the famous "Painted Parlour" of Quilca, which existed at the time of Dean Swift, there was one which was supposed to represent this female monster. The paintings were the work of a London artist, and scene-decorator, named Lewis, who worked for the Sheridan family.\* A visitor to Quilca in 1852 describes the legend as it was then told to him†. According to his narrative the body of the "Garragh-Maw" (as he writes it) was buried in the "Mound of Moybullagh" where, "like an over-fed Esquimaux," she reposes "after the toil of her carnivorous achievements." Whatever may have been the origin of this rather apocryphal story, which has come down through many centuries and still remains in vivid local memory, it is fairly evident that the legend of St. Patrick's visit to Moybolge is as definite as evidence of such a nature can ever be. No account of this visit is to be found in any of the *Lives* of St. Patrick, nevertheless local tradition is positive on the question, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

#### NATIVE OWNERS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

The Gargans or MacGargans, were the chieftans of the barony of Clankee and owned the present district of Moybolge. They remained in possession until deprived of their lands during the closing years of the 16th century. The MacClearys were also extensive landowners. The Fiants of Eliz. record pardons extended to many of those families and help us to locate the dis-

\* The story of the "Painted Parlour" will be more fully discussed in a later paper.

† *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. XL., Nov., 1852.

tricts which they then held. We find that pardon was granted under date 12th June, 1586, to Turrelagh Magargan of Moyboldge, husbandman; Owen More MacCleary, kern, Moulmoro M'Philip O'Reyly of Skee [Skeagh], gent; Fershy O'Monghan, Gillernow M'Manchan, Nich. O Soolechan, Gillepatrick McOwen McMoriertagh McCleary, and Shane O'Soolechan, of same, husbandmen; Turrelagh McPhilip McOwen O'Reyley, of same, gentleman; Tho. McDonagh Magargan, of Moybologe, husbandman; Patr. Magargan, of same, smith; Patr. McConnyll and Gillernow O Conalty of Carricgilkey [Carriga]; Brien McTirloo McMoriertagh McCleary, of Corlurgan and Gillepatrick McOwen More McCleary, of Dirredawe [Deriydamph], husbandmen; Ferrall oge McEdm. McFerrall O Reyely, of Droumaghacar [Drumacarrow], gent; Brien McTirloo leay McCleary, of same, kern; Bryen McCahill McShane O Reyly of Leayer [Leare]; Philip McCahill McShane O Reyly of same; Hewe McCleary of Tonlegy [Tanderagee], clerk; Connor McWm. McCleary, of same, husbandman; Coimuck oge McManus McCleary of Tullecaslan [sub-name of Tandragee], Philip McManus McCleary of same; Cahill McManus McCleary of same, horseman; Conor McShane McFerrall O Reyely of Aughenoullian [sub-name of Tandragee], and Owen Boy McShane McFerrall O'Reyly, of same, gentlemen; Patr. McDonell Boye McI. Cleary and Murtegh McTurreleigh McI. Cleary, of Aughenowlan, husbandmen; Malaughlin McPhilip Magargan, Moybolge, gent; Shane McBryen Magargan, Bryen McShane Magargan, Patr. M'Philip Magargan, Nich. Magargan, Shane McBryen oge Magargan, Tho. McMortegh Magargan, Philip M'Mourtegh Magargan, of the same; Edm. McGlasny O'Reyly of Pottell [Pottle], horseman; Gille Isy O'Soolechan of Towllene Skegh [Tullynaskeagh]; Shane O'Reyly of Lytevar [Lisgar?]; Tho. Magargan of Moybolge, Te.nan McShane Magargan, of same; Gillepatrick McKreaner of Begleive [Beglieve], husbandman; Cahill McOwen O'Reyly of Dirrenekishy, Conor McOwen O'Reyly of same, kerns; Hugh McShian McFerrall O'Reyly of Corrolorgine; gentleman, and Hugh McShianlia Mackecleare of same, kern; Patr. oge McKeclare of Norgher [Urcher]; and Patr. Mackclear of Pottle [Pottle], kerns; Gillepatrick McGilleduff McCleary of Lysenalske, kern; Cormock O'Conewe and Ferrall O'Conew of same; Shane O'Conewe of Lisballo [Lisball]; Gillepatrick McOulmartin and Shane McOulmartin of same; Donell McMolaghlín McCleary and Brein McDonnell McCleary of Tonelegie (*supra*); Donell McMortogh O'Doohie of Moyne [Moyer?], Hewe McShane O'Reyly of Drounlono [Drumlon] and Turrelegh McHewe McShane of same, gentlemen; Gilleyssy M'Cormock McCleary, drowne of Naspooucke [Drumanespick], kern; Philip McGillese McBrene O'Reyly of Cornenawfe [Cornanaff], gentleman; Mourtough McMaconnell, of Droumdone [Drumgoun], clerk.

in the same year and under date 18th July (27 *Eliz.*) the following are among those granted pardon in the barony of Clankee—Conogher boy McWilliam Magargane of Clogagh; Philip McDonogh Magargan of Little Releghe [Relagh Beg]; Philip Roe McGargan of Carrykgill [Carriga], clerk; Donell O'Deoran, of Tullgalghork, priest. The Fiants of 1601 under date 19th June (43 *Eliz.*) record the following pardons—Owen O'Reillie of Corglaisse [Corglass]; Murtagh M'Gergon, Edm. McGergan and Tho. McGergan of Moibolge; Mullmorie McConnor O'Reillie of Killcolie [immediate district of Bailieboro']; Cormock bane O'Reillie, of the Meigh [Muff], gentlemen.

The clan McGargan\* predominated in the parish of Moybolge. In the other districts of the barony of Clankee the O'Reillys and Clarkes were the principal families. The O'Reillys had castles at Muff and Tandragee in the barony of Clankee. The Annals have frequent mention of the district and its chieftains. For example, the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1431 record a toray of the English of the Pale "in search of spoil into the Clann-in-Caich of Ua Raighilligh." (See *Journal* Vol. I., p. 117.) The same *Annals*, A.D., 1502, mention "Domnall (Ua Raighilligh) of the Magh (Muff)." After the confiscations in the 16th century the Barony of Clankee suffered the same fate as the other Cavan baronies. The Indenture dated 28th November, 1584 (27 *Eliz.*) between Sir John Perrott and Sir John O'Reilly, of Cavan, details the surrender to Perrott of the Baronies of Breiffine, including "the towghe (tuagh) of both the Clankeys called the Barony of Ineskeyne"†. In 1587 Sir Edward Waterhouse proposed to erect castles in Farney, Co. Monaghan, on the border of Clankee, and garrison them with horse and foot so as to keep the chieftains in check. The castle of Muff was situated between Bailieboro' and Kingscourt. It was the most important O'Reilly stronghold in the barony of Clankeé. Barely the foundations remain.

According to Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster* (1618—19) the grants to Undertakers were four in number, viz.:

I. 3,000 acres originally granted to Lord Aubignie and held in 1618 by James Hamilton. This grant included the lands of Kenneth and Cashel. It was sold by Lord Aubignie in 1611 to Sir James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboyes. In an Inquisition of 1619 it is stated that "upon the pole of land called Lisdromskaghe (Lisdrumskee) there is built a very large castle of lime and stone called Castle Aubigny, with the King's Arms cut in freestone over the gate."

\* While this paper was going through the press (Oct., 1924), a Berlin Exchange message states that Ludwig Wolff, the author of the novel "Carra-gan," has received a letter from a small Irish village, in which the writer protests against the use made of his name, and demands a certificate from the novelist that he is not the person whose character is depicted in the book. In default of which he threatens legal proceedings.

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1584, p. 391.*

II. 1,000 acres in Kilcloghan, parish of Knockbride, granted to John Hamilton.

III. 1,000 acres in Drumuck, parish of Knockbride, granted to William Hamilton.

IV. 1,000 acres in Tonragee granted to William Bailie. He was a Scottish Undertaker and was granted by James I. in 1610 the lands of Toneregie in the "Precinct of Clanchie." This grant included the greater portion of the ancient parish of Moybolge. The present town of Bailieboro' owes its origin to this William Bailie. The Anglicised form of the old Irish name of the spot where the town now stands is Kilcoly; the *Fiants* of Eliz. (1601) write it Killcolie. The name is still in use among Gaelic speakers. An Inquisition of 1629 refers to "the poll of Kilcolkie called by the name of Bailieburrow." The Down Survey Map (1654) marks "Kilkelly Castle." In the "Muster Roll" of Clankee supplied by George Alleyne in 1618, we find that William Bailie was possessed of 24 armed men for protection. The ancient castle was situated in the townland of Lisgar. Tradition has it that it belonged to the O'Reillys until confiscated in 1610. Pynnar describes it as 30 feet by 22 and vaulted. A report issued in April, 1629, describes the Castle as then completed and known as the "Manor of Bailieborrowe." The old castle in which Bailie lived remained standing until about 1832 when it was pulled down to make room for the present castle. Rev. George Creighton was appointed "Vicar of Moybolge and curate of Lorgan" on the 4th October, 1619, and later obtained a large grant of Glebe lands including "the lands of Blackvane, near the proportion of Toneregie (Bailie's Proportion), in the barony of Clonkee, and half the poll of Grahrew."\*

### ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The Irish Hagiologists record a St. Siric of Magh Bolg whose festival occurs on 26th November. The *Martyrology of Donegal* has "Siric, Bishop of Magh Bolg in Fir-Cul in Bregia." The *Feilire of Aengus* records "Bishop of Siric in Magh Bolg in Fir-Cul of Bregia." A similar notice occurs in the *Feilire of O'Gorman*. In all the Irish *Calendars* the festival of Bishop Siric of Magh Bolg in Feara-Cul-Bregia is recorded under 26th November. The ancient territory of Fear-Cul-Bregia, as noted by O'Donovan† was nearly co-extensive with the present barony of Kells, Co. Meath. Mention is also made of this district by the Martyrologists in noticing the festival of St. Beccan of Imlech-Fiaich in Feara-Cul-Breagh on 5th April‡. Emlagh, or Imlagh, is a parish in the barony

\* *Patent Rolls*, Charles I.

† *Letters from Meath*, p. 153.

‡ O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. IV., p. 35; Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*, p. 717; Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I., p. 136.

of Lower Kells. A Monastery was founded there by St. Beccan at the close of the sixth or early in seventh century.\* O'Donovan, in his Index to the *Annals of the Four Masters* confounds Feara-Cul of Bregia (*i.e.*, East Meath) with the territory of Feara-Ceall now the barony of Fircal in Offaly (King's Co.). He subsequently corrected this error† and showed that these territories are totally different. However, in many of the *Calendars* and *Lives* published since O'Donovan made his topographical investigations, both Bishop Siric and Abbot Beccan are erroneously entered as belonging to Fircal in Offaly. St. Beccan is represented by some writers as patron of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, but he is chiefly remembered as patron of Emlagh in Feara-Cul-Bregia. The Martyrologists do not tell us at what period Bishop Siric flourished, but it seems to have been in the centuries immediately following the coming of St. Patrick and probably about the seventh century. No tradition of this Bishop appears to have survived in the parish of Moybolge.

The old church of Moybolge, now in ruins and lying a short distance to the south of the moat, was one of the Hospitals of Co. Cavan which we have already noticed. The extensive ruins, which are visible for miles around, with the surrounding graveyard containing many interesting monuments, testify to its former importance. Although no date can with certainty be fixed for its foundation, yet local tradition is persistent in assigning its origin to St. Patrick, to whom it was dedicated. Like most of the other Hospitals of Co. Cavan it served as a parish church from early times until the confiscations at the close of the 16th century. The *Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Fleming*‡ contains the "Citation of Nicholas (Mac Brady), Bishop of Kilmore (Triburmen), for a metropolitanical visitation of his diocese," and dated 9th July, 1409.

The bishop is to cite his clergy and to appear with them at St. Patrick's Church, Moybolge, on 18th July, or the juridic day next following. He is also to cite David, claiming to be Bishop, and Master Thomas, Archdeacon of Kilmore. Dated at Droghda.

This clearly indicated the ecclesiastical importance of Moybolge in the 15th century, and establishes its having been dedicated to St. Patrick.

The Inquisition held at Cavan 19th September, 1590, for the purpose of defining the endowments held by the Hospitals found that the Termon or Hospital of Moybolge contained three polls or cartrons of the yearly value of three shillings§ On the accession

\* Cogan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 576.

† *Letters from Meath*, p. 156.

‡ Ed. by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, D.D., *Proc. R.I.A.*, Vol. XXX., Section C., No. 5, 1912.

§ 32 *Eliz.*, Excheq. *Inquis.*, No. 3, P.R.O., Dublin.

of James I. of England the Hospitals and Termon lands were allotted to supporters of the Crown. In the list of Crown lands on lease from the King of Ireland in 1606\* we find Moybolge with its Hospital and Termon lands assigned to Sir Garrett Moore. Three years afterwards, *i.e.*, in 1609, it was recovered by the Commissioners for the Bishopric. Another Inquisition for enquiring into the values of the lands attached to the Hospitals was held in Cavan on 25th September, 1609†. The Commissioners found that the Bishop of Kilmore was entitled to the following rents "issuing out of lands in the Barony of Clonky (Clankee)" :—

Moybolge, 4 polls, 20 shillings ; Eniskine (Inniskeen), 2 polls, 3s. 4d. ; Killan, 1 poll, 4 shillings ; Knockbride  $\frac{1}{2}$  poll, 2 shillings ; Lisleagh, in the parish of Knockbride,  $\frac{3}{4}$  poll, 9 pence ; and Drumgoon, 2 polls, 1s. 8d. That Killann Parish containeth 3 ballybetags and 9 polls ; that the parsonage and vicarage were inappropriate to the late Abbey of Kells, to which all the tithes were paid, except out of the poll of termon land, 2-3 of which are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore.

The same Inquisition found :—

Parish of Moybolge, 23 polls, the parsonage inappropriate, and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, one-third to the vicar, two-third to the late Abbey of Kells, except two-third of 3 polls of termon land which are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore, and to whom the vicar pays 6s. proxies.

In the list of Cavan Hospitals given by Archdall‡, and evidently following the report of the 1590 Inquisition, we have "Moybolge, three cartrons of land ; annual value, 3 shillings." In the report of this Commission the origin of the Hospitals of Cavan is clearly indicated. (See *Journal*, Vol. I. p. 216.)

The Church of Moybolge belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary's, Kells, Co. Meath. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth granted to Garrett Fleming of Cabragh, a large portion of the Monastery lands in Cavan and Meath, belonging to the Abbey. The following are the items of this grant :—

In Meath : the entire abbey, monastery, or religious house of Kenlis, otherwise Kells, with the site thereof, and all hereditaments in or near the same and thereto belonging ; all manors, castles, lands, and other hereditaments whatever

\* *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, 1606, p. 60.

† *Patent Rolls*, James I.

‡ *Mon. Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 72.



in Kells, Emlobeggan, Corbally, Grangeston, Knockummary, Kilbride, Kildrume, Urier and Granston, and in Maghelendon, now in Cavan county, to the said late Abbey in anywise appertaining; the rectories, churches or chapels of Emlobeggan and Killagh; rent, six pounds three shillings and eight pence Irish. In Cavan, Leitrim and Fermanagh, counties: the rectories, churches, or chapels of Killine, Knockbride, Castlrahan, Templeporte, and Crodragh, late parcel of the Estate of the said Abbey; rent thirteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence.\*

He surrendered this grant to King James in 1603 and had a regrant of same from the King, dated 19th October, 1609†, together with additional grants in the counties of Louth and Kildare. By a grant of 22nd December, 1608, Sir Arthur Chichester recommended that he should be given a grant in the Parish of Enniskeen where:

He has settled himself and built a castle of late, to his great charge, in a wild place called Clanchyenagh (Enniskeen), in the O'Reilly's country, otherwise called the County of Cavan.

The grant continues:—

The territory and precinct of land, called Clankina, containing five parcels called Ballybetaghs, viz.: Ballinacabbry, Ballydonerie, Ballenmoyegh, Ballioghlie, and Ballymacglanaghan, rent, thirteen shillings and four pence; to deliver out of his territory thirteen and a half good beeves at the Castle of Dublin yearly, on the Feast of All Saints, for the chief Governor use.‡

King James in 1617 granted to Sir Robert Stewart, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, among others, "the three rectories of Lorgan (Lurgan), Moibolge, and Mointerconought; all being parcel of the estate of the Abbey of Kells, in Meath county."§

Like most of the other Hospitals of Cavan, Moybolge served the purpose of a parish church until its confiscation. When the Abbey of Kells was dissolved the Hospitals soon suffered the same fate. The Termon lands were conferred on the Royal favourites and the churches fell into disuse. We have very few details to enable us to reconstruct the history of Moybolge church during the centuries preceding the Inquisition of 1590. No doubt its

\* *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

† *Inquis Ullonia*, James I.

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 15 James I.

ecclesiastical organisation was similar to that prevailing in the other parish-churches of Breiffne. Only a few notices of the early friars who were pastors of the Hospitals of Clankee have come down to us. In 1586 a Rev. Hugh Clarke was living in Tonelegy (Tandragee); the *Fiants* of Eliz. for that year (*loc. cit.*) describe him as "Hewe McCleary, Clerk." In the same year a Rev. Philip M'Gargan was living at Carrykgill (Carriga), beside Moybolge, and described as "Philip Roe McGargan, Clerk." In Drumgoon a Rev. Mortagh McConnell is described as "Mourtough M'Macconnell of Droumdone, Clerk." Another notice in the *Fiants* of the same year has "Donnell, O'Deoran of Tullegalkhork, priest." As this townland is marked on 1609 map as situated between Muff and Inniskeen, it is apparent that Rev. Donnell O'Deoran, was attached to the church of Inniskeen which, although in Co. Cavan, is now in the Diocese of Clogher.

Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and after the Inquisition of 1590, the Hospitals became derelict. The Termon lands had been confiscated and famine and war were devastating the country. The Plantation Map of 1609 shows the Hospitals of Clankee, viz., Moybolge, Inniskeen, Knockbride, Drumgoon, and Killan, roofless and in ruins. The use of those churches, then, must have been discontinued for many years previous to 1609. After 1612 some of the Cavan Hospitals were repaired and used for church services. An Inquisition held in 1620 found that only eighteen churches in the Diocese of Kilmore were then used for religious services, and, even in these, none had been held before 1612\*. In the Barony of Clankee only the churches of Moybolge and Drumgoon are mentioned by the Inquisition as being then in use.

The church of Moybolge appears to have been continued in use from this time until burned during the wars of 1646. It is stated in the diary of Friar O'Mellan, chaplain to Sir Phelim O'Neill, that in 1646 the English in Lisnegarvey (Lisburn), Killyleagh, Newry, etc., plundered the haggards and houses of the inhabitants of Oriel as far as Cill-anna (Killann) and also destroyed Moybolge. The church has remained in ruins since that time, but portions of the residential building adjoining appear to have been repaired, and used occasionally as a church and school. The present ruins, consisting of side-walls and south gable, of what was manifestly the place of residence of the clergy in charge of the church in pre-Reformation times, show traces of having been kept in good repair. In the early years of the 18th century, Father Gargan, whose name is still remembered locally,

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\* The churches were :—Kilmore, Kildallon, Kildrumferton (Crosserlough), Drung, Laragh, Drumgoon, Moybolge, Templeport, Killinagh, Kinawley, Annagelliffe, Keadue, Annagh, Castletarra, Tomregan, Drumlane, and Killeshandra (*Patent Rolls*, 17 James I.).

taught classics in those old ruined walls and is reputed to have produced classical scholars, who, in those days were able to compare favourably with the State educated students of Oxford and Trinity. Down to the middle of the 18th century the old building, serving the purposes of a place of worship and a school, was kept occasionally in use.

Rev. William Brooke, father of Henry Brooke the well-known author, was Rector of the union of Killinkere and Moybolge, to which he was appointed by Dr. Wetenhall, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore\*. The extensive parish of which Rev. Mr. Brooke had charge in the early years of the 18th century is thus described in *Brookiana*†:—

Killinkere and Moybolgue have been long known by the name of the sister parishes. In some respects they are like each other—extensive—thrown aside, as it were, in a romantic corner of the country, thinly inhabited, and almost in a state of nature. Nature, however, has been more indulgent to one than to the other. Killinkere is hilly, nay, mountainous—her hills are covered with heath and briars—Moybolgue, on the contrary, a wide, extended plain, a deep rich soil, in which the plough for miles would scarce meet with a stone to interrupt its course; but these fertile plains are devoted to pasturage; so that, instead of the human voice divine as you pass along, you hear the lowing of kine, and the bleating of the fleecy race. Tradition tells us, that this parish was sacred to the Pagan priests of the Irish; yet, there is not so much as the remains of one druidical altar in the whole. It is not surprising that this tradition should float down the stream of time; the ground is rich, and the Druid, as well as others of the same class, liked to live on the fat of the land. Again, the chapel is very old, and it is well known that the Christian priest raised his oratory on the remains of the Pagan temple. The church is in ruins, and there is something so venerable in these ruins that they are really worth visiting. Some of the inhabitants say, that it was built in the fifth century by St. Etchaenius, Bishop of Cluan-foddy; Colgan makes no mention of it, which is the more extraordinary, as he was born in the adjoining parish; but, it is plain from the remains of the eastern window, that it was not built in those early days, when the pride of the wooden church “was a stone belfry and its little bell.” The hand that planned it, however, seems to have traced some of the Grecian lines of architecture; but, that hand

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\* Rev. Mr. Brooke's successor was the Rev. Mr. Cosby. An account of the life of Henry Brooke will be given in a later paper.

† Edited by Chas. H. Wilson, Vol. I., pp. 30 *et seq.*, London, 1804.

is now mouldered into dust, and there is not so much as a stone to tell where it rests.

“ Who builds a church to God and not to fame,  
Will never mark the marble with his name.”

In the year 1780 a literary gentleman (presumably the editor of *Brookiana*), a particular friend of Henry Brooke's, paid a visit to these ruins and tombs. Here he met with the patriarch of the place and parish, old Mr. Sheridan, a younger brother of the Quilca doctor, who at the age of ninety, evidenced in conversation much of the classical turn and literary tastes of his brother. A dialogue ensued between the traveller and old Mr. Sheridan which is interesting from the light it throws on the Moybolge of 150 years ago, as well as on the Irish education of the time. This Mr. Sheridan was grand-uncle to Richard Brinsley Sheridan on whose oratory, as on an absorbing spell, we are told that Pitt, Fox, and Edmund Burke, hung breathless with wonder and delight. The visitor's impressions of the old church are thus described :\*

He did not expect to meet with anything in it beyond that of any other country churchyard, which had sunk under the silent touches of time, but was astonished at the number of monuments which the affections of the living had raised to the memory of the dead. Some of them, it is true, were very rude, and some of them were very frail ; but many of them were of black marble, with inscriptions in the Roman tongue, that would not disgrace the pages of a Parr, or a Naugenius. Many of these inscriptions were in the old Gothic characters, and did credit to the chisel. Mr. Sheridan, who had lived all his life in a little solitary cottage, adjoining the churchyard, accompanied the gentleman. He was ninety years of age. If the conversation of this venerable old man should afford the reader as much pleasure as it afforded the traveller, it will render any apology unnecessary for repeating the heads of it in this place.

*Traveller*—I believe you may be called the patriarch of this parish ?

*Sheridan*—In point of age, I think I may ; I was born in it, I was bred in it. Father Gargan taught Latin in a corner of that church, at the age of eighty. I read Liyy under him, and can repeat some of the speeches at this time—we had no translations of the Classics in those times.

*Traveller*—The Latin tongue in those days, was highly cultivated, even in the remotest parts of Ireland ?

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\* *Brookiana*, Vol. I., p. 32.

*Sheridan*—It formed almost the whole of our education—the very shepherds could speak Latin\*

*Traveller*—But you don't appear to have paid any attention to your native tongue—the Irish?

*Sheridan*—We had many who excelled in the study of the Irish language too.

*Traveller*—I see no epitaphs or inscriptions in this churchyard in that language.

*Sheridan*—Yes, there were many, but they have been effaced by time; many tombstones have sunk into the ground; what you see is only of modern date, comparatively speaking.

*Traveller*—It is a pity that someone did not copy these inscriptions.

*Sheridan*—That would have shewn the triumph of letters over death and time; you see the very stones decay and sink into their graves, whilst the swarthy daughters of Cadmus may be said to flourish in immortal youth—but time consumes all, the ashes and the urn. Even if they were transcribed, who would read them? An Irishman won't read what an Irishman writes. And, as to foreigners, I may exclaim, with the old Irish priest in Rome: "*Nobis ex Hibernia, vix butyrum pinguescit.*"

*Traveller*—A lamentable truth!—but the promise of a brighter day already shines on the horizon of this long benighted region.

*Sheridan*—Thank Heaven!

*Traveller*—This churchyard appears to be the favourite burial place of this part of the country.

*Sheridan*—It is so—St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, is said to have consecrated it; then, again, the situation—solitude, the companion of the wise and good.

*Traveller*—A mind that is fond of solitude, and disposed to contemplation, could scarce meet with any place better suited to such dispositions.

*Sheridan*—I found it so; even in my boyish days I could not be tempted to forsake it. My ancestors, for generations, sleep in that churchyard. I take my morning and my evening walk in it—it is my library. I dress the graves of those who are neglected by their heirs. It is a very old burying place; it contains, perhaps, more Milesian dust than all the rest of the kingdom put together. It contains the remains of those who have travelled into foreign countries in pursuit of fortune and science; but their memories will soon be forgotten.

*Traveller*—So that you have no poets or historians to hand them down to posterity?

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\* This was not uncommon in those days. *Campion*, in his *History of Ireland*, written in 1571, states that Latin was then widely spoken. In the beginning of the 17th century *Father Mooney*, the Franciscan Provincial, found country boys who were well versed in *Virgil* and *Homer* (*Meehan's Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 66). In 1670 *Petty* found that Latin was freely spoken in the wilds of *Kerry*. *Smith* in his *History of Kerry* also notes the same fact.

*Sheridan*—The muse has fled—the musical finger no longer waits on the soft oaten stop—Poverty, with haggard mien, has put them all to flight.

*Traveller*—Then all those pleasures that could soothe us in affliction or brighten up our joys, have, of course, fled with them.

*Sheridan*—Except Religion—she of all the train has yet staid behind, and points to the skies. One of our best poets reposes in that corner.

*Traveller*—Let us drop a tear on his grave.

*Sheridan*—With all my heart. He has one happiness, however ; his love-songs will never be forgotten.

*Traveller*—In what language did he write ?

*Sheridan*—In Irish, a language admirably suited to all that is tender in the human heart.

*Traveller*—Can you favour me with any of his verses ?

*Sheridan*—You must know, sir, that in this part of the country as well as in many other parts of the kingdom, there is a tradition that treasures of gold, pearls, etc., are hidden in the bowels of the earth, and that certain genii are appointed to watch those treasures ; the poet requests that one of these guardian spirits will watch over a young woman to whom he has paid his tuneful homage ; this is the song, and I'll give you a literal translation of it :—

#### THE TRANSLATION.

“ Oh, Ebho, thou that hast been chosen out of all the brightest inhabitants of air, to guard the treasures of Roza, long since deposited in the valley of Rudna.—You are faithful to your trust, you have been praised by all the poets.—The Spring has often invited you to her bowers ;—you have often reposed on her green mantle, strewed with primroses ;—but if you wish that the poet devoted to love and tears, should sing your praises, watch over a more precious treasure than gold or shining stones—watch over the young and beautiful Mabilla.—What pearl can be compared to her teeth ?—What ruby to her lips ?—What diamond to her eyes ?—or, can melted gold be compared to her hair ?—Mabilla is a real treasure, that no treasure can purchase :—but why do I sing ?—has love deprived me of my senses ?—the fair Mabilla is already attended by a guardian angel, that guides her steps, that watches over her slumbers, and that may yet whisper in her ear, that my heart beats for her alone.”

He also wrote a poem on Spring. You may form some idea of the original, even from the translation, which is a very poor

one. I'll repeat you a few lines, and, if you should think the whole worthy of your acceptance, it is at your service.

Then let us hail the breathing spring,  
That flies to us on trembling wing,  
And loves to linger in our clime,  
When she has even pass'd her prime.  
Till she has trac'd in summer tide  
Her infant buds to full blown pride.  
Hail, lovely spring, forever hail,  
The pride of ev'ry Irish vale,  
The pride of ev'ry verdant plain,  
The pride of ev'ry past'ral strain ;  
The pride and promise of the year,  
In every region far and near—  
Whether in icy Sandal's dight,  
On our dear land you love to light ;  
Or loosely rob'd in snowy vest,  
The primrose peeping on your breast ;  
Or else if winter crowds the fire,  
As yet unwilling to retire,  
With clouds o'ercast thy radiant smile,  
Still thou art welcome to our isle.

*Traveller*—What age was he when he died ?

*Sheridan*—About six and twenty.—I saw him a few hours before he died. To say that he was resigned, would be too cold a term ; he spoke of his approaching dissolution with the gaiety of a man who is setting out of a fine morning, to visit a number of friends whom he had not seen for many years.

*Traveller*—Death is often our best friend, and perhaps he had few in this world.

*Sheridan*—He had very little intercourse with this world ; he passed his days in a little cottage, at the foot of that hill, in solitude.

*Traveller*—The bird of Eve, according to Milton,  
"Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid."

It seems he has not left a brother poet behind to embalm his memory with one melodious tear.

*Sheridan*—It matters not :

"So sinks the day-star in the Ocean's bed."

This interesting dialogue records many of the traditions which were then existing regarding the old church of Moybolge, and which seem to have been since forgotten. Allowing for some manifest anachronisms in the narrative, the tradition of its foundation by St. Etchænius would seem to have existed locally when Brooke's biographer visited Moybolge in 1780. Tradition

lingers long, and, although now apparently forgotten, yet there is no reason to doubt that some traces of legend had floated "down the stream of time."

St. Etchen (*Latinised Etchænius*) was Bishop of Clonfad, Co. Westmeath, about five and a half miles to the south-east of Mullingar. He founded the monastery of Clonfad about the middle of the sixth century. St. Etchen is chiefly remembered as having been the Bishop who ordained St. Columbkille in the church of Clonfad about the year 550.\* The Acts of St. Etchen have been compiled by Colgan† from various sources, but they do not seem to be connected, in all passages, with strict adherence to chronological consistency. He belonged to the royal house of Leinster, and is believed to have been born about A.D., 490, or towards the close of the fifth century. According to the *Four Masters* his death took place on the 11th of February, A.D. 577. The *Calendar of Cashel*, under the same date, has "Sanctus Episcopus Etchenus, qui ordinem presbyteratus dedit S. Columbkille obiit." The *Martyrology of Tallaght*, the *Martyrology of Donegal*, the *Feilire of Aengus*, and the *Feilire of O'Gorman*, record his festival on the 11th February. He was buried in his church of Clonfad, where his grave is still traditionally remembered.

There is hardly any authentic account of St. Etchen's early proceedings until he is mentioned as Bishop of Cluain Foda, and as the ordainer of St. Columbkille. By a strange anachronism Colgan (*loc. cit.*) supposes Etchen to have been Bishop of Clonfad in St. Patrick's days. The error is due to his confusing Etchen with a Bishop Ethian, who was a contemporary of St. Patrick. The editor of *Brookiana* (*loc. cit.*) evidently followed Colgan in assigning St. Etchen to the fifth century. No mention of Moybolge is to be found in any of the records of the life of St. Etchen. But the tradition mentioned in *Brookiana* must have existed locally in the 18th century, as the compiler would hardly have noted it without some local warrant. Beyond the fact that he was a native of Leinster, only very scant details can be gathered of the earlier years of St. Etchen, or of any of the religious foundations with which he was connected. Whatever connection he may have had with Moybolge seems to be now unknown except in the 18th century tradition.

The reference to Father John Colgan, the distinguished Franciscan hagiologist of the 17th century, connecting him with the district of Moybolge is of much interest, as the question of his birthplace has always been doubtful. Notwithstanding his fame as a historian, it is remarkable how few are the biographical

\* Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III., p. 553; O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. II., p. 470; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 127; Todd's *Obits of Christ Church*, p. 53.

† *Acta Sanctorum*, tomus II., Februarii XI.



details regarding him which have survived. He was born in Ulster about the beginning of the 17th century. It has been supposed that Donegal was his birthplace,\* but his earlier years are clouded in obscurity. He studied at the Irish Franciscan College, Louvain, where he was afterwards Professor of Theology. This College had been founded in 1617 by Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam. Father Colgan devoted himself to Irish studies and, on the death of Father Hugh Ward in 1635, collected the manuscript materials which Father Ward had brought from Ireland. In 1645 Father Colgan produced the first three vols. of his monumental work, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, containing the lives of the saints whose names occur in the *Calendar* for Jan., Feb., and March.† His *Trias Thaumaturga* appeared in 1647. Many of his unpublished manuscripts appear to have been lost; at least they cannot now be traced. His writings were very voluminous, and many volumes on the subject of Irish Hagiology appeared from his pen. A prodigious worker, he pursued his historical researches notwithstanding very indifferent health, which seriously hampered him during his later years. He died at Louvain about 1657. In the *Bibliotheca Franciscana* (Madrid, 1732), the date of his death is entered as 1647. This is manifestly incorrect, as in 1655 he published at Antwerp a Life of Duns Scotus.

The editor of *Brociana* must have heard locally the tradition that the "adjoining parish" to Moybolge was the birthplace of Father Colgan. He was also apparently acquainted with his writings. Such a tradition would then be entitled to a good deal of credence, as it would have been established a century after Father Colgan's death. During this period there was a close connection between Ireland and Louvain, and many of the Irish priests who had studied there—including a number of Cavan priests—would have been personally acquainted with Father Colgan, and known the history of his early years. The question deserves further investigation. When the life of Father Colgan is examined more closely, and the history of his early years gleaned from the obscurity which surrounds it, it may be found that the neighbourhood of Moybolge can lay claim to the honour of having been the birthplace of this great historian.

Father Gargan, who is mentioned by old Mr. Sheridan in the dialogue (*supra*), was an accomplished classical scholar, and as we have already noted, taught Latin in the old church. He was a native of the district. In 1704 a Rev. John Gargan was re-

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\* O'Doherty's *Inis Owen and Tirconnell, being some account of the Antiquities and Writers of the County of Donegal*, pp. 71-106, Dublin, 1895. Two, at least, of Father Colgan's contemporaries at Louvain—Michael O'Clery (one of the compilers of the *Four Masters*, and who brought the manuscript to Louvain), and Hugh Ward, were natives of Donegal.

† Vide Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland* (passim).

gistered as P.P. of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood, and was then aged 55. He was ordained in Dublin in 1677, by Most Rev. Patrick Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, and lived at Greaghnadarragh. His sureties (for £50 each) were James Smith of Knockbride, and Cwen Doherty of Corweelish.\* He is again mentioned in 1715 as among the number of Cavan priests "refusing to appear" to take the Oath of Abjuration "notwithstanding summons and warrants have been often granted against them." In this year his sureties were Chas. McFadden of Quilkagh, and Patr. McCabe of Lislea.† Mr. Sheridan of Moybolge, who is described as being ninety years of age in 1780, mentions (*supra*) that he studied Latin under Father Gargan. This is clear evidence that Rev. John Gargan was the teacher of this classical school, and that he was P.P. of Moybolge during at least the first quarter of the 18th century. During this period, when the enactments of the Penal Code were rigorously enforced, Father Gargan had to live in concealment. His scholarly accomplishments are still locally remembered, and he is said to have died at an advanced age and to have been buried in the graveyard of Moybolge. As a classical scholar he must have been acquainted with the writings of Father Colgan, and we can suppose that the tradition of Father Colgan's birthplace, as well as the tradition of St. Etchen, was known to him, and handed down by him to his students. To men like Father Gargan, working under almost insuperable difficulties, is due the preservation of many treasured traditions.

Among the poets of Co. Cavan, flourishing in the 18th century, and mentioned in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, we find the name of Brain Riabhach O'Cleirigh (Grey Brian O'Clery) of Moybolge under the year 1730‡. It is very probable that he is the poet mentioned by Mr. Sheridan (*supra*) as having died at the age of 26, and resting in the churchyard.

Father Paul O'Brien, the Irish poet and grammarian, was a native of this parish, and was born at Breakey, mid-way between Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood, about the middle of the 18th century. According to O'Reilly, he was a great-grand-son of William O'Brien, a native of Co. Clare, who married a Miss Betagh, of Moynalty, Co. Meath, and settled in the district of Breakey. This William O'Brien is mentioned by O'Reilly (*op. cit.*), under the year 1720, as the author of several poems. Father O'Brien was Professor of Gaelic in Maynooth College, and his *Irish Grammar* is still recognised as a standard work. In the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, 1808, will be found, as a prologue,

\* *Registry of 1704*, Dublin, printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

† Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*. (1660-1760), p. 286.

‡ Rev. Dr. O'Brien supplied O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*, p. ccxxii.), with the first two lines of two poems composed by this author:

(1) "τὰ το ὕμνηζε θεὰ γὰν ἀπόδειλ."

(2) "Ἄ κόμητρα θεαναρὸ θέμε."

his Address (a poem of seventeen stanzas) to the Society. His poems, many of which were evidently composed during his boyhood days at Breakey, are still to be heard in Southern Breiffne.\* Many of them have been published in the *Gaelic Journal*†. Father O'Brien died in 1820.

#### EXISTING RUINS AND TOMBS.

The church is long in ruins, and the storms of centuries have left their traces on its crumbling walls. The ruins are very extensive, and the original buildings would seem to have covered a comparatively large area. In pre-Reformation times the monastery appears to have consisted of, at least, two separate buildings, one serving as the church proper, and the other the place of residence of the priests. The 1609 Plantation Map has both buildings marked, each of which is surmounted with a cross to denote its ecclesiastical uses. In the case of the other Hospitals in the Barony of Clankee, as well as those in the Barony of Castlerahan, which are marked on this map, no second structure is indicated, as in the case of Moybolge. At first it does not seem easy to say what exact purpose each building served. We might be inclined to conjecture that the present building, with gable and walls standing, was a more modern one, but the evidence afforded by the 1609 map, and also the style of the masonry, would not justify such an assumption. A close examination of the ruins would indicate that the wall stretching from east to west is a remnant of the old church, and that the building extending from north to south was the residence of the friars. The latter building may also have served the purpose of a chapter-house, or assembly-room.

The southern gable and sidewalls are in a fair state of preservation, but the northern gable has entirely disappeared. The building, which is rectangular, measures 21 feet long by 14½ feet in width. The walls are about 10 feet in height, and the gable is about 18 feet high. The gable contains 2 windows, with slightly curved arches, and sides sloping inwards. The external measurements of each window is about 4½ feet by 1½ feet. The sills and side-jambs are broken, and the stone-cut facings have disappeared. However the upper window still retains its lintel, although dilapidated. The eastern wall contains a window of the same dimensions as the windows of the gable, but its sides are badly broken. The visitor of 1780 seems to have observed particularly this eastern window which was then, as now, in ruins. Portion of a transverse wall, about 10 feet high, touches the north end of the west wall. It does not seem to have belonged to the west

\* For his well-known song: "Cailín Dear Úrécáiní," see CÉAD CO. CEOLTAIB ULAD, by ÉNÍ O MUIRSEARA, LEACANAC 51 AGUS L. 218.

† Vide Vol. X., 1899.

gable, nor was it portion of the south wall of the church, but may have belonged to an isolated building which has since disappeared.

The eastern wall has a recess about 8 feet from the ground and an opening rising upwards through the wall was manifestly a chimney, terminating about 20 feet high. This recess served the purpose of a fire place, which was on an upper storey. The position of the beams supporting this upper storey can be traced from their sockets in the walls. The western wall shows no traces of ever having had a window. The doorway to this building must have been on the northern gable, but, as the latter has entirely disappeared, its exact position cannot now be determined. The style of the building is typically pre-Reformation. The masonry, as well as the style of the windows, is of the simplest type. The visitor of 1780 saw, even in its ruins, "some of the Grecian lines of architecture," but the ravages of time have left their mark and all traces of architectural beauty, if such ever existed, have been swept away. The fact of this building remaining in a fair state of preservation, while only a remnant of the church survives, would indicate that it was occasionally repaired and used in the period after the church had fallen into decay. We have already noted that Moybolge was burned in 1646. The church does not appear to have been repaired afterwards, but the adjoining building was preserved and used as a school. No doubt it served the purposes both of a church and school. While its primary function was that of a church, yet it is obvious that its secondary purpose, viz., that of a school, would be necessary to even partially evade the exactions of the Penal Code. But, according to the narrative of old Mr. Sheridan (*supra*), it was then designated a church, and served the dual purpose of church and school. The building must have been kept in repair during the pastorate of Father Gargan, but as a place of residence had certainly been abandoned for a long time previous to 1700. There is no reason for believing that it was used as a residence after the Reformation period. During the troubled years of the early 18th century it was finally abandoned, and in 1780 was already in ruins.

North of this building, and stretching from east to west, was situated the ancient church. Of this a solitary wall—apparently the north wall—is all that has survived. It is impossible to conjecture what may have been the dimensions of this church, in which Bishop Nicholas MacBiady held his Visitation in 1409. The remaining wall is 32 feet in length and about 10 feet high. It is built of the rudest material, bound together with grouting. Many of the stones have fallen out of the north side, leaving a very dilapidated appearance. No trace of a window is to be seen. The space around the south base of the wall is lower than the surrounding churchyard, and indicates that this was the interior of the church. This space is rectangular, and traces of where the south wall and west gable stood can be detected. The position

of the east gable cannot be traced with certainty. The original church may have extended eastward, so that the east gable would have been in a direct line with the east wall of the building described above. The existing traces of a continuation of the remaining wall of the church stands a detached fragment of a wall, the east end of the church stands a detached fragment of a wall. From the position of the church it is hardly likely that this is a remnant of the original gable, but seems to have belonged to an isolated building. It may have been a belfry.

Local tradition has it that on the approach of the English forces, during the Cromwellian period, to destroy the church, the bell ascended into the air and was transported by some invisible agency towards the little lake of Clogagh, adjoining the townland of Cormeen, into which it fell.\* It continued to ring during its aerial flight, and so gave the alarm of the impending attack. At intervals—some say seven years—it is believed still to be heard ringing from the depths of the lake with a muffled tone. This tradition, may have had its origin in the burning of the church in 1646. Similar legends are to be heard in the neighbourhood of many of our ecclesiastical ruins, and are not always without foundation. On the approach of invading forces the bells, which were often of silver, were hastily taken down, and thrown for safety into the nearest lake or river, where they are supposed to ring every seven years.† It may be surmised, with a reasonable degree of probability, that the bell of Moybolge church may, at some future time, be found in Clogagh lake.

The existing ruins are so scattered and imperfect, that it is now impossible to ascertain definitely what was the extent of the monastery of Moybolge in pre-Reformation times. But from what remains it is evident that it was much larger than any of the other Hospitals of Southern Breifne. The disappearance of the greater part of the original buildings is accounted for locally by the fact that the stones were removed for building

\* Hence the name *Clogagh* meaning a bell, from which according to local authority, the lake derives its name. The Gaelic form is *cloḡ*, corresponding with the Latin *clocca*, and English *clock* (cf. Breton *clou'h*). Joyce believes it probable that the Irish borrowed the word *cloḡ* from the Latin, through the early missionaries.

† In at least one case the tradition has been duly verified. At Kilwheery, along the river Brosna, near Ferbane, in Offaly, there was a persistent tradition that the bell of St. Rioch, who founded the Monastery there, was thrown for safety into a deep pool of the Brosna, during the Penal times. When the bed of the river was altered, during the drainage operations of 1849, the bell was discovered in the very pool pointed out by tradition. (*Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, 1868-9, p. 347).

Similar traditions exist at Drumcliff, near Ennis, Co. Clare, and at Killadonnell Abbey, near Rathmelton, in Donegal. In the latter place, the thieves who stole the bell were drowned in crossing Lough Swilly, and the bell lies at the bottom. The silver bell which hung in the round tower of Rattoo, Co. Kerry, is believed to lie in the river Brick, but repeated searchings have failed to discover it. (Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 398).

elsewhere. The Holy Water Font belonging to the ancient church is lying in the churchyard, and almost hidden in a mass of accumulated debris, alongside where the south wall of the church must have stood. The bowl is circular and 18 inches in diameter. The position it now occupies is obviously underneath, or adjacent to, the original position it occupied in the interior of the church. Near the entrance gate to the churchyard is the head of what appears to be an old Celtic cross, measuring 19 inches by 22 inches. It has a small cross in raised relief between the arms. On the upper surface of one of the shafts is an inscription of one word very much obliterated, and which reads: *Geargain*.

The extensive graveyard contains a large number of tombs, and many distinguished ecclesiastics of the diocese of Kilmore lie within its walls. Many of the inscriptions are very much worn, and are in some cases indecipherable. The visitor of 1780 (*supra*) was very much impressed at the number of fine monuments which then existed. Some of them were of black marble, inscribed in Gothic characters which "did credit to the chizzel." He also noted that some of those inscriptions were in Latin. According to old Mr. Sheridan's narrative, many inscriptions were in the Irish language, and he accounts for their disappearance by their having been "effaced by time," as well as many of the tombstones having sunk into the ground. By this he probably means their having become hidden under the accumulated debris. It is more likely that these monuments were broken, and carried away, when the old church was torn up, and the materials utilised for building elsewhere. This happened in the case of other ruined churches in the diocese of Kilmore, and accounts for the relative paucity of 16th and 17th century monuments. We cannot help regretting with the writer of 1780 that these inscriptions were not copied, even this would have shown "the triumph of letters over death and time."

A raised tomb, situated to the left of the entrance gate has an inscription, in Gothic characters, which records that it was erected by Thorthagh Smith and his wife Margaret, for their family, A.D., 1680. It bears the Smith coat of arms. The inscription is very much worn. A walled-in enclosure measuring 25 feet by 12 feet is situated north of the old church. In this enclosure, among other tombs, is a massive tombstone, resting on four small pillars. Underneath is buried the Most Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore (author of an Irish Catechism that was well known a century ago), who died in 1829, and also his brother, Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P. of Lurgan, who died in 1808\*. Alongside, another tombstone, raised on pillars, marks the grave of the Very Rev.

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\* For the inscription see this *Journal*, Vol. II., No. I., p. 43.

Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., of Cavan, who died in 1843. It has the inscription:—

**This tomb was erected by the Very Rev. Patk. O'Reilly, P.P., of Cavan, in memory of his parents, Philip O'Reilly and Judith, alias MacDonnell, and also in memory of his sister Mary, alias McDermott, and her two children, Rev. Patk. McDermott, and Judith O'Reilly, alias Macdermott, all of whom died young.**

**Dated May 1st, 1839.**

**The remains of the above Very Rev. Patk. O'Reilly lie here also, who died in the year 1843, aged 78 years, being then P.P. of Cavan and V.G. of Kilmore for 30 years.**

At the other end of the enclosure is a flat tombstone inscribed:

**This Monument was erected for the Rev. Michael Smith, P.P., of Killanne, who departed this life the 10th of April, 1777, aged 64 years.**

**R. I. P.**

Two smaller enclosures adjoin. Built into the wall of one of these is a stone bearing the date 1780.

Alongside the wall of the old church is the grave of Father Owen O'Reilly, P.P., of Denn. He belonged to the townland of Srahan—in which the graveyard is situated—and is buried here with his friends. The flat tombstone (which displays a chalice and missal in raised relief) is inscribed:—

**Sacred to the Memory of the  
Rev. Owen O'Reilly, Parish Priest  
of Denn.**

The monument was erected by Father O'Reilly during his lifetime. He died about 1849 or early in 1850.\*

Near the south corner of the graveyard is an upright slab of slate marking the grave of a Father Moynagh (or Mooney) P.P., of Kilmore. The inscription is as follows:—

**Here lies the body of the  
Reverend Luke Moynagh, Pastor  
of Killmore, who Departed  
this life the 26th of October, 1781,  
aged 54 years.**

**R.I.P.**

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\* His name appears for the last time in the *Cath. Directory* of 1849.

A flat tombstone near the western boundary reads:—\*

**This Monument was erected by the Rd. Bernard Cahil, Pr. of Kilmore, in memory of his Father and Mother, Terence Cahil, who died the 15th of June, 1751, aged 82, and Judy Reilly, who died the 1st of April, 1753, aged 80 years. Requiescat in Pace.**

Another flat stone close by has the inscription:—

**This Monument was erected by Bryan Reilly, in memory of his Father, John Reilly, who departed Feb. 2nd, 1755, aged 63 years : also his sister, Margaret Reilly, who departed April 22nd, 1754, aged 22 years.**

A fine monument to the memory of Rev. John Lynch, P.P., of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood has been erected near the west wall of this churchyard. It is inscribed:—

**Erected  
By Thomas Lynch  
to the Memory of his  
Brother, the Rev.  
John Lynch, P.P.,  
Kilmainham and Moybolouge  
who died February 24th,  
1864, aged 67 years.  
May his Soul rest in Peace.**

Although Moybolge has been the burial place of the O'Clerys, Gargans, and other important Breiffne families, very few of their monuments, among the large number of existing ones, can be traced. Many fine monuments have been broken, and others are now so worn that their inscriptions are quite illegible. At the east end of the ruined church is to be seen a massive flat tombstone which is said locally to mark the grave of a Bishop Gargan. Nothing concerning him seems to be remembered locally. Traces of an inscription can be detected, but it is now illegible. He was evidently one of the pastors belonging to the Church before, or during, the Reformation period. In the ruined building, adjoining the church and which served as the church during a later period, is another flat tombstone, with missal in relief, marking the grave of a priest whose name is now forgotten. The inscription is obliterated. Around those ruined walls, in unmarked graves, lie many Kilmore priests of centuries

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\*The Rev. Bernard Cahill, here mentioned, was pastor of Kilmore in 1750. (*Arch. Hib.* Vol. V, p. 134).



long passed away. Many tombstones display coats of arms executed with much skill: the O'Reilly arms, with the inscription, *Fortitudine et Prudentia*, occur frequently.

### KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

The boundary of the ancient Kingdom of Breiffne passed by Kilmainham-wood, which, although in Co. Meath, is in the diocese of Kilmore. A commandery was founded here in the 13th century, by the Preston family, for the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.\* The foundations of the Knights Hospitallers were entitled "commanderies" or "preceptories," *i.e.*, residential seats of the Order in direct connection through their principals, or "preceptors," with the administrative organisation of the Knights of St. John. No fewer than twelve of these foundations are specified by Ware, including Kilmainham-wood and Kilmainham-beg, near Kells. Those preceptories were off-shoots of the Hospital of Kilmainham, at Dublin, which was founded about 1174 according to Ware. All these foundations were of Anglo-Norman origin, and were richly endowed by the Norman lords.†

The property of the preceptories was confiscated at the time of the Reformation. Kilmainham-wood is described by Ware as "a preceptory of the Knights of the Hospital." In 1575 (*Fiants of Eliz.*) it was leased for ever to Callough O'More, or O'Moore, in consideration for the good service of Rory O'More and his son, Callough, to Edward VI. On 23rd Sept., 1587, a lease of the commandery was granted to Henry Duke, for the term of 21 years, at the yearly rent of £4 10s.‡

The Inquisition held at Trim, Co. Meath, on the 13th Sept., 1619, to inquire into the Church property belonging to that county, has the following notice of this commandery§:—

Callaugh O'Moore, lately of Kilmainham-wood, in the county of Meath, was seized of the manor or preceptory of Kilmainham-wood, containing three hundred acres arable, and two hundred acres in Donnagh, *alias* Boyannagh, in the aforesaid county; two hundred acres in Tancree, *alias* Oldcar [Shancor?]; and one hundred and twenty acres in Cowhill [Coole], and the rectory of Kilmainham-wood. All these premises are parcels of the manor of Kilmainhamwood, and are held from the king *in capite* and by the service of a knight.

\* Vide Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I., p. 219; Archdall's *Mon. Hib.* p. 556. Harris's *Ware*, II, 271.

† Vide C. L. Falkiner *The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland* (Proc. Royal Irish Acad., Vol. XXVI., 1907): Herbert Wood, *The Templars in Ireland* (Proc. Royal Ir. Acad., Vol. XXVI., 1907). Cf. Charles McNeill, *The Hospitallers of Kilmainham and Their Guests* (Jour. R.S.A.I., June, 1924).

‡ Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*, p. 555: Cogan, *op. cit.*

§ *Inquis. Midensis*, 17 Jas. I.

In the 14th and 15th century records numerous variations of the name are recorded, e.g., Kylmaynan, Kilmagnean, etc. In the *Register* of Abp. Sweteman,\* under date 17th July, 1366, is a letter from the Archbishop (Sweteman) to Philip Oragilich (O'Reilly), King of Brefnia, proposing to meet him, "or someone on his behalf, on 26 July, on some march of his country beyond Kellmagnean Beg, and asks to be informed of the King's will in this matter within three day." The letter is dated at Dromeskyng (Dromiskin), Co. Louth. In this case the preceptory of Kilmainham-beg, near Kells, is probably the place mentioned. This was founded, according to Ware, by Walter de Lacy in the twelfth century. It also was confiscated in the Reign of Henry VIII. The property of the preceptory lay in the neighbourhood of Kells. It was leased to Alexander Barnwell in 1568,† and described as "lying near to O'Reyley's country." The lease was issued "upon condition that he will build such fortifications as shall be thought meete by our deputy and council for the strengthening of those borders of the country against O'Reilly and MacMahon within the space of two years."

In the records of the *Visitations*, noted in Sweteman's *Register*, it is not always clear whether Kilmainhamwood, or Kilmainham-beg, at Kells, is intended. However, the internal evidence is sometimes an indication. On 14th Nov., 1366, a metropolitan visitation was "personally held by the primate in the parish church of Kylmaynan in the diocese of Kilmore," and was attended by Richard O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore. It is also recorded that

"the Bishop and Patrick Mcbradi, proctor of the whole clergy of Kilmore (Tirburnen) and many others of the clergy in the cemetery, towards the east part of the said church conceded that the primate should complete his visitation by Master Peter Okerbyllan, his commissary."

It is certain that the "Kylmaynan" here mentioned is Kilmainham-wood. In the Index to the *Register* Kylmaynan is equated by the editor with a Kilmainham in the Barony of Clanmahon. As many of the Archbishop's letters are dated from Dromiskin, Co. Louth, it is obvious that Kilmainham-wood would have been the more convenient place to meet the clergy of Kilmore diocese in those days. On 15th Jan., 1368, the archbishop issued a commission to Masters James Scotelare and John Kenan, his clerks, to meet Bishop Richard O'Reilly. The meeting took place "at Rathdycke, a place in the diocese of Kilmore, near Monalthe, in the diocese of Meath." The identification of Rathdycke is doubtful. The editor of the *Register* surmises Rantavan, near Mullagh. On the 12th June, 1366, the "parish

\* *A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweteman*, Edited by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, D.D., *Proc. R.I.A.*, Vol. XXIX, 1911.

† *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1568.

church of Kylmaynan beg" is referred to, and Bishop Richard O'Reilly cited to attend there. On the 9th October, 1366, is a letter to Bishop Richard O'Reilly and dated at Tarmifechyn (Termonfechin):—

The Archbishop's metropolitan visitation, which was begun in the Bishop's diocese by Master Peter O (Kerbyllan), Chancellor of Armagh, and is being continued by Masters William Oferallaich, comarb of St. Medoc, and Adam Mctiarnan, dean of Drumleachan, not having been finished in the case of the bishop and others in the deanery of Kellmor, the bishop is cited to appear before the archbishop on 20th October, in the parish Church of Kilmagnean beg, in Kilmore diocese, to submit to said visitation, and is commanded to cite by his official general the dean of Kellmor, and all rectors, etc., of the deanery of Kellmor.

In this letter it is obvious that the Kilmagnean beg in *Kilmore diocese* is Kilmainham-wood.

In Archbishop Fleming's *Register (loc. cit.)*, under date 20th May, 1413, we find the:

Institution of Sir John Exlantoun, or Baker, priest (chaplain) of the College of Kylmaynan, presented by William Foule, Prior of the conventual church of Kymaynan, by authority of Thomas le Botiller, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, to the vicarage of Molary [Mullary, Co. Louth], on the death of Sir William Fotyn.

It is certain that this, too, refers to Kilmainham-wood. It may be noted that in the *Visitations* above quoted, it is referred to simply as Kilmainham—the spelling varying in the different documents.

After the suppression of the monasteries Kilmainham-wood lost its ecclesiastical importance, and for administrative purposes was merged into the neighbouring parishes. In the 17th century it seems to have been ecclesiastically united for a short time, with the adjoining parish of Robertstown (Kilbeg) in the diocese of Meath. This was necessary owing to the scarcity of priests resulting from the rigorous enforcement of the Penal Laws.

The 13th century commandery of Kilmainham-wood was situated in a prominent position on the hill overlooking the present village. Of the ancient church or college not a trace remains. The site is now occupied by a Protestant Church (completed in 1806), surrounded by an extensive graveyard. In the graveyard are many inscriptions recording the names of the O'Carolans, who were formerly the chieftains of the district. One of the O'Carolan tombs deserves special notice. It is a large, flat stone displaying the figures of an Irish Chieftain and his wife, incumbent, splendidly sculptured in bas-relief. The stone has sunk below the level of the surrounding ground

and the earth partially covers it. Until a few years ago the monument was entirely hidden under the clay and debris. This accounts for its good state of preservation.

To the once powerful family of O'Carolan—whose chief residence was at Nobber, Co. Meath—there are frequent allusions in the early records. In Archbishop Sweteman's *Register* (*loc. cit.*) mention is made of Master (*i.e.*, Rev.) Peter O'Kerbyllan (O'Carolan), who in 1366 was the Archbishop's commissary. In the same year we find him Chancellor of Armagh, and commissioned to hold a metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Kilmore. He was appointed to the Canonry of Derry in 1367. The best known scion of the same family was Turlogh O'Carolan (1670-1738), "the last of the Irish bards." He was born at Newtown, near Kilmainham-wood. In the *Fiants of Eliz.* (under the years 1591 and 1601), are numerous "pardons" to the O'Carolans of "the Nobber."

A path-way which leads up the hill to the site of the ancient church is still traditionally remembered as the "Monks' Pass." In the neighbourhood is the tld. of Garmanagh, signifying the "monks' garden," which indicates some of the church lands. The Holy Water stoup belonging to the old church is lying in the cemetery. This cemetery, described in Sweteman's *Register* (*supra*) as "towards the east part of the said church," was the meeting-place of Primate Sweteman with Bishop Richard O'Reilly, and the Clergy of Kilmore, on the 14th Nov., 1366. Kilmainham-wood was then a parish church. No inscriptions earlier than the 18th century seem to have survived. All traces of the ancient church and commandery, together with many ancient tombs, were swept away at the time of the Reformation.

#### MASS-ROCKS AND CHURCHES.

During the Penal times Mass was celebrated in secluded glens in the tlds. of Tavis and Boggan. A small mud-wall chapel was erected in a valley in the tld. of Kilmainham-wood, about a quarter of a mile north-west of the ancient church, and alongside which the road now passes. In former times this little river valley, with rising ground on either side where watch was kept, afforded an excellent secret meeting-place. Traces of the walls of this chapel, now hidden under a thick growth of ferns, can still be detected. This rudely-constructed chapel served the district at various periods during the Penal days. From the dimensions of the structure it is evident that it could hold no more than a score of people, and that it was merely the cover for a temporary altar. The people knelt on the slopes around during Mass. This little chapel was in use down to the close of the Penal days, and until the beginning of the last century. During those times Mass was occasionally celebrated secretly in the ruined church of Moybolge.

In 1817, during the pastorate of the Rev. Thomas Blake, a church was erected in the village of Kilmainham-wood on the bank of the Kilmainham river. An inscribed stone in the wall has :—

ERECTED BY THE  
REV. THOMAS BLAKE.  
A.D. 1817.

This church continued in use until 1898, when the present handsome church was erected, on a new site, during the pastorate of Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons. The older building then fell into disuse.

The present church of Moybolge is situated in the townland of Tievurcher. It was erected in 1832 by the Rev. John Murray, C.C. Father Murray, who had been C.C. in Drumkeeran, Co. Leitrim, was transferred to Moybolge and Kilmainham-wood as Adm. *pro tem.* on May 10th, 1831. He was an indefatigable church builder, and during his time erected many churches in the diocese of Kilmore. He died P.P. of Kinawley in 1852. The church of Tievurcher occupies the site of an older church which had been constructed during the close of the 18th century. In the church, *inter alios*, is a mural tablet to the memory of Rev. John Brady, C.C., of Moybolge, who died on the 15th October, 1842, aged 54. The oldest parochial Register commences August, 1839. No earlier records of the parish have survived. St. Patrick is Patron.

#### SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

In the *Annals* of the Diocese of Clogher, under date 16th Sept., 1530, we find that to the Rev. Thomas Mackaj [Mackay or Mackee] was then committed the canonry and prebend of Moybolge; and he bound himself to the Papal treasury of Clement VII. for the *Annats* of same. The following is a translation of the Latin Bull or Decree :—

D. Thomas Mackaj, a cleric of Kilmore diocese, in person (or as principal) bound himself to the Apostolic Camera for the Annats of Ros [Carrickmacross] which is vacant by the death in Rome of Patrick Osyge [O'Sheehy], and of Killaind [Killann in Kilmore or Killanny in Clogher], and of Mauolg [Moybolge], parochial vicariate churches, and of the perpetual benefice of Cluanis attached to the parochial church of Innes-cain [Inniskeen]\*, the above parishes of Clogher and Kilmore dioceses being "certo modo" vacant, the fruits of which taken together do not exceed 20 marks. And regarding Mauolg [Moybolge] it is erected into a canonry and prebend of the Church of Kilmore for the life of the said Thomas. And the other vicariates and benefice are united to the aforesaid

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\* This appears to refer to the parish of Inniskeen adjoining Moybolge.

canonry and prebend under date 7th Kalends Sept., 7th year of Clement VII.' And he bound himself under penalty to make good to the treasury the annats of the aforesaid within six months or else to give notice of non-possession. The Bull of Collation was restored to him because he reports the existence of an intruder.\*"

Regarding the surname Mackaj, or Mackay, it may be noted that the Barony of Clankee received its name from the Clann-kee O'Reilly whose members adopted the title of MacKee [*mac an Caoilic lit.* "of the Blind (O'Reilly)."] "All the families of this sept," writes O'Donovan, "had taken the name of MacKee, but they were compelled to resume their true name, O'Reilly, by the celebrated Hugh O'Reilly, Primate of all Ireland in 1645."† It is very probable that the Rev. Thomas Mackaj was one of the O'Reillys who temporarily tolerated a change of surname. No later reference to his connection with Moybolge occurs in the Annats. At any rate he appears to have had charge of several vicariates, an occurrence by no means rare at that time.

In 1586, a Rev. Philip McGargan was living in the tld. of Carriga, beside the old church of Moybolge, to which, obviously, he was attached. The *Fiants (supra)*, dated 18th July, 1586 (27 *Eliz.*), record a pardon, *inter alios*, to "Philip Roe McGargan of Carrykgill, clerk." The parish church of Moybolge was confiscated very soon afterwards, and its pastors had to conceal themselves.

Kilmainham-wood was a parish church until the Reformation, and was served by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The property belonging to the Commandery was very extensive; according to the Inquisition of 1619 (*loc. cit.*) it possessed about 820 acres, all of which suffered confiscation. The parish, owing to the scarcity of priests and the difficulties of administration, was temporarily attached to the neighbouring parish of Robertstown—an ancient parochial division of the present parish of Kilbeg, Co. Meath. We find that William Foule was Prior of the conventual church of Kilmainham in 1413 (Abp. Fleming's *Register, loc. cit.*)

In 1690, the Rev. Dr. Robert Cusack was presented by James II. to the Rectories and Vicarage of Robertstown and Kilmainham-wood.‡ Dr. Cusack died, or was transferred elsewhere, shortly afterwards, and Kilmainham-wood was detached from Robertstown and united to Moybolge, thus returning to the diocese of Kilmore.

In 1704, and for at least a quarter of a century afterwards, the Rev. John Gargan, a native of the parish, was P.P. of Moybolge and Kilmainham-wood. The traditions of this distin-

\* *De Annatis Hiberniae*, Vol. I., p. 44.

† *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, Jan., 1861, p. 38.

‡ *Cogan, Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 407. Appendix.

guished classical scholar are still vividly remembered in Moybolge where his name has emerged from the obscurity of the Penal days. Some details of his life from the *Registry* of 1704, have already been given in this paper (*supra*). He is said to have taught Latin, in the ruined church of Moybolge, at the age of 80. In 1704 he was aged 55, and appears to have lived until some time after 1730. Tradition says he was buried in Moybolge.

The next pastor of whom we have any record is Rev. Denis Brady, who was P.P. in 1750. In the *Relatio Status* of the Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore, dated 9th June, 1750, he is mentioned as pastor of "Mayboly and Kilmainham."\* Very probably he is identical with the Denis (Dionysius) Brady who took the prescribed ecclesiastical oath—that he would return on the mission to Ireland—in the Irish College, Salamanca, on the 12th Sept., 1739.† Again, we find that on 22nd Aug., 1740, in the Royal College (*Colegio Real*), Salamanca, Don Dionisio Brady was examined in Second Year Theology, and approved.‡ The date of his death has not been ascertained, but he is still traditionally remembered in the parish.

In 1797, the Rev. John O'Reilly was P.P. This appears from a matrimonial dispensation recorded in the old parochial Register of Killinkere. He was probably Father Brady's immediate successor. It is said locally that Father O'Reilly was later on transferred to Bailieboro', and died there. Owing to the absence of parochial records the dates are uncertain. His successor in Moybolge appears to have been the Rev. Thomas Blake. At any rate Father Blake was P.P. in 1817, when he erected in Kilmainham-wood the first church since the Reformation. Born in the tld. of Newtown, close to the village of Kilmainham-wood, he entered Maynooth in 1802. After a strenuous pastorate, he died in June, 1839, and was buried in the old church of Kilmainham-wood. Rev. John Lynch succeeded in 1839, and was P.P. until his death on February 24th, 1864, at the age of 67. He belonged to a well-known old family of Virginia. He rests in Moybolge old graveyard, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory. The inscription has already been noted (*supra*). Rev. Thomas Brady was P.P. from 1864 until Oct., 1869. Then he went to Ballinamore. He was transferred afterwards to Cootehill, where he died in 1897. The next P.P. was Rev. Terence Corcoran. He became pastor of Drung in 1888, and was succeeded in Moybolge by Rev. Philip Treanor, who died 24th Jan., 1890, aged 52 years, and in the 30th year of his sacred ministry. He was interred in Tievurcher Church where a mural tablet commemorates him. The next P.P. was Rev. John Smith, who died 12th Dec., 1893, aged 63, and in

\* *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V., p. 134.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol., IV., p. 29.

the 39th year of his priesthood. His mural tablet is in Tievurcher Church, where he is interred. Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons succeeded. During his pastorate he erected the present church of Kilmainham-wood, which was consecrated in October, 1899. In 1902 he was transferred to Bailieboro', and was succeeded by Rev. Matthew O'Reilly, who died 27th April, 1906, at the age of 50, and in the 22nd year of his sacred ministry. Father O'Reilly is buried in Tievurcher Church, where also a mural tablet has been erected to his memory.

Rev. Patrick Smith, who was the next P.P., died on the 5th Feb., 1918, aged 60, in the 33rd year of his priesthood. He was buried in Tievurcher. His successor was Rev. Michael McGauran, who was transferred to Ballinaglera in July, 1924. The present worthy P.P., Rev. Terence Small, succeeded on the 1st Aug., 1924.

Arranging tabularly the pastors' names for this parish, as far as they have yet been traced, the list would read as follows:—

### LIST OF MOYBOLGE AND KILMAINHAM-WOOD PARISH PRIESTS.

#### MOYBOLGE.

—	1530	—	Rev. Thomas MacKay.
—	1586	—	Rev. Philip Roe McGargan.

#### KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

—	1413	—	Rev. William Foule.
—	1690	—	Rev. Dr. Robert Cusack.

#### MOYBOLGE AND KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

—	1704	—	Rev. John Gargan.
—	1750	—	Rev. Denis Brady.
—	1797	—	Rev. John O'Reilly.
—	1817	1839	Rev. Thomas Blake.
1839	—	1864	Rev. John Lynch.
1864	—	1869	Rev. Thomas Brady.
1869	—	1888	Rev. Terence Coreoran.
1888	—	1890	Rev. Philip Treanor.
1890	—	1893	Rev. John Smith.
1893	—	1902	Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons.
1902	—	1906	Rev. Matthew O'Reilly.
1906	—	1918	Rev. Patrick Smith.
1918	—	1924	Rev. Michael McGauran.
1924	—		Rev. Terence Small.

I am indebted to Father Small, P.P., for his invaluable assistance in the compilation of this list.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.



# Extracts from the Parish Registers of Killinkere.

II. (1800-1845.)

Copied by the REV. H. B. SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.

John Parr, son to John and Margaret Parr, of Cornaveagh, bapt. by Rev. James Young, 12th April, 1802.

Mr. David Kellet, of Ardamagh, was married to Miss Elizabeth Soden, of Envigaroge, 4th Feb., 1802. [Out of chronological order.]

James, son to Joseph and Ann Parr, of Gallon, bapt. 27th May, 1802.

Anne, daughter of John and Margaret Parr of Cornaveagh, bapt. 24th Oct., 1802.

Philip Smith, Esq., of Longfield, was interred in Killinkere 28th Nov., 1802.

Simon Kellett, of Envigaroge and Miss Mary Stafford, of Cornedan, married by licence 4th May, 1803.

Mr. William Love, of Carnlych and Miss Susanna Parr, of Cornaveagh, married by licence 10th June, 1803.

Sterling, son of Wm. and Susanna Love, of Rockfield, bapt., 17th March, 1804, by Rev. Ja. Young, for Rev. Arnold Cosby.

Susanna, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 22nd April, 1804.

Charles, son of David and Elizth. Kellett, of Ardamagh, bapt. 23rd Sept., 1804.

John Young, of Carnalynch, interred in Bailieborrow Ch'yard 24th Dec., 1804.

Ann, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 12th January, 1806.

George, son of Bartel and Jane Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 21st Dec., 1806.

Mr. John Parr, of Co. Meath, and Miss Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, married by licence 24th April, 1807.

James Horatio, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, of Mollagh, bapt. 31st July, 1808.

Richard Ster. John O'Reilly, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, and Mrs. Sally O'Reilly, of Mullagh, Bapt. 8th Oct., 1809.

Mr. David Mortimer, of Cloghwellybeg, and Miss Mary O'Reilly, daughter of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, Esq., married in Dublin, 24th Oct., 1809.

Ann Jane, daughter of Edward and Susanna Parr of Cornaveagh, bapt. 24th June, 1810.

Rev. Edward Mahaffy, Curate of Par. of Mullogh, alias Killinkere, married by licence Miss Sofia Cosby, daughter of Rev. Arnold Cosby, of Beek's Court, and Vicar of said Parish of Mullogh als. Killinkere, 1st Aug., 1810.

Mr. Bernard Parr, of Cornaveagh, died 24th Aug., 1810, and on the 26th was Buried in Moynalty.

Edward Parr, of Cornaveagh was interred in Lurgan 21st April, 1811.

Mrs. Jane Parr, wife of Bernard Parr of Cornaveagh, was interred at Moynalty 29th April, 1811.

Sarah, daughter of Bartel and Jane Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 1st Sept., 1811.

John Parr, son of Young Parr of Cornaveagh, interred in Lurgan, 30th December, 1811.

Edward, son of John Parr, of Cornaveagh, decd., and Mary Parr, bapt. 24th May, 1812.

Mortimer William, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, Esq., and Sally O'Reilly, of Mullogh, was bapt. 12th July, 1812.

Elinor, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 7th Nov., 1813.

Jane, daughter of Bartel and Jane Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 27th March, 1814.

Marshal Caleb, son of Edward Ster O'Reilly, Esq., and Mrs. Sally O'Reilly, of Mullogh, bapt. 15th May, 1814.

Young, son of Joseph and Ann Parr, of Coragorman, bapt. 15th May, 1815.

Charles, son of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 28th Jan., 1816.

Ellinor Kellett of Envigaroge, buried at Lurgan, 5th Aug., 1816.

Ann, daughter of Robert and Jane Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 25th Aug., 1816.

Rev. Arnold Cosby, Vicar of the Parish of Mullogh, alias Killinkere, died about 8 o'clock in the forenoon, 19th January, 1817.

Robert Drope and Mary Morel, of Dromagolin, married 15th March, 1818.

John, son of James and Peggy Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 31st May, 1818.

William, son of Simon and Mary Kellett, of same, bapt. 6th Dec., 1818.

Mary, daughter of Charles and Susanna Kellett, of same, bapt. 21st March, 1817.

George Greer, of Monaghmore, in par. of Bailieborrow, and Elinor Kellett, of Envigaroge, married 24th Aug., 1819.

William Henry Wahab, of Bailieborough parish, and Catherine Parr, spr., of Killinkere, married 22nd May, 1845.

With reference to the family of Kellett, which appears in so many of the above extracts, the following may be of interest:—

The Royal Irish Academy possesses a very rare newspaper volume, entitled *The Public Monitor, or New Freeman's Journal*. This contains a series of articles, under the title of "A View of Stephen's Green." Two men, Vantrump and Doderidge, are represented as watching the crowds of passers-by on that fashionable walk. One asks the other who certain people are. The answers he receives are often of the most outrageously scurrilous nature, but sometimes, as in this instance, exceedingly complimentary.

The issue for May 22-25, 1773, has this passage:—

*Vantrump*—Pray, who are the Gentleman and Lady in serious Conversation near the Tree?

*Doderidge*—That is Mr. Kellett, of Cornasesk, in the County Cavan, a gentleman that hitherto conducted himself with a becoming dignity in Life, who dissipates the cloud of grief from the Widow, and wipes the Tear from the Cheeks of the Orphan; he is candid in his Intercourse, happy in his Disposition, and boundless in his Liberality; Virtues truly suitable to the Humane and Good. The Lady with him is his wife, a Gentlewoman of similar Principles, and yet with those shining Qualities that pervade her, there is a native Dignity in all her Actions, that show a Superiority of Mind exceeding Numbers of her Sex.

*Behold Minerva's Dignity of Mein,  
With all the Sweetness of the Cyprian Queen.*

*Vantrump*—Who is the beautiful young Lady that just came up with them? She excites my Admiration; Innocence is stamped on her Countenance, and Modesty in her Mien; methinks the Blushes of the Morn glow on her Cheeks.

*Doderidge*—That is Miss Kellett, their Daughter, as amiable a young Lady as we have hitherto exhibited, whose innate Principles of Goodness exceed any Delineation I can give of her; for she is enamoured with the Beauties of Innocence, which adds Dignity to her modest and graceful Charms.

*The Orient Blush, which doth her cheeks adorn,  
Makes Coral pale, vies with the rosy morn;  
A thousand Charms attending on her Train,  
With her they rise, with her they set again.*

H. B. SWANZY.

# EXHIBITS AT TENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[13th November, 1924.]

## I. THE LAST PIECE OF IRON MANUFACTURED IN IRELAND.

The piece of iron exhibited weighs 29 lbs. 6 ozs. It is a regular hexagonal plate, 1 foot in breadth, 1 inch thick. In its centre a graceful figure is cut out. It was made as an experiment, and as such was successful. It was smelted at the Creevelea furnace in 1898 from the ore of the district, and the molten metal was run into a prepared sand mould.

Creevelea is in Co. Leitrim, within four miles of Drumkeeran. It is on the northern edge of a district which the geological maps indicate as the Connacht Mineral Area. This area has Lough Allen as its centre and extends over a good part of Breifny. From Swanlinbar and Doobally (near Blacklion) on the east it stretches across central Leitrim past Drumshambo until it reaches Arigna, just over the Leitrim border, in Co. Roscommon, on the west. From Ballinamore on the south it extends to Creevelea on the north. At every one of the places named iron has been manufactured in comparatively modern times. In Swanlinbar iron was manufactured about the end of the 16th century, in Doobally by Coote, immediately before the 1641 troubles; at Drumshambo in the 17th and 18th centuries; at Ballinamore in the 17th century; at Arigna from c. 1788 to 1808, and again in 1825-6; in Creevelea in 1858; again about 20 years later, and lastly in 1898. Details of the mining at all these places and times are available, and will, it is hoped, be given in a special article. In 1825 a company to work the Arigna mines was floated in London with a capital of £300,000, in £50 shares. "According to tradition," states Joyce, "the iron mines of Slieve-an-ierin, east of Lough Allen, in the County of Leitrim (*Slíabh-an-íairn*—the mountain of iron) were worked by *Goibniu*, the great Dedannan smith; and it is now as celebrated for its iron ore as it was when it got the name, long ages ago." (*Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 1913, Vol. II., p. 290). Breifny's immense wealth in the mineral has had through the centuries a marked influence on its history. One instance of this has already been shown. (See this volume, pp. 68 and 70.)

The exhibit is a specimen, the last made, of the manufacture of "The Peat-Charcoal Fuel and Iron Company of Ireland, Ltd.," whose registered London office was 5, St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill, and whose works were at Creevelea. The Company wound up towards the end of 1898, about three years after its registration. It had acquired rights in "Rose's Patent." This patent is No. 14,533, A.D. 1895. It was applied for on 31st July of that year and accepted by the Patent Office on the 27th June of the following. The provisional specification describes it as "An improved method of extracting moisture from peat and such like materials, and apparatus therefor." The main cause assigned for the breakdown of the Company was the failure, from some cause, of the "apparatus" or machinery to do its work. The patentee himself, Mr. Rose, C.E., visited Creevelea to set matters right; but he was unable to go to see the machinery in operation, and died there rather suddenly. The iron ore, however, was considered to compare favourably with the best that England or Scotland produced. That it did had been established by half-a-dozen analyses, all of which are still available. The quality of the iron ore in the Connacht Mineral Area "was known of old to be excellent," testifies Weld, writing in 1832, "and the iron wh. was produced at Arigna by the O'Reillys, both in castings and in bars, obtained the highest reputation in Dublin, and in every place to which it was sent." (*Stat. Survey of Roscommon*, p. 37). And the quantity is inexhaustible. It is there by the million tons, and still awaits enterprise. Since the Creevelea Company gave up in 1898 no iron has been taken from the ore in the Connacht Mineral Area, nor, as far as we can learn, anywhere else in Ireland.

The simple iron slab shown at the meeting has an additional interest. The company referred to, before closing down, expended about £5,000 at Creevelea. It produced very little iron. The experimental slab was its main product, and is the sole result of its industry now known about. Hence the slab (29 lbs of iron) may be said to have cost about £5,000.

Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

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## II. AMBER BEADS FOUND IN KNOCKBRIDE.

In June, 1921, as the turf was a-cutting, a cluster of amber beads was come across near the lake shore in Skeagh bog, parish of Knockbride. They were seven feet beneath the surface. Nineteen were in the group; four got broken by the slane, or turf-spade. The finder, Mr. John Smith, of Derrydamph, carried them home in his pocket as playthings. They were knocking about his house for two years until observed by Mr. James

M'Breen, a Knockbride farmer who takes a most intelligent interest in antiquities. Through Mr. M'Breen they were brought under the notice of members of the Breifny Society, and entrusted to safe keeping.

The nineteen beads plainly formed a necklace. Each is perforated in the centre, the perforations so large that whipcord could easily pass through. No string was found; most likely it had melted away. The largest bead, the shape and size of a cricket ball, but not quite so perfectly globular, is perceptibly over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. Its perforation is not the work of an expert hand, for it does not run through with absolute straightness. This, too, is to be said of the others. This bead manifestly hung at the end of the necklace. The other eighteen are graduated in size, two by two. Each pair is very nearly of the same size, the smallest about as large as playing marbles. All of these are flattened on the holed ends, and could rest comfortably one against another. A crack is discernible running through the centre of three of them, as if they had been split in halves and put together again. The colour of all the beads is the same, yellowish brown or wine-colour, streaked like marble. They are all highly polished. They are solid, and, of course, translucent, and from interior yellow facets the light reflects and sparkles as from broken glass or diamonds. No trace of decomposition is observable on any of them. This, so far as we can ascertain, is the first time that amber has been discovered in Breifny. It is also the first antiquarian find from Knockbride brought under our Society's notice. But its interest makes up for this parish's previous apparent barrenness.

Amber beads were the precious gems and jewels of the Bronze Age. Fashions change; human beings slowly, if at all. It is in no way unlikely that long before an O'Reilly was invested with power at Shantamon, or an O'Rourke inaugurated at Croghan Hill, near Killeshandra, some stately Knockbride chieftainess may have entered a noble feast at Skeagh, or maybe Stradone, adorned with this fine set, and so carrying her head as high and proudly as does Lady Vere de Vere, in all the blazonry of flashing diamonds, as she steps into the Queen's drawing-room at Buckingham Palace. Should we decline leaving it to Fashion, there is not a whole lot to decide which of the two would be the more beautifully arrayed.

For the prehistoric historian, if one may say so, the prevalence of amber has a more serious aspect. Amber beads have frequently been found in Irish bogs, crannoges and tumuli. In the Dublin Museum alone there is a collection of about 1,200 of them so obtained, but in few instances, unfortunately, is it known where precisely. Yet amber is not an Irish product; it was all imported. Wood-Martin, indeed, alleges that it is in deposits near Lough Neagh. But even if so, both this place and all the many localities

on the Continent in which it has in modern days been discovered may be disregarded. In the Bronze period practically the sole source of amber was the shores of the Baltic. Scandanavia, consequently, was very rich in amber. On the other hand Scandanavia had no gold. Still, all over the peninsula ancient gold objects have been come upon in abundance. In the case of the majority of them, their character and their style of ornamentation as well as an actual analysis of the gold itself composing them, demonstrate that they came from Ireland, a country in prehistoric times immensely rich in the precious metal. Scandanavia had no gold; Ireland had no amber. The foregoing facts coupled together furnish evidence of an exchange between the two countries. They can hardly be accounted for by mutual raids and piracy. Was it a case of barter? And was there in those far-away times intercourse and trade between this country and Norway and Sweden? This is a big question. But it is for the general or national antiquary rather than for one interested solely or mainly in Breifny. Hence we have sketched but its barest outlines. It has been observed in many countries that primitive trade started by the exchange of ornamental rather than of useful objects.

There are one or two other noteworthy things about amber.

Just as in common coal, ferns and club-mosses, no longer known of, are often observable, so in amber the insects, occasionally seen enclosed and preserved in it, are sometimes of species that no longer exist. This testifies to the immense period of time that has elapsed since its formation. Then for countless years man is acquainted with amber. In Scandanavia it has been found in Stone Age interments. Amber is commonly described as a "fossil resin," or as "a simi-mineral substance of resinous composition"; probably it is a product of "coniferae," or extinct pine-like trees. Were it classed roundly as a metal, then with little hesitation might we say that after stone it was the first metal discovered and worked by man. It was known to the Israelites at least 600 years B.C. (v. Ezechiel, I., 4). The Greeks called it "Electron," whence the term electricity; for it was in amber the property or force first attracted attention. To borrow from Faraday, the rubbing of a piece of amber evoked "an invisible agent which has done for mankind far more wonderful things than the genii of Aladdin did or could have done for him." So the translucent substance has attractions for all of us. It is hard to say whether the "semi-mineral" does not bear a deeper interest for the geologist, the student of electricity and the mechanical engineer, than it does even for the professed antiquary, with his half-solved problems of ancient invasions and early trade-routes.

## THE SEAL OF CÚ CONNACHT Ó RAGHALLAIGH.

BY L. S. GÓGAN, M.A.

The following Note appeared in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, London, Vol. IV., p. 414:—

“ Seal Matrix with screw-out centre : Mr. H. S. Kingsford communicates the following:—‘ Since the publication of my notes in the July number of this Journal (above p. 249), Mr. H. P. Mitchell, Keeper of the Department of Metalwork, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to another example of this class of matrix which is preserved in that museum. It is of silver, and measures one inch in diameter. Unfortunately the centre piece has been lost, the legend alone remaining. This is in Lombardic capitals, and appears to read:—

✠ S. CONCONhAchTORAGILLICI

but so far it has evaded interpretation. The matrix is clearly of the first half of the fourteenth century.”

The above note should be of considerable interest to readers of this Journal in particular. The legend offers no difficulty whatever to the Irish scholar who readily reads it as: S. Con Connacht Ó Raghallaigh, *i.e.* Seal of Cú Connacht Ó Raghallaigh (O'Reilly), who is, no doubt, the King of Breifne referred to in the *Annals of Ulster* as having become a monk in 1365 and died two years afterwards. Two others of the name are, however, referred to in the same work.\*

L. S. GÓGAN,

Irish Antiquities, Nat. Mus.

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\* V. Trans. R.I.A. Vol. I., p. 151.



## BATTLE OF CAVAN, 1690\*

(Translated from *Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, Vol. I,  
pp. 66-68.)

By REV. P. J. GANNON, S.J.

Towards the commencement of this year [1690], the King [James II.], having received information that M. de Schomberg, with a view to extending his quarters, had detached Brigadier Woosely (sic) to seize Belturbet—a small town in a country well supplied and very suitable for his purpose—sent me to those parts, with 1,500 foot and 200 horse, in order to keep watch upon the enemy and dislodge him if possible.

I arrived at Cavan, five miles from Belturbet, very late in the evening; and, as the weather was execrable, the troops were lodged in the town. I charged Brigadier Wauchop, who had been in command there during the winter, with the care of posting detachments in the country around. He told me he had already done so, and would have word of the slightest movements of the enemy. Nevertheless, the following morning at daybreak we heard the cry: "To arms." In fact the foe, having made a night march, was already in sight of our advanced posts. Immediately I ordered my troops to mount a height on the right of the town, and drew them up in battle array a little in front of a sort of fort where we had a garrison. The design of the enemy, who was equally ignorant of my arrival, was to seize this height and attack the fort. But, perceiving more force than a simple garrison, he too drew up for battle. He had 3,000 foot and 300 horse. I advanced to the attack, and drove our foes from fence to fence, to the very slope of the hill. They were even being driven down it in disorder, when, unfortunately, Brigadier Nugent and several officers of his regiment were wounded. As they were seen retiring a panic terror seized my whole army. In a moment, from being conquerors we became conquered. All my infantry fled into the fort, without my being able to rally them outside. The enemy did not follow up my cavalry, which withdrew twelve miles to the rear. He only remained half-an-hour on the field of battle, and then retired to Belturbet. On this occasion he lost between 200 and 300 men, and we 500. I remained some days in Cavan to give the necessary instructions for the security of this frontier, and then returned to Dublin.

P. J. GANNON, S.J.

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\* Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 56.

# Epitaphs on Tombstones in Denn Graveyard

Copied by EDWARD CLARKE, N.T.

I H S  
HERE LYE THE  
BODY OF BRYAN  
BOYLON WHO DIE  
D MAY 1712 ACE 62

PRAY FOR THE  
SOUL OF PATR  
ICK SMITH WH  
O DIED APRIL 27  
1724 A8ED 27

I H S  
PRAY FOR-Y-  
SOVL OF LOV  
GH IXNCOS<R  
WHO D IED AP  
RIL 25th 1728  
AGE 49

PRAY FOR  
SOUL OF ED x I  
OUD SMITH  
WHO DIED SEP  
TEMBER 13  
1738 ACEd 62

I H S  
Pray for the  
Soul of Tho  
mas cangly w  
h o died dece  
bery 28th 1758  
aged 67 yrs

Pray Fo y  
Soul of  
Patrick  
hughs  
deid The 17  
oF Febry 17  
66 Aged 56

## I H S

This Stone was evetd  
By Pau Boylan over The  
Body of his wife Ann  
Boylan alias Smith who  
Departed This life 23  
of March 1769 aged 34

Here lieth the Body  
Owen Reily of Ryef  
ort who Depd. this life  
the firs of June 1772 ag  
ed 86. this Stone was Er  
ected by his wife Eliz  
a beth Reily

The Lord have me  
rcy on the soul of  
Caihr Olwill who  
died Jan the 22  
aged 60 yr 1813

Here Lyeth The Body  
Phelem Meabe  
Nelly Lynch  
Pray for y soul

[No date given].

This Monument was erected  
by P Corr  
in memory of his S  
the Revd. Paik Cor who de  
pd this life Jany 1821  
Agd 37 yrs

The tombstones are all standing except this one which lies flat.  
It lies inside the gate to the right.

PRAY FOR  
SOUL OF FRAN  
S CORR WHO  
DIED

1768  
AGED 07

This stone lies in a field about a mile from Denn graveyard;  
as you go to Ardkill School.

## North Leitrim Preparations in 1804 Against a French Invasion.

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At a Meeting of the Deputy Governors and Magistrates of the Manorhamilton Division for the County of Leitrim held at Manorhamilton the 11th day of February 1804 at which Major General Sir Charles Ross, Bart. and William Dillon Esqre., Assistant Commissary of the District assisted. The following persons have been approved of by Government as Lieutenants of Division, Inspectors of Baronies & Superintendents of Parishes of the Manorhamilton Division aforesaid :—

### LIEUTENANTS OF DIVISION.

Baronies.		
Rossclagher	Robt. Johnston, Esqre.	Oakfield.
Drumahair	Francis Nisbitt Cullen Esqre.	Manorhamilton.

### INSPECTORS OF BARONIES.

Drumahair	John Johnston Esqre.	Friarstown
Rossclagher		

### SUPERINTENDENTS OF PARISHES.

Ennismacra	Revd. Mr. Sandford
Killinummary	Mr. Jno. Robinson
Drumlease	Revd. Mr. Walker
Killargy	Revd. Mr. Gumly
Union of	} Revd. Mr. Johnston
Manorhamilton	

Parish.

	Revd. Mr. Saunderson
Rossinver	James Johnston Esqre.
	John Ellis Esqre.
	Terence Conolly Esqre.

RESOLVED That the Baronies of Rossclagher and Drumahair are, in the Event of a Landing between Killala Bay exclusive & Sligo Bay inclusive, to Drive their Cattle behind Belturbet by Florence Court & Derralin to Belturbet that proper persons will

be appointed in each Parish to take charge & Drive the said Cattle who will be allowed at the rate of One Shilling & three pence per day and if the Superintendents of Parishes will state before the next General Meeting held here the Number of Mounted & Dismounted Yeomen that may be necessary to see this duty carried into Execution Major General Sir Charles Ross will give Directions Accordingly—

RESOLVED That it appears to the Meeting that it is Expedient to have the following Numbers of the Schedules specified in the Defence Act which should be procured without delay and Distributed to the Superintendents of Parishes Accordingly—

RESOLVED THAT one Copy be retained for the Lieutenants of Division, a Duplicate given to the Assistant Commissary of the District and a General Return of the whole to Major Genl Sir Charles Ross, the said Returns to be in exact conformity with those prescribed—

No. 1	...	...	60
2	...	...	200
3	...	...	40
4	...	...	40
5	...	...	100
6	...	...	40
7	...	...	20
8	...	...	40

RESOLVED That such persons who come forward voluntary to supply a proportion of Cars & Horses for the use of Government will not be liable to have the remainder of their Cars & Horses pressed until all those that do not come forward with a Voluntary Offer shall have furnished all their Cars and Horses in their possession—The Commissary General is directed to pay Three Shillings per Day for each Conductor & Four Shillings & six pence per Day for each one Horse & Driver while the same shall be employed in the public service.

RESOLVED That the Boats upon the Coast should upon the appearance of an Enemy repair to Bundoran and the Boats upon Lough Melvin to Kinlough, any person failing to comply with this Order shall have their boats destroyed—

RESOLVED That Superintendents of Parishes be Summoned to attend at Manorhamilton on Monday the 20th Inst. at 12 O'Clock in the forenoon at which Time Printed Schedules shall be delivered to them in order that they may be properly and regularly filled up by Tuesday the 28th Inst. previous to the next General final Meeting to be held at Manorhamilton on that Day. It is to be expressly understood and explained by Superintendents of Parishes at large to the people that no person neglecting to register

any part of his property according to the Provisions of the Act will be entitled to any Compensation should any part of it fall into the hands of the Enemy or be otherwise destroyed, on the contrary those people who register their property will receive a Just and Fair Compensation for any Losses they sustain if the Terms of the Act are strictly complied with on their part—

RESOLVED That Copies of the Minutes of this Meeting be printed and circulated without delay in order to explain to the people concerned what is required of them and to prevent the possibility of Misconception on the Subject—

Signed by Order,

THOMAS CASCADDEN,

Clerk of the Meeting.

The above document was copied from the original which was in the possession of the late Mr. Thomas Corscadden, Hollymount, Manorhamilton. Mr. Corscadden was High Sheriff of County Leitrim in 1903 and was grandson of the Clerk of the 1804 Meeting.

During these years there was constant dread of a French invasion of Ireland. This, contemporary newspapers and periodicals show.\* The battle of Trafalgar, 21st October, 1805, in which the French fleet was practically annihilated, put an end to these alarms. But they recurred.† In the actual invasion or inroad of 1798, Humbert's 1,000 Frenchmen traversed Leitrim. Starting from Ballintogher in the morning they marched to Dromahair; thence, by the old road which goes through Riverstown, to Kiltargue. At Kearney's Cross Roads they turned to the right and faced for Granard. Then through Drumkeeran, Drumshambo, and all South Leitrim, to Ballinamuck.

J. B. MEEHAN.

\* See, for instance, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, Aug., 1803, pp. 452 and 479; Oct., 1803, p. 587.

† See Do., April, 1810, p. 158, etc.

## NOTABLE BREIFNY INDIVIDUALS.

—continued.

### VI.—WILLIAM JAMES, THE PHILOSOPHER (1842-1910).

William James, the well-known American Philosopher, has played such an important part in the development of educational psychology that it becomes of interest to recall his Cavan ancestry.

In 1789, James's paternal grandfather, also William by name, went to America from Ballyjamesduff. He was then aged 18. It is said that he left home because his family tried to force him into the Ministry (Presbyterian)—for which apparently he had no desire. He arrived in America, according to tradition, with a very small sum of money, a Latin grammar, in which he had already made some progress at home, and a desire to visit the field of one of the revolutionary battles\*. Having exhausted his resources, he had to take employment, and become a clerk in a store in Albany. He worked his way up rapidly. Later he engaged in many enterprises, and bought land to the westward. He founded the salt industry of Syracuse (where the principal residential street bears his name) and amassed a considerable fortune (*Op. cit.* Intro.). Among his many public services was the promotion of the Erie Canal project. On the completion of that great undertaking, at the celebration of the opening of the water-way—just a century ago, in 1823—he delivered at Albany the “oration” of the day. The “oration” is described as “containing more sense and information than oratory.”

He was one of the organisers and the first Vice-President of the Albany Savings Bank (founded in 1820), and of the Albany Chamber of Commerce. In 1803, William James married his third wife, Catherine Barber, daughter of John Barber, of Montgomery, Orange County, New York. The Barbers, active people in the affairs of the times, were also of Irish origin. John Barber was the son of Patrick Barber who went from Co. Longford about 1750 and settled at Neelytown near Newburg (after having lived in New York City and Princeton) about 1764. Catherine Barber adopted the three children of her husband's prior marriages. She became the mother of five sons and three daughters.

William James, who emigrated from Cavan in 1789, died in 1832. In an obituary notice the *New York Evening Post* said of him :

\**The Letters of William James* (the Philosopher); Edited by his son, Henry James. Intro. Vol. I. p. 2 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920. Two Vols.)

"He has done more to build up the city [of Albany] than any other individual." "When old Billy James came to Syracuse," said a citizen who could remember his visits, "things went as *he* wished." "Two portraits of the first William James have survived," writes his great-grandson, Henry James (*Op. cit.* Intro. p. 3), "and present him as a man of medium height, rather portly, clean-shaven, hearty, friendly, confident, and distinctly Irish."\*

Henry James was the second son of William, and Catherine Barber. He was born in 1811. In 1840 he married Mary Walsh, a descendant of Hugh Walsh who went to America from Killingsley [Killyleagh], Co. Down, in 1764. Henry James produced some works on Philosophy. During visits to Europe he became acquainted with Thackeray, Carlyle, and Emerson. "I suppose there was not in his day," said E. L. Godkin, "a more formidable master of English style\*," He died in 1882.

William James, who afterwards became one of the leading philosophers of the 19th century, was the eldest son of Henry James just mentioned, and was born in New York on the 11th Jan., 1842. His no less distinguished brother, Henry James the novelist, was born on the 15th April, 1843. William James was strongly influenced by his father's philosophical beliefs—mainly derived from the teachings of Swedenborg. The boyhood days of William and Henry James are described by Emerson: "In their speech, singularly mature and picturesque, as well as vehement, the Gaelic [Irish] element in their descent always showed. Even if they blundered they saved themselves by wit"†. In 1863 William James entered the Harvard Medical School and took the M.D. Degree in 1869. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy in 1885. As a teacher at Harvard University for thirty-five years, he influenced the lives and thoughts of more than a generation of students. During a stay in England in 1889 he wrote to his brother Henry "I am on the whole more curious to see the Emerald Isle than any other part except Scotland." In the same year he landed at Queenstown and visited Dublin. In 1890 he published his *Principles of Psychology*, which remains one of the standard works on the subject. His philosophical writings are very voluminous and display great depth, great originality and imagination. Throughout his life he never ceased to manifest a deep interest in Irish affairs. During his later years his health was never robust. Having resigned all active duties at Harvard in 1907, he died at Chocorua, New Hampshire, on the 26th Aug. 1910.

Ph. O'C.

\**Life of E. L. Godkin*, Vol. II., p. 218. New York, 1907.

†*Early Years of the Saturday Club*. Chapter on Henry James, senior, p. 328.



## VII.—REV. ROBERT LEECH (1831-1909).

The name should be particularly honoured by the Breifny Antiquarian Society. During the thirty years (1872-1901) of the Rev. Mr. Leech's connection with Kilmore diocese he took a deep interest in its people, their traditions and history, and almost single-handed he tried to do the work that our Society now aims at accomplishing. The pages of the local paper, *The Anglo-Celt*, were continuously graced by articles from his pen. The editor tells that when, on 12th April, 1915, a disastrous fire broke out and was consuming his offices and printing works, he was less moved by the material loss, immense though it was, than by the thought that there before his eyes, in the files of his newspaper, was going up in flames and smoke a vast deal of labour on Cavan incidents and history. Of this Mr. Leech's contributions formed a main portion. During the last three years every effort has been made to recover copies of them, but hitherto without success.

Mr. Leech belonged to an old North of Ireland family. The Leeches appear to have been in Londonderry for some hundred years. In that county, in the Vale of Ballynascreen, near Draperstown, on the 1st March, 1831, the future Rector of Drumlane was born. In the family there was a tradition of scholarship; both his father, Alexander, and his grandfather, another Robert, were noted for their interest in legend and history. His father had married a Miss Hepburn, a descendant of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, one time husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Robert was their eldest son. His only brother, David, went to S. Africa, and his family now flourish in Basutoland; and his sole sister, Mrs. Henderson, also emigrated to the same country.

From 1850 to 1860 Robert taught in the Royal School, Dungannon. Among his pupils were Captain Norton, M.P., who took first place in the Indian Civil Service; Professor Swift McNeill, ex-M.P.; and the late T. W. Russell. Before leaving Dungannon he married Miss Hurst, whose mother was a daughter of Dr. Francis, a near relative of Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the *Letters of Junius*, and who himself published a translation of Horace. Of their eight children, five sons and three daughters, but three survive (1924), viz., George A. H. Leech, now in California (to whom we are indebted for dates and facts in this sketch), Mrs. Brittain, who also is in California, and Miss Edith Leech, who resides in Dublin.

In 1860 Mr. Leech became Headmaster of St Patrick's Grammar School, Dublin. Throwing up this lucrative post, he entered Trinity College in 1868. There he read a distinguished course, (see *Crockford's Clerical Directory* for 1894). In 1872 he was

brought to Cavan and appointed curate of Kilmore parish. Two years later, on the death of Rev. G. Moffat of Drumlane, he succeeded as Rector. In Drumlane he laboured till 1901. In that year he resigned the parish and went to live in Dublin; and there he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding. He died in May, 1909. His remains were laid in Mount Jerome Cemetery, near the grave of Thomas Davis, a poet with whose retiring character and unselfish patriotism he had much in common.

Physically Mr. Leech was a very strong man and an all-round athlete. In his 70th year he thought nothing of walking 15 or 20 miles of a day through his parish. He was, too, a man of many accomplishments; playing old Irish airs was his favourite indoor pastime, and he possessed a beautiful tenor voice.

As to his writings, his poetic pieces—which his son is endeavouring to collect and publish—were numerous. Among them are *The Fall of McLoughlin*, which tells of the O'Kanes of Dungiven in his native county; *Maine Hall*, full of battle scenes of ancient days around the great fort of Lisnamaine near Carrighill, Belturbet; and the *Rise of McManus*, his longest poem. The last mentioned was written in 1898, a very busy year for his pen. It contains fine descriptions of Lower Lough Erne, Swanlinbar, Quilca, Slieve Russell, etc. It is built round an imagined visit of Conal Cernagh to the Holy Land, and, in subsequent historic times, the feats in the same land, perhaps equally imaginative, of Irish Crusaders, including the McManus of the day. This was both the last and the greatest effort of his Muse. His prose writings were almost wholly on local antiquarian topics, and there is not very much of Cavan on which he did not throw a ray of light. The re-publication of his *Anglo-Celt* articles in the *Boston Pilot* resulted in a pressing invitation from representative Irish-Americans to go on a lecture tour in the United States; but he always shunned publicity as far as he could, and declined.

In Drumlane his memory will long remain green. There he is remembered as a clergyman, kindly and affable, who, while devoted to his flock's best interests, was everybody's friend and counsellor.

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#### VIII. MRS. JAMES SADLIER (1820-1903).

Mrs. Sadlier is probably the most prolific novelist that Ireland has produced. She wrote upwards of 60 original works. They were widely read throughout America; before her death some of them had reached the 16th edition. Some of them, too, were translated into French and German, and many of them were republished, and more than once, by Glasgow and Dublin firms. She turned out, besides, a few dramas, numberless newspaper and magazine articles, many poems, many translations from the French and a few purely religious books.

In the Preface to *The Confederate Chieftains* she declares, "it is not for the mere novel reader that I write now or at any other time." Each romance had a special purpose. Thus, *Con O'Regan* is a powerful anti-emigration appeal; *Bessy Conway* paints the need of religious influence on the formation of character, and the theme was suggested to her by Rev. Isaac Hecker, the distinguished founder of the Paulists; *Aunt Honor's Keepsake* was a chief cause of the establishment of the Catholic Protector for Boys and Girls and was written at the instigation of Dr. Ives; and *The Blakes and Flanagans* aims at exposing the evils of American public school education, and it, too, was penned at the instance of another leading American ecclesiastic, Archbishop Hughes. In no case does the moral purpose detract from the naturalness of the story. The characters are true to life and sometimes very amusing, the dialogues witty and not infrequently studded with Cavan allusions and Cavan turns of expression. Similarly, the object in view in over a dozen of her novels is popularising Irish history and hero times. Among them are, *The Daughter of Tyrconnell*, *McCarthy Mor*, *The Heiress of Kilorgan*, and *The Confederate Chieftains*. The scenes of the last mentioned are mainly laid in her native county. *The Hermit of the Rock* is an Irish *Old Mortality*, a storehouse of legend and tradition. Full expression is always given to the author's sympathies and dislikes, but she never shrinks from satirizing her countrymen's faults, is never historically unfair, and never sinks to melodrama.

It is an honour to Breifny that it can claim this good woman and great writer.

Mrs. James Sadlier was born in Cootehill, Co. Cavan, on Dec. 31st, 1820. No doubt the house will some day be marked by a slab. Her father, Francis Madden, was a shopkeeper in the town named. Her mother, Mary Foy, came from the neighbouring parish of Drung, and her people still carry on the business of millers at Bunnoe, and have given in almost every generation a priest to the diocese.

In the early 19th century facilities for education in Cootehill were poor. But for a time she was taught by the Presbyterian minister of the place and his wife, who were struck by her ability and took a deep interest in the cultivation of her talents. Mr. Madden had arranged to send her to an Ursuline convent when he died.

While still in her native town Mary Anne Madden contributed verses to *La Belle Assemblée*, London, edited by Mrs. Cornwall Baron Wilson and Mrs. Norton. They not only accepted them but expressed a wish to meet the young poetess, should they visit Ireland or she London.

She left for America in 1844 in company with an old servant. She visited relatives in Canada, taught for a time in a Ladies' School, and was received into a very exclusive circle. In Canada.

she met James Sadlier of the lately established firm of D. & J. Sadlier, New York, who had come to Montreal with a view of establishing an agency. They were married in 1846, and for the ensuing fourteen years they resided in Montreal. There her stories, *Elinor Preston*, *Willie Burke*, *Alice Riordan*, *New Lights or Life in Galway*, *The Red Hand of Ulster*, *The Fate of Father Sheehy*, &c., were planned and penned. She was also correspondent of the *N. Y. Tablet*, *Boston Pilot*, &c.

In 1860 the Sadliers returned to New York. James Sadlier was head of the Publishing Department of the firm; a firm which, for many years supplied almost the whole of America with Catholic literature, including a fine edition of the Bible, their business extending even to Asia and Africa. The official Catholic Directory of the U. S. was annually brought out by this House.

In New York Mrs. Sadlier continued to write. She also edited for some years the *N. Y. Tablet*, then one of the leading exponents of American Catholic thought, and contributed extensively to its columns. She had such brilliant collaborators as Dr. Brownson, D'Arcy McGee, and Dr. Ives. Indeed the list of contributors included most of the leading *litterateurs* of that day.

Besides her stories, Mrs. Sadlier translated from the French such important works as De Ligny's *Life of Christ*, Orsini's *Life of the Blessed Virgin*, the *Catechism in Examples*, &c. She also translated *The Orphan of Moscow*, *Legends of St. Joseph*, *The Lost Son* and several other tales for the young. *Ireland by Moonlight* and *Rome Memories* are the best known of her verses. She edited T. D'Arcy McGee's poems and prefixed a biographical sketch. She also compiled a *Catechism of Sacred History*, a *Doctrinal Catechism* and collaborated in several series of Readers.

She laboured for her own people and for the Irish emigrant. The influence of her work in the constructive period of the American Church can scarcely be overestimated. In 1895 she received the Lætare Medal (v. Vol. I, p. 338, of this *Journal*) from the University of Indiana.

Besides her literary work Mrs. Sadlier found time to take an active part in several of the charitable foundations of New York, the Foundling Asylum, for instance, Friendless Girls, Home for the Aged, Night Refuge, &c.; and by her pen she encouraged and helped to support various educational institutions. She had a wide circle of friends. The doors of her New York home and of her country house in Far Rockaway were always wide open and noted for hospitality. In both she entertained many distinguished persons.

"Mrs. Sadlier," states a lady who knew her well, "had a modesty that never sought self-advertisement and a natural love of retirement. She was winning and kindly in manner, gracious and dignified. In conversation with people of culture she appeared at her best. She was rarely gifted as to personal

appearance. Her exquisite delicate complexion retained its tints almost to the last, and her blue eyes kept their brightness. Only her dark hair had turned white."

She retained her intellectual faculties, bright and clear, to the end, her memory being phenomenally good. She died in Montreal, April, 5th, 1903, aged 82 years and three months. It was Palm Sunday, her favourite Feast, for she had been fond of quoting Gerald Griffin's lines: "My Sunday palm beside me laid, &c." Her palm was sent her by the Jesuits of Montreal, who had ever been among her greatest friends. When many mourners were gathered round her bier some one suggested that the *Magnificat*, not the *De Profundis*, should be recited. The remains were taken to New York and interred in the family plot in Calvary Cemetery. There they lie under the monument of granite, surmounted by a marble Celtic Cross, which she had erected over her husband, who had predeceased her nearly twenty-five years.

She lost two sons, both in early manhood. One of them, unusually promising, had but just been ordained in the Jesuit Society. One daughter married Francis Chadwick, of a County Louth family; another, Charles Le Blanc, son of the Sheriff of Montreal; and a third remained unmarried, devoting herself to literary pursuits. The last mentioned, viz., Miss Anna T. Sadlier, Litt. D., one son, and Mrs. Chadwick survive her (1923). Dr. Anna has inherited her mother's genius for story-telling. Her work already includes over 40 volumes, together with numerous contributions to periodical literature.

O'Donoghue's *Poets of Ireland* has a short life of Mrs. Sadlier. *Ireland in Fiction\**, besides giving a few biographical notes, describes the plots of 15 of her tales. But all the dates and most of the facts given above are on the authority of her daughter, Dr. Anna Sadlier. Miss Sadlier's prompt and gracious reply to a request for accurate information begins as follows:—

OTTAWA, ONT.,

286 Daly Ave.,

Aug. 13th, 1923.

DEAR FATHER,

I was very much gratified to receive your letter in relation to my mother. How pleased she would have been that she is, in the words of D'Arcy McGee, "remembered in Erin" and especially in her own beloved county of Cavan....."

J.B.M.

\*By Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. (Maunsel—1919). .

which has been printed for him in Brussels by the Society of the Bollandists. It contains three lives of Irish saints. All three are taken from the famous collection of O'Clery MSS., preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels.

This work, like Dr. Plummer's previous ones, (see this *Journal*, vol. I, p. 344) has a special interest for our Society. The second Life is that of St. Naile, a saint who is said to have been Abbot of Devenish for nine years, but whose principal associations are with Kinawley in Kilmore diocese. He is Patron Saint of the parish, and to it he has given his name (Kinawley = Cell Naile). Inbher Naile, now Inver, a parish in the diocese of Raphoe, is also called after him. Brother Michael O'Clery copied the Life from a Tirconnell MS., which then belonged to Niall Meirgeach, the son of MacSweeney Banagh.

As historical documents these Lives have about the value of the Book of Fenagh. But "as documents for the study of primitive (pre-Christian) Irish Culture, and of early tribal law and custom, they are of first class importance."\* They also provide excellent material for students of philology and folk-lore.

In a paper on the "Ancient Church Sites and Graveyards in Co. Fermanagh." published in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, June, 1919, Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry gives in a Table the following particulars about the Kilmore parish just referred to:—

- Name of Church or locality in Irish—Cill Naile ;
- Name of Parish Church in the Eccl. Taxation of 1306—No return for the parishes of the Diocese of Kilmore ;
- Patron Saint—St. Naile or Natalis ;
- Feast Day—27th January ;

In the Irish Baronial Maps, 1609-10, a roofless church is marked in Dromheruie ; in the Survey of Co. Fermanagh held at Devenish, 7th July, 1603, the name of the church is given as Keannallee ; in the Inquisition held at Ennis-killen, 18th Sep., 1609, the church's name is spelt Killnallie, Killmally, &c.; the site of this church is indicated by the graveyard and ruined parish church in Lismonaghan townland.

This church has been in ruins since after 1657.

"At the present day," she states, "the names of a good many of the churches and graveyards [of Fermanagh] are not those of the townlands in which they are situated. . . . All the parish churches [of Fermanagh] either occupy the site or are in the vicinity of early monasteries whose names they bear," with the one possible exception of Derryvullan.

Just alongside the grounds of the fine modern church in the hamlet of Kinawley is the graveyard, in its centre some remains

\**Literary Supplement of the Times*, Sept. 10, 1925, p. 537.

## LITERARY NOTES.

Everybody knows that Aedan of Ferns and Mogue of Cavan were one and the same person. But it is quite a puzzle, especially to those unacquainted with Irish, to make out how Aedan (or Aed) and Mogue are not different names, but really the same name. In a Foreword to *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum\**—a book by the way whose praises are sounded by every Antiquarian Journal in the Kingdom—Professor MacAlister incidentally gives a very neat explanation of the puzzle. After endorsing the Author's opinion that Mo-Chaoi and Caelán were two distinct individuals, he goes on:—

To compare these names we must first strip off the accretions, The prefixed Mo-, with the "aspiration" [*i.e.* silencing] of the following consonant which it induces, is no part of the real name of the saint. It is an honorific or hypocoristic prefix, meaning "my," and is often found prefixed to the names of saints (as Mo-Lua, Mo-Chonna, Mo-Chua, etc). The suffix -án is a diminutive termination, also used hypocoristically. These prefixes and suffixes are often piled up; as in Mo-Cholm-án, "My little Colum," Mo-Cholm-óg (same meaning); and yet more curious, Mo-Aedh-óg, "My little Aedh," pronounced and often written in modern times "Mogue," in which the real name of the saint is buried out of sight by the endearing additions: a good example of "killing with kindness"!

Similarly Laserian and Molaise (*i.e.* Laser-ian and Mo-Laise), unlikely though it appears at first sight, are one and the same name. Denuding the former of its suffix and the latter of its prefix, it can be seen that they come very close to identity. In English we occasionally reply, "Yes my friend" and in French, "Oui mon père"; but in neither language has the usage developed as far as it did in Irish.

Dr. Plummer, "the doyen of British Celtic scholars," has supplemented his labours on Irish hagiography by a new volume†

\*By H. C. Lawlor, M.A.—Belfast, 1925.

† *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, Vitae adhuc ineditae sanctorum Burxelles. Société des Bollandistes, 1925.

of the walls of the church that has been a ruin since after 1657. It is fairly certain that these walls were raised either on or close to the site of St. Naile's original monastic foundation.

In the diocese of Kilmore there are 30 or 40 ruins such as Kinawley. From St. Patrick's time onward till about the 11th c., churches were usually built of wood, for wood was plentiful. Then they began to be constructed of stone. Of the 42 parishes at present in the diocese of Kilmore most of them have within their boundaries an old crumbling building, not yet level with the ground, that in the 15th, 16th, or 17th c., or perhaps through them, was a church. Almost invariably they are surrounded by graveyards\*. Some parishes have two. Drumlease has three, not counting Creevelea Abbey which is on the left bank of the Bonet and so in another parish and diocese. One stands close to the Sligo 'mearne' (to use a localism), on the declivity opposite Parke's Castle. An ancient road or togher runs Sligowards between castle and church, a dozen yards from the latter. The Church is quite plain and unornamented. But as a ruin it is a respectable one, both side-walls and both gables are standing. It would accommodate about 100 persons. Overlooking Lough Gill the view from it is of unsurpassable beauty. Mr. Bigger M.R.I.A., of Belfast, dates this church back to about the 12th c. If so, it can claim, with one exception, to be probably the oldest church in the diocese. The exception is in the same parish. It is the little church in Drumlease graveyard on the hill over the river Bonet. This is the hill on which Saint Patrick set up his wattle booths, which have given its name to the parish (Drumlease-ridge of the huts). The building is now low; and it is small, a score could not find standing-room in it. That it was either a vault or a grave enclosure will be found difficult to credit. The opinion that it was an oratory or church built near the time of St. Patrick himself has many supporters.

Around the Drumlease church first mentioned there is no cemetery. But an annual fair used to be held beside it, up to, it is said, about 100 years ago. The pound is behind the church. It was well paved. Bit by bit Mr. Dolan, who owns the land, removed the cobble stones and now uses the enclosure as a garden. Inside the church, alongside the wall opposite the entrance, there is one grave and a flat tombstone over it. The epitaph is much worn and difficult to decipher. But recognising this Mr. Bigger, having read it, left a copy with Mr. Dolan who lives beside the

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\*Graveyards in Breifny which go back two or three hundred years are seldom not on the track of pre-Reformation churches, "Caldraghs," used until a generation ago for interments mainly of unbaptized children are also, most likely in almost every case, on the sites of primitive or pre-mediaeval churches.



church. With this copy in hand no visitor has any trouble in making out the inscription for himself. It runs as follows:—

**HERE LIE THE  
BODIES OF ROB  
ERT AND MARY  
CHILDREN TO  
CAPN ROBERT PARKE  
1677**

The Bonet referred to above is the largest river in North Leitrim. From its source in Glenade Lough it flows wholly through Kilmore territory until it reaches within about half-a-mile of Dromahair. Thence onward until it enters Lough Gill, three miles further on, it forms the boundary between Kilmore and Ardagh, separating Drumlease parish of the former diocese from Killenummery of the latter. Killenummery is the sole Ardagh parish in N. Leitrim, and it is isolated from the rest of Ardagh. There is a curious legend about it. Around Dromahair you will often hear that Killenummery once belonged to Kilmore and by right should still pertain to it. "When John O'Donovan visited Dromahair he sought information from the native Seanchaidhes as to the origin of the name Killenummery, and he was told by an old man who enjoyed a high reputation for traditional lore, that the word meant 'church of contention.' The reason assigned for this name was that an age-long dispute prevailed between the dioceses of Ardagh and of Kilmore for the possession of Killenummery parish." The usual story is that a Kilmore P.P. of Killenummery was appointed Bishop of Ardagh and brought his parish with him.

The legend, we fear, has to go by the board.

The Seanchaidhe's derivation of Killenummery cannot be sustained. The FF.M., under the year 1362, "give the name in its true form, *Cill an iomaire*, which, means 'the church of the ridge.'"

As to the story, it is equally apocryphal. Rev. James McGauran of Kilmore diocese, indeed, became Bishop of Ardagh in 1815, but he was P.P. of Oughteragh (Ballinamore), not of Killenummery. "There have been many instances of parish priests who were promoted from their own diocese, to the episcopal charge of other dioceses, but I doubt if a single case could be cited in which the diocesan connections of a parish thus surrendered were broken." Dean Monaghan in his *Records of Ardagh & Clonmacnoise* gives no instance of a P.P. of Killenummery having been raised to the bishopric, and the work is so reliable and exhaustive that it may be safely said there never was.

Kilronan also, "it is sometimes alleged, was brought [from Elphin] into the Ardagh diocese by a Dr. MacDermot Roe who, having been its parish priest at the time of his election, was elevated in 1747 to the episcopal see of St. Mel."

Dean Monaghan refers to both these legends (*op. cit.* p.9) but only to refute them; and Mr. Dalton fully approves of their rejection.

The tradition about Killenummery, it should however be added, is not a pure invention of the Dromahair people. It has the following basis and most probably no other.

“In Perrott’s Indenture [dated 1585] a good deal of land in the neighbourhood of Dromahaire is scheduled as belonging to the bishopric of Kilmore; and among the particulars of these church lands given we find ‘Killenummerye, [Killenummery] 2 quarters.’ In the same document two quarters ‘in Killyree, [Killery] in the Ballintogher area, are stated to belong to the bishopric of Ardagh. . . . It would seem to follow from these items of evidence that, while in 1585 Killery was in Ardagh, Killenummery belonged to Kilmore.”

The conclusion would be precipitate and erroneous. “The published *Obligaciones pro Annatis* show that the Killenummery church was in the Ardagh diocese in the year 1426, that is a century and a half before Perrott’s Indenture\*. . . . Again, in 1489 on 21st Feb., a Bull of collation to the parish was delivered to Bernard MacMogley, a priest of the Ardagh diocese.”† Civil authorities are not always the best of guides on church matters.

It remains to be acknowledged that all the statements within quotation marks as well as almost all the others in the foregoing discussion are taken from a very learned paper on the *Boundaries of Clonmacnoise & Ardagh Dioceses* kindly lent by the author, Mr. J. P. Dalton. The paper was read at a Meeting of the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Archaeological Society held at Dromahair this summer (1924); but it has not yet appeared in print.

In referring to the Cavan Brooch in last year’s *Journal* (vol. II, p. 184) it was mentioned that an exact copy of the ornament was presented to Queen Victoria. This copy is now in the National Museum, Dublin. It is in the first show case one meets after passing the entrance turnstile. It is a beautiful object and well worth seeing. The card attached explains how it comes to be there. It states:—

“Queen Victoria’s Brooch,” presented to Her Majesty on the occasion of her visit to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1849. It is a copy reduced in size, of an ancient Irish brooch in the Royal Irish Academy Collection and is of Wicklow gold set with a pearl from Lough Esk.

Presented by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur Duke of Connaught.

\* *De Annatis Hiberniae*, 1400-1535—Dublin, 1912,—p. 158.

† *Do.*, p. 114.

The autograph letter written in presenting it is alongside the explanatory card. It is as follows:—

Royal Hospital,  
Dublin.

Her Majesty Queen Victoria brought this Celtic Brooch from Ireland after her first visit in 1849. After her death this brooch was given to me and I now make a gift of it to the Science and Art Museum in Dublin.

Arthur.

General Commander of the  
Forces in Ireland.

May, 1st 1902.

The original, "the Cavan Brooch," may be seen in the same Museum in the Section of Irish Antiquities. It is of bronze, not gold.

In the last No. of this *Journal* (Vol. II., p. 107) attention is directed to a valuable series of articles on Militia Commissions, Co. Cavan, which were copied in the P.R.O., Dublin, before its destruction, by Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A., one of our members, and published with annotations by him in *Notes & Queries*. A slip made in referring to them has to be corrected: the four articles appeared not consecutively but fortnightly; but the little Magazine itself is, and has always been, published weekly, never fortnightly as stated. Consequently the articles mentioned will be found in the issues of May 17th & 31st, and June, 14th & 28th, 1924, *i.e.* in Vol. 146, Nos. 46, 48, 50, & 52.

The series is continued in the issues of Aug. 30th, Oct. 25 & Nov. 1st, 1924, *i.e.*, in Vol. 147, Nos. 9, 17 & 18 of the same Magazine. These latter three articles possess an undiminished interest for our Society. Most of the surnames of those who received Commissions in the 18th c. are still common in Co. Cavan; and the biographical notes, the source of them always indicated, may be relied on for accuracy.

Particulars are given about the following persons mentioned in the Lists. In every case the residence given below is in Co. Cavan.

In No. 9.

Lieut. Patrick Enery of Templeport, d. Dec. 19th, 1732;

Qr. Ms. John Mee of Butler's Bridge;

John Stephens (Cornet 1715, Capt. 1725) of Ballynacargy, md.

Mary, dau. of Rev. Francis Shuldham, Vicar of Kildrumfertin, in 1717, d. 1759;

Lieut. Isaac Bredin of Ennismore;

Capt. John Enery of Bawnboy, d. on his passage from Dublin to Parkgate April 24, 1758, ancestor of the Enerys of Bawnboy and of Ballyconnell;

Capt. Christopher Harman of Kilmacnoran, d. early in 1719 ;  
 Two Wm. Harmans, one of them of Corgrave ;  
 Ensign George Knipe ;  
 Capt. J. Moore of Moyne Hall ;  
 Ensign Luke Stanford of Belturbet, d. Feb. 4, 1749/50 ; and  
 Lieut. Norris Thompson of Legakelly, d. Nov. 1767.

No. 17 has similar brief biographical notes on :—

Lieut. Wm. Stephens of Ballynacargy (otherwise Stephens Fort)  
 d. May, 26th 1767,

Cornet Edward Reilly of Cullentra and Tullicoe, d. July 22, 1769 ;

Lieut. Josias Veitch of Dunmurry ; and

Cornet Mathew Young of Lahard, Killeshanrda.

No. 18 gives a note on :—

Adjutant John Nixon, perhaps son of George of Drumcullion,  
 Killeshandra, who died in 1696,

Cornet Brockhill Cottnam of Dervony ; and

Cornet Wm. Nesbitt of Drumalee, Captain 1727, d. 1754.

In the annotations many side lights are thrown on Cavan matters. For instance, we see that Moyne Hall came into the Moore family through the marriage of Major Nicholas Moore of Co. Louth with Abigail, dau. and co-heiress of Roger Moyne of Moyne Hall,\* and we are also told, on the authority of *Faulkner's D Journal*, that Josias Veitch, above mentioned, son of John of Gartinardress, md. on Saturday, 24th Aug, 1745, Hannah Pattison "niece of the Widow Ford, of Island Bridge [Dublin], a very agreeable young lady, with 1,200l. Fortune." His only son, Edward, of Dublin and afterwards of Butler's Bridge, was buried at Castleterra, Ballyhaise, July 9th, 1799. He left his lands in Cavan-Lisbree, Kilmore, and Drumbolusk near Ballyjamesduff—to his friend Ralph Harman.

The authority quoted for the statements regarding B. Cottnam is a Chancery Bill dated Nov. 21, 1681. To this Rev. Mr. Swanzy appends the short paragraph :—

It may be of interest to note that this Bill was probably the last ever inspected in the Irish Record Office, the compiler having consulted it at about one o'clock on April 13, 1922. The Office was seized that evening by the persons who eventually destroyed it.

This year (1924) Mr. Fitzgerald Reynolds has also in *Notes & Queries*, in the issue of Nov. 15, an article on a Londonderry branch of the Reynolds, and in the issue of Dec. 6th one on the Coynes, a family that had connections with Co. Cavan. Copies of all the Nos. in which Mr. Swanzy's and his own contributions appear he kindly continues to present to our library. They may be there consulted.

The cross here depicted is very old : it is referred to in the *Annals* under the year 1156. There it is called "the Cross of Doras Urdoimh" (the Gate or Door of the Portico). It was erected on its present pedestal in 1688 "at the charge of Robert —ife . . .

\* Cp. Journal, Vol I, p. 277.

soverai[gn]e of the corporation of Kells," as an almost illegible inscription at the base shows. (*V. Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1892, p. 129). How the top was broken off is not known.

In Kells there are portions of as many as five crosses all equally famous. Some of them have beautiful interlaced ornament, others figures executed in bas relief. Four are in the churchyard. This one stands at the end of a street—Cross street. Still it is not a "Market Cross," as were most probably the ones in Cote-hill and in Cavan town.

As to the purposes of such crosses:—

There can be little doubt that their use was to mark a sanctuary . . . . An old Irish canon enacts that the boundary of a sacred place should have the sign of the cross; and another lays down the rule; "Wherever you find the sign of the Cross of Christ do not do any injury." The cross which at present stands in the Market-place, Kells, marks the spot which was formerly the entrance to the enclosure of the ecclesiastical city. The fugitive who had once passed that point was under the protection of the church. A still more instructive example is furnished at Tristelkieran, in the parish of Loughan. There the churchyard stands by the side of the Blackwater, and has three crosses in position, marking the bounds of the sanctuary. There are the remains of a fourth cross in the bed of the river, so that one coming from the opposite bank might be in a place of safety while still endeavouring to ford the stream.\*

No one motoring through Kells from Cavan to Dublin can miss this cross. The steep street leading down to it sweeps round in a circle, evidently retaining the contour of the exterior rampart of "the ecclesiastical city" and of the great fort that preceded it.

\* *History of the Diocese of Meath*, by John Healy, LL.D.—Dublin, 1908, Vol. I, p. 39.



THE CROSS IN A STREET OF KELLS.

[Through the courtesy of "The Catholic Pictorial."]

Breifny Antiquarian Society.



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1925-26.

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The Late  
REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN,  
P.P., M.R.I.A., M.R.S.A.I.  
(1862-1926).

Founder and First President of the Breiffne Antiquarian Society.

(Photo *circa* 1890).

# The Parishes of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan.

By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

[Read 13th Nov., 1924.]

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## I.—CIVIL HISTORY.

Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were recognised as distinct parishes until the early 18th century. In the *Books of Survey and Distribution* (1641) the parishes are grouped together, while the 1669 *Commonwealth Grants* couple Lurgan and Munterconnacht together, and give Castlerahan by itself. The *Down Survey Map* of 1654 has Castlerahan and Lurgan marked as separate parishes. The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 present Munterconnacht and Castlerahan as a unit. But the fact that the parishes were grouped together for taxation, or plantation, purposes does not necessarily imply that they were ecclesiastically united. As will be shown, both were regarded as separate, and were under distinct ecclesiastical jurisdiction, until the middle of the 18th c. In pre-Reformation times each had its Hospital which served as its parish church.

Munterconnacht, which seems to have been the older tribal division, derives its name from MUINTEAR CU-CONNACT, *i.e.*, Cuconnacht's family or descendants. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* has the same spelling, and the references in the *Pedigree* explain the origin of the name. We learn that Giolla Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly, founder of Cavan Abbey, had thirteen sons, one of whom was named Cuconnacht. The descendants of this Cuconnacht settled in this district in the 13th c., and gave it its title. The account of the battle of Magh Sleacht, A.D. 1256, given in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, seems to indicate that this Cuconnacht fell in the battle fighting against O'Rourke and O'Connor.

There were killed on the spot Cathal O'Reilly, King of the Muinntir Maolmordha, and of the Clann of Aodh Finn, and his two sons, Donal Roe and Nial, and his brother Cuconnacht, etc. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* further tells us that: "From Cormac son of Shane (according to some) came the nobility (uairte) of Muinntir Connacht called SUIOCT NA TUPÍ, *i.e.*, the Descendants of the Three." Who the three were is not specifically explained

but by inference from the context, it is obvious that three O'Reillys are intended. This Shane mentioned in the *Pedigree* was a grandson of Giolla Iosa Ruadh. So we may conclude with certainty that the O'Reilly settlement in the district dates at least from the 14th century. The boundaries of the ancient province of Connacht, to which Breiffne then belonged, extended eastward to Loch Ramor and the Blackwater.

Castlerahan (Cairte an Raicm, *i.e.*, the castle of the little fort— from which the Barony also derives its name) was another stronghold of the O'Reillys. The earliest spellings of the name do not differ materially from the present day form. "Castelraghen" (*State Papers*, 1542), "Castleraghan" (*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1587), "Castelrayne" (*ibid.*, 1584), "Castleraghyn" (*ibid.*, 1591), "Caslan-raham" (1609 Baronial Map), "Castlerahen" (*Patent Rolls*, 1603), "Castlerahine" (*ibid.*, 1607), "Castleraghen" (*Down Survey*, 1654). O'Donovan in his notes on the district says:—

"The name Castlerahan (Castleraghan is barbarous) certainly signifies the castle of the (at or near) *little fort*, as the locality and tradition among the peasantry will prove."\*

The *O'Reilly Pedigree* also affords a clue to the original orthography:

"The district of Uachtar-tire (Uachtar-tire, *i.e.*, the upper district) or the south-east district of Breiffne, now called Loch Ramhor or the Barony of Castle Raheen, was the patrimony of Felim, the son of Shane O'Reilly."

#### THE MOAT OF CASTLERAHAN.

In the tld. of Castlerahan may be seen a conspicuous moat—one of the few large moats to be met with in Breiffne. It crowns the highest point in the tld., and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country with Loch Sheelin stretching to the west and Loch Ramor to the south-east. On this moat was erected the castle of the O'Reillys, traces of which remain. No doubt its commanding position prompted the chieftains to utilise it as an admirable site for the castle. We have many instances elsewhere of castles erected on existing moats. The top of the moat was levelled so as to make it the more adaptable site for building purposes. It is evident that the moat of Castlerahan is one of those pre-historic erections which had their origin in the pre-Christian era. A large circular fosse surrounds it. The top of the moat is now rectangular in shape, and traces of the walls surrounding the castle can still be detected. At the eastern corner a remnant of a wall, apparently belonging to the castle, still remains. From the existing fragments it is clear that the original buildings were very substantial, and that a vast amount

\* *Cavan Letters*, dated from Virginia, 25th May, 1826.

of labour was expended in clearing the site and constructing the foundations. A more imposing position for this "castle of the little fort" could hardly be chosen.

In the grants to Sir Edmond Fettiplace in 1610 (*infra*), described by Pynnar, we find that the proportion of *Carvyn* (Carnin) was then in the possession of Sir Thomas Ash, and furthermore that, "upon this there is built a very good Bawne of Lymie and Stone, being 70 feet square and 12 feet high, with two Flankers; but all the land is inhabited with *Irish*." This appears to refer to the Castle of Castlerahan whose dimensions approximate to Pynnar's figures. The castle is marked on the 1609 map in the tld. of Castlerahan. It seems to have fallen into disuse shortly afterwards; and, as happened elsewhere, the materials were carried away for building purposes. A local interpretation of Castlerahan is Raithin's Cashel, or stone fort, Raithin being described as having been a "Dane." However, this interpretation can hardly be considered a likely one. Close by the moat, and now in ruins, is the old Hospital of Castlerahan.

#### THE ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBAN CONFISCATIONS.

When English law began to become operative in East Breiffne, and during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, the Irish Statutes were gradually superseded. Henry VIII had already entered into indentures with some of the Connacht chieftains, giving titles and lands in order to secure their allegiance. Sir Henry Sidney, when Lord Deputy, about 1570, induced many of them to surrender their lands with a view to obtaining re-grants according to English law. In 1584 Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, commenced to elaborate an already well-planned scheme, and to enforce the English system of land tenure. Leases, tenures, etc., were surrendered by the native owners and re-obtained in conformity with the newer statutes.

The object aimed at was three-fold. In the first place a fixed revenue was to be secured to the English crown; secondly, the uncertain extortions, the "cuttings and spendings" of the chiefs, were to be abolished, and the chiefs were to be compensated by grants to them, and to their heirs, by English law, of the castles, lands, and fixed rents and services which had hitherto descended, according to Tanistry; finally, every landowner, chief or clansman was to be given a legal title of his own.\*

The Commission set up by Perrott in 1585 to effect this settlement was known as the Composition of Connacht. Already—in 1562—Lord Deputy Sussex was preparing to transfer Breiffne O'Reilly from Connacht to Ulster. In his report to

\* Cf. Butler: *Confiscation in Irish History*, chap. III.; *The Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, Jour. R.S.A.I., Vol. XLIII., p. 101; Sigerson: *History of Irish Land Tenures*.

Queen Elizabeth in that year, setting forth what he “conceived for the reducing of your English subjects in this realm to live under the obedience of the law, and of your Irish subjects to live under the direction of certain constitutions more agreeable (*sic*) to their natures and customs,” he specifies that :—

“O’Raili’s country is to be taken within Connaught, but because it lieth fitter for another government, and bordereth upon the English Pale, I leave it out of the government of Connaught.”\*

Already, in 1228, Henry III. had declared the province of Connacht—to which Breiffne then belonged—forfeited to the English crown, and granted the greater part of the province to Richard De Burgo. But Breiffne was not included in the De Burgo grant since at the time of the Anglo-Norman Invasion Tiernan O’Rourke, Prince of Breiffne, was in possession of Meath. For this reason the grant of Meath to De Lacy was held to include Breiffne. But Breiffne had successfully resisted all attempts at permanent settlement.† Lord Deputy Perrott, with all that astute statesmanship which characterised him, cut the Gordian Knot by dividing the Principality of Breiffne into the counties of Leitrim and Cavan; the former was attached to Connacht and the latter to Ulster.

In the *Fiants* of Eliz.‡ we find the following list of landowners in Munterconnacht and Castlerahan to whom Letters Patent were issued :—

1584.—MINTERCHONACHI and CARNE. (Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 297).

A grant, under Queen’s letter, to Elienor Nugent, widow of Nicholas Nugent, late of Kilcaine, Co. Meath—and dated 26th June, 1583 (XXV. Eliz.)—includes (*inter alia*): “the lands of Clonkeighwy [Clonkeiffy], Co. Cavan.”

1586.—Keilfenlagh, Monterconnaghte, Knocknegirtane, Aghotegilli [Ryefield]. (V. *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 297).

LYSSMACONNAGAN.—Brian M’Melaughlin O’Lynce.

CLOGGY [Cloggagh].—Donell m’Owen m’Brien O’Lynce; Brian m’Owen m’Brien O’Lynce.

BARECOWNYE [Barconny].—Melaughlin m’Tho. O’Lynce.

KYLDORRGHE [Kildorragh].—Hugh m’Tirlagh O’Lynce; Patr. m’Tirlagh m’Oconnor O’Lynce; Brian Bane m’Cahill Boy O’Lynce; Farsie O’Lynce.

BAROROWNY [Barconny].—Gillepatrick m’Turlagh Roe O’Lynce; Cahill gortagh O’Lynce; Gyllyse boy m’Cahill charry O’Lynce; Donell m’Cahill charry [O’Lynce].

\* *Cal. S. P., Ireland, Carew MSS.*, 1562, p. 334 : preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace.

† Cf. Knox : *History of Mayo*, pp. 314 *et seq.*

‡ 15th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, *Appendix*.

CARNE.—Cornuck bane m'OWne m'Cowconaghte M'Ewayster, kern, and Tho. m'Symon, kern.

BANEH [Beherna].—Connor m'Wm. O'Multulle, smith.

BALLADONGHO [Balladorrigh].—Edm. m'Gerrott O'Reilye, gent.; Rowry m'Rory O'Ferrall, kern.

BALLYLYNCHE [*alias* Barconny].—Hugh bane m'Farrall O'Lynce.

1592.—MOUNTER-CONNAGHT, MOINTERCHONATY, and AGHOTEGHILL. (Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 298).

1601.—BRACKLONE [Brackloney].—Conor m'Hugh [O'Reilly].

In 1603 Elizabeth died and was succeeded by James I. During the latter's reign we find many pardons issued to the people of the district, including the following:—

1603.\*—CASTLERAHEN.—Brian oge Clerie; Shane Clerie; Cahell Clerie; Teig Clerie.

1604.†—MOUNTERCONAGHT.—Thomas McShane O'Reilie; Hugh McGerrott O'Rely; Mulmorie McThomas McShane O'Rely; James McHugh Duffe O'Relie; Shane McHugh o'Duffe O'Rely; Hugh McOwen O'Rely; Tirlagh oge McTirlagh O'Rely; P'aly McThomas McShane O'Rely; Cahill O'Relie; Brian McGerrott O'Relie.

1610.‡—CASTLERAHINE.—Hugh McCahill O'Lince; Brian McCabe.

In 1610 the king granted to Christopher Nugent of Downenosse, Co. Meath, two polls of land in Lisvecanegan [Lismacanigan] and one poll in Finewoeh [Finaway in Crosserlough Par.]. The Nugent family remained in possession of these lands until dispossessed in 1666. Owen McMulmorie O'Reilly obtained in 1611, together with other lands in Crosserlough, a grant of one poll in Cladagh and half a poll in "Corneinucklagh in Barcony."§

A grant from the king to Luke Plunket, lord baron of Killene, dated 29 Jan., 1612, specified certain lands in Cavan and Meath. The lands in Castlerahan barony include:—||

All the territory or precinct of land called Moynterchonnagh [Munterconnacht], containing 3 tuaghs or ballybetaghs,¶ viz.:—Fechapull otherwise Balliaghacapull, Balliaghadoo, and Bally-Illane, containing the following 48 polls, viz.:—

Corronnagh, two polls; Gallonfreigh and Gallonstramore, one poll; Carrick, one poll; Gallon-Iteragh and Gallonstramore, one poll; Aghochoollin and Keallragh, one poll; Monechoghell, two polls; Moet, Crosfeighen, Aghadowan, Owteragh, Kairgiagh, and Pollgarrue, one poll each; Lechearrowecheile, two polls; Edenconishian, two polls; Shanidrom, Aghomoure,

\* *Patent Rolls*, 1 James I.

§ *Ibid.*, 9 James I.

† *Ibid.*, 2 James I.

|| *Ibid.*, 10 James I.

‡ *Ibid.*, 8 James I.

¶ A ballybetagh was about 1,000 acres. (Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 206).

Ballaghdoragh, Neidd, Cloonmarfgaffrey, Knockwouny, and Cowletweo, one poll each; Knocknegartan, three polls; Politedewe and Aghonehae, one poll each; Gallonknocktample and Gallonroe, one poll; Knockneeny, containing a stone castle and two polls; Aghobrack, Lorganboy, Pollinishie and Lishimighan, one poll each; Dounomolloge and Knockawroe, one poll; Lissedonellan and Aghonecheadgoalagh, one poll; Lorgereough and Sharrenhiewe, one poll; Tomquill and Omery, one poll; Kiloge, Mullaghneschanchloone, Aghenedan, and Ardskea, one poll each; Clontrassan and Beherny, one poll.

Total 2,400 acres: rent £6 Irish. The premises are created the manor of Courtown [Co. Meath] with 400 acres in demesne; power to create tenures and to hold courts leet and baron.

The functions of the courts *leet* and *baron* here referred to may require some explanation. The former was an ancient Saxon institution for the trial of offences, also for the preservation of the peace and the prevention of crime, characteristic of the English Hundred to which the Irish Barony closely corresponded, and usually held by a bailiff or steward of the Sheriff. It also properly belonged to a borough which ranked as a Hundred. The Hundred was the divisional name given (in England) to a portion of a county for administrative or military purposes. The term—the origin of which is obscure—has long since become obsolete but it is still preserved in the fictitious “Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds” of English Parliamentary procedure. The courts baron are so called either from the baron or lord who presided over them, or from the freemen, who were called barons, in ancient times. Their origin seems to have arisen from notions of patriarchal jurisdiction. In the first instance they were attached to every manor, and were held by its lord, or his steward, assisted by his freeholders, to decide on the purely civil controversies that arose between them. A court baron also belonged to every Hundred or County, and in many cases to particular franchises or lordships, which might include several manors. As the cause in dispute might be removed to a higher tribunal, courts manor have long fallen into disuse.\*

Some of the tld. names in this list are easily recognisable, e.g. :—Gallon-Iteragh (Eighter), Crosfeighan (Crossafehin), Knocknegartan, Bally-Islane (Island), Gallonfreigh (Gallonfree), etc.; many of the others are no longer in use, or are only remembered as sub-denominations. A few are included in the *Down Survey* list (*infra*). Gallonstramore (Σπατ Μόρη) is a sub-denomination of Eighter, as is also Pollgarrue, Keallragh (Ceatoprac), and Kairgiagh. Gallonroe is a sub-denomination of Knockatemple, and is remembered as Μυλλὰς Ρυαδὸ (i.e. the red hilltop) where the Protestant church of Munterconnacht is situated. In the tld.

\* Vide *A Dictionary of Science, Literature and Art*, by W. T. Brande and Rev. G. W. Cox., Vol. I., p. 576; Vol. II., pp. 341-342.

of Knockatemple, and on a narrow headland jutting out into Loch Ramor, is a fairly large moat which is marked "Castle" on the modern O.S. maps. No indications of a castle can now be traced, but it is likely that Knockneny, "containing a stone castle," refers to this. Monechoghell was apparently a sub-denomination of Croaghan (cf. *Down Survey, infra*). In the list we find an Iteragh and an Outeragh (ιοεεαμ and υαεεαμ, i.e. lower and upper divisions). The former alone has survived as a tld. name. The list, a very interesting one, preserves for us the names of the principal divisions of Munterconnacht as they were recognised in 1612.

The Plunkets remained in possession of these lands until the confiscations under the *Act of Settlement*, about half a century later. However, under the "Innocents." recommendation they managed to hold portion of their estates.

In 1609 a grant to Marie, Baronesse of Delvin [Co. Westmeath], widow, and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin her son, included (*inter alia*): "Ballilince alias Barconny, two polls."\* By a deed, dated 6th April, 1612, Robert [Protestant] Bishop of Kilmore, with the consent of the dean and chapter of the diocese, demised to Sir Oliver Lambert of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and Sir Garrett Moore, of Mellefont, Co. Louth, one half poll of the lands of Moynterconnaght, and two polls of the lands of Castle-rahin.†

### THE JACOBITE PLANTATION.

In the Survey of confiscated lands in Cavan which was carried out by Sir John Davies in 1610, the division of *Carvyn* was assigned to Sir Edward Fettiplace. The details of this grant, as given by Hill, have already been described.‡ It consisted of 1,000 acres and included the townlands of Polleneheny [Enagh], Carrickevey, Carrovadegoone [cf. No. 17 *Down Survey, infra*], Mullomore, Dromhill (Vide No. 17 *infra*). Cornakilly, Garurosse [Garryross], Carvine [Carnin], Aghanoran (Vide No. 10 *infra*), Carmine [Cormeen], Derrilurgane, Kilcholly (Vide. No. 13 *infra*), Killagagh (Vide No. 7 *infra*), Luggagoage (Vide No. 7 *infra*), Lurganlostie [marked on P.M. adjoining "Kilouran" and occupying the approximate position of the present tld. of Aghalion], Killowran (Vide No. 19 *infra*), Cornaran [Carn], and Rasadan.

The premises were created the Manor of Mullomore, with 300 acres in demesue and a court baron. The remaining portions, mostly consisting of waste and unarable lands, were allotted to the Irish "natives." It will be observed that this grant to Sir

\* Patent Rolls, 7 James I.

† *Ibid.*, 11 James I.

‡ *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343 : *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 302.



Edmond Fettiplace included almost the entire parish of Castle-  
rahan. But the original idea of the Plantation did not materialise,  
and, as we shall see later, there was hardly any change in the  
native ownership or occupancy of the land. In fact, it was  
specially stipulated that an immediate wholesale importation of  
English colonists would be injudicious, "lest if many strangers  
be brought in among them, it should be imagined as an invention  
to displant the natives, which would breed a general distaste  
in all the Irish."\*

### THE LOCH RAMOR FERRY : ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

When the district of Aghaler—where the present town of ΔΑΔΘ  
ΛΑΘΔΑΙΡ (Virginia) is situated—was assigned to Capt. John  
Ridgeway in 1610, subject to the condition that he should found  
a town therein, the grant required that all necessary appur-  
tenances—a school, church, market-place, etc.—should be  
provided.† Furthermore, as we should expect, a ferry was stipu-  
lated. In the details of the Jacobean grant, dated 14th August,  
1612, from the King to John Ridgeway, the various conditions  
are thus specified:—

The towns and lands of Aghaler, two polls; Carrigagh,‡  
Cornaslive, and Dromgora, one poll each; in all 250 acres.  
The lough of Loughraure, and the entire fishings—Rent £1 6s. 8d.  
English.

In Castlerahan Barony, Killeginnmore, a gallon or half poll,  
25 acres; rent 4 shillings.

The grantee is bound to plant and settle upon the poll of  
Aghanure§, parcel of the two polls of Aghaler, within four  
years, twenty persons, English or Scots, chiefly artificers, to  
be burgesses of the town to be built there, and called Virginia,  
and within the said time to be incorporated and made a body  
politic; and to assign convenient places for the site of the said  
town, a church and churchyard, a market place, a public  
school, with a back side and garden adjoining—the said town  
to consist of the said 20 burgesses, besides cottagers and  
inferior inhabitants, who were to be accommodated with  
houses and lands, viz., ten with two acres each and ten with  
one acre each, to be called the Burgess field, and 30 acres  
adjoining the town for a common; licence to hold a Thursday

\* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1606, p. 24.*

† *Vide Journal, Vol. I., pp. 22 et seq.; also pp. 299 et seq.*

‡ A tld. which adjoined Aghaler; now partly included in the tld. of  
Murmod. Ct. 1609 and 1654 maps. It is not marked on the modern O.S.  
maps.

§ This was evidently, in 1612, a recognised sub-denomination of Aghaler,  
but was not classified as a separate tld. Neither the 1609 nor 1654 maps  
have it recorded, nor is it mentioned in the plantation grants, nor in the *Fiants*  
of Eliz.

market at Virginia, and a fair on St. Peter's day and the day following, unless such day fall on Saturday or Sunday, in which case the fair is to be held on the Monday and Tuesday following; with a court of pie-powder,\* and the usual tolls; rent, 13s. 4d. Irish, he and his heirs to be clerks of the market, and no person to sell by retail within three miles of the town without licence, except the inhabitants; licence to keep a ferry over Loughrawe, from the castle of Bellaghmagh [Ballaghanea] to the lands of Moynterconowe on the south side of the said Lough; to take the same fees as such ferries usually took; rent, 3s. 4d. Irish.†

A year previous to this, in 1611, Ridgeway was already preparing to establish a ferry and had actually "contracted at Bealturbert for a boat for use at Lough Rawre."‡ The licence was granted him in 1612. The need for a ferry over Loch Ramor was evident to the Jacobean grantees, and in other places at the same period similar licences were given. What the fees may have been may be surmised from the terms of a Cork licence, issued in 1611 to Patrick Tirry, of Cork County, to maintain:—

A ferry over the river and port of Cork . . . with the following fees, and no other, to be taken, viz., for every man or woman, a penny sterling; for every cow, horse or garran, a penny; for every six sheep, swine or goats, a penny; for every barrel of meal or corn, a half-penny.§

In the same year the king granted to Pierce Tunulton, of Portaferry, Co. Down, a licence:—

To maintain, at the proper expense of him and his heirs, a good ferry boat at the ferry of Strangford, with four able ferrymen.||

Ridgeway lived in the castle of Ballaghanea, and around it his servitors and followers resided. Hence the establishment of the ferry from there. When the town of Virginia developed at a later period the ferry-house was established in its present position.

## 17TH CENTURY TOPOGRAPHY.

### THE DOWN SURVEY (1654) AND PLANTATION (1609) MAPS.

The *Down Survey Map* (1654)—which has Munter-Connacht as a separate unit—marks the tlds. as then defined, and it is of interest to compare them with the present day forms. This well-known map was drawn up by Sir William Petty in connec-

\* Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 271.

† *Patent Rolls*, 10 James I.

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1611, p. 130.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

|| *Ibid.*, 9 James I.

tion with the Cromwellian confiscations. Each parish map has annexed to it a list of all the landowners in the parish in 1641, and, from the reference numbers, we can tell who were the owners of any particular tld. in that year. The lists are given in the *Books of Survey and Distribution (infra)*.

It may be noted here that an earlier tld. map of Cavan exists, viz., the *Baronial Plantation Map* of 1609 drawn up in connection with the Jacobite confiscations. This is the earliest tld. map known to be extant. In connection with the *Down Survey*, it is of the greatest importance in determining the earlier forms of the various tld. names, as well as locating those which have since dropped out of general use. The Parish of Munterconnacht is not indicated on the Plantation Map of 1609 although marked on the *Down Survey*, which was completed 45 years later. The omission was probably due to the fact that Munterconnacht was not then included in Chichester's Scheme of Plantation.

The following is the *Down Survey* list of the tlds. of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan, together with the reference numbers. The forms which are given on the 1609 Plantation Map will be indicated by P.M. ; the present day equivalents will be placed in brackets, thus [ ].

89. ETOR AND CARGAGH [Eighter].—Cargagh is no longer in use as a tld. name, but a sub-denomination of Eighter is still remembered as CÚIL CARRAIGEAC—the stony corner—which is obviously the “Cargagh” of the *Down Survey*. (Cf. “Kairgiagh,” *Patent Rolls*, supra).

90. CARRICKE [Carrick].

91. AGHEKENCROUGH [Croaghan].\* The older spellings indicate that a first syllable has been lost. Vide *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)*.

92. MUNINCOGHAN.—This appears as a sub-denomination of 91 (supra). The *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)* have “Monecohell,” and the Jacobean *Patent Rolls (supra)* “Monechoghell.” The old Parish Register mentions “Monycohill,” and “Monychoghill” under the years 1752, 1757, and 1759. In the *Cavan Townland List*, published in Cavan in 1709, or 1790, it is given as “Moyn Yeohill.”

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\* Vide CÉAD DE CEOLTAIB ULAD, ÉIRÍ Ó MUIRGEARA DO ÉRINNIG; LEATANAC 9 in an AGALLAÍN or Disputation between PÁDRAIG PLUMCEAD— a bilingual poet of the last century still remembered around Loch Ramor—and the MAOR LOC RAMOR, an agrarian despot, Henry Sargent, who died in 1861. His name is hardly likely to be forgotten in the neighbourhood of Loch Ramor. The ADHÁN begins:—

DO BÍ MÉ, LÁ ÉIGIN, AR CARRAIG NA SAOB.

CARRAIG NA SAOB is the name of a wood in Croaghan tld. Sargent lived at Eighter. Tradition invests him with all the characteristics of a mandarin—a Robespierre *in parvo*—a prototype of the *Bourgeois* who loom over that inglorious chapter of French history which closed so abruptly on the eve of the Revolution.

93. **KNOCKANTEMPLE** [Knockatemple].—The *Books of Survey and Distribution (infra)* give “Tinedin” as a joint tld.  $\tau_{15}$ , or  $\tau_{100}$ ,  $\text{an } \epsilon_{100}\text{am}$  = the house, or the side, of the hill-brow. The “Mullaghroe” of the Parish Register (1752 *et seq*) is a sub-denomination of Knockatemple. *Vide* 1612 Grants (*supra*).

94. **ANCHONQUILLY**.—This tld., which seems no longer remembered locally, is marked on the map as situated between Knockatemple and Corronagh, and extending to Loch Ramor.  $\Delta_{100}$   $\text{an } \text{coille}$  = the field or plain of the wood. It may be remarked, as an interesting grammatical point, that the noun  $\text{coille}$ , generally regarded as feminine, occasionally occurs as masculine in Breiffne Gaelic. This is an example.

95. **CORNANAGH** [Corronagh].

96. **KNOCKNEGARTAN**. [ $\text{Cnoc na } \zeta_{100}\text{arvócan}$ ] = the hill of the forges. According to local tradition a number of tradesmen of the O'Reilly Clan settled here. Evidently the forges were the factories where weapons of war were manufactured.

97. **AGHANTRGALL** [ $\Delta_{100}$   $\text{an } \tau_{100}\text{asail}$  or Ryefield]. “Aghotegill” *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586 and 1592, *supra*. “Aghantegall” (*Commonwealth Grants, infra*). “Aghenteggell” (*Hearth Money Rolls, infra*).

98. **BALLAGHDORRAGH**.—A description of some pre-historic rock-markings on a rock-surface in this tld. will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*.

99. **ISLAND**.—The derivation of the name is difficult to conjecture. It occurs in many of the old lists, and is not, as would appear, a modernism. The 1612 *Patent Rolls (supra)* have “Bally-Illane,” which shows that a first syllable has been lost. The Parish Register (1752 *et seq*) has “Island.”

100. **KNOCKNAFEA** [Knocknaveagh].

101. **BARNAGH** [Behernagh].

102. **LURGANBOY**.

L.R. **LOUGH RAMOR** [Loch Ramor].—“Logh Rawre” (P.M.) As already mentioned the correct Gaelic form of the name, as recorded by the Annalists, is  $\text{Loch Muirreamaire}$ . The absurd Elizabethan perversion “Lough” can be traced to the letter written by John Ridgeway in 1611, in which he refers to “Lough Rawre” (*supra*).

#### CASTLERAHAN PARISH.

1. **CORNAHELT**. The greater part of the modern town of Ballyjamesduff is situated in this tld.

2. **CARNECRUAN** [Carn].

3. **CROSSERGOOLE** [Crosserule]. “Crosseroule.” (P.M.)

4. **CLOYAGHREMONAN** [Ramonan]. “Ramunan.” (P.M.)

5. **CLADAGH** [Claddagh]. “Cladagh” (P.M.)

6. **LISMAHEINGANN AND CORNAMUCKLAGH** [Lismacanigan and

Cornamucklagh]. Lismacanagan (P.M. The "Mallywee" (*i.e.*, Mullach Bhuidhe) of the Parish Register (1768 and 1776) is a sub-denomination of Lismacanigan. The *Down Survey* makes a castle in Cornamucklagh.

7. BARCONY.—The P.M. has two tlds. "Keillagagh" and "Lugogorah. There were formerly several recognised subdivisions of Barcony. The Parish Register has "Rutagh"—also spelled "Rootagh"—in 1751, 1753, and subsequent years. In 1758 we find "Legevouog," and in 1775 "Legwooge," evidently the "Lugogorah" of the P.M. The 1821 census gives two sub-denominations "Rutha" and "Knockawillin." Another sub-name, "Cooknahaw," still in use, seems to be the "Keillagagh" of the P.M.

8. GARGRANERAGH [Garryross].—"Garoaurose" (P.M.).

9. CORMEENE.—Cormune (P.M.).

10. ACHUNARRAN.—This was a sub-division of Cormeen, and was recognised until about a century ago; it comprised the N.W. portion of the tld. The 1821 Census returns have "Cormeen" and "Aghonarran," as distinct tlds. "Aghanorran" (P.M.).

11. CORNACREENO [Cornavriene].—"Cornacriue" (P.M.).

12. CARNEINE [Carnin].—"Coruine" (P.M.).

13. KILLYQUILLY.—"Kilcholy" (P.M.). "Killycully"—1821 Census.

14. ROSSODEN [Rasuddan].—"Rasodan" (P.M.) Rossuddin—1821 Census.

15. MULLAGHMORE.—"Molomore" (P.M.).

16. CORNAKELLY [Cornakilly].—"Cornakilly" (P.M.). "Cornakill"—1821 Census Returns.

17. DRUMSHEELE AND CORNODIDUFF [Cormaddyduff]. The P.M. has "Dromhil" and "Corouadigoue" marked as separate tlds., both adjoining "Logh Rawre" [Loch Ramor].

18. ENAGH.—"Polinaheny" (P.M.).

19. KILLORAN.—This is no longer in use. It is marked as occupying a position between Crosserule and Carrickavee, and now approximately represented by the tld. of Aghalion. The P.M. has "Kilouran."

20. CARIGEVIE [Carrickavee].—"Carigivey" (P.M.).

21. DERRILURGAN.—In the Parish of Denn.

B. + : 1. CASTLERAHAN.—(This was church property).

B. + : 2. CLOONECACHY AND BRACKLONE [Clonkeiffy and Brackloney]. These were also church lands. "Clonkamhy" (P.M.). The "Dunowen" of the Parish Register (1756 *et seq*) is a sub-denomination of Clonkeiffy. "Dunone"—1821 Census.

K. KILDORAGH (Church land).

The tld. of Kilmore is not entered on the D.S. Map, but the P.M. has "Keilure." Cloggagh, not on the D.S., is "Clogagh" on the P.M. These older parish maps do not differ substantially from the modern Ordnance Survey maps

in the matter of location, although allowance must be made for the peculiarities in spelling. When we remember that the earlier surveyors were strangers who knew no Gaelic, this will be readily understood. The orientation is usually defective—modern scientific methods of carrying out surveys were then unknown—but considering their many difficulties and deficiencies the 17th century surveyors did their work with remarkable accuracy. A comparison of these early maps will furnish the archaeologist with much material for speculation, and will enable the topographer to fix with greater certainty the forms of the tld. names in the early 17th c. Since the destruction of the Record Office these maps have become much more valuable being the only substantial records now extant of our early tld. names.

It will be observed that many of the present day tlds. are not recorded on the earlier maps. The P.M. of Castlerahan has 28 tlds., and the D.S. has 23 ; the O.S. has 29. In Munterconnacht parish the D.S. has 14 and the O.S. the same number of tlds.

#### THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT AND THE RESTORATION.

The Revolution of 1641 was at first confined to the Irish of Ulster, but it rapidly spread until almost every part of Ireland was involved. In England civil war between Charles I. and the Puritan Parliament broke out in August, 1642. The effect of the English civil war was to cause reaction and counter-reaction in Ireland. No less than five distinct parties in Ireland—each with its own army—were contending for political supremacy. There were two Irish Catholic parties ; one was in favour of making peace with Charles I., securing their lands, getting rid of the Penal laws, and joining forces with the English King to overthrow the Puritan Parliament. The other party, under the distinguished Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, demanded the continuance of the war in order to secure their religious liberties and lands. The Protestant Royalist party, comprising the majority of the Protestant landowners of Leinster and Connacht, supported the king. On the other hand the Undertakers and Adventurers of Munster, true to their Puritan traditions, gave whole-hearted support to the English Parliament. The Ulster Scots also supported the Parliament. It may be noted that the Marquis of Ormond held Dublin and Drogheda for the King. However, acting on the King's orders Ormond surrendered Dublin and Drogheda to the Parliamentary forces in 1647. The authority of Charles had been fast disappearing in Ireland, and that ungrateful monarch was filled with apprehension lest Dublin and Drogheda should fall into the hands of his "Irish rebels" rather than his "English rebels." Drogheda, during its occupation by the forces of the Royalist Ormond, was the base from which the garrisons sallied

forth to burn and plunder the neighbouring districts. On one of these predatory incursions, in August, 1642, the district of Virginia was visited, and the Castle of Ballaghanea burned.\*

With the execution of Charles I. there set in an immediate reaction in Ireland. All parties flocked to the Royalist standard, and, with the exception of Drogheda, Derry and Dublin, the country was united against the Parliamentary forces.

Cromwell landed in Ireland in 1649, and before his departure in 1650 the Irish forces were relentlessly crushed, and schemes were formulated for a system of confiscation on a scale hitherto unattempted. In August, 1652, the Parliament in London passed the *Act for the Settling of Ireland*. The principal clauses of this Act were :—

- I. All persons who, at any time before 10th Nov., 1642, had contrived, advised, counilled, or promoted the rebellion, or who, before that date, aided the rebellion by supplying men, horses, money, etc., were excepted from pardon for life and estate.
- II. The same penalty was pronounced against all priests who took part in, or aided, the rebellion.
- III. One hundred and five persons were specially marked out for the death penalty.

This extraordinary clause condemned to death the Protestant Marquis of Ormond, whose name is placed first on the list. Other Protestant noblemen mentioned were the Earl of Roscommon, Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Baron Inchiquin. Leading Ulster Presbyterians, including Sir George Munroe, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir Robert Steward were also specified. Nearly all the principal Catholic landowners were mentioned, including the Earl of Castlehaven and the Earl of Clanrickard. But the death sentences were never carried out ; whether it was ever intended to carry them out we have no means of knowing. At any rate, some escaped to the Continent and the remainder took advantage of various clauses at the end of the Act which gave an opportunity of evading the course of the law.

- IV. All who, since Oct. 1st, 1641, either as principals or accessories, had committed murder were condemned to death and forfeiture.

Under this clause murder was defined as the killing of any person not publicly entertained and maintained in arms by the English ; furthermore, as murderers were to be held all who had killed any Englishman so entertained and maintained in arms if the killer had himself not been an officer or soldier in the pay of the Irish against the English. Over 200 persons were put to death, but it has been estimated that about one hundred thousand were condemned. Those who suffered belonged mostly to the wealthy classes.

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\* Vide *Journal*, Vol. 1., p. 301.

Certain classes who were considered to have been comparatively "innocent" were given the option of transplantation to Connacht. All who had served against the Parliament as Colonel or in any higher rank after, *but not before*, 10th November, 1642, were to be banished and their estates confiscated. But their wives and children were to receive lands to the extent of one-third of their former estates in some place which the Parliament would decide. Again, all who had served from the same date against the Parliament, but were not of high rank, such as Colonel, etc., were not to suffer banishment, and were to receive land under the same conditions. It may be observed that these clauses affected Protestant and Presbyterian landowners as much as Catholics. In fact all the Protestant and Presbyterian landowners, as well as the Catholic landowners who refused to recognise the English Republican Parliament, had their estates forfeited.

Another clause specified that all Catholics, unless they could prove "Constant Good Affection" to the Commonwealth, who had lived in Ireland at any time during the period 1641-50 and had not been included in any of the previous clauses were to lose one-third of their estates and to obtain lands elsewhere equal in value to the remaining two-thirds. But the clause specified that they must give proof of having actually rendered service to the Parliament. By this provision, which very few could satisfy, all the Catholic landlords, with the exception of twenty-six, lost their lands. As Mr. Dunlop states:—

Not a single person of whatever nationality he was—Irish, Scottish or English—was exempted from the consequences of participation in the Rebellion, either by having to lose his life or his property, partially or altogether, unless he could prove that he had been constantly faithful to the Interest of England as represented by Parliament, or by subsequent explanations could plead some special act of favour on his behalf. How utterly impossible it was for nearly anyone to comply with this monstrous demand was shortly to appear.\*

A time limit—1st May, 1654—was fixed by which time the transplantation was to be completed. Some of the Irish transplanted, others refused and were executed, while great numbers emigrated to the Continent and settled in France and Spain.

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 buoyed up the Irish with high hopes of recovering their lost property. These hopes were at first partially realised. The King ordered the immediate restoration of their estates to a number of dispossessed landowners. The *Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland* was published in November, 1660. According to this document all the Irish who had lost their property by reason of their religion or their loyalty to the King were to be restored, as well as the Protestant Royalist officers who had served the King before 1649. But the Declaration was rendered nugatory—as far as the Irish

\* *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Vol. I., c. xxxiii.



were concerned—by another provision that the Cromwellians were to hold on to all they had got. This, accordingly, they did.

The Declaration required an Act of Parliament to give it full authority, and an Irish Parliament was accordingly elected for this purpose. But only one Catholic was returned to the House of Commons and a few Catholic Peers to the House of Lords. Thirty-six Commissioners had already been appointed and began their investigations in March, 1661. But as those Commissioners were themselves already in possession of confiscated lands, the chances of justice for the Irish were very remote. However, as the Acts of the Irish Parliament had to be finally sanctioned by the English Privy Council in London, the Irish hoped that there they might obtain favour. Here again they were disappointed. The Cromwellians who held possession of the lands in Ireland were well armed and threatened resistance. The King was weak, selfish, and vacillating. Bribes were freely distributed, and the great Catholic lords such as Clanrickard gave no help. The Duke of York—afterwards James II.—was openly hostile to Irish claims.

The *Bill for the Settlement of Ireland* was decided by the Privy Council and passed by the Irish Parliament in May, 1662. The Act was very unfavourable to the Irish. Certain people who were specially deserving of the King's favour—*Nominees* as they were called—were to be restored. But the whole scheme was wrecked by a mass of bribery and corruption.

A Court of Claims for the purpose of carrying out the Act was established in 1662, but delayed its sittings until Jan., 1663. A time limit—21st Aug. 1663—was set, and after this date no more claims were to be heard. Elaborate schemes were devised to prevent the majority of Catholic landowners from obtaining restoration as "Innocents." However, by taking advantage of certain legal intricacies, many of the Irish managed to secure their property.

The Restoration settlement completed the ruin of the great majority of Irish landowners. In Ulster only a few of the dispossessed were restored, including Daniel O'Neill, Lord Antrim, and Sir Henry O'Neill. Lord Masserene held on both to the estate of Daniel O'Neill until the latter's death, and to the estate of Sir Henry O'Neill until 1666. He relinquished this estate on receiving compensation elsewhere. In the Barony of Castlerahan as will be shown later he obtained large grants. The great bulk of the native landowners failed to obtain any redress. They gradually became merged into the tenant class or took service on the Continent.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* give the names of the owners and occupiers in 1641, and the details of the Restoration grants. The lists for the parishes of Mullagh, Killinkere and Lurgan have already been given.\* As before, the names of the

\* *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 130-138 and pp. 304-307.

CASTLERAHAN PARISH.

Proprietors in 1641 are on the left ; the names of the Granteeson the right. The letter C signifies Termon (or Church) land ; B, M, and L, bog, mountain, and lake, respectively. R = Roll ; e.g., R. 7, 927 reads " Roll, folio 7, page 927."

		A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.	
THOS. GOONE, Irish Papist.	1. {	Cornahelt ... ..	248 2 16	28 0 0	Faustin Cuppage by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R.2. 156.
		1B. Of the Same ...	20 1 8 Unprofitable	154 0 0	Thos. Coote, Esq., by cert. 10 May, 1667. R. 4. 479.
JOHN O'REILLY, Irish Papist.	2. {	Carnerovan... ..	219 3 8	43 1 32	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R.7. 928.
				21 0 8	Thos. Hamson.
				149 0 0	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.
3. {	Crossergoole ...	86 1 8	54 3 0	Thos. Hamson by cert. 11 Jan., 1666. R. 3. 209.	
	3.M. {	Belonging to the Adjacent Towns	267 1 24 Unprofitable	10 0 0	Thos. Hamson by cert. 11 Jan., 1666. R. 3. 209.
			53 1 8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.	
			23 0 0	Abraham Clements by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1. 737.	

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		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.		
EARL OF WESTMEATH	4.	Cloyaghremonan ...			323	3	8	323	3	8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.	
	5.		Clodath ...			165	1	8	165	1	8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.
	5B.		Of the same ...	79	2	16	Unprofitable					
JAMES NUGENT, Irish Papist.	6.	Lismahemgan and Cornamucklagh			384	3	24	65	0	0	Faustin Cuppage in Cornamucklagh by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R. 2. 156.	
	6B.		In the same ...	34	3	24	Unprofitable	319	0	0	Geo. Burton by cert. 16 Nov. 1666. R. 1. 718.	
	7.		Barconey ...			525	1	24	93	1	13	Patrick Macken by cert. 14 Jan. 1666. R. 1. 737.
7B.	Of the same ...	23	1	8	Unprofitable			191	0	0	Geo. Burton by cert. 16 Nov., 1666. R. 1. 718.	
								92	0	0	Faustin Cuppage by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R. 2. 156.	
								50	0	0	Jos. Robinson by cert. 10 Apr., 1668. R. 7. 279.	
								27	0	0	Henry Brereton by cert. 12 Oct., 1666. R. 1. 344.	

LAWRENCE  
DOWDALL,  
Irish  
Papist.

						71	2	27	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 927.		
8.	Garran Rush	...		130	3	32	}	124	0	0	Henry Brereton by cert. 12 Oct., 1666. R. 1. 344.
8B.	Of the same	...	198	0	0	Unprofitable		6	3	32	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 927.
9.	Cormeene	...		155	1	24	}	155	1	24	Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
10.	Achunarran	...		85	1	8		85	1	8	Lord Massarene by cert., ut supra.
11.	Cornacreene	...		126	2	0	}	47	2	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. 6th July, 1666. R. 2. 119.
11B.	Of the same	...	40	0	0	Unprofitable		78	2	33	Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
12.	Carneine	...		135	2	0	}	135	2	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
13.	Killiquilly...	...		171	0	32		124	0	32	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
							}	47	0	0	Robert Booth, by cert. 2 Nov., 1666. R. 4.458

		A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
LAWRENCE DOWDALL, Irish Papist	14	Rossoden	...	...		108	0	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. et supra.  Robert Booth, by cert. ut supra.  Lord Massarene, by cert ut supra. R. 7. 928
	15	Mullaghmore	...			122	2	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
	15B.	Of the same	...	3 3 8 Unp.					
	16	Cornakelly	...			120	0	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
	17	Corrindeduffe and Drumsheeale				278	2	32	
	17B.	Of the same	...	114 2 32 Unp.					Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.  Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
	18	Enagh <i>alias</i> Annagh				366	1	24	
LAUNCE									Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.  Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
		19	Killoran	...		85	1	8	
									Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. 6 July, 1668, R. 7. 928.

20	}	Carrigevy ... ..	77 0 32	}	77 0 32	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
21		Derrylorgan ... ..	292 2 16		45 3 31	Robert Booth by cert. 2 Nov., 1666. R. 4. 458.
					159 1 17	Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
LORD C. ✠ 1	}	Castleraghan ... ..	214 2 8	}		
LAMBERT English 1B. Protestant		Of the same ... 240 2 34 Unp.				
WM. C. ✠ 2	}	Glowneaghy and Brasklone	452 2 16	}		Church Lands.
BEDELL, Bishop of 2B. Killmore.		Of the same ... 135 0 32 Unp.				
K. C. ✠ B.	}	Killderagh ... ..	296 3 24	}		
GEO. CREIGHTON, Minister, Scottish Protestant		Of the same ... 27 3 0 Unp.				

*Total of this Parish.*

*Munister Connaught. Part of Castlerahan.*

		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	
89	Eter and Corgagh				467	3	24	} Luke Plunkett, Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Folio 6.
89B.	Of the same ...	38	0	32	Unp.			
90	Carrick ...				275	2	16	
90B.	Of the same ...	41	0	32	Unp.			
91	Aghekencronagh ...				262	3	24	
92	Munecoghan ...				136	2	16	
92B.	Of the same ...	30	2	32	Unp.			
B.	Of the same ...	7	0	32	Unp.			
LORD PLUNKETT, Earle of Fingall	93	Knockantemple and Tineden			91	2	0	
	93B.	Of the same ...	54	2	32	Unp.		
	94	Achonquilly ...			41	0	16	
	95	Corranagh ...			160	1	24	
	96	Knocknegartan ...			126	0	0	
	96B.	Of the same ...	14	1	32	Unp.		

Chr. Plunkett. Left to law for a  
mort. decree. Not in Innocents'  
Roll. 17 July, 1663.

97	Aghantegall	...			347	2	16	} Earle of Fingall ut supra 6.
97B.	Of the same	... 26	1	0 Unp.				
98	Ballaghdorragh	...			276	3	24	
98B.	Of the same	...128	2	32 Unp.				
99	Island	...		166 0 32				
99B.	Of the same	... 9	3	24 Unp.	173	1	8	
A.	Of the same	...		7 0 16				
100	Knocknefea	...			157	3	8	} Edward Plunkett in remainder by decree 16 April, 1663 after Lord Dunsany's decease. Not returned in Roll Innocents.
100B.	Of the same	... 11	3	8 Unp.				
M.M.	Two parcells of the same	... 45	3	24 Unp.				
101	Barnagh	...			271	0	16	} Earle of Fingall ut supra.
101B.	Of the same	...180	0	16 Unp.				
102	Lurganboy Part of Knocknefea				218	2	0	} Edward Plunkett in remainder : by Decree 16 April, 1663. Chr. Plunkett left to law for a Mortgage Decree : not in Roll Innocents 17 July, 1663. Alex. Plunkett dismiss as to this. Earle of Fingall in Fee.
102B.	Three Parcells of the same	... 33	3	24 Unp.				

*Total of this Parish.*



In the Catalogue of the Reports and Schedules addressed to the Court of Claims who claimed as, or in right of, soldiers serving in Ireland in the Commonwealth period\* we find (*inter alios*) the names of Thomas Cooch, Abraham Clements, Col. Thomas Coote, Thomas Hamson, Patrick Macken, Henry Brereton, Joseph Robinson, Alex. Piggott, John Reade, Charles Davenport, Daniel Clements, Henry Palmer, and John Dalin. That they were amply repaid in grants of confiscated land is shown by the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. Lawrence Dowdall, whose Castle-*rahan* estate was very extensive, was also owner of Athlumney Castle, Co. Meath† He appears in the lists of Innocents and also among those to whom the "Connaught Certificates" of trans-plantation were issued in 1653-54. As one of the *Forty-nine* officers he was returned among those who served Charles I. in the wars in Ireland before 5th June, 1649. Among the "Nominees" of Charles II, who were restored to their principal seats we find "Sir Lucas Dowdall, Knt., son of Lawrence Dowdall of Athlumney, in the County Meath, Esq." Under the Williamite confiscations of 1702 Sir Luke Dowdall lost his estates. He afterwards went to the Continent and served in the Irish Brigade.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that the Church lands in Castlerahan Parish were of considerable extent. The *Inquisition* of 1590 found that the Hospital of "Castlerahin" possessed two polls or cartrons of value 2 shillings per annum. The same *Inquisition* found that the Hospital of "Monterconnaught" possessed half a poll valued at sixpence per annum. In the *Inquisitions* of James I. (No. 3) we find that the Rectory of Castlerahan was assigned to "Nicholas O'Gowan alias Smith : the Bishop of Kilmore Patron." In 1669 Rev. Eber Burch was Rector of Castlerahan, Lurgan, and Munterconnacht. Those three parishes appear to have been grouped together for administrative purposes by the Established Church. For example, in the Diocese of Kilmore *Will and Grant Book*‡ there is a record under 1717, of the "Administration of the Goods of Henry Plunkett of Knocknevea, parish of Lurgan. Katherine Reilly, widow and relict of Henry Plunkett of Knocknevea, parish of Lurgan, Co. Cavan, A.D. 1717." Under the same year we find "Administration of the Goods of Edmond Carroll, late of Carrick, parish of Lurgan." In addition to the extensive grants in Lurgan parish allotted to Rev. Geo. Creighton§ it will be seen that Kildorragh was included. The general effects of the Plantation in the Barony of Castlerahan have already been discussed.||

Although a complete transplantation of the native population

\* O'Hart, *Irish Landed Gentry*, p. 411.

† Vide Sir William Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, p. 132.

‡ H.—6-44, 1693-1727, P.R.O., Dublin.

§ *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 308.

|| *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 303.

was at first intended yet it was found impracticable. In the Act of 1652 it was declared that all labourers, ploughmen, and artificers were to be pardoned, provided they were not possessed of property of a greater value than £10 and had not taken part in the rising of 1641. But as the great majority had taken part this section would be of no benefit to them. The English settlers soon, however, discovered that without the native population it would be impossible to cultivate the land. The soldiers were untrained in farm work, and labourers could not be enticed from England.

The case against transplantation was now forcibly presented in a pamphlet entitled *The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed* (London 1655.) The author was Vincent Gookin, son of an English settler in Co. Cork. In this pamphlet Gookin maintained that without the Irish peasantry the English settlers could not possibly hold their estates:—

Few of the peasantry [he writes] but were skilful in husbandry, few of the women but were skilful in dressing hemp and flax and making woollen cloth. In every hundred men there were five or six masons and carpenters at least, and these more handy and ready in building ordinary houses, and much more skilful in supplying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers.

Gookin's policy raised a storm of protest in certain quarters, but it finally prevailed. It was ordered that only landowners, and those who had actually participated in the rebellion, were to be transplanted. The latter clause was never fully insisted upon, and so the great majority of the peasantry were allowed to remain.

But, as Mr. W. F. Butler puts it:—

The Cromwellian settlement meant the sweeping away of all Catholic landlords—old Irish, old English, new English—from all the counties east of the Shannon and from two of the six counties west of that river. But, it did not, as we have seen, involve the sweeping away of the mass of the inhabitants. These remained on, a despised but indispensable race, hewers of wood and drawers of water for their conquerors.\*

Archbishop King, with ingenuous candour, complained that the dispossessed Irish landowners did not accommodate themselves in becoming labourers to the new possessors:—

Their sons or nephews (he subjoins) brought up in poverty, and matched with peasant girls, will become the tenants of the English officers and soldiers; and, thence, reduced to labourers, will be found the turf-cutters and potato-diggers of the next generation.†

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\* *Confiscation in Irish History*, p. 159.

† *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, etc., Dublin: 1730.

In East Breiffne the various Acts did not bring many changes among the native owners of the soil. A glance over the *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)* shows that this was true, at least, in the the Barony of Castlerahan. But during the 18th c.—from about 1700 onwards—the peasants' position grew gradually worse and the picture is, indeed, a gloomy one.\* Testimony to the state of the lower orders in Ireland is fully borne out, among others, by such able and competent foreign authorities as Dr. Bonn and Friedrich von Raumer, the German historian. Arthur Young, an Englishman, and an astute observer, in his *Tour in Ireland (1776-1779)* gives many details of the servile state of the people at that period. The Penal Laws removed any fixity of tenure which the native owners might have possessed. The plantation schemes had before then provided that where possible the planters should let their lands on lease rather than on the tenant-at-will system. When fixity of tenure was abolished by a Penal law the mass of the Catholic population was forced under the tenant-at-will system with disastrous results. A great barrier was thus thrown up between the owner and the tiller of the soil.

#### NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664.

The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 contain the names of the principal householders of the parish in that year. The importance of those lists in locating the chief families of that period, together with the lists for Mullagh, Killinkere, and Lurgan have already been noted (*Journal* Vol. I. p. 146 and p. 311).

#### PARISH OF CASTLERAHEN AND MOINTERCONAGHT.

LISMACANEGAN.—Thomas Burton, Esq. (three hearths), Phillip Bready, and Ellinor Terrell (widdow).

BARECONY.—Cahir Rely, William Lincy, Phillip Lincy, and John Rely.

CORNEMUCKLAGH.—Phelym Rely, and Hugh Degenan.

BRACKLONY.—Phillip Rely, Edmond Rely, and Thomas Shimon.

GLANKEWHYE.—Thomas Caffry, Hugh Lincy, Daniell Colloone, Brian Brady, Brian Collon, and Rose Boilan (widdow).

CORMEENE.—John Rely, Owen Magawran, Brian Genall, and Una ny Conaght (widdow).

GARROWROSSE.—Paticke Lincy, Denis Daly, and Edmond Nugent.

CORNEKILLE.—Edmond McSymon, Conor Carwill, Thomas Curwill, and John Carwill.

CORMEDDUFF.—John Rely, Tirlagh Ffarrelly, Charles Lincy, and Paticke Clerkan.

ENAGH.—Tirlagh Clerkan, Thomas Clerkan, and John Rely.

AGHULEAN.—Hugh Rely, and Charles Clerkan.

\* Vide O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th Century*, *passim*.

ROSODDEN.—Conor Relly, John Relly, Tirlagh Conaght, Edmond Relly, and Katherin Relly (widow).

CROSSCOOLE.—Edmond Relly, and Phillip Relly,

KILCULLY.—Ffarrell Lincy, Charles Relly, William Lincy, and Suan ny Lincy (widow).

CLOGAGH.—Tirlagh Lincy, Phillip Lincy, and John Lincy.

CLADAGH.—Hugh Relly and Joan Relly (widow).

KILDOROGH.—John Brady, James Murrey, James Lincy, and Rose Lincy (widow).

CASTLERAHEN.—Phillip Clery, Brian Clery, and Hugh Clery.

CARNAN.—Daniell Gallagan, Patrick McCale, Morris O'Hery, and Syly Relly (widow).

BALLAGHDOROGH.—Richard Sandome. Gilneese Relly, and Edmond Relly.

AGHENTEGGELL.—David Prier, Tirlagh Relly, Laghlyn Crelly, Phillip Lyncy, and Phillip McClery.

KNOCKNEGARTAN.—Brian Relly, Brian M'Shane Relly, and Patricke Lincy.

KNOCKNEVEA.—Thomas Tippin, and Shane Magawry.

CORONAGH.—Phelym Relly.

BEARNAGH.—Phillip McCullin, and Tirlagh McIlmartin.

MONECHELL.—Tirlagh Lincy and Denis Hargan.

KNOCKETAMPLE.—Phillip Geaghan and James Macaffry.

AGHKINCROCHAN.—Owen Lincy, Brian Relly, and Katherin Geaghan (widow).

EITER AND CARGAGH.—Henry Palmer, Brian Relly, Hugh Relly, Patricke Benit, Cahir Relly, Phillip Relly, and Owen Benett.

CORNEHELT.—Shane McBrien.

LACKAN.—Edmond McCabe, Teige McConin, and James McCabe.

DIRILORGAN AND POTTLENECAPLE.—Richard Relly and Sily ny Relly.

Total.—103 Hearths: £XII.: S.VII.

The list records 31 tlds, in the parish. The last three are now included in the parish of Denn. The list gives about two-thirds of the tlds. in Castlerahan and Munterconnacht. As already mentioned these lists cannot represent more than one-half of the total number of householders. Thomas Burton of Lismacanegean, is returned as paying for three hearths; the remainder paid for only one hearth. The tld. spellings do not differ materially from the Down Survey, except perhaps "Glankewhy" (Clonkeiffy) and "Aghulean" (Aghalion). The latter is not marked on either the D.S. or 1609 P.M.

The family names in the list are recorded in their original Gaelic form, and will easily be recognised. When it is understood that they were written down as they were pronounced their form presents little difficulty. A few names, Burton, Sandome, Palmer, and Tippin, were obviously those of settlers. The lists afford

proof of the fact that despite the confiscations the native Irish as tenants of some sort, remained in possession of the land, or at least occupied it.

In the Commonwealth documents we find some interesting references to the activities of Hugh Rely of Aghulean (Aghalion) whose name occurs in the above lists. It was sought at that time to connect the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly, with imaginary treasonable "conspiracies," and for this purpose sworn informations against him were solicited by the authorities. They were, of course, forthcoming. A document entitled *The Examinacion of Hughe O'Relie of Agholein in the County of Cavan, Gentleman*, is dated 21 July, 1663.\* In the course of his statement he asserts that a kinsman of his own, John Relie, secretary to Dr. Owen MacSweeney, Bishop of Kilmore, told him in his own house at Agholein, that the Primate, Edmund O'Relie, had written to the Bishop of Kilmore informing him that he (the Primate) was ready to come to Ireland with 15,000 men. Furthermore, that Phillip Mac Hugh mac Shane Counelly O'Relye was to come from Flanders with 10,000 men. The stated objective was the restoration of all church spiritualities and temporalities and also of the lands of Philip Mac Hugh (O'Reilly.)

Another statement, dated 13 August, 1663, is as follows:—

Hugh O'Relie of Aghellyn, gentleman, adged 20 odd yeares or thereabouts deposed that on the 28 day of June last past Antonie Doghertie guardian of the ffriers in the countie of Tirone, John mac Phillip mac Shane Bradie, Thomas McKernan, Terlagh O'Gowan, Thomas Murphie and other ffranciscan ffriers to the number of 15 assembled together at Ballebeath in the baronie of Creemourne to contrive a way for the sending of John mac Phillip mac Shane Bradie a ffranciscan frier into Spaine or Rome to Edmund Garrat Reelie there primate in order to a deseign of leavying a warr Here in Ireland. They are raising of considerable sums of money in many counties of this Kingdom being encouraged thereunto by the ffriers who have Indulgences for seaven yeares sent unto them by the Pope. He is creadible informed that they have already in banke above 2,500 li which is kept in the hands of Neale O'Gowen guardian of the ffriers in the Convent of Carrickmermadderie. † He further deposeth

\* The statements are printed in full in Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660-1760), p. 2. They were discovered by Father Burke among the Carte MSS., in the Bodleian, Oxford.

† By inference from the context it is obvious that this is Carricknamaddoo, now misnamed Waterloo, at Killinkere. In the Report of the *Inquisition* taken at Cavan, 5th March, 1613, for the purpose of defining the boundaries of the territory of Sliabh Guaire, then in the possession of "Philip O'Rely of Cavan," we find that the boundary line passed through "Cargaghnemadery" (vide *Patent Rolls*, 16 James I). In the townland of Carricknamaddoo is still pointed out the remains of the Friars' house, and close by is the Friars' rock—a Mass rock of the Penal times. Alongside is *ṬṐḃṐṚ ḏṐ ṢṐṚṐṚṐṚ*, i.e., the Friars' well.

that Primate Reelie hath appoynted fower clergiemen one fer each province in Ireland to be his correspondents, counsellors, intelligencers and advisers. The said Neale O'Gowan was appoynted for the province of Ulster which was told to this Examinat by the said Neal they both being together drinking of a bottle of aqua vitæ under a hill near to Virginia.

The information goes on to allege that Primate O'Reilly was engaged in all sorts of elaborate intrigues. The Primate during this time was actually living on the alms of French and Belgian bishops. All the informations were clumsy tissues of falsehood without any foundation whatever. Neal O'Gowan was arrested by Sir Patrick Hamilton on warrant dated 17 August, 1663, but careful search revealed nothing. The various allegations lacked corroboration and cohesion. But the purposes of the allegations were fulfilled, and the shadow of conspiracy was cast over the leading Irish ecclesiastics.

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## II.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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[Read 18th March, 1926.]

In pre-Reformation times the Hospitals of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht served as parish churches. The question of the origin and administration of the Hospitals of Breiffne has already been discussed in these pages.\* Prior to the 18th century the parishes of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht were ecclesiastically distinct, but it will be convenient to deal with them together in the present paper, as their history has many points of interest in common. Both of them appear to have been under the patronage of the O'Reilly clan and were richly endowed with termon land, Castlerahan having, as we shall see later, a larger share.

When the Abbey of St. Mary's at Kells—to which these churches belonged—was confiscated by Henry VIII in 1539, its dependent churches soon afterwards suffered the same fate. In 1542 an Inquiry was held regarding the King's "Revenues of Ireland" and specified among the "Parcels of the King's revenues whereof as yet his Grace taketh little profit, for that therein as yet there is no perfect order taken, and be not charged," we find (*inter alia*):

The rectories of Killen [Killann], Knockbride, Castleraghan, Templeporte, and Cardragh, late of the Abbey of Kenlis, in Meath.†

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\* *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 139 *et seq.*; Vol. II, p. 27 *et seq.*

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland—Carew MSS.—1542*, p. 202, dated by Carew, '34 Henry VIII.'

About forty years later, when English law began to assert its authority in Breiffne, the parishes of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht began to realise the legal effects. The *Fiants* of Eliz. (*loc. cit.*) show that in these districts a large number of leases, pardons, etc., were granted in accordance with English legislation. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth granted to Gerald Fleming, of Cabragh [Kingscourt], in Co. Cavan (*inter alia*) :

The rectories of Killyn, Knockebride, Castleraghan, Templeporte, and Crodraghe, in Co. Cavan, possessions of the Abbey of Kells, Co. Meath, waste and not leased to any since the suppression. To hold for 21 years. Rent, £13 3s. 4d.\*

The conditions under which this lease was granted are detailed as follows :

Provided that he shall not alien, without license under the great seal, to any except they be of the English nation both by father and mother, or born in the English Pale. He shall not levy coyne or livery or other unlawful impositions, or permit any other to do so whereby her Majesty's lands by colour of custom might be chargeable with the same hereafter. The lease to be enrolled in the Auditor-General's office within four months.

The lease expired in 1608, and on 20th April of the same year James I of England accepted from Gerald Fleming the lands detailed in this grant—together with “the houses and lands in Magherendone [Maghera, in Lurgan parish], in Cavan Co., parcel of the Abbey of Kells” in order to make him a regrant of the same. The regrant was effected on the 22nd December of the same year, together with :

All the tithes or other hereditaments spiritual and temporal belonging, in consideration of the true, faithful, loyal, and dutiful services done by him to Queen Elizabeth, and the better to enable him to perform the like to the King ; to hold for 21 years at the rent of £13 13s. 4d.†

The Inquisition held at Cavan, 19 Sept., 1590, to inquire into the value and extent of the Church lands in Cavan, found that :—

The Termon or Hospital of Castlerahin containing two polls or cartrons in the said county, pertain and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen and are worth two shillings per annum.‡

The same Inquisition found that the Termon or Hospital of Monterconnaught contained half a poll valued at six pence per annum. In Archdall's list, obviously extracted from the same source, the figures are the same.§ These figures show that the

\* *Fiants*, 14th Jan., XXIX Eliz.: 16th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, Appendix.

† *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

‡ *Excheq. Inquis.* Eliz. No. 3, P.R.O. Dublin ; Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 216, *et seq.*

§ *Mon. Hib.*, 1st ed., 1786, p. 783, Addenda.

church lands of Castlerahan were much more extensive than those of Munterconnacht. The tlds. of Clonkeiffy and Ballylynch [Barconny] were also termon land. The Inquisition just quoted found that the Termon of "Clonkyaghvoy" contained four polls, valued at four shillings. Archdall (*op. cit.*) has a similar entry. The *Books of Survey and Distribution (loc. cit.)* show that the church lands in Castlerahan, then held by Lord Lambery amounted to 214a. 2r. 8p.; the church lands in "Clowneaght, and Brasklone" [Clonkeiffy and Brackloney], then in possession of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, amounted to 452a. 2r. 16p., or approximately double the acreage of Castlerahan. This would be in agreement with the relative proportions deduced from the Report of the 1590 Inquisition. Kildorrigh, which was also church land, contained 296a. 3r. 24p. and was then held by Rev. George Creighton, Rector of Lurgan. It is not mentioned in the Inquisition Report, and was not created until 1626. These church lands are marked on the *Down Survey Map* (with the exception of Ballylynch), already noted, and show that in the Parish of Castlerahan at least 964a 0r. 8p. belonged to the Church.

In 1606 Sir Garrett Moore obtained a large grant, among others, of the termon lands of the Hospitals of Castlerahan, 2 polls, rent, 5 shillings; Mounteyconnoght,  $\frac{1}{2}$  poll, rent, 1/3; and Clone-Kraghvoy, 4 polls, rent, 10/-.\* The Commission which sat at Cavan on 25th Sept., 1609, to inquire into the status of the Cavan Hospitals assigned these lands to the Prot. Bishop of Kilmore, and James I established the grants in 1626. The Commissioners of 1609 found that the Bishop of Kilmore "is entitled, in right of his See, to the rents issuing out of the several termon lands following in the barony of Castlerahan, viz.:"—†

Castlerahan, 2 polls, 1s. 4d.; Clonchyachuy,  $\frac{1}{2}$ m. per annum, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ m. visitation; Lurgan, 2 polls, 1s. 11d.; Ranetaven, 2 polls, 33s. 4d.; Rahone, 1 poll, 1s. 4d.; and Killenkerrie, 2 polls, 1s. 8d., which five polls are in the parish of Mollagh—and that in the said barony are the several following parishes: Castlerahan, 2 ballibetaghs; Lurgan, 3 ballibetaghs; and Munterchonaght parish, 3 ballibetaghs; parsonages and vicarages impropriate to the late dissolved Abbey of Kells, the whole of the tithes are paid in kind, and the said Abbey is to maintain curates; Mollagh, containing 5 ballibetaghs and 5 polls, whereof 8 polls, viz., the 3 polls of the termon land of Balliconphillip [Clannaphilip] and the 5 polls of Lissanymore, are in the barony of Loughtie, the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four [Fore], and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, one-third to the vicar, excepting thereout the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan and the 8 polls in the barony of Loughtie, and

\* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1606, p. 60; Patent Rolls, 3 Jas. I.*

† *Cavan Inquisitions, 1609, Patent Rolls, 7 Jas. I.*



the one-third of the tithe of the said 8 polls are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore as his mensal lands, also two-thirds of the tithes of the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan, and the vicar pays 12 shillings proxies—and that the 8 polls of the lands of Magherondone [Maghera]\* in the parish of Lurgan, belonged to the late Abbey of Kells, . . . . .

It has already been noted (*supra.*) that in 1612 Robert, Bishop of Kilmore, with the consent of the dean and chapter, demised to Sir Oliver Lambert of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and Sir Garrett Moore † of Mellifont, Co. Louth, two polls of the lands of Castlerahan and half a poll of Moynterconnaght.

The Hospital lands of Ballylynch included the present tld. of Barconny, With regard to this Archdall states that:—

A lease of the Hospital of Ballylynch of 21 years was granted by James I to Sir Edward Moore, ancestor of the Earl of Drogheda at the yearly rent of 3d.; revision of same granted him for 60 years together with Hospitals of Drumloman and Mounterconnaughe, April 23rd, 1605.

In 1609, Marie, Baronesse of Delvin, widow, and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, her son, were granted (*inter alia*) two polls of land in "Ballilince alias Barconny" (*supra.*) The *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586, have "Ballylynch" (*supra.*)

The Abbey of Kells, to which these Hospitals were attached, had already been suppressed in 1539, and as indicated above the Hospitals soon began to experience the effects of the suppression. But they were not definitely singled out for suppression until after 1586. This was owing to Breifne not having been finally subdued until after that period. The churches were abandoned, fell into disuse, and in 1609 were already in ruins, War and confiscation were affecting the downfall of the Hospitals. The 1609 Plantation Map has no record of Castlerahan church, but a castle is marked in the tld. This was the old castle of the O'Reillys, situated on the moat of Castlerahan already described. The same

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\* In the Commonwealth Grants (1668) the tld. of "Magherendowne" is entered as containing 556a. 1r. 24p. of profitable land and 257a. 3r. 8p. unprofitable. The tld. stretched along Loch Ramor from Ballaghanea to the Blackwater. The Inquiry held in 1542 (*loc. cit.*) found that "four messuages, sixty acres of arable, four of meadow, two of wood, and fourteen of pasture, with the appurtenances, in Maghlendone" belonged to the Abbey of Kells. The 1609 and 1654 maps show that the tld. of Magheradowne included the present tlds. of Burren, Pollintemple, Drumheel, Carrakeelty, Bruse and Stramatt. In pre-Reformation days a church existed on Woodward's Island, adjacent to Pollintemple, and the friars attached to it attended to the needs of the locality. (*Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 36.)

† In 1566 Sir Edward Moore, who then came to Ireland as a military adventurer, was granted by Queen Elizabeth the Abbey of Mellifont, County Louth, together with extensive possessions in Meath and Louth. His son, Sir Garrett Moore—here mentioned—was created first Lord Moore by James I, who bestowed many royal favours on him. The Moore family resided at Mellifont until about 1720 when they removed to Moore Abbey, Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.

map does not include the parish of Munterconnacht, Neither Castlerahan nor Munterconnacht are included in the list of Kilmore churches described by the Inquisition of 1620 as then in use for religious services.\*

In 1617, James I granted to Sir Robert Stewart, one of the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber (*inter alia*), "the three rectories of Lorgen, Moibolge, and Mointerconnought."†

The Hospital of Munterconnacht was situated in the tld. of Knockatemple and in a prominent position on an eminence overlooking Loch Ramor. Its termon lands, which were comparatively small—only half a poll or about 25 acres—were in its immediate vicinity. The *Down Survey* map (1654) has no church marked in Castlerahan tld., but marks termon land, whereas the church of Knockatemple is marked but with no termon land attached. The inference is obvious. The church lands in Castlerahan were of large extent and highly valued; these were retained by the Established Church. Munterconnacht not being so valuable, its small share of termon land was not retained as church property, but was passed into the general scheme of confiscation under the *Act of Settlement*.

It will be observed that whereas Castlerahan derives its name from the tld. in which its Hospital was situated, yet, the same does not hold true for Munterconnacht. As has already been explained, Munterconnacht was the name applied to the older tribal division rather than to that of any particular tld. Neither the *Down Survey*, the *Hearth Money Rolls*, nor the *Acts of Settlement*, specify Munterconnacht as the name of a distinct tld., but rather as a parish name. This fact is rather significant, and leads to some interesting topographical deductions. Furthermore, the *Fiants* of Eliz. (*loc. cit.*) under the years 1584, 1586, and 1592 have Munterconnacht—with variations in spelling—recorded among other tlds. in the parish. This furnishes rather clear evidence that a distinct tld. of Munterconnacht was recognised in the 16th cent. The list of *Fiants* for Co. Cavan, as elsewhere, are grouped under their respective tlds., and it is very unlikely that Munterconnacht is an exception. But the 17th cent. maps and records have no mention of it as a tld. If the 1609 map of Castlerahan Barony included the parish of Munterconnacht we would probably be able to decide the question at once. Sir William Petty's *Down Survey* (1654) is the earliest extant map of the parish known, and, strange to say, even the name of the parish is not recorded on it. A division, "Munincoghan" (V. No. 92, D.S. *supra*) is entered west of Knockatemple, and extending to the shore of Loch Ramor. At first sight this might appear to be a corruption of Munterconnacht, but from the forms of the name found on later lists, already referred to, this theory is seen to be untenable. In all the *Inquisitions* the parish church is

\* *Patent Rolls*, 17 James I, ct. *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 204. † *Ibid*, 15 James I.

referred to as the Hospital of Munterconnacht, and the tld. of Knockatemple in which it is situated is not mentioned. This is significant, and leads to the conclusion that originally the immediate vicinity of the parish church was called Munterconnacht, and, as occurred in the case of the other Hospitals of Breiffne, the name was, in the course of time, extended to the whole parish. Knockatemple is obviously a later appellation, which was applied after the foundation of the church. The newer title gradually established itself as a tld. name, while the older maintained itself as a parish title. It is an interesting example of the evolution of place nomenclature, and some parallels are existent in Breiffne. It may be noted that the grant to Luke Plunket in 1612 (*supra*) specifies: "the territory, or precinct of land called Moynterchonnagh," and clearly indicates the entire parish; "Gallonknockatemple" is there recorded as a separate tld.

At the lower end of Munterconnacht parish, and adjoining Loch Ramor, is the tld. of Crossafehin (CROSS FEICHIN, *i.e.*, St. Fechin's Cross) which suggests some connection with St. Fechin of Fore, Co. Westmeath. In the tld. of Drummoney, in Lurgan parish, a short distance from Crossafehin is an old whitethorn bush locally called CROSS FEICHIN (*i.e.*, St. Fechin's bush), already referred to.\* No local tradition exists which would enable us to identify St. Fechin with either of those places. Still, the existence of CROSS FEICHIN and CROSS FEICHIN in the same neighbourhood cannot be regarded as without significance. From the period of the introduction of Christianity not only were crosses erected in connection with religious foundations, but, as Dr. Reeves remarks, also to mark the spot where some providential visitation took place, as well as to indicate boundaries. Hence the wayside cross was of very frequent occurrence, and has entered very largely into place-names. Few of those wayside crosses have survived the troubles of the Reformation period. A cross which existed in the 6th century at Ballaghanea, in Lurgan parish, has already been mentioned.† It was erected to mark the spot where Colman Beg Mac Diarmaid, King of Meath, was slain in battle, A.D. 572. No doubt a cross existed in Crossafehin; but no trace of it appears to have survived, and even tradition does not remember it. Crossafehin tld. is not marked on the earlier maps, nor is it given in the *Hearth Money Rolls*, nor *Acts of Settlement Grants* (*supra*). However, the Jacobean grants of 1612 (*supra*) have "Crossfeighen." The *Down Survey* makes "Etor and Cargagh" include the present tlds. of Eighter and Crossafehin. In the neighbouring tld. of Eighter is a field called the Caldraph (Cεατoρac) meaning a burial-place, in which bones have been occasionally unearthed and where local tradition tells of a battle having been fought. The 1612 grants above mentioned include "Keallragh" among the divisions of Munterconnacht.

\* *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 32.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

## CASTLERAHAN'S RUINS.

The old Hospital of Castlerahan is now in ruins, but the walls and gables remain in a fair state of preservation, and are sufficient to enable us to determine the main features of the original church. In general the construction is of the plainest type, devoid of any attempt at ornamentation, and typical of the Cavan Hospitals. The Church is rectangular, and measures 41 feet in length by 18 feet in width. It extends from S.E. to N.W. The accompanying illustration shows the building viewed from the south. The doorway was on the N.W. gable, but it is now much broken and the arch appears to have been pulled down and removed. In the N.E. wall was one window, the lintels and arch of which have disappeared. The S.W. wall contained two windows; the arches and corners are now so broken and dilapidated that the original dimensions cannot now be ascertained. The window in the S.E. gable displays an arch in pointed Gothic, which is the only architectural detail which has survived the restorations, renovations, and final ruin of the past two centuries. It is evident that the other windows were of the same style and design. The base of the S.E. window has been torn away and removed.

This church was used for Protestant services during the 18th century, and was only discontinued for this purpose when the present Protestant church of Ballyjamesduff was erected in 1834. The parish (Prot.) of Ballyjamesduff had already been created in 1831, by disuniting nine tlds. from the parish of Castlerahan, five from that of Denn, two from Lurgan, and four from the parish of Kildrumferton.\* The church was erected at a cost of £1,125, of which £900 was a gift from the Board of First Fruits, and the remainder was raised by subscription.† The ruins of the old church of Castlerahan still belong to the Protestant Church Body.

It is evident that having lapsed into disuse for a long period after its confiscation, the church of Castlerahan required extensive repairs before being used again. But the walls are certainly those of the pre-Reformation church. In 1846 the church, already deserted, is described as "a small ancient building, in very indifferent repair."‡ Since that time the roof has entirely disappeared, and portions of the walls have been carried away for building purposes. The population of the parish in 1846, according to Lewis, was 7,589, including the town of Ballyjamesduff, which contained 1,071. According to the same authority, the parish contains 10,315 statute acres, including 102½ in Loch Ramor. The glebe-house, a handsome residence, was rebuilt in 1818, by aid of a gift of £100 and a loan of £1,500 from the

\* Lewis's *Topog. Dict.* S.V., "Ballyjamesduff."

† Lewis, *op. cit.*

‡ Lewis, *op. cit.* S.V. "Castlerahan."



**CASTLERAHAN RUINED CHURCH IN 1925.**

Board of First Fruits; the glebe comprised 350 acres. The tithe-rent charge of Castlerahan was £228 ls. 6d.\*

The graveyard of Castlerahan, surrounding the old church, is very extensive, and contains the tombs of many of the old families of the district. The inscriptions are very numerous, and most of them are expressed in the quaint phraseology of the early 18th cent.† We have observed no earlier date than 1716. However, it is obvious that many gravestones are buried under the accumulated debris of centuries. One inscription has: *Jan. 29th, 1734-5*. The meaning of the double date will be readily understood when we consider that the Julian Calendar—originated by Julius Cæsar in 46 B.C.—was amended by Pope Gregory XIII, established in 1582, and legally introduced into England in 1752. When the Gregorian Calendar was adopted in this year another re-adjustment was adopted: the legal year was to begin on 1st Jan. instead of on the 25th March as had hitherto been the case. In early 18th c. documents we often find both dates given. The period from 1st Jan. to 25th March was reckoned according to both "Old Style" and "New Style." In the inscription just noted, 1734 is the date according to "Old Style," but 1735 is the "New Style," according to which our modern chronology is adapted.‡ Another example occurs among the inscriptions in Munterconnacht (*quod vide*). It is evident that the new Calendar was taken into account even before it obtained English legal sanction.

Among the numerous monuments, and near the centre of the graveyard, is a simple upright stone recording the name of Rev. John Reilly, pastor of Castlerahan, who died in 1751. A large horizontal slab, near the S.W. wall of the old church, is inscribed:

**This Monument was Erected by  
Thomas Lynch of Cornekill in  
Memory of his two Brothers the Rev.  
Cornelius Lynch who depd this life  
Nov. 2 1775 Aged 50 years  
the Rev. John Lynch depd this life  
Aug. 5 1800 Aged 48 years.  
Requiescant in Pace.**

The stone displays a Host and Chalice in bas-relief. It is probable that either or both of these priests may have been attached to the parish; but we have no documentary evidence. Another horizontal stone, near the centre of the graveyard and alongside the grave of the above Rev. John Reilly, evidently marks the grave of some ecclesiastic. A book, in bas-relief, is displayed,

\* *Ibid.*

† A collection of these epitaphs will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*.

‡ *Ct. Journal*, Vol. I, p. 67.

but the inscription is almost obliterated and is now illegible. In and around the ruined church many of the ancient pastors of Castle-  
rahan are resting in indistinguishable graves. No monuments  
can now be traced in the interior of the old church. The reason  
is obvious; whatever monuments may have existed therein have  
long since been swept away.

#### MUNTERCONNACHT: ST. PATRICK'S WELL.

The Hospital of Munterconnacht was situated in a picturesque  
position, commanding an extensive panoramic view of Loch  
Ramor. It served the purpose of parish church from a very early  
period until the early 17th century, when the confiscations of  
1605 and 1617—which we have already detailed—finally disposed  
both of church and tithes lands. After this time the church fell  
into decay, was already deserted before 1612, and by 1654 was  
finally in ruins. A graveyard marks the site of this Hospital, but,  
of the church itself hardly a trace remains; a small mound would  
appear to mark the site of the eastern gable. Every other vestige  
has been demolished, and it is now impossible to determine its  
original dimensions. It was situated at the centre of the present  
graveyard and on the more elevated ground; the foundations  
of the walls have occasionally been unearthed. The complete  
disappearance of the fabric is accounted for by local tradition  
which says that the stones were carried away for building pur-  
poses elsewhere. The graveyard bears all the marks of great  
antiquity. A collection of the epitaphs—those of which are  
decipherable—will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*; no  
earlier date than 1725 has been observed. A few horizontal tomb-  
stones, deeply sunk in the clay and with inscriptions now illegible,  
appear to be very old. One inscription reads: *Feb. 19th, 1743-4*,  
recording the “Old Style” and “New Style” already referred  
to. A large inscribed horizontal stone, comparatively modern,  
marks the tomb of the O'Reilly family of Ballinlough, County  
Meath.\*

It has already been noted that Dr. Michael MacDonagh, O.P.,  
Bishop of Kilmore, who died in 1746, in his will directed that his  
body “be inter'd in the church of Munterconachty.” † But fate  
decreed otherwise, and he rests, not in the peaceful surroundings  
of Munterconnacht but in far-off Lisbon, whence he was forced to  
flee, a fugitive from the fury of the Penal Laws. It is probable  
that he was a native of this district, or at least may have ministered  
in it for some time. His episcopate was an untranquil one and he  
had constantly to change his place of residence to evade the law.  
For instance, on 9th March, 1744, we find him mentioned in a  
Report as exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Kilmore and

\* Vide *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I, p. 416 *et seq.*

† *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol I, p. 182; *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 39.

Ardagh, and on 26th March in the same year he is returned in the Sheriff's Report as residing in Dublin. He succeeded in baffling the vigilance of the authorities, and soon afterwards escaped to Lisbon destined never to return.

The church was dedicated to the B.V.M., whose festival was locally kept on 15th August. A short distance away, and in the tld. of Knocknegartan, is a Holy Well dedicated to St. Patrick. It is called *Ṭobair Ṭáobairis*, and is situated in a delightfully picturesque position on a gentle slope near the shore of Loch Ramor. There are two wells, about ten yards apart, but only one of them is called *Ṭobair Ṭáobairis*. A large ash of great antiquity overshadows it. The O.S. map has "Wells," but only the well beside the ash is recognised as *Ṭobair Ṭáobairis*. Mass was celebrated close by in the Penal times.

This Holy Well was noted by O'Donovan who commented on the fact, which he considered as strange, that while the parish was dedicated to the B.V.M. yet, the well was called after St. Patrick.\* During the 18th century, and in the early years of the last century, this well was much frequented by pilgrims. A Pattern was held on 17th March, but was discontinued about a century ago.

The Protestant church of Munterconnacht is in the tld. of Knockatemple, and in the older S.D. of Gallonroe. It was erected in 1832 by a gift of £900 from the Board of First Fruits.† The rectory and vicarage forms part of the union of Lurgan. According to Lewis (*op. cit.*) the population of the parish, in 1846, was 3,167. He further states that the parish comprises 7,432½ statute acres, of which 5,828 are apportioned under the tithe act; 965½ are in Loch Ramor. The tithe rent-charge was then £111.

### MASS-ROCKS AND CHURCHES.

After the suppression of the parish churches, and during the Penal Days when public worship was prohibited, Mass was celebrated in secluded glens and in inaccessible places. In the tld. of Cornaddyduff is a small picturesque glen, well known as *Steann an Airíonn*, i.e., the "Mass glen," in which the remains of the Mass-rock is still pointed out. This has already been described.‡ At this Mass-rock the people of Castlerahan attended Mass during the Penal days and down to the last half of the 18th century. Local tradition also asserts that a priest was martyred here. Another very interesting Mass-rock is in the tld. of Knocknegartan, about a quarter of a mile to the S.E. of the old church

\* *Cavan Letters*, 1836, p. 66.

† Lewis's *Topog. Dict.* S.V. "Munterconnaught."

‡ *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 34. The local pronunciation is "Glenanéhrin." The aspiration of the *p* in *Airíonn* seems to be a peculiarity of the Oriel dialect which is, of course, the dialect common to East Breifne. The *F* is sounded in West Breifne, e.g., Mullaghanaffrin, near Ballycunnell.



of Munterconnacht, and alongside ΤΟΒΑΡ ΡΑΪΟΡΑΙΣ above mentioned. It is locally known as *Caipneis Crom*, *i.e.*, the sloping or inclining rock, a very apt designation, as the configuration of the rock indicates. This rock is situated on a slight elevation to the west of ΤΟΒΑΡ ΡΑΪΟΡΑΙΣ; a few whitethorns surround it. A temporary altar was erected at the base of the over-hanging rock, and this open-air chapel served the district during the long night of the Penal Code. This romantic situation was admirably adapted for purposes of secrecy and security: in front stretches Loch Ramor guarding the approaches from the north and east, while the higher elevations of Knockatemple and Behernagh provide excellent outlooks from which sentries could easily command an extensive view to the south and west. This Mass-rock is plainly visible from the opposite side of Loch Ramor, and it is probable that the device, resorted to elsewhere in Ireland, of giving some signal of the commencement of Mass may have been occasionally adopted also here.

Mass was also frequently celebrated during the Penal times at a large rock in the tld. of Knockatemple, and on the south side of the field opposite the front door of the present Catholic church. Close by this rock a Holy Well once existed at which many cures are reputed to have been effected. No trace of this Well seems to have survived. Another Mass-rock is pointed out near the summit of Croaghan hill to the S.W. of Knockatemple.

During the latter half of the 18th c.—when the Penal Laws were being relaxed—small chapels were erected at Castlerahan and Munterconnacht. The latter—which was of cruciform shape—was erected in the tld. of Knockatemple, practically on the same site as the present Catholic church. When the foundations of the present belfry were being sunk, portions of the foundations of the older building were unearthed. Tradition tells that the remains of some of the 18th c. pastors of Munterconnacht were buried in this chapel. In the tld. of Castlerahan, and close by the ruins of the Hospital, another small chapel was erected about the same period. The site is now occupied by the National Schools. Traces of the foundations may still be seen on the graveyard side of the schools. This chapel continued in use until the erection of the present handsome church.

Munterconnacht church was erected in 1846-47, during the pastorate of the Rev. Terence O'Reilly. Owing to the scarcity of funds it remained a year without a roof, but the money was secured through the exertions of Father O'Reilly. During the interval between the removal of the older church and the erection of the newer the people attended Mass in the barn of a local farmer named Tully, and as the population was then large, the greater portion of them were obliged to kneel outside on the road where they were often knocked down and trampled upon by some of the arrogant fanatics of the day. Although the original church was

dedicated to the B.V.M.—who is the patroness of the parish—yet the present church is dedicated to St. Bartholomew (24th Aug.) on whose feast day the foundation stone was laid.

The church contains a mural tablet to the memory of the founder, also of his brother, Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, who died 18th March, 1837, in the 28th year of his age and the 5th of his sacred ministry. Another mural tablet commemorates Rev. John O'Reilly, of Island, who died 5th April, 1882, aged 27 years, and in the 4th of his sacred ministry. Local tradition has it that the Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, P.P., who died in 1814, and whose body is said to have rested for many years in the old graveyard close by, is interred in the sanctuary of the church. Another priest, the Rev. Michael Tully, a native of the parish, who died in 1860, is also interred in the church.

The Church of Castlerahan is in the tld. of Cormeen. It was erected in 1834 during the pastorate of the Rev. John O'Reilly, the cost, according to Lewis (*op. cit.*), being £2,000. A handsome mural tablet to the memory of the founder has the following inscription :—

**Sacred**  
to the Memory of the  
**Rev. John O'Reilly,**  
**Pastor of Castlerahan, and Founder of this Chapel,**  
where his Remains lie interred.  
Having studied in the Colleges  
of Antwerp and Maynooth,  
He was 47 years on the Mission ;  
Zealous in the Discharge of his  
Clerical Duties, and distinguished  
for his Hospitality and Patriotism,  
He departed this life  
January the 2nd, 1842.  
Aged 73 years.

Mural tablets to the memory of the following priests, natives of the parish, are also in the church : Rev. Thomas Flood, C.C., Kinlough, died 31st August, 1871, aged 27 years ; Rev. James Brady, C.C., Larah, died 1st May, 1886, aged 41 years, and in the 17th of his sacred ministry ; Rev. Michael Brady, P.P. of Larah Upper, died 14th May, 1872, aged 74 years, and in the 48th of his sacred ministry.

In 1839, during the pastorate of the above Rev. John O'Reilly, the present church of Ballyjamesduff was erected. The building had been begun in the previous year, but the work was delayed owing to the havoc wrought by the terrific storm—the " Big Wind"—of 6th Jan., 1839. It partially wrecked the building which had then been ready for roofing. Before this time a small mud-wall chapel existed in a field close by the present Convent of the Poor Clares : this Convent was founded in 1872,

The parishes of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were ecclesiastically distinct until about the middle of the 18th c. It is said locally that the parishes were definitely united in 1826; also that the last Confirmation ceremony for the parish of Munterconnacht was held in the church of Munterconnacht in that year by the Most Rev Farrell O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore. The Examination on that occasion was conducted in the Gaelic tongue, and the sermon preached in Gaelic. However, in the old parish register which commences in 1751, there is no distinction made between the parishes; they are treated as an ecclesiastical unit. This indicates that as early as 1751 both parishes, although perhaps not yet formally ecclesiastically united, were at least in charge of the same pastor.

#### SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

Of the pastors of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan before and during the Reformation period, we have at present no record; even tradition does not assist in rescuing their names from oblivion. In the year 1704 the Rev. Matthew Sheerin—or Shereene—was P.P. of "Monterconaght," and was registered at Cavan pursuant to the Act of 1703 (2nd Anne, c. 7) before Charles Mortimer, Clerk of the Peace, on the 10th July, 1704.\* He was then aged 48, was ordained in 1685 in the Castle of Preau—Frayne, at Athboy—Co. Meath, by the Most Rev Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, and was living at Corneshesker † the year of the registration. His sureties (for £50 each), in accordance with the penal statute, were Nicholas Plunket of Lurganboy, and John Riley of Claddagh. He survived the dread reign of Queen Anne, and in 1715 we find him mentioned as among the number of Cavan priests who had "neglected to come in to take the Oath of Abjuration," and against whom it was ordered that proceedings be instituted. ‡ In this year his sureties were Cornelius Donnellan, of Virginia, and Garret Fitzsimons, of Corneduff. The latter Recognizances had been taken before Charles Mortimer, Sheriff of Co. Cavan, on the 16th April, 1708. The year of Father Sheerin's death, and the name of his immediate successor, have not been discovered.

In 1704 the Rev. Edmund Smith was P.P. of both Lurgan and Castlerahan, was then aged 57, and lived at Gallanamraher, in Lurgan parish.§ The year of his death has not been ascertained, but as his name does not occur in the 1715 list, just referred to, it is very probable that he was dead, or exiled, before that year.

\* *The Registry of 1704*—Dublin. Printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

† This is evidently Cornashesk in Lurgan Parish.

‡ Rev. W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660—1760), p. 285.

§ *Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 38.

From 1710 until the middle of the century the Penal Laws were enforced with rigour and details of the pastors are necessarily scanty. At this period tradition tells us that Franciscan Friars from Drogheda, travelling in disguise, performed their administrations in the district. Samuel Moore, High Sheriff of Cavan, writing to the Lord Lieutenant and Executive Council in Dublin, in a Report dated 21st March, 1744, enumerates the priests about whose whereabouts he was able to collect information, and among them he notes that: "John McKernan, a frier [friar] lives mostly in the parish of Castlerahan, [but] has no certain place of abode."\* It is probable that both Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were administered by Friars during this period.

In 1750 the Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore, furnished to Rome the *Relatio Status* of his Diocese—an interesting document, preserved in the Archive of the Congregation of the Council, Rome, and giving the list of parishes, with their pastors, in that year.† But neither Munterconnacht nor Castlerahan are included in the list. Their omission may be attributed to their having probably been served by Friars or by priests of neighbouring parishes. As we have already noted, both Castlerahan and Lurgan were served by Rev. Edmund Smith in 1704.

The next pastor of Castlerahan of whom we have any record was the Rev. John Reilly who died 20th Jan., 1751, aged 54 years. He rests in the graveyard of Castlerahan, where a simple upright stone has the following inscription‡:—

PRAY [FOR Ye]  
SOUL OF [REV. JO]  
HN REILLY [PARI]  
SH PRIEST OF  
CASTLERAHAN  
WHO DIED JAN<sup>ry</sup>  
Ye 20TH 1751  
AGED 54 YRS.

The name of Father O'Reilly's successor in Castlerahan has not been ascertained.

The old parish register commences in 1751 and ends in 1776. From that time until 1814 the records, if they were ever kept, are lost. The register is divided into three portions, the Baptismal and Matrimonial records and the register of Deaths. The entries are in Latin, are still fairly legible, and seem to have been kept with much care. The names of the tlds. are given, many of which are now obsolete. In the Baptismal portion the record begins in

\* Rev. W. P. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

† *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V., p. 134.

‡ Portion of the inscription has been broken away; the obvious restorations are given in brackets.

Feb., 1752, and finishes in Nov., 1776. The entries in the Matrimonial portion commence in Aug., 1751, and conclude in Jan. 1775. The register of Deaths is from Aug., 1751, until March, 1775. Strange to say the name of the pastor who kept the register is not recorded; the fly-leaf of the Baptismal portion, which may have contained his name, is missing. But it is evident that he was the immediate successor to the above Father John O'Reilly. It is worthy of note that the register includes both Munterconacht and Castlerahan, and it is very probable that the amalgamation of the parishes took place after the death of Father O'Reilly in 1751.

The register contains a great amount of interesting details of diocesan history, and preserves the names of many Kilmore pastors of the period. A matrimonial dispensation by Father Masterson is recorded in 1751. This was Father Patrick Masterson who was P.P. and V.G. of Cavan. He is mentioned in the will of Dr. Michael Mac Donagh, O.P., Bishop of Kilmore, already referred to, who died in Lisbon in 1746, as his executor, and he figures in a similar function in the will of Dr. Laurence Richardson, O.P. Bishop of the diocese, who died in 1753. On the death of Dr. Andrew Campbell in 1769, Father Masterson acted as Vicar-Capitular of the diocese till Dr. Denis Maguire, Bishop of Dromore, was translated to Kilmore on March 20th, 1770. On the pages of the register we find occasional notes of his having examined same with his initials attached. In 1752 we find a matrimonial dispensation granted by Father Anthony Smith who was later P.P. and V.G. of Laragh.\* In 1755 is recorded the name of Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, pastor of Ballymachugh, and under the years 1774 and 1775 Rev. Eugene Brady, pastor of Crosserlough, is mentioned.

In the Baptismal register there is no entry from June, 1771, till Feb., 1773. A similar omission occurs in the Matrimonial portion. In the register of deaths there is an omission from Sept., 1769, till Feb., 1773. From Feb. 1773 the register is in different handwriting, indicating that there was a change of pastors in this year. The first mention of a pastor's name is on 1st May, 1774, when a Rev. Felix Matthews signs himself as "vice-pastore." An entry in the Matrimonial portion under March, 1773, mentions a Rev. Charles McKiernan who was probably identical with the Rev. Charles McKiernan who was pastor of Kill in 1801. The entries conclude rather abruptly in 1776, and the subsequent entries, which recommence in Nov., 1814, are partly in the same register. From that date the entries are initialled by the pastor Rev. John O'Reilly. In the succeeding years there are many large omissions, and from 1842 to 1854 the records are missing. Some leaves from the register of Kildrumsherdan parish for 1815 are included among the pages of the register of that year.

The old register is an extremely interesting, as well as a rare

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\* *V. Journal*, Vol. II, p. 86.

historical, record of the period which it covers. The forms of the tld. names approximate more to the *Down Survey* forms—which are only a century earlier—than to modern renderings. The town of Ballyjamesduff is mentioned in entries as early as 1752. Many important families of the parish, all traces of which have long since been swept away, can be followed over the period of 25 years which is recorded. It will be observed that the register commences earlier than the Lurgan one, which begins in 1755.\* The Diocese of Kilmore hardly contains an earlier, or a more detailed ecclesiastical record than that which is preserved in the pages of the old register of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht.

The next pastor of whom we have record is the Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, who was P.P. in 1801. He is mentioned as pastor in a list of the Catholic clergy of the Diocese of Kilmore furnished to Lord Castlereagh in that year.† In 1800 a number of queries were forwarded by Castlereagh to the Most Rev. Dr. Troy to be communicated to the prelates of the provinces. The queries had reference to certain provisions intended by the government of the day for the Catholic clergy, and information was required as to the number of pastors and curates in each diocese, the parishes to which they were attached, whether Regulars or Seculars, and sundry other details. The list for Kilmore contains the names of 52 priests—39 P.P.'s, 11 C.C.'s, and 2 attached to no particular parish. Of these only four are entered as Seculars, viz., Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Moybolge; Rev. Felix McCabe, P.P., Mullagh; Rev. John Smith, P.P., Killinkere; and Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P., Lurgan. The others are Regulars—all Franciscans. From the list we find that Rev. J. Brady was then C.C., of Castlerahan. There is no mention of Munterconnacht in the list of parishes, which shows that both parishes were under the pastoral charge of Father O'Reilly.

In the list of subscribers appended to James Martin's *Poems on Various Subjects*,‡ printed at Cavan in 1816, we find, *inter alios*;

\* Vide *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 36.

† *The Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, Vol. IV, p. 118.

‡ *Haliday Pamphlets*, K.I.A., Vol. 1097. James Martin (1783—1860) born at Millbrook, near Oldcastle, lived during the greater part of his life, as he tells us himself, "among the vallies of Breiffni," and had many Breiffne associations. His writings are voluminous, and his poetry is of a very high order. He published a couple of dozen volumes, over various pseudonyms, and was a veritable literary prodigy, his writings covering many subjects, theological, political, and historical as well as philosophical. Although a "self-taught peasant"—as he describes himself—he was well versed in Gaelic and the Classics, was an orator of distinction, and ranks as one of the most formidable controversialists of his time. He was a close personal friend of the well-known Father Tom Maguire. His poems are well remembered in Breiffne. An account of Martin's life is reserved for a later volume.

Rev. Daniel Reilly, P.P., and Rev. Terence O'Reilly, Castlerahan.\* The latter was evidently then C.C.

Rev. Daniel O'Reilly died on the 20th October, 1814; his death is recorded in the parish register. It is said locally that his remains were interred in the old graveyard of Munterconnacht and that, on the completion of the present church, his body was exhumed and reinterred in the sanctuary.

The Rev. John O'Reilly succeeded in 1814, and is vividly remembered by local tradition. This great ecclesiastic belonged to a well-known Breifne family—the O'Reillys of Crann—in the parish of Drumgoon, where he was born about the year 1769. At an early age he went abroad, studied for the priesthood in Antwerp, where he pursued a brilliant course of studies, and remained until that city, with its churches and colleges, was devastated by the French Jacobins in 1794. He returned to Ireland in 1795, in which year he was ordained at Maynooth. During his strenuous pastorate he erected the handsome churches of Castlerahan and Ballyjamesduff. He is remembered as an accomplished Gaelic and Classical scholar, a polished pulpit orator, a brilliant controversialist, and an indefatigable worker for the advancement of the people. While the parish church was being erected he kept a detailed account, which is still preserved, of the various expenses incurred and how monies were expended, as well as of the parish collections. He died Jan. 2nd, 1842, at the age of 73, and rests in the church of Castlerahan, where a mural tablet—the inscription on which has already been noted (*supra*)—commemorates him.

The Rev. Thomas O'Reilly was C.C. of Castlerahan about 1840; his name is included in the list of subscribers to a poem by James Martin, published in 1841.†

The next pastor was the Very Rev. Terence O'Reilly, a native of Munterconnacht, who succeeded in 1842. He erected the present church of Munterconnacht, a task of much difficulty owing to the exceptional circumstances which arose during the period of the Famine. His pastorate was a particularly arduous one and he died Sept. 22nd, 1854, aged 68 years and in the 43rd year of his sacred ministry. He was buried in the church of Munterconnacht, where a mural tablet has been erected to his memory. Rev. James O'Reilly was appointed C.C. in 1861, and shortly

\* The list includes the names of the following priests: Rev. J. Brady, P.P., Virginia; Rev. P. McCabe, Dynn; Rev. Michael O'Reilly, P.P., Ballymacue; Rev. Phil Reilly, P.P., Bailieboro; Rev. John O'Reilly, Virginia; Rev. P. O'Reilly, Bailieboro; Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, P.P., Crosserlough; Rev. Pat Reilly, Cavan.

† *The Wounded Soldier*, a tale of Waterloo—Kells. Printed by T. K. Henderson. Appendix. The following Cavan priests, *inter alios*, were subscribers to this volume: Rev. John Murray, R.C. Rector, Crosserlough; Rev. Matthew Fullam, P.P., Kilbride; Rev. James Dillon, C.C., Kilbride; Rev. Philip O'Reilly, P.P., Mullaghoran.

afterwards transferred to Cavan. He was P.P. of Knockninny from 1881 till his death in 1902.

Rev. Nicholas Conaty succeeded, and was P.P. until 1863, when he was elevated to the Bishopric of Kilmore. In that year he changed the mensal parish from Crosserlough to Castlerahan, and since then it has remained so.

The first Adm. of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht was the Rev. John Smith, a native of Ballyjamesduff, who was transferred from Crosserlough in 1863.

He was Adm. until 1872 when he was succeeded by Rev. Dominick McBreen. Father McBreen had served as C.C. of Carigallen (1861-66), Denn (1867), and Castlerahan (1868-72). In 1877 he was transferred to the parish of Kildallan and Tomregan (Ballyconnell) where he was P.P. until 1879. He was P.P., V.F., Ballinamore, from 1879 until his death on Sept., 8th, 1907. Rev. Peter Galligan was Adm. from 1877 to 1879 when he was transferred to Killesher as P.P. He had previously been C.C. Castlerahan (1873-75), and C.C. Cavan (1875-77). From 1883 to 1886 he was P.P. Killinkere.

The next Adm. was Rev. James Brady who succeeded in 1879. In 1883 he was transferred from Castlerahan to Drung where he was P.P. till 1888. He was then appointed P.P., V.F., Drumlane, where he remained until 1918 when he resigned. His death took place in the same year. Rev. Patrick O'Connell succeeded in 1883. He had been C.C. Kinawley from 1879 to 1883. In 1897 he was appointed P.P., V.G., Drumgoon, and died 25th June, 1923. He was interred at Cootehill. Rev. Bernard Gaffney was Adm. from 1897 to 1903 when he was transferred to Lurgan as P.P., V.F. In 1903 Rev. Francis McKiernan, who had been C.C., Lurgan, was appointed Adm., and in 1908 he went to Kildallan and Tomregan as P.P. Rev. James Farrelly was Adm. from 1908 to 1922 when he was appointed P.P., V.F., Kill. Rev. Patrick E. Mallon succeeded in 1922.

## LIST OF MUNTERCONNACHT AND CASTLERAHAN PARISH PRIESTS.

### MUNTERCONNACHT.

— 1704 — Rev. Matthew Sheerin,

### CASTLERAHAN AND LURGAN.

— 1704 — Rev. Edmund Smith.

### CASTLERAHAN.

— 1744 — Rev. John McKernan (Friar).

— 1751 1751 Rev. John Reilly.



## MUNTERCONNACHT AND CASTLERAHAN.

1774	Rev. Felix Matthews (vice-pastor).
1801	1814 Rev. Daniel O'Reilly.
1814	1842 Rev. John O'Reilly.
1842	1854 Very Rev. Terence O'Reilly.
1854	1863 Rev. Nicholas Conaty.

## ADMINISTRATORS.

1863	1872 Rev. John Smith.
1872	1877 Rev. Dominick McBreen.
1877	1879 Rev. Peter Galligan.
1879	1883 Rev. James Brady.
1883	1897 Rev. Patrick O'Connell.
1897	1903 Rev. Bernard Gaffney.
1903	1908 Rev. Francis McKiernan.
1908	1922 Rev. James Farrelly.
1922	Rev. Patrick E. Mallon.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Rev. P. E. Mallon, Adm., and Rev. John Brady, C.C., Castlerahan, for permission to consult the old Parish Register, and for some interesting details of parochial history.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.



## DRUMLANE ABBEY—II.

By REV. PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.

(Read 13th November, 1924.)

“The O'Farrellys and MacGaherans were the hereditary Coarbs and Erenachs of the place [Drumlane] and are still numerous in the parish,”\* O'Donovan writes, in May, 1836.

From 1025, when we first meet with them in the Annals, the former, for nearly five centuries, continued as Coarbs. Even to-day the caretaker of Drumlane Cemetery bears that honoured name.

Though the MacGaghans or Magaherans are less conspicuous in early records, their antiquity is, nevertheless, permanently stamped on the face of the country. “Derrygeeraghan, in Cavan,” Joyce informs us, is “Doire-Mhic-Geachrain, oak wood of MacGaghan (metathesis here). How the Mac dropped out, see Mac.”† Derrygeeraghan townland is near Drumlane. It was part of the Abbey lands, laboured and tilled by the canons themselves.

The year 1025 witnessed the death of Dubhinsi O'Farrelly, Abbot of Drumlane. (F.M.)

Another member of the same sept, Conaig O'Farrelly, Erenach of Drumlane and successor of Moedhog in Connaught and Leinster, died in 1059.‡ East Breffni was in Connaught until put into Ulster, and called Cavan, in 1584, by Sir John Perrott. Why the Superior of Drumlane should be called here the successor of Moedhog in *Leinster* it is difficult to explain, since that was a title that went with the Coarb of Moedhog in Ferns.

### DRUMLANE BURNED.

F.M. 1246. “Drumlane was burned in this year.”§ Clones Abbey probably shared Drumlane's luck, since there is no record

\*Cavan Letters, p. 5.

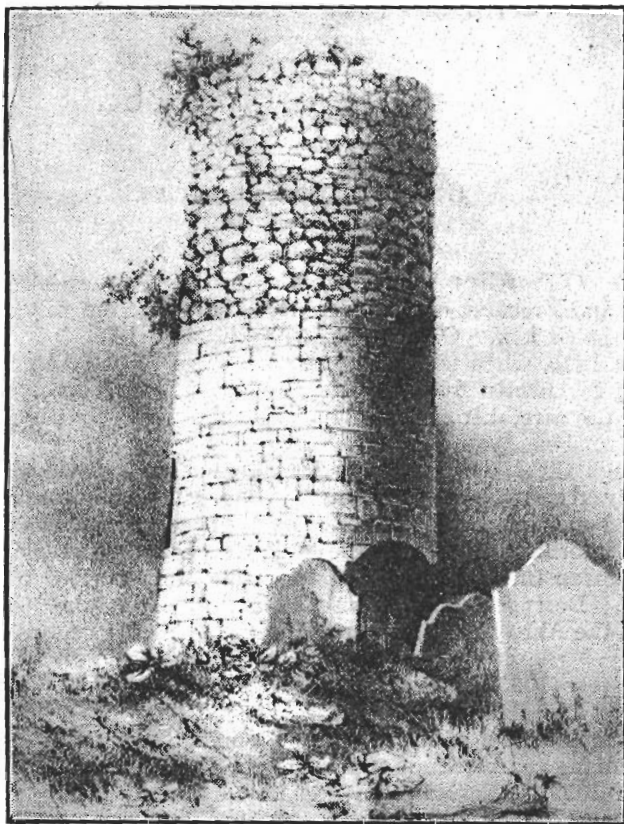
† *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. III, p. 296.

‡ F.M., A.U.

§ Also Lough Cé

that it was burned more than once. Kells was destroyed by fire no less than 21, and Clonmacnoise at least 9 times.

The Annals of Lough Cé register the demise of Muiredach, son of Maelbrighde O'Farrelly, coarb of Maedhog, in 1257.



**DRUMLANE ROUND TOWER IN 1844.**

**BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1261.**

F.M. 1261. A depredation was committed by Hugh O'Connor in Breifny, and he advanced to Drumlane, where a part of his army was defeated, and many of the less distinguished of them were slain.

A.U. 1261. A hosting [was made] by Aedh, son of Feidlimidh Ua [Conchobhair] into Breifni, so that he burned many towns and the crops. Complete defeat was given to a force of his routs, so that a great number of them were killed.\*

\* Also Lough Cé.

This Hugh was the son of Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught. Here, as elsewhere, the Annals give an intelligible but meagre outline of historic persons or events. During the course of this paper, it may be well to add brief, biographical sketches of notable personages as they pass in review before us.

We are now investigating a time of turbulence and unmitigated ferocity in Connaught, discreditable to its Chiefs, whose petty ambitions, greed, and truculence caused many deaths by violence year by year.

Hugh O'Connor's attack on Breifny, we can see, was purely destructive and vindictive, since he *burned* towns and crops.

The relations at this time, between Hugh and the O'Reillys, were as strained as they well could be. A retrospective review will verify this.

#### THE BATTLE OF MOY-SLECHT, 1256.

The fierce and sanguinary battle of Moy-slecht in 1256 is described in much detail in the Annals of Lough Cé. The fight was between the O'Reillys on the one hand and forces led by Hugh O'Connor and Conor O'Rourke, their kinsmen, and nearly all the clans of Connaught—the O'Haras, O'Kellys, O'Flahertys, etc.—on the other. After meeting with a prolonged and desperate resistance, Hugh and his allies won. Cathal O'Reilly, chief of East Breifny, was slain. Niall Caech (the one-eyed) O'Reilly, after whom Clankee is named, also fell there. The death of Niall at a place so remote from his own headquarters goes to show that there was a full muster of the O'Reillys, since he came with his men from East Breifny's furthest confines.

Two years later Hugh O'Connor, Taig O'Brien, son of the King of Thomond, and Brian O'Neill, King of Tir-Owen, meet in conference at Cael-uisce, near Belleek, on the Erne. This meeting resulted in O'Neill being acknowledged Ard-Ri by O'Connor and O'Brien, Hugh receiving in return the over-lordship of Breifny, for the observance of which "the hostages of the son of Fiedhlimidh [were given] to him (Brian) and the hostages of Muinnter-Raighillaigh [were given] to Aedh Ua Conchobuir and the hostages of all Ui-Briuin from Cenanus to Drumcliabh,"\* *i.e.*, from Kells to Drumcliffe.

In the following year Hugh O'Connor blinded the hostages of Ui-Briuin. (A.U.)

It were an easy task for O'Connor to keep the Ui Briuin in subjection and receive his tribute without resistance, so long as he had at his back the powerful support of O'Neill and O'Brien. But both were dead in 1260,† and naturally, now, if not before, the Breifnians, East and West—for Hugh was at war with both—resist Hugh's over-lordship. Signs are not wanting that this was

\* Curtis, *Med. His.* Tr., p. 159; A.U.; F.M.

† Curtis, *loc. cit.*

taking place. The F.M. recount the escape from the custody of O'Connor, and subsequent appointment to the Kingship, of Art O'Rourke, in 1261, and the capture of Hugh's fastness at Drumsna, by the men of Breifny in the same year.

With the foregoing facts in mind, it is fair to assume that Hugh's unwelcome visit to Drumlane was an attempt to assert his overlordship, and to punish Muintir-Maelmora for refusing to acknowledge it.

On the death of his father, Felim, in 1265, Hugh became King of Connaught. His greatest achievement was the disastrous defeat he inflicted on the English in 1270, at Ath-na-Chip,\* near Carrick-on-Shannon. He died in 1274, "the man most feared and victorious that was in Ireland."†

#### THE SECOND BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1314.

We again discern another O'Connor invader, who meets with more success at Drumlane than his predecessor. F.M. 1314. "The O'Reillys were defeated at Drumlane by Rory, son of Cathal O'Connor."‡

This Rory was brother to Aedh, the Brefnian. Both were scions of the great Clann-Murtagh O'Connor, so-called because sprung from Murtagh, brother to Rory, the last Ard-Ri. They provided Connaught with Kings from Hugh's death, in 1274, till 1293.§ Of this formidable Clan we shall hear much from 1314 till the end of the century. Rory's brother, Aedh, the Brefnian, became king in 1309, but was slain next year by treachery.||

Rory tried to succeed his brother, but a conflict arose in which many of his adherents were killed, and Felim, a boy of 20, was made king.¶

Rory, for some years after the inauguration of Felim, made some unsuccessful attempts to dislodge him.

On the coming of Edward Bruce to Ireland, Felim joined hands with Richard de Burgo, the "Red Earl." Though Felim afterwards withdrew his support from the "Red Earl," it was done too late to save him from the odium of the other septs of the O'Conors, for, in the first instance, taking arms against Bruce. Quickly proceeding and taking advantage of Felim's unpopularity, Rory assembled the men of Breifny and Connaught and, after burning many towns and houses of the Colonists, had himself appointed king, with great pomp, at Carnfriach. But his reign was destined to be short. Felim, shortly afterwards, met Rory at the

\* Curtis *opus. cit.*, p. 165.

† A.U. The Latin version calls him the man who was expected to be the future King of Ireland, on account of his heroic deeds against the English, against whom he incessantly struggled all the days of his life.

‡ Also L.C. and A.U.

§ Curtis, *opus. cit.*, p. 180.

|| Ibid, p. 235.

¶ Ibid.

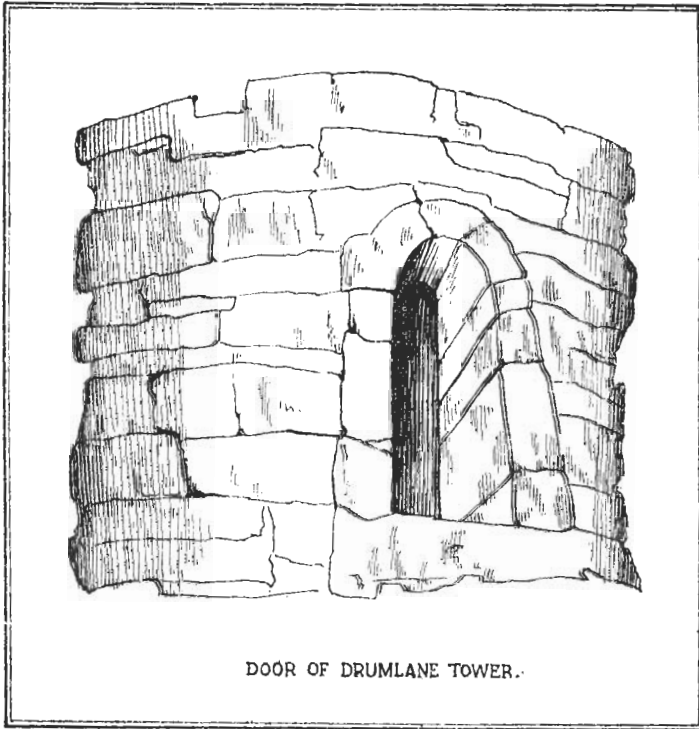
battle of Moin Conway, near Ballymoe. Rory was defeated and killed (March, 1316).\*

Rory's attack on Drumlane, in 1314, would seem to have had no other purpose than to equip his army—a no uncommon custom then—at the expense of a neighbouring principality.

### THE THIRD BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1338.

A.U. 1338. Aedh of the Quill, son of Ruadhri Ua Concho-buir, was (mortally) injured in the rere of a foray in the Bolegan and he died thereof.

This foray was conducted by a son of the Rory who had raided Drumlane 24 years earlier.



DOOR OF DRUMLANE TOWER.

Why have the O'Conors carried the fiery torch of war into Drumlane three times in less than a century? Was it Drumlane's wealth that attracted the aggressors? In the case of the invasion by Hugh O'Conor, he may have been induced to strike Drumlane,

\* Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236. O'Conor Don, *The O'Conors of Connaught*, chap. 11.

the venerable sanctuary that all the Breifnians revere, to humiliate and mortify his chiefs.

The "Bolegan" is a variant of Drumlane. Sometimes it is spelled "Bolcan," oftener "Bolgan." The modern townland of "Bulligs" I take to be a survival of the old name, slightly changed; but the "Bolgan" of history, however, included the whole parish. We meet in a 1570 Fiant of Elizabeth, "Bolgan alias Drumlahan," and in the Cavan Inquisition of 1609, "the Vicarage of Bolgan alias Dromlaghan." O'Donovan's note on "the Bolgan" I withhold for a later page.

F.M. 1325. "Nicholas, son of the Coarb of St. Maidoc, died." Nicholas, being a favourite christian name with the O'Farrells, we may assume he was one of them.

In 1340 internal strife convulsed Breifny. Drumlane got a share, when "Matthew, son of Annagh Ua Raighillaigh, was killed by Andrew, son of Brian Ua Raighillaigh, and great forays were made in the Bolegan during that expedition."\*

F.M. 1343. "John Mac Duibhne, archdeacon of Drumlane, died." The modern equivalent of this name is Mac Avinne or Mac Evinie.† A Bishop of Kilmore bore this name—Fersithi Mag Uibne. He died November 27th, 1464.

A.U. 1357. "Niall Ua Fairceallaigh was killed by one shot of an arrow by the Cenel-Luachain. And had he lived, he would have been Superior‡ on the morrow." The Cenel-Luachain were the people occupying the district now known as Oughteragh parish, in Kilmore diocese.

#### PRIMATE SWETEMAN'S VISITATION, 1366.

We find Masters William O'ferallaich, comarb of St. Medoc, and Adam McTiarnan, dean of Drumleachan, commissioned by Primate Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1366, to assist Masters Peter o'kerbyllan, Chancellor of Armagh, to complete the visitation of Killmore.

In this year also appears a citation from the Primate commanding Bishop Richard O'Reilly to summon all dignitaries, rectors, etc., in the deanery of Kellmore, to appear in the Church of Kellmore on the 1st of December, and those of the deaneries of Dromlechan and Dartra, in the Church of St. Medoc of Drumlechan on ( . . . . December).§

Richard O'Reilly died in 1369. (F.M.)

A.U. 1368. The successor of (St.) Moedhoc—and he was the archdeacon of the Breifni likewise—a man full of the grace of the Holy Spirit and of charity and of humanity, died that year, after gaining victory from the world and from demon.

\* F.M. and A.U.

† Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, p. 354.

‡ Superior, *i.e.*, Abbot of Drumlane. Note to 1357.

§ Lawlor, *Sweteman's Register*, p. 240.

The subject of this entry is, one is inclined to think, the William O'Farrelly mentioned in Primate Sweteman's commission. His successor—Murray O'Farrelly—died in the same year. (F.M.)

Once more, in 1390, war clouds broke over Breifny. This time O'Rourke and O'Reilly crossed swords. Into the fray entered the people of Anghaile, Muinter-Eolais, the Tellach-Dunchada, and the Clann-Muirchertiagh, all apparently in league with O'Reilly. It should be stated here that the baronies of Tullyhunco and Tullyhaw were then in West Breifny, *i.e.*, under the domination of O'Rourke. The people of the latter barony were loyal subjects, but those of the former were in a chronic state of rebellion, and frequently took up arms as confederates of O'Reilly or Clann-Murtagh against their nominal Chief. In 1370, for instance, in league with Clann-Murtagh they helped to banish Teige O'Rourke, the King of West Breifny, out of his territory. Twenty years later, the same confederation tried to wrest from O'Rourke the area now covered by the barony of Carrigallen.

#### CROGHAN HILL.

The modern Croghan Hill, beside Killeshandra, was the place whence the O'Rourkes came to inaugurate a new Chief of the Clan. In 1470, O'Rourke and O'Donnell led an army towards Croghan for the purpose of having the former inaugurated.

McKiernan and, at his instigation we may presume, O'Reilly and the English gave them battle at Ballyconnell and effectively barred their further progress. (F.M.)

In the vicinity of Drumlane and Killeshandra, there lived, temporarily at least, that powerful and warlike force, known as the Clann-Murtagh-Muimneach O'Conor, already noticed. They got the nickname "Muimneach" (Munster) from their ancestor, Murtagh, having been fostered in Munster. To some extent, they were migratory, though a "Flying Column" would be a more accurate description of them in view of the lightning velocity with which they struck their adversaries. Of these they had many, particularly the O'Rourkes\* and Maguires, and, in a lesser degree, the O'Conors of Sligo, the O'Farrells, the McDermotts, etc. Their Intelligence Department was highly developed.

Early in their career, they included O'Reilly among their enemies, as in 1314 and 1338. But cordial relations seem to have been established later, which continued till the Clann-Murtagh disappeared from history. With the McKiernans they were invariably friendly, perhaps because they got safe harbourage in Tullyhunco. Like the Galloglasses, whose first appearance in Breifny coincided with the middle of the 14th c., one of whose

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\* The F.M., 1340, record a predatory incursion by the O'Rourkes on members of the Clann-Murtagh Muimneach, who suffered severe casualties, adding that "this was the first rupture between the O'Rourkes and the race of Murtagh Muimneach."



mottoes was "always ready,"\* the Clann-Murtagh were professional warriors, and men of invincible courage and daring. In 1342, aided by Mac William Burke and Conor McDermott, they deposed Turlough O'Conor from the throne of Connaught, and made Hugh, son of Hugh Breifnach O'Conor—one of their own clan—king. (F.M. and A.U.)

The next year sees Turlough, aided by O'Rourke and Mac Rannal, recover his throne and drive Clann-Murtagh out of Breifny to Tir-Connail. Here they were well received by Angus O'Donnell. He gave them Tirhugh, the district extending from the town of Donegal to the Erne, and they made a prompt return by helping him to defeat another O'Donnell. (F.M.)

After the expulsion of Teigue O'Rourke by the Clann-Murtagh, in 1370, a yet more powerful alliance, comprising O'Conor, O'Rourke, Maguire, and O'Farrell, banished them and the MacKiernans to Muintir Eolais, whence they withdrew to Mac William Burke, in Mayo.†

Nothing can better illustrate the deadly hostility with which they were regarded than the following two passages relating to an O'Rourke-Maguire pact:—"the people of Fermanagh . . . to annoy *Clann-Murtagh* made peace with the O'Rourkes and forgave them all their past hostilities." : and "peace was made by the Fir-manach with the Muintir-Ruairc and their injuries were mutually forgiven for *ill* to the Clann-Muircertaigh." (F.M., A.U., 1366.)

But, notwithstanding these expulsions, we find Clann-Murtagh back again in Breifny, in battle array, whenever there is impending war.

#### EAST AND WEST BREIFNY AT WAR, 1390.

The war of 1390 between O'Rourke and O'Reilly was an event of unusual importance. The annals of the Four Masters, Lough Cé, Ulster, and Clonmacnoise describe it in some detail, and three of them call it a *great* war. O'Farrell, MacRannal, McKiernan, and the ubiquitous Clann-Murtagh were all evidently allied with O'Reilly against O'Rourke. Manus O'Rourke, a prisoner of O'Reilly, escaped from Clough Oughter Castle to be pursued and slain, at Lough Scur, by Clann-Murtagh, who had "obtained secret intelligence" of his movements.

Peace had to be purchased by Tiernan Mor O'Rourke, "the bravest and most puissant man that had come of the Hy-Briuin race" (as the F.M. describe him), by promises of large rewards and the concession of hostages to Thomas O'Reilly as pledges for the payment of these rewards.

O'Reilly, on his part, gave an undertaking to banish O'Rourke's

\* MacNeill, *Phases of Ir. His.*, p. 343.

† O'Flaherty, quoted by O'Donovan in note to F.M. 1370.

enemies out of his territory, In the harvest of 1390 Thomas O'Reilly died, to be succeeded by John O'Reilly. (F.M. and A.U.)

Clann-Murtagh and McKiernan, no doubt, believing Tiernan to be too enfeebled by the recent war to offer much opposition, invade and occupy a tract of country, co-extensive with the present parishes of Outeragh and the two Drumreillys. But the stout-hearted Tiernan sweeps down from Glangevlin, kills many of their men and cattle, and drives them to the summit of the Breffnian hills.

### THE BATTLE OF CREENY, 1391.

F.M. 1391. O'Rourke (Tiernan) with a small body of troops, repaired to Drumlahan to meet O'Reilly (John). When the Clann-Murtough O'Conor heard of this they met him with all their forces at Bealach-an-Chrionaigh; but O'Rourke, with a small body of troops, defeated them and made them retreat before him; having slain with his own hand John, the son of Mahon O'Conor, and Donough, son of Hugh-an-Cleitigh,\* exclusive of the number of others whom his forces had slain.

Not only because the description is more exhaustive, but also on account of its quaint English, MacGeoghagan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise re this battle, is worth quoting:—

A.D. 1391. O'Roirck and O'Rely continued in their attonement of peace, O'Roirck with a few of his household menge repayred to the towne of Drumleahan to meet with O'Rely, was Intercepted by 65 persons of Clan Murtagh in his passage, O'Roirck, seeing them to stand in his way, and seeing himself without other remedy, hee took hart anew, gave them the onset valiantly, which Shane More Magmahon thinking to prevent them ofered to O'Roirck a blow of a launce, which O'Roirck accepted and made towards the said Shane with wonderful Courage, whome at first [at once] hee runed through with his launce. This Shane was one of a woman that could weave, which of all trades is of greatest reproach amongst the Irishrye, especially the sons and husbands of such tradeswomen, and therefore, Shane More was nicknamed the weaving woman's sone. O'Roirck gave another blow to Donogh M'Hugh an Cleitty, and presently killed him, made a fortunate escape without loss of any of his people, after killinge four kernes of his enemies.

The Annals of Lough Cé agree with those of Clonmacnoise that O'Rourke's aggressors were 65, adding Thomas O'Gaithin as one of the four killed by O'Rourke's own hand.

The Annals of Ulster describe O'Rourke's retinue as 21, and

\* Felim, son of this Hugh, was slain in the Battle of Blenacup in 1369 (see this Journal, Vol. I, p. 250).

Clann-Murtagh's as 25 men; they add that O'Rourke broke through, *i.e.*, went on to Drumlane, and that a grandson, not the son, of Hugh an Cleitty, was slain. This is more likely to be correct, as Hugh an Cleitty was killed in 1338 (A.U.) in a raid on the Bolgan. If John were his son, he would be aged, at the time of the battle of Creeny, 53 years at least. O'Rourke's Castle, at Toomonaghan, on the verge of Ballymagauran lake, was Tiernan's residence. The direct route to it from Drumlane was by the old road or pass, which can still be traced through the townland of Drumlane, across Artonagh and over Creeny. This Creeny, manifestly, takes its name from the old Balach-an-Chrionagh, "the pass of the withered trees or brambles." Thus, we are enabled to know the actual section of the pass on which the battle was fought.

John O'Reilly, "the most hospitable and noble of his name," died\* in 1400 of a sudden fit in his Castle at Tullach-Mongain, now known as the "Gallows Hill," over the town of Cavan. Tiernan More O'Rourke survived him 18 years, "a man," say the Annals of Ulster, "who defended his territory against the neighbours, and was best at hospitality and prowess and charity in his time." He lived to a great age and died at Toomonaghan. We know this because under 1418 the F.M. recount the death of his son, Owen the Tanist, by drowning in Lough Finvoy, on his way to see his father in his fatal illness. Tiernan's remains were buried in the Monastery of Sligo. There is some reason for thinking that Tiernan resided at Toomonaghan for the greater part of his reign, since the "neighbours" spoken of above—the Clann-Murtagh and Tullyhunco—were in close proximity, on whose activities Tiernan needed to keep a watchful eye.

F.M. 1407. John, the son of Teige O'Rourke, heir to the lordship of Breifny, died in Moylurg,† and was interred in Drumlane.

Though Colgan credits Drumlane with being a noble burial place of the chief men of both countries, this is the sole record that has been met with of an O'Rourke interment there. This John was son of Teige who was expelled from Breifny by the Clann-Murtagh, in 1370. Accordingly, he was a brother of Tiernan More.

#### O'REILLYS DROWNED IN LOUGH SHEELIN.

A.U. 1418. Richard, son of Thomas (son of Mathgamain), son of Gilla-Isa Ua Raighilligh, namely, King of Breifni, went in a cot on Loch-Sighlenn to meet Foreigners and was drowned on that occasion along with his young son, that is Eogan, and two Masters of his family. And his wife, namely,

\* F.M.; A.U. 1401.

† Moylurg is a territory of the Mac Dermotts, around the town of Boyle (O'Hart, *Ir. Ped.*, Vol. I, p. 846).

the daughter of Mag Raghnaill, that is, Finnguala [was of the party]. And she came safe by virtue of her swimming. F.M. 1418. Richard, the son of Thomas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breifny, was drowned in Loch Silean; and with him were also drowned, his son, Owen O'Reilly, Philip, the son of Gilla-Isa, son of Godfrey [O'Reilly] Dean of Drumlane, and Vicar of Eanach-Garbh, and many other distinguished persons. Finola, however, daughter of Mac Rannal, and wife of O'Reilly, escaped by swimming.

This Richard was the son of the Thomas who was at war with Tiernan O'Rourke in 1390.

What is strange about this disaster on Lough Sheelin is, that the woman alone was able to swim to safety. "Eanach-Garbh" O'Donovan, both in a note to this entry and in page 11 of the Cavan Letters, equates with Annagh; but in translating an extract from the O'Reilly Pedigree, relating to this event, he, on page 71 of the same work, describes Philip as deacon of Drumlane and Vicar of Annagelifie. Owing to its proximity to Drumlane, Annagh is the more likely reading.

Master is a clerical title.\* The O'Reilly Pedigree gives the name of Donal O'Keegan,† probably the second of the two Masters, as another of those who were drowned.

#### THE RECTORY OF KILLESHANDRA.

Let us retrace our steps to the end of the 14th c. In July, 1398, a mandate from Rome is issued to the Bishop of Kilmore, the Prior of Holy Trinity in Lough Oughter, and the Official of Kilmore, commanding them to collate and assign to John McKiernan, clerk, of the same Diocese, the Rectory of Kilinterra [Killeshandra], alias Tellacuntuga [Tullyhunco], value not exceeding twenty marks, void by the death of Augustine MacKiernan; although the Prior and Canons regular of St. Mary's, Drumleachan, in the same Diocese, unlawfully detain it.‡

The Cavan Inquisition of 1609 deals with this debateable question:—"Killeshanrah parish, containing five ballibetags and one pole, the parsonage inappropriate . . . and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, 1/3 part to the Vicar, except the tithes of Marchill, which are paid to the bishop, and 2/3 of the tithe to the late abbey of Dromlahan, and also ½<sup>m</sup> proxies."§

#### DAVID O'FARRELLY.

About the middle of January, 1401, the Bishop of Concordia (*in partibus?*), the Archdeacon of Kilmore, and the Official of Armagh, receive instructions from Rome to remove Maurice O'Farrelly, and to collate and assign to David O'Farrelly, clerk,

\* A.U., 1418, note.

† O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, p. 71.

‡ *Papal Registers*, Vol. V., p. 107.

§ *Pat. Rolls*, James I, p. 386.

of the Diocese of Kilmore, the vicarage of Drumlane . . . the vicars of which have been wont to pay a yearly cess to the Augustinian House of St. Mary, Drumlane, whose value does not exceed 7 marks, void by the death of William O'Farrelly.\*

Towards the end of the same month another Roman mandate is directed to the Bishop of Telese, the Archdeacon of Kells, and the Official of Armagh, instructing them that if they find that the claim made by David O'Farrelly to the coarb-ship of Drumlane be valid, to remove Maurice and to collate and assign it to the said David.

The case made by David was this :—That in the Church of St. Medoc, Drumlane, there was a certain temporal lordship, or office, called Comarbanship [Coarbship], value not exceeding 20 marks, wont to be held by one of the family of David in a right line ; that although the late Myrianus O'Farrelly, David's grandfather, held it until his death, and that after him his eldest son, the late Nicholas O'Farrelly, David's father, ought to have succeeded, and that consequently, so ought David after the death of Nicholas, nevertheless, the late William, younger son of the late Mirianus O'Farrelly, and after him, Maurice O'Farrelly, priest, of the said diocese, had intruded themselves.†

Although we don't know this Commission's decision, there is internal evidence in a Rescript, directed in the following month to the Bishop of Telese and the Prior of Drumlane, that David did not succeed in securing the dignity of Coarb. This Rescript, after alluding to certain townlands, or churches, as belonging no longer to the Benedictine Prior and Convent of Fore, goes on to enumerate these townlands in the parishes of Drung, Laragh, Lavey, and Knockbride, and adds that "notwithstanding that the Pope had recently ordered provision to him of the said vicarage of Drumlane, value not exceeding 7 marks, and of one, two or three benefices, in the gift of the said Bishop [of Kilmore], he is hereby dispensed to hold for life two incompatible benefices."‡ The whole document is cryptic and difficult to make intelligible. Yet, though the beneficiary is not named, we learn from it that he is the person to whom recently the vicarage of Drumlane was granted. This was David. If David had obtained the Coarbship, this fact would certainly have been mentioned in the above Rescript. Furthermore, David would hardly have obtained these benefices had he been lucky enough to attain to the office of Coarb. In 1409, we find David described at Rimini as Bishop of Kilmore,§ although the legitimate Bishop, Nicholas MacBrady, was then living. This may have arisen through a false report of Nicholas's death having been spread. David, it seems, died soon afterwards in Rome.||

\* *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. V, p. 452.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. V, p. 398.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

§ *Ann. Hiberniæ*, p. 256.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 234.

## THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

The Regular Canons of St. Augustine were a very numerous body in this country. Alemand says of them that they were so very considerable in *Ireland*, either in the first Ages,\* or at the time of the general Suppression of Monasteries, that the number of Houses they are said to have had at both those times seems incredible. . . . [They] were in all respects as great in *Ireland* as the *Benedictines* were in *England*. It was requisite to be a *Regular Canon* in order to be promoted to a Bishoprick in *Ireland*, almost all the Parish Churches and other secular Benefices were possessed by that Order. To which if we add, that they alone did possess, or had been Masters of, as many Houses as all the other Orders together, and that almost all the Chapters of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in *Ireland* were made up of *Regular Canons*, it will be necessary, whatsoever the Reluctancy be, to own, that there was no Order in *Ireland* which could compare with this, especially if we further add, that it had this noble Prerogative of having had two Abbots and eight Priors, that were Spiritual Peers of the Realm, and as such took their places in the House of Lords.†

The Augustinian Priors of Christ Church, Dublin, and of old All Hallows, on the site of which Trinity College is built, were two of those Peers of the Realm.

It should be observed that the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were first established in the Lateran Church, Rome, by Alexander II in 1062.‡ They spread rapidly throughout Europe but did not reach Ireland till at least 1134.§ At the time of the Dissolution the definite number of their Houses, according to D'Alton (quoted in the C. Dictionary), was 223 monasteries and 33 nunneries. To account for this great number it must be remembered that, as Ware tells us, many of the old Irish monasteries—including, we may presume, Drumlane—adopted in later times the rule of the Canons of St. Augustine.

There was indeed [writes Lanigan]|| a certain affinity between the rule of these new Canons, who did not appear till the eleventh century, and the old general system of the Irish, which was bottomed on the monastic regulations introduced by St. Patrick from Tours and Lerins; yet they were not originally the same, and the ancient Irish rules were much stricter than that of St. Augustin Canons.

\* This is a mistake. There were no Canons Regular of *St. Augustine* properly so called till the 11th c.

† *Monasticon Hibernicum*, London, 1722, p. 2.

‡ Lanigan, *Eccl. History of Ireland*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

§ Lanigan, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

|| Do., p. 104.



bear this in mind while we examine the revenues of Drumlane in different centuries. According to the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* (1302-1307), p. 213, the income of the Prior of Drumlane at that period was assessed at 3 marks. It is interesting to know that the incomes drawn from their Kilmore benefices by the Abbot of Kells and the Prior of Fore were then 5 and 11 marks respectively. About the middle of the 15th c. Drumlane's income was assessed at 20 to 25 marks. Coming on to the 17th c., the Inquisition assists us to approximate the distribution of its tithes about the time of the Abbey's suppression. "Dromlaghan parish, containing 92 polls, the parsonage is appropriate to the late abbey of Dromlaghan, and the vicarage of Bolgan alias Dromlaghan collative, the tithes are paid in kind, and the tithes of 30 polls of Termon land and 7 polls of abbey land and 2/3 part of the remaining tithes are paid to the abbey, and the remainder to the vicar, who is to pay the Bishop  $\frac{1}{2}$ ."\*

#### CHURCH LANDS.

Here we get a three-fold division of the lands of the parish, viz.:—

- (1). Abbey land, managed and laboured by the Canons themselves.
- (2). Termon land, on which lived tenants who paid rent to the abbey.
- (3). Ordinary land, of which 2/3rds of the tithes went to the abbey and 1/3rd to the vicar or, as we would call him now, the Curate.

#### ABBEY LANDS.

Fortunately, we are in a position to give the names of the townlands comprising this sub-division.

A 1570 Fiant of Elizabeth, the 1609 Map, and the 1609 Inquisition, define the townlands included in the abbey lands. For convenience they are tabulated as under:—

1570 Fiant.	1609 Map.	1609 Inquisition.	Modern Name of Townland.
Polle Dyrremehill ...		Dirrevehan ...	Derryvehil
" Ardonan ...	Ardouan ...	Ardonny ...	Ardouan†
" Drumlean ...	Dromluhan ...		Drumlane
" Dyrrikyrekhan ...	Derihiregan ...	Dirregeereghan ...	Derrygeeraghan
" Nahowrye ...	Anurah ...	Ouragh ...	Uragh
" Drumghes ...	Brongosca ...	Dromgress ...	Drumghesh
and the 2 Polls called Kyllecrannehge ...	Kilnecranahy Gortugam ...	Gortahagh ...	Kilnacrangh Drumlane South
		The Garriaghs ...	Drumlane North
	Dromheriue ...	Dromheriff ...	Drumherriff

\* *Pat. Roll*, Jas. I., pp. 385, 386.

† The townland of Artonagh, in which the mills that fed Drumlane were supposed to have been situated, is more likely to have been Abbey land than Ardonan, which is more remote from Drumlane.



To locate "The Garriaghs" appeared, at first, very puzzling, but the book of the Down Survey filled the gap. From it we ascertain that Gallowne Gairiagh is included in Drumlane. A "gallon," or "gallowne," as it is spelled here, is a Cavan measure of land equal to half a poll. The 1609 Inquisition speaks of "*the poll* of the Garriaghes and Ouragh," *i.e.*, each contained half a poll. As the 1609 map locates Gartugan, which I take to be identical with Gortahagh in the Inquisition, on the South side of Drumlane, the Garriaghes must then be placed on the North side. Furthermore, "Garry" means a garden, and we have still a field in Drumlane townland called "Jackey's Garden."

#### TERMON LAND.

The Termon land is tinted green in the 1609 map. It, including the abbey land, corresponds approximately to what is known as Upper Drumlane, leaving the non-Termon land to cover Lower Drumlane.

We get an exhaustive account of the origin of Termon Lands, from the Cavan Jurors, in the Cavan Inquisitions of 1609. It has been already quoted in this Journal, vol. II, p. 27, and to it we would refer the reader.

To appraise the extent of land utilised or rented out by the Drumlane Canons it is best to convert the poll into modern land measures. Taking the poll to represent 30 arable acres and 20 mountain,\* bog, or pasture, we get 4,600 acres in the parish. Of this acreage Termon land absorbed 1,600, and abbey land, 400 acres, plantation measure. This is an immensely larger endowment than that of any other religious institution in Kilmore.

It should be remembered that out of these Termon Lands, the Canons had to pay rents and duties to the Bishop of Kilmore and the O'Reilly. These obligations are described in 1609 by the Cavan Jurors as follows:—"Dromlahan 30 polls, [pays] 3 mks. and 20 reaping hooks, out of which 30 polls O'Rely, time out of mind receives 30/- per annum." As the mark was equal to  $13/4$ , the contribution to the Bishop—*independent* of the reaping hooks—amounted to £2 0s. 0d., representing, perhaps, from thirty to forty pounds of our money. Drumlane paid, proportionately, less to the Bishop than its humbler neighbours. Annagh, for instance, having only one poll, paid  $3/4$  and three reaping hooks; Clonosey, in the same parish, having two polls, paid one mark and six reaping-hooks.

In three places elsewhere in the Patent Rolls of James I, *viz.*, at pages 83, 107, and 251, Drumlane is credited with possessing 32 polls of Termon Land.

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\* See Fiant of Elizabeth towards the end of this paper, where 50 acres are allotted to each poll. See also this Journal.

Low-lying and skirting the Erne for 10 miles, and the Woodford river—whose old name, the Graine,\* seems forgotten—for five miles, this parish has gained more alluvial soil than any other in the County Cavan, owing to the extensive Erne drainage works carried out during the last century. The writer knows land thus redeemed (from a watery bondage) into which a plough-share never penetrated till this year. Rich, deep, and suitable for permanent pasture or meadow, it needed no tillage to keep it in good form. One need not hesitate to assess an increase of 50 per cent. of arable land in that parish in the past 120 years, before then inaccessible and unavailable.

### DRUMLANE VICARAGE RESTORED TO CANONS REGULAR.

In July 1409, we read in the *Papal Registers* of a confirmation of the restoration of the perpetual vicarage of St. Medocius to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary's, Drumlane. The document alleges that although the above Prior and Convent held, from ancient times, the said vicarage, and [that although] afterwards a number of secular priests [were] instituted by the Bishops, nevertheless, Bishop Nicholas has, on its voidance, restored them to the possession of it, its value not exceeding 8 marks. It adds that since their restoration, they have been wont to cause it to be served now by their Canons, now by secular priests.†

The Bishop referred to above was Nicholas Mac Brady, once pastor of Castletara,‡ who was consecrated in Rome in August, 1395. He died in 1421.§

### THE SUPPORT OF THE SECULAR CLERGY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

An extract from the *Annals of Ulster* may appropriately find a place here :—

“ With regard to the support of the secular clergy, it is hardly necessary to remark that at this period it was arranged by obligatory tithes. Peasants were obliged to give one-tenth of all agricultural produce ; there were also tithes from butter, cheese, fowl, and cattle. Workers in gold and other artificers as well as medical practitioners were warned

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\* The 1609 map calls the river, flowing from Ballyconnell towards the Erne, the Graine. It is mentioned by the *Annals of Ulster* in reference to a battle between Maguire and O'Rourke at Ballyconnell in 1457, “ Then Mag Uidhir and Brian Magh Uidhir . . . turned on them and routed the people of Ua Ruairc spiritedly, felicitously on that occasion and inflicted the defeat of Ath-Conaill and of the *Graine*—namely, a river that is between Fir Manach in the Breifne—upon them.”

† Vol. VI, p. 159.

‡ *Ann. Hib.*, p. 255.

§ F.M.

by the Provincial Synod of Cashel (1453) that they also were obliged to give one-tenth of their income. The value of each parochial benefice was computed by the value of the tithes, and the paying of tithes to the clergy was considered at the time to be of divine positive precept. In the extracts taken from the "Inquisitions of Ulster" which appear in the Appendix to Armagh Diocese, we also find that a few acres of glebe land were generally attached to the priest's house as a help to his support, and it may be inferred that this was common all over the country. Two-thirds of the tithes went to the parish priest and one-third to the curate, or, as they are called in the Inquisitions, "parson" and "vicar."\*

In 1427 Patrick O'Farrelly is collated in Rome to the perpetual vicarage of the parochial church of St. Felim of Kilmore. He is at this time, or becomes later, perpetual vicar of St. Bridget's of Nurnaid (Urney) as an entry in the *Pap. Reg.* of 1431 assures us, when the Bishop and Dean of Clogher and John Ositigy, canon of the same, are commanded to have him received as a canon of the Augustinian conventual priory of St. Mary, Droimleathan, and to receive his profession. He is in due course to resign the vicarage of Urney. Yet we find him, at Bologna, in Italy, in 1436, where he appeared in person, again appointed prior, by Papal Bull. The Bull reads :—

The conventual priory of St. Mary of Drumlane, a house of Austin Canons in the diocese of Triburnia [Kilmore] being now void by the demise without the Roman Court of Peter Magaumrigan [Magaheran] and reserved to the apostolic see, Pope Eugene IV having heard that Patrick Ofairceallaich [O'Farrelly], at that time perpetual vicar of the parish church of St. Brigid of Nurnaig [Urney] in this diocese, [desired admission into this priory] . . . sent letters commanding the Bishop and Dean of Clogher and John Osithigi, Canon of the same, if said Patrick should be fit and no canonical hindrance bars the way, to have him received there by apostolic authority, provided that said priory is not thereby overburdened, as a canon and brother, to see that the religious habit, shall, as is customary there, be given to him, that he shall be maintained, like the rest of the canons, at the expense of said priory, and be treated with sincere charity in the Lord. Moreover, should he desire to make the religious profession wont to be made by the canons there, to receive and admit it, and when he has been admitted as a canon, has received the habit, and made his profession as above . . . should they find said priory vacant as aforesaid, or in any other way . . . provided no other had a specially acquired right therein, to confer it on and assign it to said Patrick, with all its rights and appurtenances, as is more fully mentioned in the aforesaid letters.†

\* *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 13. † *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I, pp. 231, 249.

## THADY MCGURRIN.

The following extract from a Bull of Pope Eugene IV speaks for itself :—

Pope Eugene IV understanding that Tycheus [McGurrin], perpetual vicar of St. Tylemey's parish church, Kilmore, wished to enter among the Canons of Drumlane, ordered by Bull, dated . . . 1444, the Ides of March, that he should be received there . . . and also that after he had made his vows he should be appointed Prior there in succession to Patrick Offerkeallaych, deceased.\*

Thady has to resign the vicarage of St. Felimy's, Kilmore, but is permitted to hold for life the vicarage of St. Bridget's, at Urney, to which he was collated in 1436, "which Church is not more than three miles of those parts from the said monastery, being nearer thereto than is St. Felimy's." He is described as one who, "by his grandmother on his father's side springs from a noble, even princely stock, and has to keep great hospitality.†"

That the appointment of these two outsiders and seculars was not popular with the residents of the Priory can be inferred from complaints lodged by both about a certain Cormac Magaurkan (Magaheran), who vigorously maintained, without canonical sanction, however, his right to succeed Peter Magamuragan (Magaheran), Patrick's predecessor. Accordingly, a mandate is sped from the Pope to the Archdeacon of Hainault, in Liege, to summon "Cormac," a Canon of the said Priory and "*others concerned.*"‡ Cormac's intractibility cannot have been regarded in any serious light in Rome, since he becomes later the Bishop of Ardagh, and in the appointment to that See, is actually styled "Prior of Drumlane."§ The subjoined mandate, dated Rome, July, 1456, and addressed to the Dean and Archdeacon of Ardagh and Eugenius O'Rodachain records Thady's future, and gives us the name of his successor :—

Mandate to summon the below-named Bishop and other concerned to collate and assign to Peter Magaurughan (Magaheran), a Canon of the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary's, Drumlane, in the diocese of Kilmore, the said Priory, conventual and with care of souls, dependent on the monastery of St. Mary's, without the walls of the town of Kenlys in the diocese of Meath, value not exceeding 20 marks sterling, which became and is still void at the Apostolic See, and is therefore *ipso facto* reserved, by the promotion made by the present Pope (Calixtus III), of Thady Bishop of Kilmore to that Church, and by his consecration, which was administered to him by the Pope's grant at the said See, &c.¶

\* Ibid, p. 251.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. IX, p. 528.

‡ Do. Vol. VIII, p. 585.

§ *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 185.

¶ *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. X, p. 307.

We find Thady personally paying the Episcopal Taxes in Rome—this being his third visit to Italy—on the 20th of July, 1455 (Lib. oblig., Ann. Ult., p. 257). He succeeded Andrew McBrady and was at the synod of Drogheda in 1460.

Although the F.M. give the death of Fearsithe MacDuibne, Bishop of the two Breifnys, in 1464, this Fearsithe can have been only a coadjutor, because John O'Reilly, Abbot of Kells, is appointed on the 17th of May, 1465, to this See [Kilmore], vacant by the *demise* of Thady. (Reg. Paul 11, quoted in p. 257, Ann. Hib.)

#### CORMAC, BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

Returning to Cormac Magaurakan, appointed Bishop of Ardagh in 1444, we learn that he exercised episcopal functions there for nearly a quarter of a century, *i.e.*, till his resignation of the See before 1469, probably to re-enter the cloister.\*

#### BUILDING AND RE-CONSTRUCTION AT DRUMLANE.

A period of reconstruction comes in sight in the first and second quarters of the 15th c. Manifestly, churches and monastery needed renovation. In 1413 an appeal is made by the Drumlane Canons for alms for the building of a cloister, refectory, and several other necessary edifices.

December, 1436, brings a further request for the repairs, etc., of the Church of the Augustinian Conventual Priory of Druimyntleathan in the diocese of Kilmore. In the same month we hear of another appeal for the repairs, etc., of the *parish* church of St. Modocius, Druymleathan, in the diocese of Kilmore.†

The last-named church is clearly parochial, not monastic. One would naturally expect to find this in Lr. Drumlane, yet Petty's map, which displays a ruined church in or near the townland of Derrintinny, forces us to accept this as the *parish* church aforesaid.

#### BISHOP DONAT'S LETTER.

A very interesting letter may be reproduced here from the register‡ of Primate Swayne, of Armagh. It reads:—

To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear this letter Donat, by the Grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Triburnia [Kilmore] eternal health in the Lord.

Be it known unto you all, that whereas by the death of the late Muran O'Farally, of worthy memory, Comurban and principal Herenach of all the lands of the sept of Munter-Farally, the said Comurbanship [Coarbship] and erenachie

\* *Ann. Hib.*, Vol I., p. 185.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 384, 589.

‡ Quoted in King's *Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 37.

is at present rightfully and actually vacant. We, Bishop Donat, aforesaid, give, grant, and by this our present Charter confirm, that Comurbanship [Coarbship] of the Church of St. Medoc of Drumlane, of our Diocese, and the Erenachie of the said lands, with all the lands, natives upon them, and all other emoluments of right or custom appertaining to the same, to our beloved in Christ Nicholas O'Farally, clerk of said Diocese, and native of said lands, including the arable parts, and the non-arable hill and dale, pastures, meadows, grass, woods, fisheries, mills, and all other their appertenances universally, and with all their limitations, belonging, of right or custom, to the said Comurbanship, and the Erenachie aforesaid; to have and to hold them, from us and our Successors, as largely and liberally as ever his predecessors held, or ought to have held them, for a perpetual possession. He paying thereupon, to us and our Successors, such rents and tributes as are customary, as well as [being responsible for] all other burdens ordinary and extraordinary, and the services which are due and customary. Given at the Cemetery of the House of the Friars Minor of Cavan, of the Diocese aforesaid, the sixth day of the month of Sept., A.D. 1438.

This Bishop Donat was Donatus Ogaband (O'Gowan or Smith), perpetual vicar of Ballintemple before his appointment as Elect of Kilmore in 1421. On his resignation of the See in 1444, he was succeeded by Andrew MacBrady, Rural Dean of Drumlane.\*

#### DEATHS OF CANONS OF DRUMLANE.

F.M. 1484. John O'Farely, a canon of the family of Drumlane, and Brian O'Farrelly, a priest who had commenced building an anchorite's cell at the Great Church of Drumlane, died. The A.U. has the same entry under the same year.

This is the text (to which attention has been drawn earlier in this paper) on which Richardson and Harris based the visionary theory regarding the uses of Round Towers, which O'Donovan and Petrie exploded.

A.U. 1490, record the demise of the Canon Mag-Tighernain of the College of Druim-lethan. "College," taken here in the canonical sense, means a clerical body corporate for the celebration of daily Mass and choral service.

#### DONNELL BANE O'REILLY.

In order to give coherence to the narrative, attention in a few preceding pages, has been concentrated exclusively on ecclesias-

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\* *Reg. Martin V*, quoted in *Ann. Hib.*, p. 256; *Pap Reg.*, Vol. VIII, p. 250.

tical matters pertaining to Drumlane. Let us now resume its contemporary secular history.

A.U. 1449. Eogan, son of John Ua Raighilliagh, namely, king of the two Breifni, died this year about the feast of [St.] Patrick; to wit, a man that completely defended his territories against their neighbours. He died with victory of penance and was buried in the monastery of Cavan. Two kings were made in the Breifni against each other this year; to wit (1) Ferghal, son of Thomas Mor Ua Raighilligh, was made king by the Foreigners and by Domnall, son of John Ua Raighilligh, and (2) John, son of (Eogan) Ua Raighilligh, was made king by Ua Neill and by Mag Mathgamna and so on.

F.M. 1449. Owen, the son of John, Lord of the district called Muintir-Maelmora, died; and his son, John O'Reilly, was elected in his place by O'Neill and the sept of John O'Reilly; but Farrell O'Reilly (*i.e.*, the son of Thomas More) being elected by the sept of Mahon O'Reilly and by the English, war and disturbances arose between them [the candidates]. The Lord Justice and the Earl of Ormond came to assist Farrell O'Reilly; but John O'Reilly and his forces suddenly charged the van of their army, and slew or made prisoners of sixty of them, among whom were the son of Turlough and the son of Donnell Bane O'Reilly.

F.M. 1450. A peace was made by John, the son of Owen O'Reilly, and Donnell Bane O'Reilly, with each other; and Farrell, the son of Thomas [O'Reilly], was deposed of his lordship; and [the chieftainship of] all Breifny was conferred upon John, the son of Owen; and Farrell received wages from him.

These dissensions have a peculiar interest for us, since one of the King-makers was Donnell Bane O'Reilly (F.M.), or Domnal the Fair (A.U.) In a note to the F.M. 1340, O'Donovan describes the Bolgan as "a district near Belturbet . . . co-extensive with the parish of Drumlane. In the year 1454, Donnell Bane O'Reilly had the territory of Bolgan, alias Drumlahan, in the neighbourhood of Belturbet, for his appenage."

This name, he described, as being still well known in the country. As an alternative name for the parish, it is forgotten now, but there is still an O'Reilly family in the parish, whose members are called the "Bolegans."

That Donnell exercised considerable influence in the Breifny of his day, may be gathered from the attention paid him and his family by both the annals of the F.M. and the annals of Ulster.

His matrimonial connections, too, indicate the high place he occupied among the heads of neighbouring principalities. We have chronicled in the annals:—the deaths of his son, Owen, in 1452; his daughter, Una, wife of Maguire, in 1487; his

daughter-in-law, Una, daughter of Magauran, and the wife of his son, Failge, in 1505. Further on we shall make the acquaintance of his sons, Edmund and Farrell.

John evidently combined the gifts of strategy and diplomacy; by the former he out-manceuvred and defeated his rival, Farrell, on the battle-field; by the latter, he drew away the support of Donnell from him and had him deposed next year.

But the fortunes of war were to turn against John, whose fame had then spread far beyond Breifny—when he next crossed swords with the English.

A.U. 1460. Great defeat was inflicted on Ua Raighilligh by the Foreigners this year and there were slain in it, on the 3rd of the Nones [3rd] of September, Ua Raighilligh [namely, John] and Aedh Ua Raighilligh and Eogan Blind [eye], son of Mathgamain Mac Caba. And there came not since [the death of] Cathal Red-hand Ua Conchobhair a tale respecting a Connacain that was greater than that tale, namely, [respecting] John, son of Eogan, son of Philip, son of Gilla-Isa Ua Raighilligh the Red. And Ireland all was full of grief for that king of the two Breifni and the [bardic] bands and pilgrims and poor mendicants of Ireland were grieved after him and after his brother, namely, Aedh Ua Raighilligh.

Donnell died in 1454.

#### CAPTURE OF LOUGH OUGHTER CASTLE.

A.U. 1487. The fortress of Loch-uachtar was taken this year by the sons of Donnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, namely, Ferghal and Edmund. And Ferghal himself died this year, the Saturday before Christmas and was buried in Druim-lethan.

We are not here told who was the custodian of Lough Oughter Castle, from whom the resolute sons of Donnall wrested it. Our suspense, however, is relieved immediately by an incident recorded in the annals of 1488:—

A.U. 1488. Ua Raighilligh, namely, John, son of Toirdelbach, son of John Ua Raighilligh burned the town of Edmund, son of Donnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, this year after November Day.

The "town of Edmund" can be no other than Drumlane. The annals of Clonmacnoise, in 1391, talk of "the towne of Drumleachan"; and constant local traditions associates the place with a town. John O'Reilly, the Chief, came to Drumlane on a punitive expedition, to sack and *burn* the town manifestly to chastise Edmund for his and his brother's seizure of Clough Oughter Castle the year before. It is a fair supposition that John, or his father Turlough, who died in the September of that year, had possession of Clough Oughter in 1487, and that it was



from one of them the Castle was captured by the Drumlane O'Reillys. The fact that these families were at enmity does not lessen the probability of this inference, for John was the grandson of the John whose succession to the chieftainship was contested in the interests of Farrell O'Reilly by Donnell Bane, Edmund's father, in 1449.

John's death is recorded by the F.M. in 1491. He is there described as "a kind, bountiful and truly hospitable young man," who "died in the very beginning of his prosperity, and was interred in the monastery of Cavan." Five years later Edmund also died.

But the feud between these families lived on, as we can observe from the following:—

F.M. 1512. Failghe, the son of Maelmora O'Reilly, was slain at Drumlane by the sons of John, son of Owen, son of Donnell Bane, and James, the son of Turlough, son of Owen (O'Reilly).

Failghe's father, Maelmora, was nephew of the John who died in 1491, while his slayers were grandsons of Owen, brother to Edmund, John's rival.

#### THE FAMILY OF O'MAELMOCHEIRGHE.

What follows is the last reference in the annals to Drumlane:—

F.M. 1512. "Hugh O'Maelmocheirghe, Coarb of Drumlane, was drowned."

O'Maelmocheirghe—chief of early rising, or, fond of early rising—is a name long associated with Kilmore. Its modern equivalent is Early.\*

The death of "Muircheartach Ua Maeilmocherghi, bishop of Ui-Briuin-Breifne" in 1149, is registered in both the *Chronicon Scotorum* and the F.M., the latter styling him a "noble bishop" and a "noble senior." This is the earliest reference in the F.M. to a bishop of Ui-Briuin-Breifne, Tir-Briuin, Triburna, or Kilmore.

The *Papal Registers* of 1414 record the appointment of John O'Mulmochori, of the diocese of Kilmore, who was not in holy orders, as Papal Notary.

Bearers of this name frequently appear in the Annals of Ulster as rectors or vicars of the parishes of Outeragh and Drumreilly.

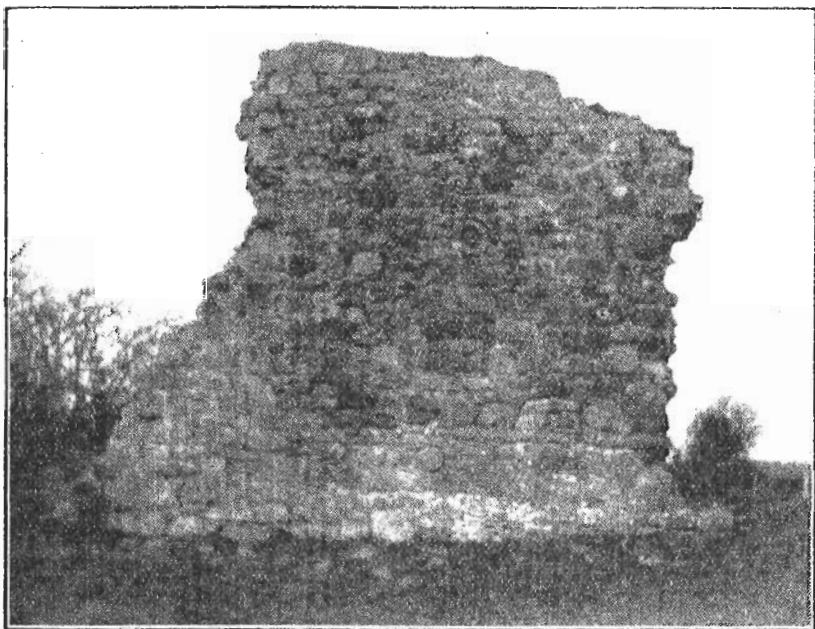
In 1512 Pope Julius the II issued a Bull commanding the Bishop of Meath, and the Dean and Archdeacon of Kilmore, to review a decision given at the Synod of Ardee by the Bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh, in favour of Thomas Brady's claim to the See of Kilmore and against that made to the same See by the Prior of Drumlane, Cormac Magauran (F.M.) or Magurrrayn

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\* O'Donovan, F.M., 1512, note; Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, p 610.

(Reg. Jul. II). If they are satisfied with the justice of this sentence, they are to cause it, by apostolic authority, to be firmly observed, and no appeal to be permitted.\*

Thomas Brady died in 1511. The F.M. describe him as "Bishop and Erenagh of the two Breifnys during a period of thirty years; the only dignitary whom the English and Irish obeyed; a paragon of wisdom and piety; a luminous lamp that enlightened the laity and clergy by instruction and preaching; and a faithful shepherd of the Church, etc." He was in his sixty-seventh year and died at Dromahair, whither he had gone to consecrate a church.



**ALL THAT NOW REMAINS OF DRUMLANE ABBEY.**

The F.M. are very guarded in recording Cormac's death in the same year. "Cormac Magauran, who was called Bishop in Breifny, died before Christmas," they say.

From the proceedings given above, this date can hardly be accepted as the correct year of Cormac's death. News, however, travelled slowly in these days, and it is possible that his death was still unknown at Rome on the 2nd June following, when Julius issued the order above referred to.

\* *Reg. Julius II.*, quoted in *Ann. Hib.*, p. 258.

† According to Harris's ed. of Ware's Bishops he succeeded to the Bishopric of Kilmore in 1489. This would leave him but 22 years.

### LAST PAPAL REFERENCE TO DRUMLANE.

A mandate to confer the archdeaconry of Kilmore on Andrew MacBrady a Canon of Kilmore, under date July, 1538, is found addressed in the Register of Pope Paul III to the Abbot of Kells and the Prior of Drumlane. This, most probably, is the last published Roman document mentioning the Prior of Drumlane.

### HENRY VIII'S CONFISCATIONS.

Events are crowding in rapid succession, for we are now in the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.

George Brown, an Englishman, is appointed Archbishop of Dublin, in 1535, by Henry VIII. Next year, a Parliament is summoned to Dublin. This assembly declares Henry VIII to be the sole and supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland; all appeals to the Court of Rome, in spiritual causes, are prohibited, while any subject who maintains the supremacy of the Pope is to be apprehended and rendered subject to *præmunire*.

A ukase from Henry VIII, dated 7th April, 1539, addressed to John Allen, Chancellor, George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, etc., commands "the confiscation of the monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other places of religious or regulars in Ireland," with an instruction "to take charge for the king's use of the possessions of the said houses."\*

This document leaves us in no doubt as to the reason for the long silence of Drumlane.

Yet, East Breifny had not been brought under the English yoke, till after the reign of Henry VIII.

That Breifny East, on the very frontiers of the Pale, should have maintained its independence for 400 years after the Norman invasion, deserves particular notice. It speaks volumes for its leaders, who, now by diplomacy, now by force, kept the hosts of the English at bay.

So, some breathing space was granted the Augustinians, before the final debacle; but it was only the calm before the storm.

Portents foreshadowing evil were not wanting, as when Hugh and Edmund O'Reilly had to sign a humiliating indenture, presented to them by the English, at Lough Sheelin, in November, 1567, in which, among other undertakings, they had to promise to punish "with fire and sword" their own brothers—whom the English regarded as rebels.†

### THE CONFISCATION OF DRUMLANE.

Queen Elizabeth writes to her ministers in Ireland, on February 28th, 1568, stating that Hugh O'Reilly, "being notoriously by

\* Statutes 27th and 28th, Henry VIII. The Statutes of *Præmunire*, enacted in 1353, forbade "all subjects . . . to plead in a foreign court in matter which the King's Court could decide" (*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. V, p. 322).

† O'Donovan, F.M., 1583, note.

age and sickness unable to repair to court," has surrendered his estates, by the agency of his son, John, at Hampton Court.\*

Seeing that Hugh's father was only a few years dead, and that Hugh himself survived this date for 15 years, the "age and sickness" plea cannot be accepted without some reserve. We can easily imagine that Hugh showed no undue anxiety to relinquish the patrimony of his ancestors.

His son, John, desired to placate England, and attain the chieftainship after his father's death. John's uncle, Edmund of Kilnacrott, being Tanist, would succeed Hugh by Brehon Law; but English law, John well knew, would secure him the dignity, as it did later. Hence John's hasty submission at Hampton Court.

This submission had an important bearing on St. Mary's, Drumlane.

*Fiant* of Elizabeth, dated 1st Feb., 1570, runs as follows:—

Lease under Commission, 26th Sept. to Hugh O'Reyly, of the Brennye, Chief of his nation; of the site of the monastery of the Holy Trinity of Canons in the isle of the Holye Trynytie in Loughoughter in O'Reyly's country called the Breny, 4 parcels of land called Polle Drumore, Polle in Yllane and Dyrre, Polle Snavelagher, Drumore alias Drumorore, and their tithes; the site of Canons of the B.V.M. of Drumlahan in O'Reyly's country in the Breny, 8 polles of land near Drumlahan, viz., Polle Dyrremehill, Polle Ardonan, Polle Drumlean, Dyrkyrekhan, Polle Nahowrye, Polle Drunghes, and the two polles called Kyllecraneghe; the rectories of Kylshanra (Killeshandra) alias Tullaghconkhoreighter [Tullyhunco Lower] and Bolgan alias Drumlahan, and the tithes of the eight polles, each poll containing by estimation 30 acres arable and 20 pasture and mountain. To hold for 21 years; rent 56/8 for the monastery of the Trynytie, and £8 14s. 8d. for Drumlahan, maintaining 2 horsemen, not to alien without license except to persons of the English nation and not to charge coyne.

Archdall tells us that by an Inquisition in the 27th year of Elizabeth, or 14 years after the above grant was made to Hugh, it was found that he had paid only one half-year's rent. This is significant, and I think that a comparison of the *Fiant* and the 1584 Inquisition makes it clear, almost certain, that the suppression of Trinity and Drumlane took place at a date not later than 1570.

Let us attempt to reconstruct what probably happened.

From 1568 East Breifny comes under the direct government of Dublin Castle. Elizabeth's agents lose no time in dissolving its monastic institutions. Hugh O'Reilly, the Chief of his clan—

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\* Calendar of State Papers—Elizabeth.

though the title seems a hollow one now—the most influential potentate in Breifny, rents Trinity, Drumlane, and the rectories listed above, with a view to a continuance there or the return of the Canons, to pursue, under his protection, their usual sacred ministrations.

Having paid one half-year's rent, he ceases to pay any further instalments, because he now recognises that his efforts to save the Augustinians are futile, that *delenda est Carthago* is the sentence.

Hugh Conallagh O'Reilly died in 1583. He was called "Conallagh" because he had been fostered in Tir-Connal. He and some members of his family were great builders. Hugh built Ballinacargy Castle and also Castle Tairbert at Belturbert, which occupied a different site to the castle built there later by the English. His son, Maelmora, built a castle at Kevitt, Crossdoney, and Philip, a son of Maelmora, built, in 1639, a castle at Lismore.\*

The disillusioned John, according to the report of a Commission sitting in Cavan in 1606 "departed from his allegiance . . . and traitorously adhered to Hugh, Earl of Tirone and other traitors, and died a rebel at Cavan, 1 June, 38th Eliz." (1595).

Brehon Law came into its own again for a short space, and Edmund, the Tanist, became chief in 1598. He was slain, as the English Commissioners put it, "in rebellion" at Cavan, in 1600.

In these circumstances, it is possible that the work of the Priory may have been re-established and that the survivors of the Canons Regular returned and led there a more or less furtive existence.

Drumlane Parish, not being planted to the same extent as surrounding parishes, its people would shelter and support them.

But if they returned, their stay was not for long.

Thus, the fires of Drumlane were quenched, never to blaze again. The venerable Round Tower, around which flourished industry, hospitality, and piety, in field and fane, now stands sentry over the dead, as silent as the various generations that, from age to age, gave life and activity to Drumlane, sleep their long sleep underneath.

I owe a debt of thanks to the Rev. J. B. Meehan, P.P., Killinkere, for the use of valuable books of reference from his extensive Library; to the Rev. T. J. Bradley, C.C., Drumlane, for photographs of the Round Tower, Church and Abbey; to Messrs. Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., Clonmel; P. J. O'Connor, the National Library, and R. V. Walker, M.A., Clones, for useful quotations.

PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.

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\* O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, pp. 167, 168.

## LOUGH GOWNA.

By THOMAS O'REILLY.

[Read 26th March, 1925.]

Lough Gowna occupies an area of some 5,000 acres among the picturesque valleys bordering the counties of Cavan and Longford. The surrounding scenery is remarkably beautiful and captivating. Its waters wind for many miles in most fantastic loops among the wooded hills, occasionally enclosing islands both of surpassing beauty and of great historic interest.

Carnagh (probably *Cearnach*, invincible or impregnable stronghold), once a place of note, was visited by St. Patrick. Many objects of antiquarian interest have recently been unearthed here.

Innishmore or St. Columbkille's Island in Lough Gowna appears to have been in former times a place of much repute. It contained two religious establishments, one founded by St. Ciaran, the other by St. Columbkille. The latter seems to have been very wealthy, for its stores excited the cupidity of the Danes and induced them to undertake an expedition entailing fearful risks and hardships in the hope of securing the treasures it contained. Its ruins are worthy of antiquarian attention.

This beautiful lake is in reality artificial, not formed as lakes usually are, but as a means suggested by the grim determination of an ancient people to hold at bay the superior forces of a victorious and on-coming invader.

I was led to discover this fact from information given me by the late Bernard Murray, of Portanure, of the existence of a submerged road leading from Portanure to County Longford opposite. On it he found a remarkably heavy bronze spear, which was sold with others to the late Dr. Moran, Head Inspector National Schools. There is a gap in this road near the middle of the lake, through which a river evidently flowed. The spear would be lost during the defence of the bridge at this point. That it had not been removed was owing to sudden inundation of the valley during the progress of the battle.

That the whole district surrounding L. Gowna, and including the lake itself, is the site of one of Ireland's ancient battle-fields\* is evident from the copious finds all over it of ancient weapons of the bronze and stone ages, of numerous objects of

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\* See this *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 340 *infra*,

gold, and from the number of dolmens or ancient tombs still remaining there. Of the latter, two at Loughduff,\* surrounded by cists some containing urns, have their openings or doors placed one towards the south, the other towards the north; the former, I take it, the grave of an Ulster, the latter that of an anti-Ulster leader. Others exist two miles farther north, and some on the Longford border.

During the Erne Drainage, in or about 1859, a great find was come upon in the district. It is worth telling about. John Reilly, of The Derries, discovered in the bed of the river, between that townland and Carnagh, 51 bronze battle axes, a thin crown of gold, and a gold chain having three balls of gold, each as large as a marble, attached at intervals. It was the summer time when the water is lowest, and John was one of a half-score workmen engaged in clearing and sinking the river bed. On levelling a little mound right in the centre of the stream his spade struck something which glittered. It was coming on to dinner time. He threw down his spade and put on his coat. "The dinner is ready," he sung out, "I hear her calling us." They all followed. But on reaching the house two fields away he quietly slipped out again by the back door, got an old sack, and returned to the mound. A Mr. Sheridan who lived on the opposite side of the river came down to know what was he at, and seeing the yellow pile asked for some of it. John protested about "parting with his luck," but in the end threw him the gold crown. It was the lightest and, he thought, the least valuable of the objects. The rest he carried off in the sack which he hurriedly left with a reliable neighbour for safe keeping. Then he made tracks back to the mound. But by then the dinner was over and the workmen had returned. Suspecting that they had been tricked and that something of value had been found they plunged their shovels into the bottom of the river and filled the water with mud. John got no more.

Believing his treasure to be bars of gold—in reality they were bronze battle axes—he entrusted the sale of it, including the gold chain, minus one ball, to a cousin of his, a dealer who lived in Granard. The dealer brought them up to Dublin and disposed of them, assuring John on his coming back they were all brass. All John received for them was £8. The third ball which he had detached from the chain John showed to jewellers in both Granard and Cavan. They pronounced it gold, and gold it certainly was. But by then the treasure was sold. John kept the ball in his possession until a short time before his death which happened a few years ago. The writer often saw it, and listened to John's laments.

Some carved bone articles for household use were discovered

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\* See this *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 353.

on the island in Carnagh Lake, a little lower down stream. A bronze pot or cauldron was also found on the Lisney shore of L. Gowna and a gold chain at Sallaghan ford. These were presented to the late Baron Hughes, the landlord of the place.

A bronze spear-head, about two feet in length—a narrow two-edged blade—was found near the railway bridge at Carnagh, about 1900. Dr. Moran, already mentioned, acquired this also. Many stone celts and oaken clubs, formidable heavy weapons, have been found in the Loughduff area.

The name L. Gowna is accounted for by a legend.

### THE LOUGH GOWNA LEGEND.

There was an enchanted well at Port-a-wauher (Porth of the road, near Granard) which supplied pure wholesome water to the inhabitants of the fertile district all round. This fountain was covered by a close-fitting flagstone, and it was of the utmost importance that the cover should be secured again in its place immediately after the supply of water had been drawn out. Otherwise an evil spirit would come forth and drown the whole country. At length a giddy young woman came to this well to draw water, who being engrossed in thoughts of her love affairs forgot to replace the flag which covered the well. The evil spirit, in the form of a calf, came forth from the well followed by a torrent of rushing water, and pursued her down the valley. The terrified lady ran hither and thither round the hills, backwards and forwards, in her efforts to escape. But all to no purpose. The calf kept close to her heels. At Rossduff, near Arva, a man who was mowing in a meadow ran meeting her and cut the two legs from under her. Thereupon the calf went down into the earth, but the flood remained. The lake thus formed was named Lough Gowna, *i.e.*, "Lake of the Calf."

In this allegory the fountain of pure water seems to typify Virtue from which all derive inspiration for the ennobling of their lives. It needs to be guarded. The erring female was a queen or great lady whose neglect of the duty of guarding her honour raised the Evil Spirit and caused a war which threatened the destruction of the whole country, but which ended on her death by violence.

Probably the celebrated Queen Maebh was the delinquent. She left her husband Conor for Fergus MacRoy. In the war which followed, the latter was driven out of Ulster. He fled with Maebh to Connaught. Maebh, who possessed great wealth, afterwards married Olioll, king of that country, and by the aid of her new husband's forces made an attack on Conor's dominions in Ulster. At length Olioll was killed by Conall Cearnach and Maebh by Conor's son. The war thus ended was much celebrated in story.



The deaths of Olioll and of Conall are typified in the legend of

### THE CATS OF CROGHAN.

The cats of Connaught used to assemble periodically in secret meeting in the Rath of Croghan. The hero Conall determined to learn the purpose of their deliberations, so he concealed himself in the fort during their absence. On their return they set guards around the fort and instituted a strict search all over the place but failed to notice anything amiss. Conall heard the Master Cat allude to himself as a person dangerous to them all and advised them to put him to death. This was agreed to. Conall seizing an opportunity killed the Master Cat and fled towards his home pursued by the vengeful rout. He swam the Shannon and escaped, as cats cannot swim. On reaching his home he was joyfully received by his family; but when he proudly related how he had killed the Master Cat of Croghan an old bedraggled cat called Sheevra Gurtach—Sheegra in some districts—sprang at him from the ash corner of the hearth, and fastening its nails in his throat and in his flesh could not be made let go its hold till it had killed him.

I believe these and most Irish legends are allegories. In figurative language they depict historical tragedies, and were made use of in the schools of ancient Ireland as most effective means for inculcating historical knowledge. Note the legend depicted on the cross of Banagher which typifies a well-known historical fact.

On 23 Dec., 1920, I discovered between the townlands of Enaghan and Rossduff the bed of the old river and the dam by which the inundation of the Gowna valley was effected. Below this dam the level of the old river bed is 24 feet lower than the surface of the lake above. The course of the old river ran down the valley west of Arvagh to the Co. Leitrim border, thence to the Shannon as shown on Ptolemy's map.

The enormous pressure of the impounded waters caused a breach in the Esker near the present Camagh Bridge, through which the waters of the large lake shown on Ptolemy's map and of L. Sheelin passed into the Inny, the former lake shrinking to a pool.

While making investigations for the late W. De V. Kane (who has proved that the "Black' Pig's Race" marks the different boundaries of ancient Ulster) I traced a section of that legendary landmark from Ballinamuck to Rossduff on L. Gowna. I am convinced the line was continued up the Gowna valley to the Duncla rampart near Granard, and that it was the forcing of that line of defence by the Connaught army that suggested the desperate expedient of drowning a whole district.

The original valleys now covered by the waters of L. Gowna could be restored by opening up the bed of the old river for a distance of half a mile, along the townlands of Enaghan and Rossduff.

I believe the Gowna Dam was constructed as early as the birth of Christ, as King Conor died A.D. 33, that the name of the engineer was Dubh Maon, said to have been a son to Conall Cearnach. The lake thus formed would be called Loch-Dhubh-Mhaoin, pronounced L. Gooin.

Dubh Maoin, *i.e.*, Black Maon, who resided at Tullach Mhaoin (Tullyvin, near Cootehill), was ancestor of the Mac Gowan's (Smyth's). Black Maon was probably the Black Pig of the legend under whose supervision the defences of Ulster were constructed. As a teacher of engineering he would be considered a schoolmaster, as the legend designates him. As a strategist few ever excelled him, whilst his fame, passing into the legend of the country, has survived through a period of two thousands years.

THOMAS O'REILLY,  
Loughduff.



**BAILIEBORO' IN THE DISTANCE.**

# BREIFNE BEFORE THE UI-BRIUIN.

(PART III.)

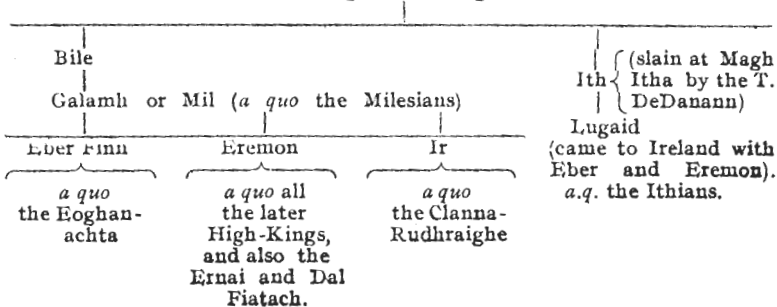
By JOHN P. DALTON, M.R.I.A.

The traditional history of Ireland traces down every royal stock of the Gaels from two eponymous ancestors, and two only, the majestic Mil, or Golamh, and his uncle Ith. According to the orthodox portraiture of our proto-history, Ith was the brother of Bile, both being sons of Bregend—from whose watch-tower near Corúna Ith first espied the island that was destined to be the permanent home of Bregend's seed ; and the posterity of the nephew were naturally distinguished from the posterity of the uncle as Milesians and Ithians respectively. But the Ithians were no less genuine Gaels than the Milesians, for Bregend, the father of Ith and Bile, was a direct descendant, in the eighteenth generation, of Gaedhal Glas, the grandson of Fenius Farsaidh, which Fenius was one of the three chief-directors "who were at the building of Nimrod's tower" (of Babel)\*.

The so-called Milesians all issued, in scores of ramifications, from three of Mil's sons, Eber Finn, Eremon and Ir or Hir. In the conventional pedigrees of Keating, O'Flaherty, and MacFirbis (†) the Eoghanachta are traced to Eber Finn, through Duach Dalta Degaidh and Niadh Segamhain, while the Ernai are affiliated with Eremon through Oilill Erann and Ugaine Mor. The Ernai would thus have been a collateral branch of the stocks of Cahirmore—father of Daire Barrach—and of Con Ced-Cathach, whose descendents eventually wrested from all other competitors the paramount dignity of ardrighship.

(\* ) *L. Gabhala*, p. 192.

(†) The genealogical connections may be thus tabulated :  
Bregend or Breogan



The Clanna Rudhraighe are traced to Ir, through Rudhraighe Mor, Airgedmar, and Ollamh Fodla. In other words they are assigned a descent which admits them to the order of Milesians, but excludes them from the rank of Eremonians. The Ithian Gaels were neither Eremonians nor Milesians, and they sank into comparative insignificance after the death of Lugaid MacCon, whose three years' tenure of the sceptre of Tara ended about 253 A.D. (\*) Of the descendants of Ith who survived in mediæval times the chief families were the Ui-Edersceoil (O'Driscolls) of Ross diocese in Cork, and the Mag Fhlannchadha (MacClanchys) of Dartry, or Rossclougher, in Breifne (†).

Such, in broad outline, is the scheme of Gaelic family origins that has been standardised, not by reason of any provable excellence in the character of its intrinsic reliability, but because it has had the good fortune of being favoured, while the more reputable traditions were neglected, with the widest and most influential circulation in manuscript and print. In the Book of Ballymote (‡) we read: "The Airgialla: Dal Araidi to the east of these, another name for them is Cruithnigh. The Ulaid to the east of these. These Ulaid, Dal Fiatach they are called, of the posterity of Cu Rui son of Daire son of Dedu from Cu Rui's fifth in Munster, thence is their origin, this Dal Fiatach *qui et Ulaid hodie dicuntur.*" (§) If the writer of this record is correct in evolving the Ulaid and Dal Fiatach from the Munster Ernai it will follow that the lineage charts which differentiate the pair of stocks into Eremonians and Irians must be radically at fault. The next sentence of the Ballymote text, which, if not written by the author of the same statement, must have been interpolated by the transcriber as an emendation, tells: "The true Ulaid, however, are Dal Araidi . . . . . In Conall Cernach they originate." (||)

If the Dal n-Araide sprang from Conall Cernach, and if the appellative Dal n-Araide was synonymous with Cruithnigh, then the Irian chieftain Conall Cernach, father of Irial Glummhar, must have been a Cruithnech, or Briton. (¶) **But the Book of**

(\*) *Ogygia*, pp. 327-331. Keating (II, 282) and the P. Masters (*sub. anno* 225 A.D.) extend Lugaid's reign to 30 years.

(†) See the Genealogy of *Corca Laidhe*, ed. by O'Donovan, in *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

(‡) Facsimile, p. 170 (b). I take the English rendering from MacNeill's *Early Irish Population Groups*, p. 96.

(§) *Opus citatum*, p. 96.

(||) MacNeill, *op. cit.* p. 97.

(¶) Being here on the brink of the Cruithnigh, or "Pictish," question—whose bottom has never yet been satisfactorily sounded—I shall at present confine myself to affirming the only proposition we can really be certain of, viz.—that *Cruithnigh* is the Gaelic equivalent of *Britanni*, or *Britanni*. From the extant data little more can be inferred as to the antecedents of our Irish Cruithnigh than that they were immigrant folk-groups who came to Ireland *via* Britain.

Lecan, (\*) in a passage which O'Flaherty faithfully reproduces in Latin attire, (†) derives the Dal n-Araidhe from Fiacha Araidhe, a descendant in the thirteenth generation of Irial Glunmhar, and tells that they owed the alternative name Cruithnigh to the fact that Irial's mother, or Conall Cearnach's wife, was a daughter "of Eochaidh Ecbheoil of the Cruithnigh of Alba." On this evidence the Cruithnigh of Dalaradia in Ulster are seen to have issued from Curoi's "fifth," that is from the ranks of the Ernai of Munster; while at the same time the entangled Ernai and Ulaid are convicted of being neither Irians nor Eremonians, but British aliens from Alba.

Again, the Glossary known as O'Mulconry's, (‡) after explaining, "The Eraind, that is the Fir Erainn, for it is they who first appropriated a moiety of Erin," states that they were also known as "the Darfhine, that is the people (or descendants) of Daire Doimthech, son of Ith, son of Bile, son of Bregend"; that they had yet another name, viz., Tuatha Ier; that "of them was Eterscel, of the seed of Ier, and Conaire and Curoi"; and that they supplied kings to Munster before the time of the Eoghacht. The Book of Leinster pedigrees are in partial agreement with this testimony, for they trace (§) the high-king Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, back through Conaire Mor and Eterscel to Iar, son of Ith, son of Bregend. This testimony vindicates for the Ernai their genealogical birthright as Gaels, but depresses them from Eremonians into Ithians.

If O'Curry's commendation of our genealogies as structures of sterling workmanship were merited confusions of the kind with which we are now beset could not possibly arise. These confusions have been imposed on us by a school of builders who looked more to the shapeliness of the architecture than to the security of the foundations.

The authorities which have been cited for making "the race of Conaire" an Ithian stock are not wholly at variance with the professorial pedigrees as retailed by O'Clery, MacFirbis, and Keating; for the names Deag and Daire recur again and again in the line of Ith, while the patronymic of Ith's senior representatives in the south—the O'Driscolls, or Ui-Edersceoil, of Corca Laidhe—reflects the name of Conaire Mor's distinguished father. Our mediæval literature, too, supplies corroborative evidence

(\*) Folios 140, 141.

(†) *Ogygia*, p. 190.

(‡) The title of this Glossary, though seemingly suggested by O'Curry, is a misnomer; for John O'Mulconry, the supposed author, lived in the late 16th century, while the grammatical forms used by the compiler of the Glossary have been shown by W. Stokes (*Archiv. fur Celt. Lexic.* 1, p. 232 etc.) to belong to 13th or 14th Century Irish. The O'Mulconry in question was the author of the fine ode to Brian na Murtha O'Rourke which has been published in Hardiman's *Minstrelsy* (Vol. II. pp. 286-304)

(§) Facsimile Copy, p. 324.

of this racial identity. The royal cemetery of the Clann Degaidh was Temair Erann ;(\*) and the Dindsenchus poem on Cenn Febrat enumerates among the notabilities whose grave-mounds were to be seen at Temair Erann not alone "Garban, son of keen Dedad," but also Lugaid Laigde, the progenor of the Corca Laigde and of their offshoots the MacClanchys, as well as an unnamed lady who was the wife of Lugaid's father, Daire.(†) A still more helpful witness on the same side is the *Coir Anmann* etymologist who accounts for the folk-names Dairini and Dairfhine ; for in endeavouring to sunder the Clann Degaid and the Ithians he is driven to the shift of manufacturing two separate stocks of Dairini. His explanation is : "Dair-fine, the people of Daire, son of Degad are they. And the children of Daire son of Degad are not more properly called Darfine than the children of Daire Dointhech, for those are another Dairfine."(‡)

We have here an illuminating example of the straits to which Gaelic interpreters of our early history were reduced by the duplication—sometimes repeated again and again—of eponymous symbols like Lugaid, Ir, Daire, and many more that might be specified. Those names were imported into the country by the La Tène invaders, probably not earlier than the first century B.C. When Mil was set up at the head of a genealogical system extending over nulleniums it became necessary to project back in shadow an Eber, an Ir, a Lugaid, a Daire, as well as other ancestors of the immigrant tribes, and to group the likenessness together on the plan of a single, homogeneous family cluster.

The Daire Dointhech of the *Coir Anmann* is the same personage as Daire Sircreachtach of the Corca Laighde historians, who vouch that this terrible depredator and vanquisher "obtained sway over all the west of Europe." "Some of the learned say," they add, "that he won the whole world." (§) The Dartry MacClanchys took their territorial name from a Daire Dart, who stands 20 generations below the ancestral Daire in the Ithian genealogies.(||) Daire Dart, it may be added, was the grandfather of Flannchadh, from whom the MacFlannchadhas, or MacClanchys, derived their family name. Even without troubling to brush aside the spurious "Mil" and his pseudo-sons, we are justified by the contradictions and admissions of the profoundest Gaelic genealogists to recognise in the Ernai, the Ulaid, and the

(\*) See *Senchas na Ríle* in Petrie's *Romul Towers*, p. 101.

(†) Todd Lectures, Vol. x, pp. 226 *et. seq.*

(‡) *Irische Texte*, III., 317.

(§) *Genealogy of Corca Laighde*, pp. 4, 5. This individual, who really corresponds to Curoi's father, is called *Daire Prædabundus* (the Plunderer) by O'Flaherty.

(||) See MacFirbis, p. 678. In mediæval times the MacFlannchadha chief ruled from an island fortress in Lake Melvin. The Dartraighe *tuath*, like that of the Calraighe of Lough Gill—who were of the same Ithian stock—got absorbed at an early date into the West-Breifne kingdom of the Ui-Briuin O'Rourke.

so-called Ithians of Corca Laighe, three separate branches of one and the same racial stock ; and, that being so, the association of the Ithian Dartraighe, or MacClanchys, with Breifne during the annalistic period of our history becomes readily intelligible, for the MacClanchys of Rossclogher are thus shown to have been an outlying remnant of Ptolemy's Erdini, whose forefathers evaded the clearances of Colla Da-Crioch.(\*). The Ithians of Munster appear in Keating as Dairfhine, and are assigned coequal rights to the provincial kingship with the Dergthine, the fictitious pre-Eoghanacht "Ebherians." These Dairfhine, there can be little doubt, were a southern colony of the Darini, whom Ptolemy locates in the Co. Down, in close juxtaposition with the Voluntii, or Fir-Ulaid.

The Leabhar Gabhala ("Book of Seizures") virtually ignores the golden age of the Ernai and the Ulaid, the age from whose life flowed the inspiration of our earliest literature. But some poetical fragments have come through from pre-Gaelic times, which bespeak for the Ernai a title to honoured remembrance in Erin. The Briinna, or Vision, of Ferchertne, who was the bard of Curoi MacDaire, recites :

"The Eraind seized Erin, numerous were their families,  
They seized a province without mishap as far as Usnech in  
Meath."(†)

Though uttered in rhapsody, the statement of Ferchertne is most probably true to fact. The oldest of our national documents is undoubtedly the text of the *Senchus Mor*, or Brehon Laws ; and the accompanying commentaries are likewise acknowledged to be of respectable age. Elucidating the Law of Distress the Commentator asks : "For what crime was this distress taken, and who took it, and who pronounced judgment upon it ?" And he begins his answer with the statement : "There were three principal races in Erin, The Feini, the Ulaid, and the Galeoin."(‡)

Again, either he or another expositor inquires :

"What was the crime for which the first distress was taken ; who took it, and who first pronounced sentence respecting it ?"

The reply is, in part : "Sen, son of Aighe, pronounced the first decision respecting this distress at the territorial meeting held by the three races who were then in this island, *i.e.*, the Feini, the Ulaid and the Laighin."(§)

(\*). No credit is to be attached to the account of the Breifne Dartraighe given in the late life of St. Molaise of Devenish (See *Silva Gadulica*, II., pp.18-34), which was evidently written by an *alumnus* of St. Molaise's monastery, who had no liking for the Dartraighe. There the Dartraighe are said to have been expelled from Munster, as a body of incorrigible malefactors, by the Eoghanacht kings of Cashel (St. Molaise himself was of this princely line), and to have come north as a nomad gang of banditti, leading a life of vagabondage until they reached their destination.

(†) This poem has been published, with a translation, by Kuno Meyer, in *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* III., pp. 41 *et seq.*

(‡) *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 11.

(§) *Ibidem* p. 79.

The text further affirms :

"Sean, son of Aighe, passed the first judgment respecting distress at a territorial meeting held by the three noble tribes who divided this island ;" and the commentary thereupon explains :

"At a territorial meeting held by the three noble tribes, *i.e.*, to divide it (Erin) into provinces, *i.e.*, at the meeting held between the noble tribes, *i.e.*, the Ulaid, and the Feine of Temhair, and the Ernai-Dedadh ; or they were the Ulaid, and the Galeoin, and the Ernai, *i.e.* in the territory, at the great meeting at Uisnech in Meath."(\*)

Here we have, perhaps, the oldest extant lists of the ruling peoples of ancient Ireland ; and among them no "sons of Mil," no Ebherians, no Eremonians, no Gaels, *eo nomine*, are to be seen. The first case of distress is alleged, in the text, to have arisen out of the stealing of three white cows from "Mogh, son of Nuadhat," which Mogh is surmised by a commentator to have been "the steward-bailiff of Conn Ced-Cathach."(†) It will be noted that the three specifications of Erin's royal tribes here set out, though formulated by professorial jurists of a very remote past, do not agree in details, and that one of them is patently conjectural. We are well informed as to the identity of the "Five Bloods" of mediæval Ireland ; but as to who precisely were the three noble breeds of proto-historic Ireland we are left in discomfiting doubt. The legal authorities of pre-Norman Ireland evidently held different opinions on the question ; but it is likewise clear that, while the Ernai may legitimately be reckoned among the ruling stocks of the iron-armed colonisers, the Ebherian and Eremonian orders of nobility cannot have been instituted before, or for some appreciable interval of time after, the revision of the Senchus Mor during the reign of King Laogaire.

Ulaid and Clanna Rudhraighe are convertible terms ; and so, too, are Laighin and Gaileoin.(‡) In the *Leabhar Gabhala* the Gaileoin come to view as "the people of Slainghe ;" while *Clanna Rudhraighe* means literally the children, or people, of Rudhraighe. It looks in fact, as if the royal tribes of ancient Ireland were ultimately the associated followers of the five captains who according to the *Leabhar Gabhala*, organised the Fir Bolg invasion, that is, Slainghe, Rudhraighe, Sengann, Gann and Genann. In that document the hosts of Genann and Rudhraighe are collectively named the Fir Domhmann ; "but it is correct," says the writer, "to call them all Fir Bolg in general." (§)

(\*) *Ibidem* p. 81.

(†) *Ibidem* p. 65.

(‡) In one Manuscript of the Senchus Mor *Galeoin* is glossed *Laighin* (*Ibid.* p. 70). The Laighin were the later army of Gaileoin whom the historians bring in as the hirelings of Labraid Loingsech.

(§) *L. Gabhala* p. 119.



Thus the Fir Domhnann, or "men of Domnu,"(\*) though not mentioned as such, are doubly provided for in the land-charters of commentators on the law tracts. With the Ernai, or Ernai-Dedad, we have already become well acquainted ; but who were the cryptic Feini of Temhair. In a distich of Maelmura's poem the question is thus answered :

"Feni, from Fenius they are called,  
Unobscured is their fame :  
Gaedhil from Gaedheal Glas they are called,  
Scoti from Scota."(†)

The age of the versifier was the ninth century ; but we may infer that long before his day the name *Gael*, like Scoti, had become current as a synonym for Feini.(‡) My immediate business here is with the Ernai ; and I must, therefore, beware of the temptation to turn out the Feini on full parade. But I shall venture, nevertheless, to affirm that of the two names, Fenius and Feini, that loom so large in our old *Senchus*, Feini had the prior existence.

The identity of the Feini may not be free from doubt ; but there can be no uncertainty about the reality of the people so named, or about the political prominence of that people in early Ireland. It was in their language, the Berla Feini, the Brehon Law tracts were indited.(§) To the tribes of the Feini, St. Fiach of Sleibte has testified, St. Patrick preached Christ's Gospel for the space of three score years.(||) In the *Tain Bo Gualnge* Cuchulainn addresses his uncle (or grandfather) Conor MacNessa as *ri Féne*, that is "king of the Feini."(¶) Neither the existence of the Feini, therefore, nor their importance as a constituent factor of the old-Irish nation, can be called in question. But the Latins, or Latini, were not a less real people ; and from the *Latini* Roman antiquaries, eager to build up for their race the reputation of being one of the oldest populations of Italy, evolved an imaginary Rex Latinus.(°)

#### Greek and Roman historians, even when uninfluenced by

(\*) Domnann is the genitive of the personal name Domnu. (See Holder's *Sprachschatz sub. voce*). Mac Firis (p. 48) writes *Tuath Domhnann*.

(†) See Todd's *Irish Nennius*, p. 231. The race-name Scoti, used to denote raiders from Ireland, comes into view for the first time in the fourth century, in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian and St. Jerome.

(‡) Profr. MacNeill suggests (Proc. R.I.A. XXXVI., C. 16, p. 267) that 'Goidil was a byname, which came into use at a relatively late time, and that it was probably adopted from Cymri, as Scotti was adopted from Gallo-Latin.' The difficulty about this view is that neither men, nor nations, are willing to adopt derivative nick-names applied to them by others.

(§) See *Senchus Mor* III., 76.

(||) St. Fiach's Hymn, line 40.

(¶) Windisch's Edition, p. 133.

(°) See *Livy* Book I, Chap. I ; and *Virgil* Book XII.

motives of national pride, were much addicted to the use of verbal etymons as a method of accounting for the origin of peoples. Diodorus Siculus tells us that Heracles, while pursuing Geryon in the west, begot of a Gallic princess a son named Galate, and that from this individual the Galatae, or Celts, were descended. (\*) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (†) in like manner, and after him Aethicus, (‡) made the Celtiberians the joint progeny of two brothers, Celtus and Iberus. According to Appian the Celts, the Illyrians and the Galates had for ancestors, respectively, Celtus, Illyrius and Galas, three sons whom Galatea bore to the Cyclops Polyphemus. (§)

After the introduction of Christianity into Ireland Latin literature was diligently studied in Irish Schools. Our native scholars of the sixth and seventh centuries may have only dabbled in Greek and Hebrew ; (||) but they were widely acquainted with the Roman historians and poets. Their well-beloved Virgil had derived the Latins, through Aeneas and Lavinia, from the hospitable king Latinus. Why then should we blame Virgil's imitators and admirers for tracing the Feini back to an eponymous Fenius ? In resorting to such practices our Gaelic *savants* only followed the example set by the most cultured writers of ancient or modern times.

Then, again, it was incumbent on the converted Gaels to establish for their institutions the claim to a Mosaic sanction ; and the claim was made good through the medium of the judge Cai Cainbrethach, who "had learned the law of Moses before he came from the east" (¶) Cai, moreover, was a disciple of Fenius ; and it was Cai's foster-son, Amergin Glungel, who "pronounced the first judgment in Erin." (°) I need hardly explain that Fenius, the progenitor of the old-Irish Feini, was son of Baath, grandson of Magog, and great-grandson of Japhet ; or that the same Fenius, through his son Nel or Niul—that most versatile linguist of antiquity who married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingeres—was grandfather of Gaedhal Glas. (∴)

(\*) *Diod. Siculus* V. 24.

(†) Book XIV., chap. 3.

(‡) Commentary on Dionysius Periegesis, line 281.

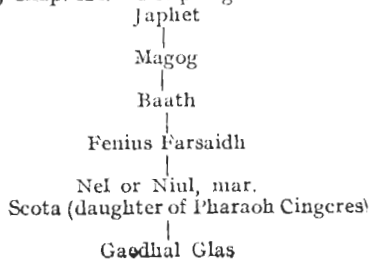
(§) *Illyrica*, chap. 1.

(||) See e.g. *Brehon Laws*, Vol. I, pp. 31. 33.

(¶) *Ibid.* p. 21 ;

(°) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(∴) See *L. Gabhala*, Chap. XI. The pedigree stands thus :



The Feini at the outset may have been a *race* (\*) of expert spearmen who succeeded in capturing the lion's share of the war-prize when Ireland's confiscated surface was being apportioned by the victors. It is not unlikely that some of them clung to the hereditary profession of arms, and as Fianna still idolised it in the third century A.D. under the captaincy of Finn Mac-Cumhall. (†) At all events the original Feini were genuine men and women who ranked with the Gaileoin and the Ulaid as one of the three co-equal aristocracies of Ireland in long past times. Fenius, on the other hand, was a product of bardic fancy, as impregnated by the classical and scriptural scholarship of post-Patrician Ireland. But though Fenius is as much a simulacrum as Latinus or Celtus, it is neither impossible nor improbable that among the men who supplanted the Feini there may have been a naval commander whose exploits earned for him the sobriquet of Gaedhal. (‡) The Ernai, if I do not gravely mistake, were congeners of the Fir-Ulaid, or Clanna-Rudhraighe. In the herioc period—the period of Cuchulainn and of Curoi MacDaire—three races, and three only, counted in Ireland. The champions of the earliest epics belonged to the Clanna Rudhraighe, to the Ernai-Dedad, or to the Gamanraighe of the West; and the Gamanraighe were the premier branch of the Fir Domhann. (§)

Our epic literature thus points not less suggestively than the law tracts to the inference that the so-called Gaels came out of the bosom of the Belgæ-Germani colonisers who are grouped together by the Leabhar Gabhala under the collective name Fir Bolg. Of an invasion by the "sons of Mil," as distinct from the concerted expeditions of Slainghe, Rudhraighe, Genann and the two Ganns, no trustworthy mark is to be seen. A commentator on the Introduction to the Senchus Mor, writing presumably from one of the earliest versions of the Leabhar Gabhala, relates:

"Now, when the fleet of the sons of Miledh had come into Germany, *i.e.*, into the eastern part of it, after that thirty-six champions went in ships from their country, such was the fame and renown of that fleet, and united with the sons of Miledh, who

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(\*) For confirmatory evidence from old texts see *Fianaighect*, ed. by Kuno Meyer; Introd. p. VIII.

(†) See Meyer, *op. cit.*

(‡) The corresponding Cymric name, Gwyddel, is connected by Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, etc., pp. 57, 58) with the Welsh *gwy(n)d* and the Irish *goeth* or *gæth*, both meaning wind. The first Gaedhal might thus have been a "wind-and-weather" man—a viking "sea-dog" who, at the head of his fleet, revelled in the storm and the rolling wave. Certain lines of Claudian show that the Romans first knew our ancestors only as irrepressible sea-rovers: e.g.:

"Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne" (*De Cons. Hon.* 33); and "totam cum Scotus Iernen.

Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys." (*De Laud. Stilich.* II, 251).

(§) See *Ogygia*, pp. 175 and 269. O'Flaherty includes the Gamanraighe among the "Belgarum Reliquiæ."

promised them lands if they should themselves acquire a country. Having afterwards traversed the sea, the Gaedhil landed those champions who had set out from Thracia, by force in the country of the Cruithnigh, so that the Cruithnigh are descended from them."(\*)

From this recital we learn that the sons of Mil, when on the look out for a country wherein they might settle, were joined in some part of the Baltic, or of the North Sea, by a little troop of champions from Thrace; that they landed these champions in Britain; and that from the men thus deposited issued the race of the Britons. But Cai—the pupil of Fenius, and the student who had learned the law personally from Moses—was “in the fleet which sailed from Thrace to meet his own people;” and after this “Cai was Brehon to the whole fleet.”(†) Such being the case the “sons of Mil,” or the Gaedhil, must have been contemporaries of Fenius and of Moses. Yet, in the roll of the Leabhar Gabhala, we find thirty generations intervening between Gaedhal Glas and Mil’s sons.(‡)

“The champions who had set out from Thracia” of the foregoing extract will correlate perfectly with the authentic history of the Celts; and “the fleet of the sons of Mil” which conveyed those champions from the shores of “Germany” to Britain will fit with hardly less precision into the legendary history of the Gael. One of the outstanding figures of our regnal lists is Ugaire Mor, an Eremonian high-king of such despotic power that, not alone was he able to divide all Ireland into twenty-five domains as lordships in perpetuity for his twenty-five children, but he likewise exacted an oath from the men of Erin binding themselves and their heirs for ever to acknowledgment of the dynastic succession as being the exclusive prerogative of his own house and seed. This king, we are informed, reigned over “the whole of the west of Europe as far as the Muir Toirrian” (the Mediterranean Sea), as well as over Ireland; (§) and in a qualified sense, perhaps, the statement may be admissible. Ugaire, like Daire Sircreachtach, not improbably typifies some naval Paladin whose barques rode the western main, from the Orkneys to the Straits of Gibraltar, seizing every opportunity to scourge coast lands and to capture trading vessels.

It is further told that Ugaire was “fostered” in the north by the Irian Queen, Macha, and her consort-uncle Cimbaoth. (||) Queen Macha it was who built Emain Macha, the ruling seat of

(\*) *Ancient Laws*, I, p. 21.

(†) *Ibidem*, p. 23.

(‡) In Rudolf Thurneysen’s exhaustive analysis of our heroic tales (*Die Irische Helden und Königsage*) there is not a solitary mention of “Mil,” of “maic (mic) Miled,” or of “cland Miled.”

(§) *Four Masters*, A.M. 4606.

(||) *Op. cit.* A.M. 4546.

the Fir-Ulaid ; (\*) while Cimbaoth, the grandson of Airgetmar, is the sovereign with whose reign, according to the Annalist Tigernach, opens the earliest chapter of Irish history to which any credit can be attached.(†) Many other examples might be given of Gaelic arch-regents who, like Ugaîne Mor, were reputed to have conquered and "ruled" dominions beyond the sea. Though these recitals cannot be accepted literally, it would be unwise to reject them absolutely, for they embody certain kernels of tradition which were naturally most dear to a sea-faring race. The Gaels came of a stock who loved the ocean wave, and who nowhere felt more at home than on the wild bosom of the deep. The spirit of the sea pulsed in their veins, and invigorated their blood, even in the age of Niall of the Nine Hostages and his nephew Dathi. The original "sons of Mil" were the sailor volunteers of the North Sea borderlands who obligingly placed their ships and their service at the disposal of landless companies of Celts and Germani who, having been forced to abandon Thrace and the Balkans, turned their faces towards Britain and Ireland.

But the Gaels, or rather the roving mariners from whom they sprang, having repeatedly viewed the fine harbours and rich pastures of Erin, conceived the natural desire to share in the ownership of the island. Coming in detached companies they would have been admitted at first, no doubt, by the older colonists as friends ; and in the light of such a probability the "fostering" of Ugaîne Mor by Queen Macha and Cimbaoth becomes specially significant. Although the new-comers would have endeavoured, in the sequel, to gain a footing in the country forcefully as enemies, nevertheless there is no sufficient ground for believing that they ever attempted a concerted invasion on a large scale. "They spread themselves," says Maelmura of Othan, "through Eri." "They made an alliance with the Fir Bolg and with the Clann Nemidh." Though Ugaîne Mor was fostered by Queen Macha the proud dynasty of the house of Airgetmar speedily got submerged in the phenomenal uprise of Ugaîne and his family.

The earliest mention of Eremon in our literary remains will be found in St. Fiach's biographical ode on St. Patrick, (‡) in a stanza which is not complimentary either to the progeny of himself or of his brother Éber. The word Eremon, like Miled, being strictly a genitive, the "meicc Erimon" of St. Fiach is appropriately translated by Stokes as "sons of Erem." Though

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(\*) *Keating* II, 154.

(†) "Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta sunt" Tigernach, B.C. 305. The date assigned to this event in O'Connor's edition of Tigernach (*Rev. Script. Hibern.* Vol. II) would bring us into the La Tène period of war weapons.

(‡) See *Tripartite Life*, p. 408.

Erem passes for a son of Mil by a peculiar inversion of their birth records, he takes precedence of his father in the order in which their respective names emerge in literature. Erem, or Eremon, according to the Coir Anmann was also called Gede Ollgothach.(\*). The professional historians and genealogists place Gede Ollgothach nineteenth in the succession of Milesian high-kings, commencing with Eremon, and make him a son of the great law-giver, Ollamh Fodla, of the Irian line. Gede "the Shouter," or Gede "of the Stentorian Voice," may possibly have been the original *Gaedhal*, his title to the appellation being given by the trumpet tones in which he habitually roared his orders to the viking crews who, under his piratical captaincy, navigated the seas that girdle Ireland and Britain.(†) The derivation of *Gaedhal* which I have suggested here, on the authority of Zeuss, is no doubt purely speculative; but it has this much at all events in its favour that, if it be right, the name would not have been resented by men whose occupation inured them to the fury of tides and tempests, and whose voices often rang above the din of the storm.

The first laureate of the Gael who chanted the fame of Mil appears to have been Cennfaeladh the Learned, a poet and jurist of the seventh century whose scholarship was acquired at St. Bricin's college of Tuaim Dreacain, (‡) in Breifne.(§) Cennfaeladh calls the hero "Mil of Spain," and also assigns him the alternative name *Golamh* or *Galamh*.(¶) The Briton Nennius, who professes to have received his information from "the most learned of the Scoti," apparently knew nothing of Mil; but he was aware that "three sons of a certain Spanish soldier" ("tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniæ") had once come to Ireland, and had there made a stay of just one year.(¶) Though Cennfaeladh wrote more than a century before Nennius, there can hardly be a doubt that his Mil or Miled is a personification of the "miles Hispaniæ" of whose voyage Nennius had heard from some Gaelic antiquaries of his time.°

It is deserving of note that while, according to the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the *Fir Bolg* and the *Fir Domhmann* were "men of the sacks" and "men of the earth-pits," respectively, the *Gailleoin* were "men of valour (*gal*)," that is men of the highly honourable profession of arms. One cannot help suspecting that the original framers of the three etymologies knew the Gael to

(\*) "Eremon son of Mil, 'tis he was called Gede *Ollgothach*, Gede of the Mighty Voice." *Coir Anmann* ed. by Stokes, p. 325.

(†) It should be remembered that, outside the Roman empire, piracy—far from being deemed punishable or dishonourable—was the chief national industry of most maritime populations.

(‡) See *Breifney Journal*. Vol. I, p. 349.

(¶) *L. Gabh*, pp. 238-240.

(§) See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 48, 9. (¶) Nennius III., Sec. 13.

(°) The "Eusebian" Chronicle of the Book of Ballymote would indicate that the "Milesian Conquest" ("*gabail Ereinn do macaib Miled Esbaine*") was invented before the seventh century. (See Todd Lectures III, 280.)

be more closely akin to the Gaileoin, or Germani, than either to the Fir Bolg or to the "men of Domnu." Galam, like Mil, is a class name which was turned into a proper noun; and both *Galam* and *Gaileoin* were manufactured from the theme *gal*. Just as *breithem* (a judge) means a *breith* (or *judgment*) man, and as *ollam* means a *knowledge* man, so *galam* means a *gal* (or *gae-using*) man. The plural of *ollam* being *ollamhain*, and that of *breithem* being *breithemhain*, the plural of *galam* must have been *galamhain* (sounded gal-ou-een), a word whose pronunciation scarcely differs from galeoin. In like manner as *Fenius* was evolved from *Feini*, so possibly may *Galam* have been produced by working back from *Gaileoin*; but, whether the word was forged by a direct or an indirect process, *Galam*—the second name of Mil—is simply the Irish equivalent of *miles*.

The Gaels having been set up as a separate race, of noblest extraction, the pioneer Gaileoin of Slainghe, to whom the fates had proved unkind, were disowned by them, and relegated in company with the Fir Bolg to the rank of base-born serfs. Three distinct waves, or irruptions, of Germani, may be distinguished among our iron-age invaders, namely, the Gaileoin of Slainghe, the Laigni of Labraid Loingsech, (\*) and the Gailenga—of whose coming no particulars have been recorded. The Laigni, so called from the "spears having wide green-blue heads of iron" which they brandished, were introduced as mercenaries, to the number of 2,200; (†) and from them Labraid's province took the name Laighin or Leinster. The Book of Lecan makes Luigne an *alias* for Crich Laigni or "the land of Leinster;" (‡) while the *Reim-Righraidhe*, of O'Clery, which all the historians follow, assigns to Eremon's three sons, Muimhne, Luighne and Laighne, the succession to the suzerainty after Eremon's death. Muimhne clearly stands for the "Milesian" Gaels of Munster, that is the Ebherians or Eburones; and Luighne and Laighne represent just as plainly the Germani occupiers of Leinster and Leath Chuinn.

At the head of his battalion of Laigni, Labraid Loingsech burned Slainghe's royal fortress on the Barrow, and slew his own grand-uncle Cobhtach Cael-Breg, the son of Ugaine Mor. From Labraid and Cobhtach, respectively, sprang the Leinster and Connaught lines of Eremonian high-kings; but the pretensions of Leinster to arch-sovereignty were extinguished when Cahirmore, the last high-king of the Leinster Eremonians, fell in battle, leaving his sceptre to the victor Conn Ced-Cathach. While Conn buttressed the foundations of a new regime in Ireland, it was Conn's able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, who completed the structure and consolidated the institutions which ensured its permanence;

(\*) The surname of Labraid means "Sailor" or "Navigator."

(†) *Keating*, II., 166.

(‡) See Hogan's *Onomasticon*, p. 508.

and the same Cormac was brought up at Kechcorann, near the Breifne border, by the Gailenga-Luighni of the west. (\*) The Gailenga of Corann were Lug-worshipping Germani, distinguishable from the Gaileoin and the Laigni, no doubt, in respect of the date and the determinative causes of their settlement in Ireland, but identifiable with them in racial origin.

Though the Gailenga must be presumed to have been the latest immigrants of the foreign Germani (†) they succeeded in establishing themselves here in territories of wide extent and of superior fertility. The Gailenga Mor, for example, occupied a large portion of Meath—where their name has been retained by the barony of Morgallion—as well as an adjoining tract of Breifne, which stretched away to the town of Cavan. (‡) The Gailenga of Connaught were equally well known as Luighni; and the twin names still survive, one to denote the barony of Leyny in Co. Sligo, and the other to denote the barony of Gallen in Co. Mayo (§) The genealogists have linked the Gailenga with the Ebherians, by presenting them as the subjects of Cormac Gaileng, who was a great-grandson of Oilill Olum, the son of Eoghan Mor; and we are further told that they took the name Luighni from Cormac Gaileng's son Luigne.

The family connections, as given by O'Flaherty, which associated Cormac MacAirt with Cormac Gaileng and two individuals named Luigne throw a most helpful light on the "alliances" and combinations which led to the re-creation of Ireland as a flourishing "Gaelic" commonwealth. Luigne No. 1 was descended from Fiacha Suighde, brother of Conn Ced-Cathach, and the reputed begetter of the Deisi; while Cormac Gaileng was the son of Tadhg, whose grandfather, Oilill Olum, was the son of Eoghan Mor. Cormac Gaileng's sister Trea became the wife of Luigne No. 1, who, in consequence of the union, got to be known as Luigne Firtrea. But Trea was the mother of Cormac the High-King, having borne him to Art, son of Conn. (||)

Cormac, Conn's grandson, was a posthumous child—born after his father, King Art, had been slain at the battle of Magh Muc-reimhe—and his step-father Luighne being his natural guardian, the boy was reared in Corann among Luighne's people. But when Cormac MacAirt reached the throne he gave Corann to his maternal uncle, Cormac Galeng, and from this Cormac the Corann population took the name Gailenga. The same Cormac had a

(\*) See *Ogygia* p. 334; *Silva Gadelica* II, pp. 286, 7.

(†) Pokorny vouches for the philological equivalence of *Gaileoin* and *Gailenga* (*Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* XI, p. 173 *et seq.*)

(‡) Sliabh Guaire (Co. Cavan) was in Gailenga (See *Felire of Cengus*, p. 156).

(§) In a moment of extreme inadvertence Father Hogan wrote under *Galenga* (*Onom.* p. 433) "comprised the whole diocese of Ardagh in counties Mayo and Sligo." Achonry should here be substituted for Ardagh.

(||) *Ogygia* III, Cap. I.XIX,



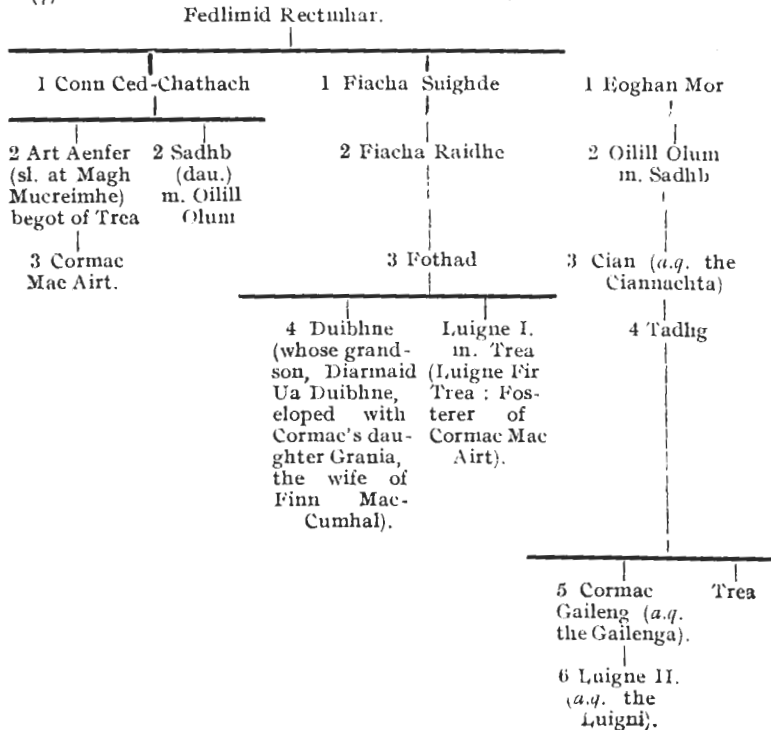
son, Luigne, here to be distinguished as Luigne No. 2, and from him the Gailenga acquired the alternative name Luigni. (\*)

If the pedigrees be tabulated it will be seen that, while Cormac MacAirt belonged to the second generation after Conn Céd-Cathach, Cormac's step-father, Luighne Firtrea, belonged to the third generation after Conn's younger brother Fiacha Suighde, and Cormac's maternal uncle, Cormac Gaileng, belonged to the fourth generation after Conn's contemporary, Eoghan Mor. (†)

The Ciannachta and the Dealbhna, who like the Gailenga, were widely distributed through Ireland, and were similarly enfeoffed with rich lordships, are also numbered among the Eibherian descendants of Oilill Olum. It is noteworthy, too, that though these later Germani of Leath Chuinn did not rank in

(\*) Keating makes all the Luigni and Gailenga descendants of Cormac Gaileng. Thus: (1) "Some of the race of Eibhear came to Connaught, namely the descendants of Cormac Gaileang, that is, the Gaileanga and the Luigni, of whom are O'Headhra and O'Gadhra in the northern half." (II, 100); and (2) "the following are the territories they (i.e. the Eibherians) acquired (in Leath Chuinn), Gailenga, east and west; Ciannachta, south and north; Luighne, east and west" (II, p. 295). Keating is nearer to the truth than O'Flaherty for the simple reason that he was the less profound genealogist.

(†)



subsequent times among the royal breeds of the Gael, they were never crushed down to helotage like the degraded Fir Bolg. "It is not the tribes here are ignoble," says the Book of Rights, speaking of the Corann Luighni, "but the grass and the land."(\*) Of the Dealbhna the same high authority testifies :—

"It is not for ignobility of the men :  
Were it not for the grassy land  
They would not bring tribute hither."(†)

The estates of these Dealbhna, Gailenga and Luigni were originally granted by the achievers of Gaelic dominance as sword-land rewards for valuable services rendered in overthrowing the *ancien regime*.

The folk-groups just mentioned were, I feel assured, colonies of later Germani ; and they came in at the behest, or under the auspices, of native dynasts who were hatching deep designs. The majority of them having been attached genealogically to Munster we may fairly infer that our country received fresh contingents of Germani during the period which witnessed the influx of the Eburones. The names, Muimhi, Luighni and Laighni, assigned to the three pseudo-sons and heirs of Eremón, are sufficient by themselves to create a suspicion that, while chiefs of the older Laighni may have organised the Milesian usurpation in Ireland, the effective force on which they depended was supplied by insurrectionist bodies of later Germani. Years of convulsion, of deadly strife, and of blood-curdling deeds, ensued ; but there is no sufficient reason to believe that the contests engaged in were fought out on a large scale by the methods of open warfare. The Leabhar Gabhala relates that the sons of Mil overthrew the massed forces of the Tuatha De Danann at the battle of Tailtiu. At Tailtiu stood the chief shrine of the religion of Lug, the great sun-god of the Celts ; and there the elite of the nation met periodically to assist at the most pompous functions of their religious, social and political life. Tailtiu, therefore, would not have been chosen for a battle-field. The so-called "battle of Tailtiu," there can be little doubt, was a clever coup-de-main which made its executive contrivers the pontiffs of Tailtiu's temple and the presidents of Tailtiu's assemblies.

The establishment of a new order of lords and rulers in Ireland, following the overthrow of the Fir Bolg, impressed in the ordinary course a corresponding bias on the national consciousness, and generated an ascendancy spirit of haughty antagonism to the fallen aristocracy. Then was born, for the glorification of the victors, the concept of a racial status which should vindicate for them the right to men's homage that proceeds from an exalted lineage. The detail of a Milesian ancestry traced down from

\* *L. na g-Cearth*, p. 105.

† *Ibid*, p. 107.

Noah, and brought into personal contact with Moses, could not have been filled in before the fifth century of our era ; for, until then, Ireland knew nothing of Moses or of Noah. But the germ of the "race" theory had probably taken shape in the brains of court minstrels before the introduction of Latin culture, or of Christianity, among the Feini of Ireland.

While the duplication of eponymous symbols, of which a few illustrative specimens have already been given, was carried to almost irresponsible lengths by the genealogists, events were freely duplicated just as well as personal names. Thus, Eber and Eremon, it is told, partitioned Ireland between them, making the Eiscir Riada the common boundary, then quarrelled about the division, and fought a great battle at Geisiol (Geashill) which resulted in Eber's defeat and death. The legend is plainly a copy of the story of Eoghan Mor's contention with Conn Ced-Cathach. It bears to that saga the relationship of an image behind a mirror to the object in front. Not merely are the causes and the circumstances of the strife similar in both cases, but the sites of the battlefields, Geisiol and Magh Leana, are placed close together.

This instance supplies a clue to the ground-plan of our legendary history. The elongated shadows of the remoter side of the picture are often but distorted reflections of the ill-lighted realities of the nearer. When the tangled web is straightened out, and its design becomes traceable, we can perceive that, in the evolution of name-words, sons took precedence of their fathers, and came into being before the birth of their remotest ancestors. Eremon, for example, is an older word than Mil ; and Mil, as an individual personifying an unnamed "miles Hispaniæ," was probably born long before Gaedhal Glas.

Eremon, as a word, is the genitive of Erem ; and Erem, I am disposed to think, is simply a masculine Eriu, or rather the lady Eriu disguised as a man.\* The native chiefs who plotted the anti-Fir-Bolg revolution, and accomplished their design by the cooperation of Germani auxiliaries, were naturally lined up with Eremon or Erem ; but the strength and pride of the Germani had to be placated by making Eber the elder brother of Eremon.

Years before the time of Michael O'Clery and of Keating the "Book of Invasions" had been amplified from the meagre dimensions of a primitive tradition into a bulky racial epic.† By

\* Rhys (*The Welsh People*, p. 45), takes Eremon to be the same word as *aireman*, the genitive of *airem*, meaning a ploughman. The haughty Gaels would surely not have accepted a *ploughman* for one of their eponymous ancestors.

† The *Leabhar Gabhala* in its published form consists of a series of "historical poems" by Cennaeladh the Learned. Eochaidh Ua Floinn, Flann of the Monastery, Gilla Caemghin, Tanaidhe Ua Maolconaire, and other versifiers ranging from the 7th to the 14th century, interwoven with diffusive paraphrases and commentaries in prose of later composition.

no process of filtration would it now be possible to wash cleanly out from such a wild romance the few particles of fact that hide in its depths, untransformed as yet by the dissolving power of fable; but we may feel assured, nevertheless, that the personages and incidents of the story have not all been fabricated. It is only by comparing the late with the earliest versions of the saga we may hope to achieve any sure approach to probability in our speculative probings of the saga's contents.\*

Nor can it be alleged that misgivings as to the "tradition" of Mil and his sons originated in any modern freak of scepticism. The mediæval compiler of the *Chronicon Scotorum*, who almost certainly belonged to the learned family of the MacFirbisigh,(†) prefaced his summary of the Clann-Miledh legend with the following appeal to his readers:

"You have heard from me, O, Readers, that I like not to have the labour of writing this section imposed on me, wherefore it is that I beseech of you, for the sake of true friendship, not to reproach me for it (if the reason thereof is understood by you), for it is certain that it is not the Clann Firbisigh who are in fault."‡

In grave doubt as to the actuality of the events to be narrated, and wishing particularly to guard against compromising the hereditary reputation of the MacFirbisighs as ollamhs and professors of history, the writer thus sought to disarm criticism, and to escape the censure of his brother antiquaries, by virtually disowning responsibility for the tale.

The royal tribes mentioned by the expounders of the law tracts correspond so closely with the Fir Bolg hosts of later Gaelic historians that we may seriously doubt whether the genuine Fir Bolg were the base churls who are made to personate them in our school and college histories.

The Clanna Rudhraige of Emain Macha, of whom were Conor Mac Nessa and his peerless body-guard of Red-Branch heroes, took their name from Rudhraige Mor, a lineal descendant of Ir and of Airgetmar, who wielded the sceptre of Erin in the first century B.C., and had for immediate successor Iondatmar, son of Niadh Segamhain. One of the five leaders of the Belgæ-Germani invasion was likewise a Rudhraige, and this Rudhraige's *roinn*, or portion of the country, lay coastwise between the Boyne and the Drowse. The question as to which Rudhraige was the other's duplicate is easy to decide, for the iron-armed leader who brought in the eastern moiety of the Fir Domnann—their

\* In an article of deep research, published in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. X., pp. 96-197, A. G. Van Hamel has compared all the extant manuscripts of the *Leabhar Gabhala* (*Lebor Gabala*), and traced the development of the story down to its final form in O'Clery's version.

† In O'Curry's opinion (see his *Manuscript Materials*, p. 126) the *Chronicon* was compiled by Duall MacFirbis himself.

‡ *Chronicon Scotorum* (ed. by W. M. Hennessy) pp. 9 & 11.

western fellows being contemporaneously conveyed by the fleet of Genann\*—must have landed here about the era assigned to Rudhraige Mor's ardrighship. In allied flotillas sailed the Gaileoin of Slainghe, formidably accoutred with blue-green spears of iron, and the Bolg or Belgæ, the hereditary nobility of the regions whence had issued the three invading hosts.

In the epic tales the Clanna Rudhraige are more commonly denominated Ulaid, or Fir Ulad; and an ancient authority attests: "At Tailtiu the Ulaid were accustomed to bury, namely, Ollamh Fodhla with his offspring until Conchobar succeeded."† The royal cemetery of the Ulaid stood within the precincts of their religious metropolis in the golden age of that people's power. The great temple of Tailtiu was dedicated to the worship of Lug; ‡ or, in other words, it was an Irish Lugdunum. The Hercynian Celts had a Lugdunum near the river Oder, at the present city of Liegnitz.§ The Rhine-mouth Celts and Celticised Germani had a Lugdunum whose name is similarly retained by the city of Leyden in Holland.||

The founder of the oenach or fair of Tailtiu, according to Bishop Cormac MacCuillenain, was Lugaid MacÉthne, or Lugaid Lamhfada (Lug of the Long Arm); and the Four Masters record that this Lug, having reigned over Ireland for forty years, was slain at Caendruim—that is at Uisnech in Westmeath—in the year of the world 3370, or 1830 years B.C. But Cuan Ua Lochain, the arch-poet who officiated as one of the duunvirs appointed for the government of Ireland after the death of Malachy the Great, reduces this figure by more than 1,500 years in the lines of his Dinnshenchus Ode on Tailtiu which affirm:—

"Three hundred years and three it covers, from the first  
Fair at Taltiu to the birth of Christ, hearken!"¶

Cuan Ua Lochain would not willingly have minimised the duration or pageantry of the Gaelic past, for his poetry breathes the true historical spirit of the "race of Mil." But he enjoyed the advantages of having access to older and wider sources of information than the Four Masters, and of belonging to an age when the backward distension of Gaelic origins had not been carried at all points utterly beyond the limits of the credible.

Nations, like individuals, are subject to the sins of pride and

\* See *L. Gabhala*, p. 118.

† *Senchas na Relec* ("History of the Cemeteries"), a tract preserved in the *Lebor na h-Uidri*—now our oldest MSS. collection—and printed in Petrie's "Round Towers" (p. 97 *et seq.*).

‡ See Cormac's *Glossary*, p. 99.

§ See Ptolemy II., chap. 11, sec. 28.

|| *Ibid.* II., 9, 4. We learn from Ptolemy, too, that the transrhene Celts had an *Eburodunum* at Brunn in Moravia, and a *Segodunum* at Wurzburg in Bavaria. See D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II., pp. 261, 2.

¶ Todd Lectures, Vol. XI., p. 147.

hate ; and, when swayed by evil passions, nations are no less apt than men to manufacture for one another opprobrious names. It would be historically false to affirm that either the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm or his late subjects are Huns by race ; yet in quite recent years both he and they were categorically denominated "Huns" by thousands of English and French publications. Moved by a kindred feeling of political enmity Gaelic literati vilified the Fir Bolg, and confounded them with the pre-Aryan stratum of Ireland's population. Duaid MacFírbis demonstrates vividly the irrational degree of intensity to which the anti-Fir Bolg spirit attained among the ruling classes in Ireland, when he writes :

"Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible ; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person, . . . . .

*the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people, these are of the descendants of the Firbolg, of the Gailiuns, of the Liogairne, and of the Fir Domhnann in Erin. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolg are the most numerous of all these.*"\*

The Elizabethan and Cromwellian confiscations in Ireland depressed wholesale the children of Gaelic chiefs and of Anglo-Norman lords into the mass of the country's disaffected peasantry. The dispossessed Bolg, Fir-Domhnann and Gaileoin, having been similarly crushed down to the rank of churls, would naturally have made common cause with the older stock of serfs ; and just as surely would later generations of the new aristocracy have confounded them in the aggregate with the despised and discontented substratum of the population, whose elements were mainly derived from the country's pre-Wiro occupiers. The term Fir Bolg thus serves in later Gaelic parlance to denote generically the entire census of Ireland's inhabitants before the date of the apocryphal Milesian conquest.

The *modus operandi* of the revolutionaries who rose to power in Ireland on the ruins of the Bolg hegemony will never be known, for the story of the victims of the usurpation was not permitted to survive. Geoffrey Keating, whose account of the transaction is in general agreement with the tale preserved in the Book of Fermoy,† relates that the Milesian kings and nobles of Erin were invited by certain conspirators of the Aithech Tuatha, or vassal tribes, to a banquet at MacDareo's hostel in Magh Cro of Breifne, and there, in malice prepense, murdered to the last man.‡

\* *Book of Genealogies* (Introduction). Similarly the *Book of Glendaloch*—referring to a time when the Eoghanachta were lords of Munster—numbers the Sen Erainn of Luachair Deagaid among "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Miledh." (See O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I., p. 28.)

† An English translation of this document is given in MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland*, pp. 65-69.

‡ Keating, II., pp. 238-240.

The race of Mil would then have been well-nigh extinguished were it not that three queens, all advanced in pregnancy, escaped from the scene of slaughter, and gave birth to three royal babes in Britain. When grown to manhood the exile-princes returned to Ireland to assert their patrimonial rights; and from them were descended the ruling stocks of Milesian or Gaelic Ireland in the historical era, the royal families of Leinster alone excepted.

One of these youths, Tuathal Techtmar, was the grandfather of Conn Ced-Cathach. Another, Dergthine or Corb Olum, was the grandfather of Mogh Niad, whose son and heir was Eoghan Mor. The third, Tipraide Tirech, was of the line Ir. Thus the three stems of the Clann-Miled sprouted again and luxuriated into myriads of branches, the Eremonian stem developing through Tuathal Techtmar and Conn, the Ebherian stem through Corb Olum and Eoghan, and the Irian stem through Tipraide Tirech.

The arch-conspirator of the Magh-Cro plot was Cairbre Cinn Chait, and associated with him were two treacherous chiefs, Monach and Buan. One of Cairbre's accomplices, therefore, may fairly be suspected, from his name, to have been a regulus of the Manapii, that is, of a well-authenticated colony of Irish Belgæ. Cairbre himself, according to the poet Eochaid Ua Floinn, owed his surname to the fact that his head and ears resembled those of a cat. *Cinn Cait*, there can be little doubt, is a distorted abbreviation of *Cenn Cathraige*; and as such the epithet appears in the *Coir Anmann*, where Cairbre is represented as "head of the Cathraige" and "the warrior of the Luaign of Tara."\* The word *Cathraige* means "battle-folk"; and the Luaigni, as we know, were a hereditary militia, and, therefore, battlemen by profession.† Though Keating adopts Ua Floinn's malignant etymology of *Cinn Chait*, he dignifies Cairbre with a genealogy which traces him, through a grandfather named Rudhraige, back to a foreign king who came to Ireland with Labraid Loingsech.

The Four Masters charge the Aithech Tuatha with the perpetration of two gigantic massacres, one at the instigation of Cairbre Cinn Chait, and a second whose organisers were the four provincial kings.‡ Breifne, it seems manifest, witnessed some ghastly deeds at the close of the conflicts which shattered the old dynasties, for the scene of the second orgy of assassination mentioned by the Four Masters was Magh Bolg, in the south east of Co. Cavan. It is by no means improbable that the betrayed and tottering Bolg may have rallied their broken forces in Breifne for a last despairing stand, and may have there, by stratagem, effected

\* *Coir Anmann*, p. 387.

† These people, whose name still adheres to the barony of Lune in Meath, should not be confounded with the ("Ebherian") Luigni.

‡ *F. Masters sub annis*, 10 A.D. and 56 A.D. Compare this Journal, Vol. II, p. 192.

some memorable feat of reprisal that temporarily balked the design of their enemies.

The high-king who is said to have been murdered at Magh Bolg was Fiacha Finnolaidh,\* father of Tuathal Techtmar; and again, it is told that the then unborn Tuathal would have suffered a like fate were it not that his mother fled to Alba bearing him in her womb. The conspiring under-kings were Elim MacConnrach, king of the Ulaid; Sanbh, son of Cet MacMagach, king of Connaught; Foirbre MacFinne, king of Munster; Eochaid Ainchend, king of Leinster. Elim, it is well known, was of the race of Rudhraige Mor; Cet MacMagach was the most stalwart paladin of the Gamanraige, that is, of the premier branch of the Fir Domhnann; Foirbre belonged to the Munster Dairfhine, or Darini; and Eochaid Ainchend came from the Leinster Gaileoin. Thus the reputed slayers of Fiacha Finnolaidh at Magh Bolg represented every section of the federated host which the Leabhar Gabhala identifies with the Fir-Bolg invasion.

Twenty years after the carnage of Magh Bolg Tuathal Teachtmar returned to Ireland, and regained his father's throne. Then was condign punishment meted out to the race that, in self-defence, had striven to thwart the ambitious projects of Tuathal's family. In the gloating language of the Book of Glinn-da-Locha,† as copied into the Book of Ballymote:

"The rent-paying tribes were distributed throughout all Erin, and the bondage rule of the Lords of Erin was established over them after they had distributed them."‡

Tuathal Teachtmar succeeded in enchaining and distributing the blood-stained Aithech-Tuatha only after he had chastised and overwhelmed them in one hundred pitched battles, that is, twenty-five battles in each of the guilty provinces. MacFírbis sets out all these battles *seriatim*, and tells us that they were fought against the Gaileoin, the Fearsa Bolg and the Tuath Domhnann.§ By Keating,|| the defeated belligerents are comprehensively styled Athach thuath. The Aithech Tuatha, therefore, must have consisted of the three nations that possessed the country before the advent of the Tuatha De Danann, that is, the three nations to whom the Leabhar Gabhala assigns the collective

\*He was the successor of Fiatach Finn, founder of the Dal Fiatach, *i.e.*, of the royal branch of the Northern Ernai.

† Otherwise the Book of the O'Duigenans, whose Glendalough was not in Wicklow but on the frontier of Breitne, between Kilonan and Shan-coe.

‡ See Facsimile Copy, pp. 255, 6. The Book of Ballymote tract, as translated by W. K. Sullivan, is printed in the introductory volume to his edition of O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," pp. 27-30. In his book of Genealogies MacFírbis reproduces substantial portions of the same document. The Book of Glendalough has been lost.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 48. The Clann Dega'id Ernai, he says (p. 50), were worn out in seven battles.

|| II., 244.



name Fir Bolg. In asking us to believe that the Fir Bolg were annihilated at Magh Turedh,\* and then, some two thousand years later, were able to fight a hundred battles against Tuathal Teachtnar—no information being vouchsafed as to when, where, or how in the meantime the resurrection of the submerged Fir Bolg took place—the professional historians make a rather heavy demand on our credulity.

When crushed to impotence the Aithech Tuatha were located as bondmen throughout the length and breadth of the country in forty-seven different tuaths, all subject to "the base rent." The forty of them to appear in the enumeration are "the Gaileoin in Leinster north of Gabar"†. The Tuath Fer Donnann—as the degraded "Men of Domnu" got styled—were relegated to the baronies of Carra and Tirawley in Mayo and to Tireragh and Carbury in Sligo. Among "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Miledh," in Munster are numbered the "Tuath Sen Erann in Ciarraige Luachra and in Luachair Deagaid."‡ So far the catalogue reveals no sign of a transplantation, or redistribution, of the "Aithech Tuatha;" nor can any such mark be detected in its communications from beginning to end. It would have been a formidable undertaking to transport forty-seven tribal communities, many of whom were of considerable size, to new habitats, covering in the aggregate nearly the entire face of the country; and a still more impossible task would have been entailed in the effort to police such a large total of folk-groups, all exasperated by displacement from their traditional seats.

Not thus was the revolution effected; nor did it eventuate in dislodging the old occupiers to any appreciable extent. The Gaileoin, the Fir Donnann and the Munster Ernai, for example, when they got branded as "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Mil," still dwelt in their ancestral lands. But their royal seats and demesnes having been subsequently appropriated by the new lords of Erin, they were then restricted to smaller areas;§ and even these reduced territories they were allowed to hold, not by free tenure as of yore, but as disfranchised rent-payers and villeins. The name Luachair Deagaid existed before the era of the Magh Cro episode, which is stated to have led to the transplanting of the Aithech Tuatha as its punitive sequel. Luachair Deagaid was so called from the Clann Deagaid; and the Clann Deagaid—or the offspring of the Degad, *alias* Deag, who had for son Daire, and for grandson the champion Curoi—were the dynastic

\* Four Masters, A.M. 3303.

† O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I, 27.

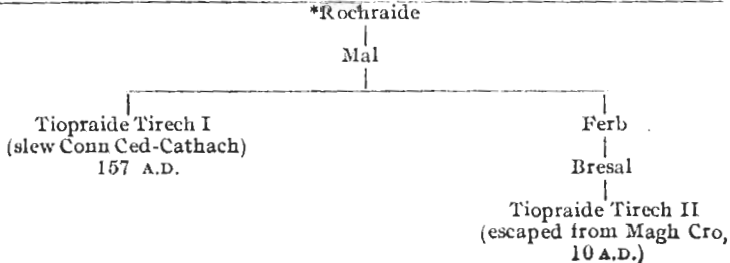
‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

§ Thus the race of Conaire were deprived of Clu Mail Mic Uggaine, which includes the richest side of the Golden Vale of Munster, and that fine region was erected into a lordship for Cormac Cas, Oikill Olum's son. But this confiscation was not effected until after the battle of Cenn Febrat.

family of the Munster Ernai. The enslaved Sen Erann of Luachair Degaid were not either an *old* or a *new* stock of Ernai in the sense of being racially different from the Ernai of Curoi and of Conaire Mor. They were the same genuine breed of Ernai—the descendants of Oilill Aronn whom Deag, the fosterer of Duach, had brought from the Erne to Munster—but to them had been affixed, when fallen and declassed politically, an adjective intended by their masters to serve as a stigma of inferiority. It is not an uncommon experience to hear the term *old* (*sen*) applied in this connection to some luckless individual or family whom adverse fortune has depressed from affluence or social rank to the level of the toiling proletariat.

So far, at all events, as the Ernai are concerned the account of the Aithech Tuatha which has come to us through the Book of Glinn da Locha conflicts seriously with chronology, for the Munster Ernai supplied an over-king to Ireland more than a century and a half after Tuathal Techtmar's death. In 157 A.D., according to the Four Masters, Conn Ced Cathach was slain by Tiopraide Tirech, son of Mal and king of Ulster; and Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, hereditary chief of the Clan Degaid, ascended the throne of Tara as his successor. Either the Ernai were at that date still lords of Luachair Degaid, or else Gaelic Ireland had to endure the humiliation of being ruled by a suzerain begotten of a degraded *gens*. Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, moreover, was a son-in-law of Conn Ced-Cathach; and Conn would surely not have allied himself and his family with a fallen house. No matter what test we may apply, the theory which would either make the Sen Erann a different breed from the royal Ernai, or which would plant the Sen Erann in Luachair Degaid before the disfranchisement of the Clann Degaid—and the theory of our Gaelic authorities involves both of these postulates—will lead to a glaring *reductio ad absurdum*.

Again we are told that Tiopraide Tirech was one of the three unborn princes whose miraculous escape from the assassins of Magh Cro saved the Gaels of Leath Chuinn and of Munster from extinction. Two Ulster princes named Tiopraide Tirech appear above the historical horizon, one a son of the high-king Mal, and the other a son of Bresal, who was a grandson of Mal.\* Tiopraide



No. II. it was whose mother brought him forth in Alba in the same year which witnessed the birth of Tuathal Techtmar and of Corb Olum.\* Yet Tiopraide No. I it was—the granduncle of Tiopraide No. II—who slew Conn Ced Cathach the grandson of Tuathal Techtmar.†

The Aithech Tuatha were not reduced to bondage during the span of Tuathal Techtmar's life, nor was the usurpation which effected their downfall consummated before the middle of the third century A.D. The inauguration of Gaelic ascendancy initiated a change of orientation in the political and social outlook of the professional fraternities; and courtier-bards soon vied with one another in ministering to the vanity of the new dynasts with tributes of sycophantic verse. In course of time the dominant families, knit picturesquely together into a compact tissue of kinships, were chanted in banqueting halls and in state assemblies as a distinct, uncontaminated race, of noblest genesis and of remotest antiquity. But age had not yet dimmed the splendour of the Feini, and by no art of minstrelsy or of legendary creation could its lustre be eclipsed or overshadowed. It became necessary, therefore, to unify the Feini‡ and the Gael; and the unification was accomplished by the simple device of making Gaedhal Glas the grandson of Fenius Farsaidh.

Among the most precious heirlooms that had been transmitted down from the pre-Gaelic past was the glowing reputation of Curoi MacDaire and of Conaire Mor, and the esteem in which their memories were held forbade all thought of thrusting the Ernai, or “race of Conaire,” into the background. But could the Gaels be expected to acknowledge consanguinity with the Ernai who had been reduced to serfdom in Luachair Deagaid? The self-respect of the ennobled “sons of Mil” necessitated that the Ernai should be sundered into two or more unrelated breeds, one an offshoot of the royal stem of Eremon, and another an ignoble family-group of Fir Bolg. Duaid MacFirbis authoritatively assures us that, while the Clann Degaid—who were of the seed of Oilill Aronn—have a prescriptive title to the name

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\* See Keating II., 238-240.

† Keating II., 261: Four Masters, 157 A.D. According to the F. M. Tiopraide II. was born in 10 A.D. (the first year of Cairbre Cinn Chait's reign): his grand-uncle Tiopraide I., must, therefore, have been some 200 years old when he slew the redoubtable Conn.

‡ The word Feini, like most other class-names of our early history, bore different meanings in the changing conditions of the country brought about by time. Primarily the military appellation of a people whose customs shaped our national jurisprudence *Feini* came to signify the franchise-possessing inhabitants of the country of lower social status than the *Nemed*. Their lands being held by free tenure they corresponded exactly, in the constitutional system, to the Gaels of later date. (See *Brehon Laws*, V., 342, and *Revue Celtique*, Vol. VIII., p. 298.)

Érna (Ernai), there were also Érna of the Fir Bolg and Érna of other stocks.\*

In some of the handbooks of Irish history which have latterly issued from the press in rapid succession the Ernai have affixed to their persons the racial stamp that was patterned by MacFírbis's mould.† For this gross injustice, however, the vagaries of modern scholarship are much more to blame than the genealogical teaching of MacFírbis and his school. In a philological thesis which was published in 1903‡ Sir John Rhys arrived at the remarkable conclusions that the Ernai, north and south, the Ithians, the Ebberians, and the Fir Ulaid, were all members of one and the same race, and had sprung, each and all, from the aboriginal population of our island. The Ernai, he held, were the IOVERNIOI of Ptolemy, the Iverni or Hibernii of the Romans, and were identical in type, as well as virtually in name, with the early Iberi or Iberes of the Spanish peninsula. The term Cruitnech, again, he would have understood as synonymous with Pict; and the Picts were to be classed with the black-haired, dark-visaged Iberians. Hence the Ernai, being indistinguishable from the Picts, were true representatives of the pre-Wiro inhabitants of the country. The appellative Ernai, or Erainn, it is furthermore suggested, indicates that the people so called must have been, in power and dignity if not in numbers, the foremost branch of our Irish Iberians; for does not the island's name, Eriu, genitive Erend or Erenn, pass declensionally into Eraind or Erainn on proceeding from singular to plural?

Assuming the archetypal sound of Eriu to be represented phonetically by Iveriio, Rhys made this conceptual vocable the foundation stone of his argument; and he built up the superstructure largely with hypothetical material of an equally unverifiable description. Though Rhys's ethnographical theories are no longer in favour§ they affected so profoundly the views of his own generation that, for years to come, the exposition of early Irish history through the medium of popular manuals must inevitably be vitiated by

\* *L. Genealach*, p. 50.

† See, for example, Stephen Gwynn's "*History of Ireland*," p. 16; Robert Dunlop's "*Short History of Ireland*," p. 9; and Mrs. A. S. Green's "*History of the Irish State*," p. 28.

‡ *Proc. of the British Academy*, Vol. I., pp. 21-80.

§ The destructive criticism to which Rhys's hypothesis was subjected by Julius Pokorny, in Vol. XII. of *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (1918), should have sufficed to shield the Ernai from the indignity of being treated as Iberians; but ethnological heresies are hard to kill. Pokorny rejects Rhys's ground-form *Iveruo*, traces Eriu to an Aryan (or Wiro) *Everijo*, and Erainn to the absolutely unrelated form *Akroni* (the *akr* of which is replaceable by *ekr*, *egr*, *igr*, or *ikr*), rules out the suggested affinity of *Iverni* with either *Erainn* or *Eriu*, disallows the conventional distinction made between Fir Bolg Erainn and Eremonian Erainn, reunites all the Erainn in one homogeneous stock that was neither Iberian nor "Milesian," and identifies them in the aggregate with Ptolemy's Darini,

his influence. The truth of the picture wherein MacFirbis painted our non-Gaelic populations of olden time having been authenticated by a foremost representative of modern research, it is but natural that Irish school-boys should generally be taught to look for the Fir Bolg, and by consequence, for the impoverished Ernai, among the plebeian multitude of dark-skinned, raven-haired tattlers and peace-disturbers who discontentedly toiled for the offspring of Mil. Yet our ancient literature embodies anthropological evidence of the plainest and most specific kind which would more than suffice to make this doctrine untenable.

Next to Curoi MacDaire the most illustrious personage whom the Ernai-Dedad produced was the high-king Conaire Mor, son of Ederscel. In one of the oldest of our heroic tales a description is given of Conaire's personal appearance, as well as of the appearance of four of his children—winsome lads, happy in the innocence of early boyhood—who perished with him in the conflagration of Da Derga's hostel; and among the particulars enumerated appear the following: "The colour of his (Conaire's) hair was like the sheen of smelted gold;" "a high, stately prince"; "two blue-bright cheeks;" "his yellow-curly hair"; "there is no defect in that man, whether in form or shape, . . . whether in eye or hair or brightness".\* Of three of Conaire's boys, all "tender striplings," we read, "three golden-yellow manes were on them, . . . as curly as a ram's head."†

The nine musicians of Conaire, "all equally beautiful," had "hair fair and yellow."‡ "Fair yellow manes" likewise distinguished his six cupbearers.§ Of the hosteler, Da Derga, we are told: "Red hair on the warrior, and red eyebrows. Two ruddy cheeks he had, and an eye very blue and beautiful."|| Conaire's nine guardsmen "had fair yellow manes upon them."¶ Of his twelve rearguards, it is told, "Light yellow hair was upon them."° Further citations to the same effect might be produced; but those given are sufficient to prove that Conaire and the most intimate of his personal attendants wore their hair exactly in the style of the Belgæ whose effigies adorn the monumnet of Jovinus at Reims. In other words, the kings and nobles of the Ernai-Dedad maintained in Ireland the traditional fashion of loose-flowing locks that had earned for the country of their ancestors the title *Gallia Comata*. =

Very markedly different was the physical appearance of the

\* *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Ed. by W. Stokes), pp. 91, 95, 99.

† *Ibid.*, p. 80.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

° *Ibid.*, p. 101.

∴ These effigies are figured in Beddoe's *Races of Britain* (Frontispiece).

= See Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IV., 17.

menials and humbler servitors of Conaire's suite. Thus his three swineherds had "three dark crown-tufts on them," and "three dark mantles over them." Their very names, Dub, Donn and Dorcha (Black, Brown and Dark), prove them to have been non-Wiros by race.\* "The shame of baldness" was on Tulchinne, Conaire's juggler.† In the description of Conaire's waiters we read: "the men were dark and brown;" "they are, 'oxtubs,' stout and thick."‡ The Picts who accompanied Conaire were "three brown big men; three round heads of hair on them."§ Totally unlike to this is the portrait of Conall Cearnach, from whom are now frequently traced the Picts of Dalaradia and their branch-colonies in Ireland. Of Conall we are told: "The bushy head of fair golden hair upon him was as large as a reaping-basket, and it touches the edge of his haunches. It is as curly as a ram's head."||

"The Galatae," writes Diodorus Siculus, "have tall bodies, and their flesh is soft and white. Not only is their hair naturally golden, but they endeavour to enhance the lustre of its bloneness by special treatment."¶

Virgil thus portrays the Celts who scaled the Capitol in 390 B.C. :—

"Golden their hair on head and chin;  
Gold collars deck their milk-white skin;  
two spears each wields  
Of Alpine make."°

Strabo informs us that "The Germani differ but little from the Celts, except in being fiercer, of taller stature, and more ruddy in countenance."∴ The large amount of corroborative testimony received from other classical authors proves conclusively that the Celts and the Germani were physically of the true Wiro type.

To this type belonged the Ernai, whose royal stock Conaire Mor so worthily represented; and to this type, too, belonged the Bolg, or Belgæ, of whom, indeed, the Ernai were but a constituent part. Associated with the Ernai, as we can perceive from the census of Conaire Mor's retinue, were the black-haired aborigines; and, knowing that the servants and drudges of every royal household far outnumber the select class of personal attendants on the king, we may feel assured that not alone were the majority of the population in Conaire's time of native extraction,

\* *Ibid.*, p. 110.

† *Ibid.*, p. 107.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 113. This bit of information would bear out the presumption (See Vol. II., p. 63 of Journal) that Alpine folk had filtered into the country in association with the bronze-sword Wiros.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¶ Diodorus Siculus, V. 28.

° The Æneid (translated by Conington) VIII., 659 *et seq.*

∴ Strabo, VII., 1.

but that their breed had not yet been sensibly hybridised by Wiro blood. It is evident, of course, that the degree of racial modification which resulted from the earlier bronze-sword invasion could not at the most have been very considerable.

The heroic tales demonstrate that the same distinction of types as between rulers and ruled—between “The Few” and “The Many”—which existed among the Ernai, and throughout the Achæan commonwealths in the time of Homer, pervaded the anthropological composition of all the Irish provinces. In our epic literature the grandees and nobles invariably dazzle every beholder by the golden lustre of their locks; but whenever an individual of the lower orders is vouchsafed a word or two of description he just as infallibly proves to be clumsy in shape, and swart and uncomely in aspect.\* It is most likely—rather, I should say, it is certain—that the O’Clery compilers of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, when rehearsing the conventional romance of the *Fir Bolg*, had before their minds an exact image of the ill-disposed caste, or rabble, whom *MacFirbis* holds up to contempt.

If we would get behind the tableaux of Keating, *MacFirbis* and the O’Clerys, it will behove us to test and retest the validity of the meaning which every racial term of our historical inheritance has acquired from Gaelic usage. The import of name-words in ethnology and in geography is liable to wide fluctuations. In the days of King Priam Asia included only some meadow lands near Ilium, through which meandered the storied stream of Cayster. Asia to-day, is the largest continent of our globe. At the date of the first Punic War Africa—then a dependency of Carthage—was but a narrow strip of territory looking north towards Sicily from the opposite side of the Mediterranean. Africa now stretches away beyond the tropic of Capricorn to the distant Cape of Good Hope.

A set of names which bear precise and long-established significations among the people of one nationality may, at any given time, convey entirely different meanings to the people of another. The Romans at an early stage of their expansion came in contact with a tribelet of Hellenes whose particular designation was *Græci*. Therefore the Hellenes and Hellas appeared in Latin speech, not as they had been featured by the mother tongue, but unalterably masked as *Græci* and *Græcia* respectively. The Roman Empire decayed and disappeared; but the language of Rome retained its supremacy in the learned world. Not until the eighteenth century did the historians and geographers of Western Christendom secede from the universal practice which had made Latin the language of the lecture hall, and the recognised vehicle

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\* For an exhaustive list of textual references see Macalister's “Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times,” pp. 42-7. W. K. Sullivan was, I believe, the first writer who examined scientifically the ethnological testimony of our ancient literature. See his Introduction to O’Curry's “Manners and Customs,” p. 72 *et seq.*

of expression for all who wished to disseminate their knowledge by means of the printing-press.

Bound up with the speech which European scholarship inherited from the Romans was a loose-fitting, but serviceable, equipment of Latin terminology; and though the use of Latin has been discontinued the terminology which it transmitted still moulds our ideas of the ancient world. Not more than a trifling proportion of the Hellenes were Græci, and not more than an infinitesimal proportion of the people whom we call "Germans" can have a single drop of genuine Germani blood in their veins. Yet, being under the spell of illusive name-words, we habitually think and reason about the geographical entities, Greece and Germany, as if they were, in a real ethnographical sense, the present-day representatives or analogues, respectively, of Hellas and Germania.

While operating within a narrower sphere of influence than Latin, the Gaelic language has often strayed into similar misapplications of both folk and regional names. If we had only Gaelic annals and records to guide us we could hardly avoid believing that England was ruled as late as the seventeenth century of our era by the Saxon descendants of Cerdic and Cynric. Thus Lugaidh O'Clery writes that the Earls of Clanrickarde and of Thomond, eager to entice an English fleet to Lough Foyle with the object of destroying their powerful enemy, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, sent certain information "to the Saxon Queen and Council" in London in 1601.\*

The English sovereign who ruined the young life of Anne Boleyn appears in the Annals of Ulster, 1536 A.D.,† not under his regnal title of Henry VIII., but as *righ Saxan* (king of the Saxons). The same Annals relate, among the events of the following year, (1537), "Saxanaigh (The Saxons, *i.e.*, the English of the Pale) went into Breifne O'Reilly on a raid, and slew many of the inhabitants, including The O'Reilly's son, namely Brian an Dubhthari" (Brian of the Sterness).‡ Recording the departure of the Earl of Essex from Ireland in 1599 the Four Masters tell "do dheachaidh go Saxaibh" (he went to Saxon-land), after a vice-royalty of more ostentatious magnificence than "ro thaispein *Saxanach* riamh in Erin" (any Englishman had ever displayed in Ireland.) Neither Lugaidh O'Clery nor the Annalists can be suspected of having consciously falsified history. They called the non-Briton English Saxons simply because their forefathers had invariably done so since the time when Gaels and Saxons together assailed Roman Britain, sometimes as rivals in aggression, but often too as friendly allies. Could we, even independently

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\* "Ro brath don mBainrioghain agus do chomhairle Saxan" (*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Domhnaill*, ed. by Rev. D. Murphy, S.J. p. 236.)

† Vol. III., p. 608.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 616,



of other considerations, feel confident that the historians who misnamed the mediæval people of England as " Saxons " are to be relied on as to the racial identity of the Fir Bolg, of the Ernai, or of the " offspring of Mil " ? The ethnic vocabularies of every nationality need to be carefully scrutinised ; but in no circumstances is this obligation more binding on an inquirer than where the communications emanate from a vainglorious people and relate to a dependent or to a hostile community.

Neither MacFirbis nor O'Curry would have intentionally borne false witness against a fellow mortal, or against a race that had conflicted with the Gaels. But notwithstanding—or rather, perhaps, because of—their encyclopædic knowledge of the sources of our early history, these distinguished men did not sufficiently realise that the interpretation of documents must always and everywhere be governed by the canons of historical evidence, for the reason that against those canons no statute of limitations can be pleaded either in respect of time or of nationality. The ideas by which men regulate their political and social behaviour change from age to age, sometimes, indeed, with spasmodic rapidity from generation to generation. But the modes and processes of thought of human beings have not altered since the time of Homer, or even of Adam. Were it otherwise the rational study of history would be well-nigh impossible ; for the records of the past, while at best being but vaguely intelligible, would often unroll to our view whole pages of inexplicable events.

Among the myriads of battles which helped to elevate the house of Eremon the Four Masters record a victory gained by Siorna Saoglach, son of Dian, over the Martini and the Ernai, at Moin Foichnigh in Ui-Failghe, some ten or eleven hundred years B.C.\* Duaid MacFirbis, evidently referring to the same contest, tells that Siorna, son of Dian, and over-king of Ireland, " broke the battle of Moin Foichnidh against the descendants of Cairbre Cinn Chait or Caith-Chenn, king of Ireland of the Athach thuathaith."† Piecing the two statements together we reach the curious result that the Ernai and Martini were sprung from a Cairbre Cinn Chait of the Aithech Tuaithe, who ruled over Ireland as ardrigh. The only known ardrigh of the name was the Cairbre who lives in history as the instigator of the Magh Cro massacre ; but the reign of this Cairbre is separated from the era of Siorna MacDein by more than a thousand years.

Among the various accounts of Cairbre Cinn Chait's family connections which reached, and apparently puzzled, MacFirbis was one that identifies him with the breed of Cimbaoth, son of Fintan and grandson of Airgetmar.‡ On this showing the re-

\* *F. M. sub. anno* 4169. A.M.

† *L. Geneal.* p. 47.

‡ " Thri mac brathar iad-sin do Morann mac Maoin mic Cairbre Cinn Chaid do Chloinn Chimbaoith mic Fiontann doibh," Mac Firbis, p. 47.

probated Cairbre would have issued from the stock of the Ulaid or Clanna Rudhraighe. Furthermore, Keating schedules among the chief notabilities of the Tuatha De Danann a certain Beigreo "son of Cairbre Caith Chinn, son of Tabharn." Thus the Protean Cairbre figures among the Aithech Tuaithe, among the Fir Bolg, among the Tuatha De Danann, among the Fir Ulaid, and, as progenitor of the host whom Siorna MacDein vanquished at Moin Foichnidh, holds an ancestral rank among the Ernai and Martini.

The true story of the Magh Cro and Magh Bolg catastrophes was hushed up by the Gaels, and of Cairbre Cinn Chait we can never hope to know much more than that, either by fair means or foul, he earned the undying execration of Gaelic historians. But we may feel assured that the people who pursued Cairbre's memory with such unappeasable bitterness would on no account have paid him an unmerited compliment, even when advertng incidentally to his origin and breeding. Yet the venom which invested him with a cat's head and ears did not succeed in expunging from Gaelic records all vestiges of his title to a place among the lordly stocks of pre-Gaelic Erinn.

On the question of Cairbre's extraction MacFirbis, while citing diverse testimonies, refrains from venturing a definite opinion, and thus acknowledges that the question transcended the utmost range of his genealogical lore. Neither did O'Flaherty—who, like MacFirbis, was doubtless conversant with all the extant sources of information—hazard a personal judgment. Having related that the usurper, "Carbreus Feliceps," was raised to ardrigh-ship by the secession of the Cathraige of Connacht, and the insolence of the lower orders ("plebeiorum insolentia"), he sums up the discordant traditions as to Cairbre's lineage in a single sentence thus: "His father, who according to various statements of writers descended from the Fir Bolg, or from the Fir Domnann, or from the Tuatha De Danann, or from the Luaigni of Temair, or from some foreign stock, having been driven hither with Labraid Loingsech, bore the name Dubthach."\*

For the theories advanced in this essay it may, at all events, be claimed that no readjustments of them will be needed to meet the contradictory accounts of Cairbre Cinn Chait's extraction. The association of his name, and of his alleged crime, with Breifne would suggest that he presided over the destinies of the northern Ernai, that is over the descendants of Oilill Aronn who, under the secondary title of Dal-Fiatach, got fused politically with the Clanna Rudhraighe. The references which link him separately with the Fir-Bolg, with the Ernai, and with the Fir Ulaid will harmonise, pair by pair, and will dovetail readily into the allegory

\* *Ogygia*, p. 300. "Dubthaco patri nomen erat; qui e Belgis, Damnoniis; Danannis, vel Luagnis Temoriae, aut ex alienigenis cum Lauradio Navali rege appulsus secundum varias authorum sententias originem traxit."

of the Leabhar Gabhala if the terminological rectifications that are needed to make its message consist with archæology and would-history be borne in mind.

But we must not overlook the fact that Geoffrey Keating instals a Cairbre Cinn Chait in the most exalted grade of the Tuatha De Danann. No chapter of our proto-history offers a more attractive, and withal a more elusive, field for exploration than that wherein we are introduced to those mysterious beings known as Tuatha De Danann, or "people of the divinity Danu." But Danu's problematical people could not be disposed of in a few sentences, or in a few pages; for the popular mythology of Christian Ireland segregated them from the human species, clothed them in motley disguises, ednowed them with natures partaking both of an ethereal and of a terrene composition, and relegated them to under-ground abodes. The historians of the Gael, on the other hand, not alone parade the Tuatha De Danann as a people constituted of ordinary flesh and blood, but present them as a distinct "race" of conquerors, and bespeak for them the credit of having overthrown the Fir Bolg in fair, open combat.

Anu, or Danu, was venerated by our country's iron-age invaders as "the mother of the gods."\* Relying mainly on this well-certified fact the most influential representatives of modern Gaelic scholarship have propounded the thesis, and have advanced that thesis almost to the authorative position of a dogma, that the Tuatha De Danann collectively and singly were all gods.† Anu was, no doubt, in popular belief the mother of many gods; but this belief by no means implied that everybody who claimed Anu for ancestress must necessarily have belonged to an exclusive community of gods. The Celtic nobility of Gaul believed themselves to be universally the descendants of a great primal deity whom Caesar styles Dispater‡; yet they did not individually pretend to be gods. The Homeric heroes, when traced back one by one for a few generations, are seen to have sprung from some god or goddess who was numbered among the multitudinous progeny of Zeus. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the genealogies of Hengist and Horsa, of Cerdic and Cynric, of Ida, of Ælla, and of other founders on British soil of the state-groups that subsequently coalesced through the Heptarchy into Angel-land, or England, go back to Woden,§ the supreme divinity of Asgard. The royal families of the Goths, in like manner, as well as of the Burgundians, of the Franks, and of the Lombards, were all children of Woden in the sense that Woden was attested to be

\* "Ana, *i.e.*, *mater deorum hibernensium*. It was well she nursed *deos*, *i.e.*, the gods." Cormac's Glossary, p. 4.

† See e.g. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Irish Mythol. Cycle*, Chaps. VI. & VII.; and Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 89, 120.

‡ *Caesar*, VI, 18. "Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt." The *Dis* of *Dispater* = *dies*, or *Zeus*.

§ See Chadwick's "Origin of the English Nation," p. 59.

their heavenly progenitor by a common article of the national creeds.

The mythologists who classify the Tuatha De Danann, or people of the goddess Anu, indiscriminately as deities, on the strength of the pagan-Irish tenet that Anu was the mother of the gods, betray an imprudent disregard of the information derivable from a study of Aryan cosmogony. One does not need a profound acquaintance with comparative mythology to discover that the Wiro aristocracies of Europe differentiated themselves everywhere, in virtue of the fundamental birthrights attaching to genesis and origin, from the subject peoples whom they ruled. The Wiros believed, on the authority of their religious teachers, that they were children of the gods or, in other words, a superior species of human beings whose seed had come from the heavens; and the doctrine constituted for them a divine and, therefore, an indefeasible charter to govern. The old non-Wiro races, on the other hand, they branded as autochthones—that is, base products of creation whose ancestors had sprung from the earth—born for the obvious purpose of ministering to the wants of Wiro lords, and consequently destined by nature for serfdom.

Zeus, the “all father” of Olympus—Woden, the “all-father” of Asgard—Dispater, the “all-father” of the Celtic pantheon, whose identity is unhappily disguised by an exotic name—begot, each and all, gods and men promiscuously; and, that being so, an attested descent from one or other of these primatial divinities would not, by itself, suffice to determine whether the descendant in question was to be assigned to the human or to the immortal scale of existence.

Nor will the sweeping generalisation which converts Danu's people in the aggregate into an assemblage of national deities help us much to reconcile, or to account for, the varieties of allusion to the Tuatha De that pervade our older literature. Just as both the gods and the heroes of Achæan Greece were linked up by paternity with Zeus, as the gods and the nobles of Gaul shared the distinction of being sprung from Dispater, as the kings equally with the gods of the Anglo-Saxon universe were associated by lineage with Woden, so did the chiefs who planned and executed the iron-age invasions of our country enjoy pre-eminence both at home and in Ireland in right of kinship with their tutelary gods. Thus while Cuchulainn, the nephew of Conchobar MacNessa, appears in the heroic tales as the child of Sualtain, in one recension of the *Tain Bo Cualgne* he is said to be the son of the god Lug\*. Conchobar himself was surnamed MacNessa, because his mother was Nessa, a princess or goddess of the Tuatha De Danann. The epics relate that Conchobar's father was Cathbad, the Druid; but an alternative

\* See Windisch's *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 342; and compare the old Tale *Compert Conchulaind* (*Irische Texte*, I, p. 139).

account of his parentage tells that he too was the son of Lug.\* The apparent contradiction becomes intelligible in both cases if we interpret "son of Lug" as descendant of Lug. The same Lug was the Lugaid Lamhfada (Long—Armed) of the Tuatha De Danann, the sun-god of the La Tène invaders, whose chief temple stood at Tailtiu in Meath. Near that temple lay the cemetery in which the kings of Emain Macha were interred until a usurping dynasty wrested Meath from the Fir Ulaid.

Temhair Erainn, like Tailtiu, was a religious metropolis in the heroic age of our country; and there, too, the rites practised were those prescribed by the worship of Danu and her companion gods and goddesses. In the *Diunsenchus* of Cend Febrat we read:

" Since the Tuatha De seized  
the soil of Fotla, noble in beauty,  
above the ranks of the noble druids in general  
is the branch at Cend Febrat."†

To no other district of Ireland have legends of the Tuatha De Danann adhered more tenaciously than to the environs of Cend Febrat and Temair Luachra. There, in Clu Mair of Ur-Luachair, or Eastern Luachair, the graceful outlines of the "two paps of Anu" (*Da Chich Danann*) still adorn the landscape;‡ and one of them Cnoch-Aine, or Knockainey hill near Bruff, retains the name of the venerable *mater deorum Hibernensium*.

There is, to my mind, but one hypothesis that will explain the saga of the Tuatha De Danann, and it is that, while gods figure conspicuously among them, the rank and file consisted of a hierarchical order of men who corresponded in status and privileges with the Druids of Gaul.§ The Druids, as we know from Cæsar, constituted socially and in public affairs the most influential class in Gaul, a class that in the capacity of judges controlled the legal system of the Celts. There is no improbability whatever in the legend that at the outset of the iron-age colonisation Ireland was much harried by the depredations of piratical gangs who were akin by race to the colonisers. In the native tradition these marauders were remembered as Fomoraigh, or Fomoire; and a foreign people who correspond to them in all essential particulars come prominently into view in the pages of classical writers.

The reality of these Fomoire, and of their destructive activities in Ireland, cannot safely be doubted; for the operations attributed to them were just such as many maritime regions of the Roman Empire had to endure from time to time at the hands of

\* See Macculloch's *Celtic Religion*, p. 128. † Todd Lectures III., 231.

‡ See *L. Gabhala*, p. 152; *Keating*, I, 214.

§ Some of our oldest Tales, e.g., *De Shil Chonairi Moir*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *Serglige Conchulaind*, and *Baile an Scaill*, suggest strongly that pontiff-kings, or kings exercising sacerdotal functions, were associated with Tara in pre-Gaelic times. The argument cannot be unfolded here; but see *Eriu*, VIII., p. 102, *et seq.*

spoilers from the sea. The locality around the rivers Duff and Drowse, near Bundoran, where the Fomoiré are said to have collected the tribute levied by them on inland populations, preserved the name *Magh Cetne na Fomoraigh* down to the seventeenth century.\* The territory of the Conmaicne west of the Shannon was similarly known as *Magh Rein na Fomoraigh*. It is likely enough that when the safety of the Belgæ-Germani settlements was imperilled by the assaults and exactions of those raiders of the deep the hierarchical fraternity of the country may have used their influence to organise a national resistance which succeeded in ridding Ireland of the Fomoiré.

By rescuing the nation from impending ruin the "people of Danu" would have vastly enhanced their own prestige. What is more natural than that, in such favourable circumstances, they may have arrogated to themselves the governmental headship of the country? The battle in which the "sons of Mil" ended the regime of the Tuatha De Danann, it is told, was fought at Tailtiu. The term "battle" may here be interpreted as a figure of speech symbolising the deposition of Tailtiu's hierarchs, and the assumption of political supremacy over the Lug-worshipping populations of Ireland, by a newly-risen combination of native chiefs and of late refugees from the Rhinelands.

Reasons have already been adduced for believing that the expression "Milesian conquest" is but a magniloquent phrase by whose glamour a revolutionary episode of our proto-history has been transformed into a military achievement of superlative daring—a heroic enterprise which, having been executed by a high-born family of warriors, was crowned with the most rewarding of triumphs, the lasting possession of the country. When closely inspected in all its bearings the legendary version of the Tuatha De Danann occupation will prove, I think, to be a pageant of the same kind. The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain took nearly a century and a half to accomplish; and the invaders crossed the north-sea not in a single overwhelming host, but in a succession of independent hordes, which, in striving for settlements in the doomed country, contended both with the natives and with one another. The Anglo-Saxon Chroniclers and the Venerable Bede were able to piece together the more striking incidents and results of that series of adventures, for the reason that the art of writing had become generally diffused at the period to which the matter of their narratives relates. But the earlier colonisations of Britain, as pictured by Geoffrey of Monmouth, belong to the entirely different species of history that was cultivated by the compilers and redactors of our own *Leabhar Gabhala*.

Insurrections, convulsions, governmental cataclysms, have

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\* L. O'Clery's *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, p. 264.

troubled the repose of mankind ever since human beings first organised themselves into political societies, and will continue to do so to the end of time. Traditions of such happenings assuredly survived in Ireland at the era when our Irish schoolmen, under the impulse of the passion for universal knowledge that followed the introduction of classical learning, first turned their attention to antiquarian investigations. In Ireland, as in every other country, the scholars of early mediæval times habitually conceived the political transformations of the past in terms of an invasion-and-conquest formula. It is easy to understand why they should have been addicted to this failing, for the traditions which supplied the material of their historical reconstructions were preserved only in popular tales; and the oral history of an unlettered people, being by its very nature dedicated to the glorification of the heroic in men and deeds, inevitably magnifies the episodes and characters of its recitals into epic proportions.

The establishment of Gaelic supremacy in Ireland marked the close of a period of internecine strife and welter which, beginning with the first disembarkation of iron-armed intruders on our shores, lasted until the periodical inundations of Belgæ-Germani fugitives from the continent had finally subsided. It is probable that the full term of continuance of these incursions exceeded by, perhaps, half a century the duration of the subsequent Anglo-Saxon migrations to Britain. The La Tene invaders of Ireland completed the subjugation of the country, but the Anglo-Saxons never succeeded in extending their dominion to the western coast of England. The consolidation of Gaelic hegemony dates, not from the era of an imaginary Eber and Eremon, but from a generation still later than that with which the Four Masters associate the name of Tuathal Teachtmair.

Some of our popular histories relate that Cairbre Cinn Chait's son, Morann, relinquished the crown and, having been installed by its rightful heir in the high office of chief brehon of the kingdom, earned the encomiums of posterity by the equity and wisdom of his judgments. Morann was, doubtless, a historical personage—a man pre-eminent among the brehons of pagan Ireland, whose decisions built up the *Senchus Mor*, or corpus of the common law; but it is far from certain that this Morann was the son of Cairbre Cinn Chait. O'Flaherty explains that he was called Morann MacMaoin because his mother, the royal spouse of Cairbre, was Maon, a daughter of the Fir-Ulaid king.\* The Four Masters, following the *Leabhar Gabhala*, make Morann the son of Cairbre, but at the same time imply that his father's name was

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\* *Ogygia loc. cit.*

Maon.\* In one of the early documents which Duaid MacFírbis had at hand Maon, the parent of Morann, appeared to view, not as Cairbre's wife, not even as a woman, but as Cairbre's son ; † while in another Cairbre came into the pedigree in the capacity of *athair-sidhe*, or fairy-father, of Morann MacMaoin. ‡

We see here another instance of those genealogical perplexities, inscrutable to the most learned antiquaries whom our nation has produced, that have resulted from the artificial multiplication of "races" by bardic historiographers, to the utter mystification of Ireland's ethnological origins. In modern Irish dictionaries *sidh* is explained as the name applied to a preternatural order of beings, an order comprehending goblins, sprites, elves, fairies et *hoc genus omne*. But the primary meaning of *sidh* was not a sprite or a fairy. The word *sidh*, there can be little doubt, comes from the same ultimate root as the Latin *situs* and *sedeo*. The same root re-appears in the English *seat* and *site*. The Aryan or Wiro root-word most probably denoted at first a residential seat, and by an easy and obvious transition acquired secondarily the signification *mound* or elevated position. At all events *sidh* is clearly seen in our oldest literature to stand for a tumulus, or burial mound. When Fraech of the *Tain Bo Cualgne* was slain by Cuchulainn his body was borne by women in green garments into a *sid*. § As to the parentage of Fraech himself we are informed "Fraech, son of Idath (more commonly written Fidach) of the men of Connacht, a son he to Befind from the *Side*" (i.e., the Tuatha De Danann). || In the *Tain Bo Fraich* the same champion is brought by thrice fifty women with crimson tunics to the *sid* of Cruachan. ¶ In the *Agallamh na Senorach*, again, we meet the expressions *Fuaramar Blathnait 'san tsidh* (We found Blathnait in the *sid*), and *in fer thainic co dorus in t-shida* (the man who came to the door of the *sid*). °

As druids of the Bolg or Belgæ "the people of Danu" were the custodians not alone of the national ritual, but also of the nation's learning, sacred and profane. The Leabhar Gabhala credits them with an unrivalled knowledge of "wizardry and many various

\* "Son to this Cairbre was the very learned Morann usually called Morann macMaoin," *F. Masters*, 14 A.D. "Morann mac Cairpre" MS. *L. Gabhala*, R.I.A., p. 153.

† "Do Morann mac Maoin nuic Cairbre Cinncaid"—i.e., "To Morann son of Maon (who was) son of Cairbre Cinnchait," MacFírbis, p. 47.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "Sid-Fraich ainm int side sin iarom"—"Sid-Fraich was the name of that *sid* (mound) afterwards." (See Hennessy's Introduction to *Mesca Ulad*, p. 7.)

|| *Tain Bo Fraich*, translated by A. H. Leahy, in "Heroic Romances of Ireland," Vol. II., p. 6. The name *Befind* (i.e., Ben-Find, or Fair-Haired Lady) shows that the dames who graced the courts of Heroic Ireland were in appearance of the standard Wiro type.

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 42, 4.

° *Irische Texte*, IV., pp. 19 & 192.



arts . . . . and every sort of accomplishment in general," and adds that "they were knowing, learned and very clever in the branches thereof."\* Being great dignitaries they were naturally buried in tumuli, or in mounds hollow within and provided with doors for the introduction of the corpses to be entombed. When the Tuatha De Danann were overthrown politically popular imagination would naturally have associated the memory of them that came down from the era of their ascendancy with these sepulchral hillocks. At the later period when Ireland was regenerated by St. Patrick's miraculous preaching the Tuatha De were remembered by the populace chiefly as wizards of transcendent power. Hence the tumuli, well known to have been the burial-sites of men possessing knowledge that was believed to exceed the range of human faculty, came to be regarded as the abodes of beings who, though not actual divinities, ranked in nature above the human species. The *side-fir* or "men of the mounds," as they were called, became among the people at large fairies or earth-demons; and the title *side*,—the plural of *sid*, and therefore originally the equivalent of artificial knolls—was set apart for them as a class-name.

As denoting a fairy *sid* is, in fact, an abbreviation of *sid-fer*, the Irish for "mound-man." The *side-fir* were a people skilled in necromancy, whom the common folk of their own age looked up to with awesome reverence because of their reputed profundity in the knowledge of occult sciences, and whom succeeding generations looked back upon as emissaries from the spirit world.

Maon, the begetter of Morann, may have been of the male or the female sex. On the evidence we may, at choice, accept Maon for the wife, for the daughter, or for the son, of Cairbre Cinn Chait. But as to the historical reality of the man Morann, and the nature of the duties which he discharged, we are on surer ground, for all the authorities agree in distinguishing him as a brehon, or law-expounder, of vast erudition and of a transcendent reputation for justice. The rectitude and impartiality of Morann in the judgment seat made his name proverbial for all time in Ireland.†

In Gaul the judicial office was one of the prerogatives of the Druids; and there can be little doubt that, after the transference of Celtic institutions to Ireland, the Druids here enjoyed the same privileges as their continental brethren. Under the Gaels the sacred and the civil functions of the Druids were segregated, and there arose a new professional order of men, named brehons,

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\* *L. Gabhala*, p. 143.

† The *Sin Morainn*, or famous "Collar of Morann" which tightened on the neck of a deliverer of false judgments, is said in the Irish Ordeals (W. Stokes's edition, p. 190) to have concealed an epistle given to Morann by St. Paul the Apostle. He is there styled *Morand mac Cairpri Cind-chait*.

who were not Druids. Morann, it may be, belonged to the age when the Druids, while retaining in full degree their sacerdotal status, were shorn of the added dignity which they had derived from the exercise of judicial functions; and if the appellative Tuatha De Danann stands, as I suggest, for a working theocracy that emerged during the throes of ancient Eriinn's political evolution—for an order who ruled in the name, and under the assumed authority, of the national gods—the differentiation of faculty as between druids and brehons would naturally have synchronised with the elevation to power of the men who cast down “the people of Danu.”

In the Book of Ballymote account of the uprising of the Aithech Tuatha\* Morand is named as one of the three chief counsellors of the rent-payers of Erin, the others being Buan and Cairbre Cinn Chait; “but Cairbre Cinn Chait was the head of them all; and they advised the Aithech Tuatha to kill their lords.”† This testimony would degrade Morann socially to the plebeian level, would even deprive him of such title to nobility or gentility as might be pleaded for the child of a *de facto* king and queen, in the event of the child's birth having taken place during the reign of the parents. Yet it is absolutely certain that if Morann had sprung from the villein orders he could never have risen to eminence as a brehon or jurist; for no opportunity of acquiring a recondite knowledge of the nation's laws would have been within his reach.

The unfree classes had no franchises, no rights of citizenship, no place in the moulding or the administration of the country's laws. The training of a brehon entailed a preparatory period of study continued for a long term of years, and conducted in a collegiate institution by duly qualified professors. To such institutions no bondman would have been admitted. Morann's family must have been of free status—in other words, must have ranked among the governing gentry of the country—in the days when the chief toparchs of Ireland swayed from the royal courts of Emain Macha. Temair Luachra and Cruachan. The joint offices of brehon and druid had probably been hereditary in Morann's family for many generations before his own time. At all events he left a son, Nera, who also rose to high distinction as a learned judge, and whose reputation for integrity and impartiality ensured him an honourable place in the legal history of the Gaels. ‡

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\* Quoted in Sullivan's Introd. to O'Curry's, “Manners and Customs,” p. 32.

† In this connection it is not without significance that the names Morann and Cairbre Min Manand (Cairbre the Smooth of Man) were among the sureties offered by Medbh to Ferdiad for the performance of her pledges, when sending him to fight Cuchulainn. (See *Tain Bo Cualgne*, translated by Joseph Dunn, p. 221).

‡ See O'Curry's “Manners and Customs,” II., 324.

The theory that "the people of Danu" in the gross were of the divine, or unreal, order seems to me to be far-fetched, and unwarranted by the data of our ancient literature. Neither are our historians justified in dissociating Danu's people by race from the Bolg. The human offspring of Danu were evidently a privileged class, deeply versed in the knowledge of their time, and believed by the commonalty to enjoy a close intercourse with the spirit world. This is tantamount to saying that they were primarily Priest-Druids; but they were Druids of the exalted and influential type which Cæsar describes, not mere wizards and diviners like the Druids pictured in the Lives of St. Patrick. As Druids the Tuatha De were exempt from military service; and being unpractised in arms they must of necessity have relied on mercenary troops for the purpose of maintaining themselves in power. Very probably they experienced the fate that has so often befallen rulers and states whose defence was entrusted to hired auxiliaries—the fate, namely, of being deserted in their hour of sorest need.

The Tuatha De themselves would necessarily have been a peace-loving people. They appear to have cultivated the industrial arts, to have promoted improvements in husbandry, and to have encouraged the breeding of dairy cattle. Stray legends like the story of Goibniu's marvellous cow, and of the twelve white-eared cows out of the *Side* that were given by Befind to her son Fraech,\* suggest that milk and its products were abundant near the mansions and workshops of the Tuatha De Danann. Just as the mythical battle of Geisioll images the historical event which supplied bardic romancists with the theme of the extravagantly decorated tale, *Cath Mhuighe Leana*, so, I think, does the invented overthrow of the Tuatha De Danann at Tailtiu shadow at long range in anterior time an actual incident of the period of strife and of deep-laid plots with which Gaelic historians mix up the personality of Cairbre Cinn Chait.

If Cairbre and Morann were trained jurists they could not have been brought up among an Aithech Tuatha community. They must, at least, have belonged by birth to the freemen, or gentry, of Erin in the pre-Gaelic era, or in other words they must have inherited the blood of the Ulaid and the Ernai, that is of the Fir Domnann branch of the Bolg. It seems very probable that Cairbre was himself a Druid, the last of the regent stock of the Tuatha De Danann; nor is it at all unlikely that some earth-mound or cave-enclosing hillock near Tailtiu, or in the region of Breifne that looks south towards Tailtiu, may conceal the remains of that remarkable man—the father, or the "fairy-father," of Morann—whose memory has been consigned by our historians to everlasting obloquy.

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For the place-name Urney Dr. Joyce supplies but one derivation,

\* *Tain Bo Fraich*, *loc. cit.*

believing it, as he did, to be everywhere and always a modernised form of the loan-word *ornaidhe*, or *urnaidhe*, which signifies "primarily a prayer, but in a secondary sense . . . a prayer-house."\* Surely the "civitas Ernaidhe" spoken of in the *Leabhar Breac* copy of the Felire of Oengus was neither a prayer nor an oratory. The containing sentence reads, "et Ernaide nomen civitatis ejus hi sleib guaire;" and Whitley Stokes most correctly translates it, "and Ernaide was the name of her town in Sliabh Guairi"†. Most probably that *civitas*, or governmental seat, of the Ernai stood at or near Tullymongan, where the Uibriuin afterwards had an important fortress; but whether this was so or not it is certain that the Urney which stands for the name of Cavan parish in civil records is a true derivative of (*civitas*) Ernaide.

Nor is Cavan parish the only quarter of Leath-Chuinn to which the old Ernai have bequeathed their name. They were evidently a wide-spreading people; for, before the wholesale eviction enforced by Colla-da-Crioch, they stretched up over Tyrone to East Donegal.‡ Farther on, in Inishowen, in Kilmacrenan and in Tory Island—the Toirinis of the *Leabhar Gabála*—were seated Ptolemy's Vennicnii, a people who, I have good reason for thinking, had been continental allies of the Menapii, and who as the indubitable Fomoiré were execrated in Ireland. But under present conditions this view cannot be further developed here.

East of the Erdini, or Ernai, abode Ptolemy's Voluntii, occupying seemingly the area now represented by the counties Louth, Armagh, North Meath and, perhaps, the larger portion of Monaghan. These Voluntii have been philologically equated by scholars with the Ulaid (Uluti), or Fir-Ulaid.§ Fir-Ulaid does not mean the people of Uladh, but the Ulaid people, Ulaid being a noun in apposition with Fir.|| The analogy of this and other like compounds shows that the Bolg of Fir-Bolg is similarly a substantive folk-name agreeing with Fir in number and case.

The Metrical Dinnsenchus of Loch N'Erne¶ gives two legendary accounts of the Erne's origin which—though neither, I fear, would be accepted by the geologists—should not here be entirely ignored. It was "on a radiant evening in harvest," according to the poem, the Erne first sprang into existence, in a manner which foreboded a life of turbulence for its infant

\* Joyce's *Names of Places*, Vol. I., p. 321.

† The *Calendar of Oengus* (Ed. by Stokes), p. 156.

‡ See Father Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 401.

§ See e.g. Rhys's *Studies in Early Irish History*, p. 49.

|| Nom. *Ulaid*, gen. *Ulad*, dat. *Ulltaib*, acc. *Ulltu* (Whitley Stokes in *Irish Texts*, III, p. 435). Comp. O'Mulconry's *Fir Erainn* (*supra*, p. 167).

¶ Edited by Profr. E. Gwynn in *Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. X., pp. 460-7.

waters. Fiachu Labraind, son of Smirgoll, and great-grandson of the Tigernmas who, about a century earlier, had miraculously perished near Crom Cruaich's shrine in Magh Sleacht, was then high king of Ireland. This Fiachu, we all know, was a very early monarch of the Eremonian line; for the ill-fated Tigernmas was a great-great-grandson of Eremon, through Eremon's son, Irial the Prophet.

The victories that blazoned Fiachu's escutcheon were many; but his crowning trophies were won at four monster battles, the last and fiercest of which was fought against the Ernai. Chieftain after chieftain of towering fame went down before him in these titanic contests; and, most remarkably, we are told that the King of Bearra (*ri Beirre*) it was who set the four chieftains "in array." The encounter with the Ernai does not rest merely on the doubtful authority of an anonymous poet. The Four Masters, from whom we have a right to expect trustworthy history, record under date *Anno Mundi* 3751, the winning by Fiacha Labhrainne of "a battle against the Ernai *d' Feraibh Bolg* on the plain where Loch Erne now is;" and they go on to explain "after the battle was gained from them (*i.e.*, from the Firbolg Ernai) the lake flowed over them, so that it was from them the lake is named, 'a lake over the Ernai.'"\*

Fiachu fell at length by Eochu Mumho, at the battle of Belgadan; and Eochu succeeded him in the high-kingship.† Eochu Mumho stands five generations down from Ebher Finn in the Milesian genealogies; and the old Gaelic etymologists felt assured that it was from him Munster received its name.‡ When stripped of their extravagances the legends, I think, reveal some vague memories of actual happenings; but those happenings relate to a period much closer to us in time than 1449 B.C.—to the period, in fact, when the new-risen star of the "Sons of Mil" was ascending in the firmament. The *ri Beirre* who organised opposition to Fiachu might well have been the king of *Crich Berre*—the *Crich*, or land, to which the three "Red-Dogs" of the Martini took Conall Cearnach's head, in revenge for the slaying of Curoi MacDaire.§

The remarkable stone Clochavarra, standing near the site of Temair Luachra, is now the sole surviving witness in tangible shape to the situation of the same *Crich Berre*. In near proximity was Belgadan—now Bulgaden—the scene of Fiachu Labraind's defeat and death at the hands of Eochu Mumho. Geography lends some measure of *vraisemblance* to the historical content of the communication; but the incidents, such as they were, must be ascribed to the age when the Ernai were being effaced politically by the "sons of Mil."

\* Cf. Article on Lough Gowna, p. 339. (Editor).

† *F. Masters*, A.M. 3751.

‡ "From him *Mumu* is named" (*Coir Anmann*, Art. 1).

§ *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Ed. by E. Gwynn), pt. III., pp. 397-9.

The Dinnsenchus author does not differ from the Four Masters as to the circumstances under which the Erne came into being, but he decks the event in more poetic colours. Having informed us that the Ernai were almost annihilated by Fiachu's valour, he adds :

“ Then the lake burst forth  
under the array, till it quaked with cold,  
in the country, with its pure bright portion,  
where dwelt the red-armed Ernai.”

A rival, and a more picturesque, explanation of the Erne's genesis was also retailed by the professional *Seanachies* ; and the impartial Dinnsenchus-maker gives it due recognition. According to this tradition Queen Medbh of Cruachan had among her maids of honour, a damsel of noble rank and of rarest beauty, whose name was Erne.\* One luckless day a wight of gigantic bulk and of ferocious aspect entered the royal household of Cruachan, and shook his savage mane and beard at the inmates. The queen's maidens were so affrighted by the spectre that they rushed out of the rath, and sped in different directions through the country. The gentle

“ Erne fled, with a troop of women,  
under Loch Erne, that is never dull,  
and over them poured its flood northward  
and drowned them all together.”

Thus did lake (and river) win an imperishable title, “ even the name of noble Loch Erne.” †

The Dinnsenchus poet was a man of commendable piety ; and I cannot close this paper more fitly than by joining in the supplication with which his verses end :

“ a sure welcome to comfort me !  
may I find it in glorious Heaven,  
O Thou that dost exalt Loch Erne ! ” ‡

\* In the Rennes Dinnsenchus (printed in *Revue Celtique*, XV., p. 483) she is described as the daughter of Burc Buiredaig. Hence Lughaidh O'Clery's expression, “ Otha Loch Eirne inghine Buirg ” (*Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, p. 148).

† Conjointly these stories imply that the name Samair outlasted the regime of the Ernai, and that the originators of the new name were of the race of Cruachan, that is, of the race of Eochaidh Muighmedhoin and Brian. Lughaidh O'Clery, Keating, and O'Flaherty, in the seventeenth century, while naming the lake Eirne, or Ernai, still called the river Saimmer or Sameir : e.g., “ in Samario Ernai lacus fluvio ” (*Ogygia*, p. 258).

‡ The tradition of the *gamhain* (calt) that, startled by the jets of Tobar Gowna, fled across Breinne to the Western Sea, and was pursued all the way by the indignant water—which flowed ever after as the river Erne—is related by O'Donovan (1) in a note to the Four Masters, under date 1584 A.D., and (2)—in a variant form—in the Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Longford, pp. 3 and 4. (For a local version of the story, see *antea*, p. 341.—Ed.)

## EXHIBITS AT THE ELEVENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[26th March, 1925.]

**1. Stone Celt** found at Ballymacinroe this year. It is a large-sized, perfectly polished instrument, of a light slate-coloured stone.

Shown by Mr. W. Reid.

**2. Bronze Celt.**—It was found in the spring of 1923 in a potato field alongside the road from Cavan to Bailieboro', within about three miles of the latter. The labourer who chanced to pick it up presented it as a curiosity to a Marist Brother of the Bailieboro' Novitiate who happened to be driving past. It is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, looped and socketed, with a nail or rivet hole on the top surface. It is unornamented, but a perfect specimen of the latest made Bronze Celts.

Shown by D. J. Ryan.

**3. Copper Halbert.**—In May, 1923, Mr. Cox, of Curlurgan, Bailieboro', discovered in his bog, a mile from Bailieboro', this copper halbert head. It was 20 feet below the surface. It is 12 inches in length,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in width at its broadest part, weighs 14 ounces and has three rivets. The use of copper preceded that of bronze. Not unlikely the object is 4,000 years old. It is now in the National Museum, Dublin. A note in the *Journal of the R.S.A.I.* (June, 1926, p. 56) describes it.

A well-known antiquary, Rev. Patrick Power, of Cork University, declares that exact records, as to time, place, and circumstances of such finds as are mentioned above "are of first-rate value to the archæologist, being to him what deeds and charters are to the historian" (Do., p. 58). Under the auspices of the British Association an effort is being made at a complete census of all the bronze celts, swords, and daggers that have been discovered.

Shown by Mr. D. J. Ryan.

**LISTS OF PAROCHIAL CLERGY OF THE LATE  
ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE  
OF KILMORE.**

By the late REV. W. A. REYNELL.

Contributed by the REV. CANON SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Read 19th November, 1925.]

I am fortunate enough to possess the lists of incumbents of the parishes in the diocese of Kilmore, compiled by the well-known antiquary, the late Rev. W. A. Reynell, from materials in the Public Record Office, now destroyed.

Some day I hope the Rev. Canon Leslie may publish these, with his wonderful annotations, but life is short, and it is important, while we can, to put into print as much original information as possible, since the documents from which it was derived have perished.

I am tempted to annotate the names fully, but I think the wisest course will be to print Mr. Reynell's material as it was written, merely adding occasional short notes of my own in square brackets. Anything in round brackets is to be understood as Mr. Reynell's. Possibly at the end of the series I may be able to add some further notes on the various names.

H. B. SWANZY.

ANNAGH ALS. BELTURBET, R.

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| 1622 (in).      | WILLIAM ANDREWS.   |
| 1635, 22 Oct.   | JAMES MARGETSON.<br>Archbishop of Armagh, 1663; died 28 Aug., 1678.  |
| 1637, 10 Oct.   | GODFREY RHODES,<br>Brother-in-law to the Earl of Strafford, Ld. Lt. of Ireland. On 6 Dec., 1638, he had a Patent for the Treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.<br>(Mr. Claxton). |
| 1640, 31 March. | JOHN HODSON.<br>Dean of Clogher, 1661; Bishop of Elphin. 1667; died 18th Feb., 1685-6. Belturbet Church burnt, Palm Sunday, 1642.  |



- 1661, 8 Nov. WILLIAM HODSON.  
 [Name erased and changed to John, apparently in error.] Advowson of Belturbet R. granted to Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, and his heirs, 17th Dec., 1664. In 1661 the Crown presented "plus jure" —M.S. P.R.O. "Livings in various dioceses in Ireland." Wm. Hodson, ord. by Bishop of Ardfert, 29 Sept., 1658, admitted R., 8 Nov., 1661. Wm Hodson, Curate at Visitation R., 8 Nov., on Royal Presentation.
- 1673, 16 Aug. ROBERT ROBISON.  
 He died in 1690.
- 1690, ——— ?
- 1709, 17 Sept. JOHN RICHARDSON.  
 Dean of Kilmacduagh, 1730-47; died 9 Sept., 1747. See *London Magazine* for Sept., 1747. [J.P., Co. Cavan in list of 30 Nov., 1714, friend of Dean Swift, published an Irish Grammar, and the Book of Common Prayer in Irish. The date of his death was 7 Sept., and he was in his 78th year.] "1744, Belturbet, 25 July. The Lord Bishop of Kilmore confirmed a few days since in the church 335 people, and above 40 came after it was over." (*Dublin Courant*.)
- 1747-8, 15 Feb. } HENRY MAXWELL.  
 (First Fruits, 8 March) }
- 1765, 22 May. CHARLES AGAR.  
 Eventually Archbishop of Dublin and Earl of Normanton.
- 1768, 25 May. THOMAS WEBB.  
 Dean of Kilmore, 1768-97.
- 1797, 3 June. HENRY MAXWELL.  
 Resigned 19 Jan., 1811.
- 1811, 11 Feb. RICHARD WYNNE.  
 Presented 11 Feb., by John, Earl of Farnham, inducted 6 April by Joseph Druitt, read assent 8 April, 1811; died 15 July, 1835, aged 72.
- 1835, 21 Oct. ANDREW MCCREIGHT.  
 Died 7 May, 1868, aged 74.
- 1868, 2 June. THOMAS JAMES JACKSON.  
 Resigned May, 1880; died 16 Sept., 1881.
- 1880, May JAMES MCCREIGHT JACKSON.  
 Archdeacon.

## CARRIGALLON, V.

1622. JOHN EVATT.  
 1634, 14 July. ROBERT VAUX.  
 Died, 1639.  
 1639, 29 March. WALTER FRASER.  
 1661, 21 April. JOSIAS HOLLINGTON.  
 Ord. priest 9 May, 1661; inducted 19  
 May, 1661.  
 1664, 21 July. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.  
 Ord. priest 17 June, 1664, by Bishop of  
 Kilmore. Again appointed 21 July, 1673,  
 with Outeragh (First Fruits).  
 ? 1682. CHARLES ROSSELL.  
 1698, 1 July. ARTHUR HARRIS.  
 1705, 14 Nov. PETER LOMBARD.  
 1752, 1 Feb. JOSEPH STORY.  
 Ord. deacon, 28 Aug., 1743, at Kilmore;  
 priest 4 Sept., 1743. Archdeacon. Had  
 a faculty 28 Feb., 1754, to hold the parish  
 with Urney and Annegelif; also a faculty,  
 14 March, 1754, to hold it with Killesher-  
 diney. Died, 17 Dec., 1767.  
 1768, 20 April. GEORGE KNOX.  
 Died at Greenville, Co. Cavan, 8 Aug., 1769.  
 1769, 28 Oct. HENRY WHYTE.  
 1774, 10 Jan. JAMES COTTINGHAM.  
 Also held Urney Union. Died, 26 March,  
 1804.  
 1804, 5 May. CHARLES COBBE BERESFORD.  
 Also held Killesher, faculty 7 Feb., 1805.  
 1809, 4 Nov. JAMES AGAR.  
 Archdeacon. Died 6 Sept., 1866, aged 85.  
 Buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin,  
 full choral service.  
 1866, 5 Dec. JAMES GODLEY.  
 Ord. deacon, 18 May, 1845; priest, 21  
 Dec., 1845 (Diocesan Roll). P.C. Ashfield,  
 12 Dec., 1848.  
 CASTLE-RAHIN, R.V.  
 1622 (in). NICHOLAS SMITH, junior.  
 With Kildrumfertin.  
 1628, 3 Oct. GEORGE CREIGHTON.  
 With Lurgan and Munterconnaught.  
 1673, 20 Aug. JOHN AUNGIER.  
 With Lurgan.  
 1692, 29 July. WILLIAM HANSARD.  
 With Lurgan.

- 1700, 18 Nov. LUKE STERLING.  
Also held Lurgan Union, faculty, 14 Nov.,  
1700. Tax, £8. [J.P., Co. Cavan, 25 Feb.,  
1712-13.]
- 1737-8, 15 March. STEPHEN CADDY.  
On resignation of Luke Sterling.
- 1740, 20 June. WILLIAM SMITH.
- 1777, 18 April. JOHN CAULFIELD.  
Archdeacon.
- 1781, 2 June. JOSEPH STORY.  
Resigned, 1794.
- 1794, 29 Dec. GEORGE COX.
- 1797, 12 Dec. HENRY MAHON.  
Resigned, 1802.
- 1802, 19 April. HENRY MAXWELL.
- 1813, 4 Oct. HENRY VESEY FITZGERALD.  
Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, Dean. He  
held both by faculty, dated 15 March,  
1825; died, 30 March, 1860, aged 74;  
buried at St. Ann's, Dublin.
1860. ANDREW HOGG, LL.D.  
Died 4 July, 1871.
- CASTLE TERRA, R.V.
- 1622 (in) FRANCIS PARKES.
- 1625, 21 May. THOMAS GROVES.
- 1625[-6], 13 March FAITHFUL TEATE.
- 1635, 28 Jan.  
(3 Feb., F.F.) FAITHFUL TEATE. Again collated; with Drung  
and Larah. B.A., Dub., 1621, M.A., 1624; B.  
and D.D. Preb. Cross Patrick, Ferns, 1618.  
Chaplain to Lord Blaney, 1623. Vice-  
Rector T.C.D., 1640. Rector of Drumgoon.  
He would seem to have been beneficed  
at Salisbury, Wilts.
- 1661, 26 April. ALEXANDER MARTIN.  
With Tomregan and Drumlane; ordained  
priest, 11 Sept., 1660, by Bishop of Kilmore.  
Was Archdeacon, also V. Urney and Anna-  
geliff.
- 1662, 1 June. DAVID STRATTON.
- 1663, 29 June. AMBROSE BARCROFT.  
(Archdeacon); with Drung and Larah.  
Inducted 2 Sept. Faculty to hold Urney  
and Annageliff at Archdeaconry with  
Castleterra, 8 Dec., 1669.
- 1678, 30 Oct. ROBERT WILSON.  
Also V. Urney and Anageliff.

- 1684, 27 Nov. ISAAC COLLIER.  
 (With Urney.) Buried in Armagh Cathedral.  
 [Son of Isaac; born in London; educated  
 by Mr. Price; entered T.C.D., 3 Jan.,  
 1667-8, aged 15, as sizar; B.A., 1671;  
 Scholar, 1672; M.A., 1675; Master of  
 Armagh School, 1674; Rector of Clon-  
 leigh (Derry), 1690—1701; Rector of  
 Donaghmore (Derry), 1701—20; married  
 Margaret, daughter of Walter Dawson, of  
 Armagh, ancestor of the Earls of Dartrey.  
 He died, May, 1720; will dated, 26th  
 March; proved prerogative, 14 May.]
- 1690, 11 March. MATTHEW HANDCOCK.  
 (Archdeacon.) With Urney, etc. Buried at  
 St. Patrick's, Dublin, 21 Jan. 1740.
- 1740, 31 March. WETTENHALL SNEYD.  
 Resigned same year; died, Sept., 1745.  
 (Archdeacon.)
- 1740, 10 June. PATRICK MOORE.  
 Died, 1741.
- 1741, 28 April. JAMES COOKSEY.  
 [Named John by Reynell in error; son  
 of John, Esq.; born Kilkenny; educated  
 there by Mr. Lewis; entered T.C.D., 16  
 June, 1726, aged 16; B.A., 1730; married,  
 settlements dated 6 March, 1743-4, Susanna,  
 sister of George Moore.—Reg. of Deeds,  
 Book 120, page 274.]
- 1774, 10 Sept. JOHN COOKSEY.  
 [Son of Rev. James Cooksey, Rector of  
 Castleterra, by Susanna Moore; educated  
 by Mr. Cottingham; entered T.C.D.,  
 1 Nov., 1763; Scholar, 1766; B.A., 1768;  
 ordained deacon at Kilmore, 25 July, 1770;  
 priest, 25 July, 1771; curate of Kinawley,  
 7 July, 1773; curate of Knocktopher  
 (Ossory), 1780; married, Ossory marriage  
 licence dated 5 Sept., 1780, Deborah,  
 second daughter of the Rev. Samuel  
 Madden, LL.D., Incumbent of Kells and  
 Fiddown, Co. Kilkenny.]
- 1780, 4 Nov. JOHN BROUGHAM, D.D.  
 Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Held  
 Moybologue by faculty with this parish,  
 dated 31 Oct., 1780. Died 22 May, 1811,  
 aged 52. [Uncle of the 1st Lord Brougham  
 and son of Henry Brougham, of Brougham,  
 Westmorland.]

- 1809, 21 March Honble. GEORGE GORE.  
Inducted by Joseph Druitt, 30 March, 1809; read assent, 9 April; Rector of Ardnagihy, Cork, 1814—17; Dean of Killala, 1817—44; Rector of Raheny, Dublin. [Son of Arthur, 2nd Earl of Arran. Died, 27 August, 1844; buried at Killala.]
- 1821, 3 May. FRANCIS FOX.  
Ordained deacon, 8 Nov., 1812; priest, 14 Feb., 1813, both at Kilmore; inducted 25 May, 1821, by G. B. Moffett. He was of Fox Hall, Co. Longford. Died, 1834, aged 46.
- 1835, 6 Nov. ARTHUR KNOX.  
Born, 22 Nov., 1793; inducted by Andrew McCreight, Rector of Anna, 7 Nov., 1835; read assent, 8 Nov.; resigned, 1873; died at Hastings, Sussex, 27 Nov., 1874, aged 81. (Andrew McCreight may have been nominated to Castleterra, but not collated, after the death of Gore.)
- CLONCARE, V., CLONLOHER, V., AND KILLASNET, V.  
1622, in. JOHN HOLLIWELL.  
(Clonlogher and Killargue.)
- 1626, 5 Aug. WILLIAM BOLTON.  
(Clonlogher and Killargue.)
- 1632, 24 Sept. HENRY HATHERSHALL.  
(Clonlogher.)
- 1635, July. CORMOCK O'HOGHY.  
(Clonlogher.) (First Fruits.)
- 1635, 24 Sept. MATTHEW MOORE.  
[Reynell gives this date as 1625, but states that Moore was ordained deacon and priest by the Archbishop of Cashel, 19 Dec., 1633.]
- 1637, 2 Aug. JOHN CONINGHAM.  
(Clonclare.)
- 1661, 24 April. ROBERT WASSE.  
(Clonclare, Clonlogher, Killasnet, Rossinver, and Innismagra.) [No doubt the Robert Wasse who matriculated as sizar from Trinity College, Cambridge, 1641-2; B.A., 1641-2.—Venn's *Alumn. Cant.*]
- 1681, 6 Feb. THOMAS HARDCASTLE.
- 1685, 28 March JOHN TWIGGE.
- 1698, 15 June. JOHN SMITH.  
He died, 1721.

- 1721, 3 May. CAULFEILD CUFF.  
 (On death of John Smith.) [Son of Thomas, military officer ; born, Co. Galway ; entered T.C.D. as sizar, 25 March, 1703-4, aged 18 ; Scholar, 1707 ; B.A., 1708 ; Rector of Innismacsaint, diocese of Clogher, 1739.]
- 1742, 31 Oct. THOMAS CUFF  
 Died, 1775. [Son of the Rev. Caulfeild Cuff, above-mentioned ; born, Co. Roscommon ; entered T.C.D., 2 May, 1731, aged 17 ; B.A., 1735.]
- 1775, 2 Feb. JOHN CAULFEILD.  
 Presented by Crown during vacancy of the See ; fiant dated 24 Jan., 1775, vice Thos. Cuff, deceased.
- 1781, 12 May HUGH MONTGOMERY  
 [Perhaps Hugh, son of William Montgomery, Esq ; born, Co Down ; educated by Dr. Benson ; entered T.C.D., 2 Nov., 1769, aged 17 ; B.A., 1774 ; ordained priest (Down), 10 Nov., 1776, of Grey Abbey, Co. Down ; married, 1782, the Hon. Emilia Ward, daughter of the 1st Viscount Bangor.]
- 1792, 24 Aug. CAIRNCROSS CULLEN.
- 1807, 1 Aug. WILLIAM BUSHE.
- 1810, 11 July. JOHN LEAHY.  
 Inducted by William Johnston, 14 Aug.
- 1823, 13 Nov. ABRAHAM HAMILTON.  
 Resigned ; also Rector of Kinneagh, Cork. Died, 16 Dec., 1861, aged 88. [Son of John, Gentleman, born Co. Donegal, educated by Dr. Norris ; entered T.C.D. as Fellow Commoner, 9 Nov., 1789, aged 16 ; B.A., 1794 ; M.A., 1810 ; Vicar of Clonmany, Derry, 1801—1815 ; Vicar of Donegal, 1796.]
- 1842, 8 March. JOHN HAMILTON.
- 1856, 31 July. JOHN HAMILTON.
- 1868, 2 June. RICHARD NASH STANDISH.  
 Resigned, and died at 10 Breffni Terrace, Sandymount, 4 Jan., 1900, aged 79. His wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Cox, of Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim, died later on the same day.

## DENN, V.

- 1622 (in). ROBERT WHISKINS.  
With Annegeliffe; died, 1634. [Son of William Whiskins, of Milton, Cambridge-shire; admitted pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, 2 June, 1589, aged 16; Scholar, 1589—95; B.A., 1592—3; Curate of Rampton, Cambridge, and Schoolmaster, 1606.]
- 1634, 14 Feb. WILLIAM BAYLY.  
Again, 10 Aug., 1635.
- 1637, 12 Nov. ALEXANDER CLOGY.  
Resigned, 12 May, 1640.
- 1640, 10 Aug. WILLIAM WALLACE.
- 1664, 6 April. EDWARD DIXIE.  
(Dean). Appeared, 1679, Visitation Book.
- 1700, 21 May. RICHARD READER.  
(Dean). Held Deanery, Rectory of Kilmore and Vicarages of Kildrumferton and Denn, by faculty, 21 May, 1700.
- 1702, 24 April. SAMUEL COLBY.  
[Son of John, Schoolmaster, of Dublin; born in Yorkshire; educated by Mr. Torway, Dublin; entered T.C.D., 5 Oct., 1685, aged 17; Scholar, 1688; Sizar, St. John's College, Cambridge, 8 Oct., 1689; Curate, St. Michan's, Dublin, in 1701.]
- 1709, 9 April. JOHN BENNETT.
- 1726, 14 March. JOHN CHARLTON.  
By resignation of John Bennett. Resigned, 1740, for Kildrumferton.
- 1740, 10 June. ARTHUR MOORE.  
Resigned, 1774. [Archdeacon.] Vicar-General, 8 Feb., 1768. [J.P., Co. Cavan, 22 June, 1764.]
- 1776, 10 Sept. WILLIAM FOX.  
Joint Vicar-General, 3 Nov., 1772. [Son of Michael, gentleman; born in Co. Leitrim; educated by the Rev. Mr. Hynes; entered T.C.D., 23 May, 1758, aged 16, as Sizar; Scholar, 1760; B.A., 1762; LL.B., 1769; Curate of Kilmore, 1769—73; married, October, 1768, Elizabeth Sophia, eldest daughter of Arthur Moore, Archdeacon of Kilmore and Vicar of Denn.]

1780, 4 May.

ALBERT NESBITT.

Also Preb. Ballysonnon, Kildare, faculty, 19 May, 1795. Held that Prebend., 1792—1801; resigned Denn, 1 May, 1812; died 30 Jan., 1822. [Son of Cosby Nesbitt, of Lismore, M.P. for Cavan, 1750—67, by Anne, daughter of John Enery, of Bawnboy; bapt., at Kilmore, 4 March, 1754; educated by Mr. Carr; entered T.C.D., 20 April, 1771, aged 17, as Fellow Commoner; B.A., 1774; Chaplain to the Prince Regent; J.P., Co. Cavan, 23 May, 1794.]

1812, 10 Oct.

JOSIAH ERSKINE.

Resigned, 1813, for Knockbride, which see.

1813, 23 April.

JOSEPH DRUITT.

Prebendary of Tipperkevin, St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1817—20; died, 15 Sept., 1835, aged 60; buried at Ballyhaise. [Son of Edward, merchant; born Dublin; educated by Mr. Fenton; entered T.C.D., 21 May, 1790, aged 15; B.A., 1796; M.A., 1809; married twice; his second wife, whom he married at Newpark, 21 March, 1822, was Bridget, widow of Peter Tyndall, of Dublin, and daughter of the Rev. William Garrett.]

1835, 25 Nov.

JAMES COLLINS.

Dean of Killala, 1844; died, 19 June, 1868. [Son of Francis, merchant; born Drogheda; entered T.C.D., 5 Feb., 1821, aged 20; B.A., 1825; M.A., 1832; B.D. and D.D., 1842; married at St. Mary's Church, Newry, 26 March, 1828, Elizabeth, second daughter of the Rev. Josiah Erskine, Rector of Knockbride, and formerly Vicar of Denn. Dean Collins, who was Chaplain to Lord Heytesbury, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was author of several pamphlets, and was stated by Primate Marcus Gervais Beresford to have been one of the best preachers he ever heard.]

1846 (? 1845)

EDMOND NUGENT.

12 March

Died at Charleville, Dalkey, 4 March, 1874.

1854, 7 Nov.

HENRY PERCEVAL.

1859, 19 Dec.

HENRY O'BRIEN.

1860, 7 Feb.

SAMUEL ROBERTS.

(On resignation of O'Brien); died, 25 Aug., 1877; aged 77.



## DRUMGOON, R.

The Crown presented to the Rectory of Drumgoon in 1681. It was recovered by a Verdict in 1683 to Francis Lucas, Esq. (M.S., Public Record Office, Dublin.)

- 1612 (in). HUGH MCCONIE, or MCCOMYN.  
Still Rector, 1626.
- 1625-6, 13 MARCH. FAITHFUL TEATE.  
[See Castleterra.]
- 1627, 10 Oct. JAMES MORSHEAD.
- 1629, 23 Jan. THOMAS FFRASAR.
- 1633, 8 March. WILLIAM ALDRICH.
- 1661, 26 April WILLIAM ALDRICH.  
He had a faculty to hold Drumgoon and Killesherdiney, 26 April, 1670.
- 1681, 27 May. MICHAEL ARNOTT, M.A.
- 1683, 26 May. JOHN ARCHDALL.  
Had faculty to hold Drumgoon with Lusk and Donabate (Dublin), 25 May, 1683. [Died, 1689 or 1690. Archdale's "Memoirs of the Archdales," p. 66, note 1.]
- ? 1690. — ?
- 1718, 1 April. JOHN SINGLETON.  
Presented by Rowland Singleton, of Termonfechan, Co. Louth—Diocesan Roll. Inducted, 16 April, 1718, by John Bennett, Vicar of Denn, *on death of Michael Arnott*. Was Arnott re-collated on death of John Archdall?
1754. PETER RICHARDSON.  
Died, 14 Sept., 1763. (*Pue's Occurrences*.) [Scholar, T.C.D., 1716; B.A., 1717; M.A., 1720. No matriculation entry. His wife, Elizabeth, was evidently a member of the Ennis family, for there was in the Public Record Office an Exchequer Bill, dated 29 April, 1748, Edward and Francis Lucas, executors of Francis Lucas, versus Francis Ennis, Mary Ennis, Peter Richardson, Elizabeth, his wife; Rachel Reynett, Robert Cooper, Lucy, his wife; Jane Ennis, Michael Ennis, Robert Ennis, etc. Michael Ennis had married Jane, daughter of Francis Lucas, of Castleshane, Co. Monaghan, High Sheriff of that Co., 1673; the patron of the living in 1683. See above.]

- 1763, 30 Sept. FRANCIS LUCAS.  
[Brother of Edward, of Castleshane, M.P.  
He died, 1770.]
- 1770, 31 Aug. HOWARD ST. GEORGE.  
Held Drumgoon with Magheraculmony  
(Clogher) by faculty, 21 Aug., 1770.
- 1792, 9 Jan. EDWARD LUCAS.  
Died, May, 1814; buried, 14 May, in the  
Clement's vault, Drung. [Son of Edward,  
of Castleshane, M.P. He was ancestor of  
Lucas-Clements family.]
- 1815, 15 Aug. JAMES HAMILTON.  
Presented by Dacre Hamilton, 14 Aug.,  
inducted 15 Aug., by Crinus Irwin, Vicar of  
Killesherdiney. Resigned, 1826. [Son of  
Sir James Hamilton, of Cornacassa, Co.  
Monaghan, by Catherine Hamilton, his  
wife. Married Margaret, widow of Colonel  
Samuel Black, H.E.I.C.S., and daughter  
of Major Jerome Noble, 28th Regt., by  
Elizabeth, elder daughter of the Rev. John  
Crawford, Vicar of Errigal Trough, Co.  
Monaghan.]
- 1826, 4 March. ROBERT THOMPSON.
- 1832, 8 March. ARCHIBALD E. DOUGLAS.
- 1855, 11 April. JOHN RICHARD DARLEY.  
Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore.
- 1866, 5 Dec. HUGH MURRAY.  
Died at Rathmines, Dublin, 13 April, 1870,  
aged 65.
- 1870, 4 May. THOMAS MOORE.

H. B. SWANZY.

*(To be continued.)*

# CATHAL BUIDHE MHAC GHIOLLA GUNNA (c. 1670-1750).

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By REV. LAURENCE MURRAY, Dundalk.

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[Read 19th November, 1925.]

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Most fascinating is the task of helping to rescue from oblivion the works of the Gaelic poets of the 17th and 18th centuries, not alone on account of the intrinsic beauty of many of the pieces recovered, but also, because even the poems that possess small merit as literature often let in a flood of light on the obscure history of the Penal Days, and help us to clear up some of the hitherto unsolved philological or archæological problems. In this respect Munster has been more fortunate than Ulster. While the best of Munster's Gaelic literature has been brought out in excellent redactions three or four small volumes contain all that is available of the works of the great Oriel school of poetry. We have suffered, too, from the ignorance of those who have attempted to write books on the History of Irish Literature. Miss Hull devotes whole pages to almost every one of the Munster poets, but can spare scarcely ten lines to give the names of four of the Ulster poets. Dr. Hyde also shows a bias against Northern writers. The most recent attempt at writing the History of Irish Literature, Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*, contains the following sneer :—

This study has not often glanced outside the south-west corner of Munster. The reason of this is, of course, that there the Gaelic world was more self-contained and more intact ; still possessed in it more of the light of the brain and of the impulse of the heart. . . . . The only other part of the country that, in its schools of poetry and poetical contentions, resembled Munster, was South Ulster and Leinster. . . . . But, as in Connaught, so, here too, in South Ulster, in spite

of this literary activity, the break with the past is noticeable. **Anonymous singers in Munster wrote a more refined type of lyric than the most famous of the poets of this school.**

The heavy print is ours. It is a great pity that Corkery marred his epoch-making book by attempting to treat of a subject of which he knew absolutely nothing. Some day, a full and impartial account will be written, and it will then be admitted that the great Ulster quartet, MacCuarta, Cathal Buidhe, MacCooley, and O'Doirnin, rank at least as high as any that Munster has produced, while it is doubtful if Munster will be able to lay claim to a line of scholars to compare with Nial O'Murchaidh, Pádraig MacAlindon, Pádraig O'Heighir, Patrick Pronty, Aodh MagOirechtaidh, Edmund O'Reilly, Dr. James Woods, Art Mór O'Murchaidh, and Nicholas Kearney. The Courts of Poetry lasted throughout Oriel down to the Famine Year. In Cavan there was a famous school at Mullagh which produced the two Farrellys (Sean and Fardy) and Matt Monaghan. The names of the minor poets of Cavan are still remembered in the traditions of the old people—Philip the Minister, Father Thomas Clery, of Killann; Fiachra Mhac Brady, the Bard of Stradone; Cathaoir MacCaba, the boon companion of O'Carolan, and at least a score of others. But Cavan's crowning glory was Cathal Buidhe Mhac Ghiolla Gunna, whose name is, even still, a household word wherever Irish is spoken in the northern half of Ireland.

I do not know if there is any tradition of Cathal left in the county of his birth, but the tradition of places as far apart as Tírchonaiill, Omeath, and North Connaught, agree that he was a Cavan man. A manuscript in the R.I.A. calls him Cathal Gunn of Tullyhaw, Co. Cavan; while in some of the versions of his most famous poem, the *Bunán Buidhe*, reference is made to a lake in the neighbourhood of his habitation—Loch MacNean—which is in extreme north-west of County Cavan. He was probably born between the years 1670 and 1680. The Omeath tradition, that he was sent to Rome to be educated for the priesthood, but that, when he came home to be ordained, he fell in love with a young lady named Katie Tyrrell and abandoned his original intention, is borne out by references in a number of his songs. The *Beatha Chathail Bhuidhe* has the following verse:—

Óráir mé ari fórtún míte cáilín  
 'Smé aḡ toul le n-eapraíó ḡo loc ḡcál,  
 'Snae truaig' don té ruair fógluim rásairt  
 ḡur cáil a éreóeam mar ḡeall air mnáib.

Ten colleens' full fortunes I squandered  
 To Loughgall with my packs as I wandered.  
 Alas! spite of logic and all  
 Not for pride but through Venus to fall.

Again, the *Aithreachas* [Repentance] has these lines :—

Nuair a béinn 'ra Róim im' easlairead ós, faraor!  
Sul rá tceadair mé air reóir, 'r mé cóirys-irce m  
air na sciar.

When I was a young cleric in Rome  
Ere dressed in monk's habit I went arambling.

Hardiman says that there were at least three songs written for this same Katie Tyrrell, one of which is usually ascribed to O'Carolan. They became very popular, but I am afraid that the different versions got mixed up. Two versions, with music, one from Tironaill and the other from Omeath, were printed in a recent number of the *Ultach* (I. 11). The Omeath version is called *Caitti na gCiabh*, and is invariably ascribed by the old people to Cathal Buidhe. It is a very plaintive and touching song, and some of the verses support the tradition that he had been educated for the priesthood in Rome :—

'Sé mo léan-ghéar go b'faca mé an t'ub nó an t'omh,  
Sé mó léan-ghéar go b'faca mé b'ruac na t'omh,  
Sé mo léan-ghéar go b'faca mé Caitti 'ra clann  
'Sgair cáill mé mo chreideam mar gheall air an bean.

Ó ! mo millead go b'ruair mire léigeann i rcoil  
Ar go n'oeanfar r'asair go r'pár t'iom san moill ;  
Sol má t'ócraó an ceapróg a dá láim ór mo cíonn.  
Dórfamn-ré Caitti rá b'ruac na t'omh.

My bitter woe, my eyes saw the black on the brown,  
My bitter woe they saw the Shrubbery Brow—  
My bitter woe that I saw Katie and her family,  
And that for any woman's sake I lost my faith.

My destruction that ever I got well educated,  
And that near I was to priesthood ;  
But sooner than Bishop's hands should be raised o'er  
my head,  
Katie I would marry by the Shrubbery Brow.

All the traditions agree that after he gave up the idea of becoming a priest he commenced to lead a bad life. He adopted the trade of pedlar, and roamed over all Ulster, North Connaught, and North Leinster. He tells us that he even used to visit Dublin. He was frequently in Omeath, and was probably one of the *Beirt o'n Éirne* mentioned in MacCuarta's *Lament for Niall Og*.

Owing to a number of indiscretions on his part his advent was always dreaded by the local clergy. In this connection a very humorous story is told by the old people of Omeath. One time that the parish priest of Omeath heard that Cathal Buidhe was coming on a visit, he ascended the altar and left his seven curses on anyone who would give a night's lodging to the poet. That evening, around twilight, a poor woman knocked at the priest's door, and begged a night's lodging, *air ghradh De* (for the love of God). The priest ordered his servant to make a shake-down for the *old woman* in the corner of the kitchen. Next morning when the priest entered the kitchen, he found this verse scratched on the wall:—

D'rág tú reáct malláct, a fásairt a érioidhe,  
 Aih an té beairt ceatrama do cátaí Buidhe;  
 Tú féin a tug ceatrama do cátaí Buidhe  
 Agus tuit na reáct malláct anuas aih do toig.

Seven curses you left, O sagart a chree  
 On him who'd let in the bad Cathal Buidhe.  
 Yourself you gave lodgings to bad Cathal Buidhe,  
 And heavy the seven fell on your own roof-tree.

And the Seanchaidhe added:—

Nuas a d'amarc an fásairt eart, cómpuis ré uaid reáct  
 fudai .i. a bata 'ra fuip, a capall 'ra márad, a cóta móir 'ra  
 nata áro, agus an cailín aimpire.

When the priest looked around he missed seven things—his walking stick, his riding whip, his horse, his dog, his overcoat, his tall hat, and his housekeeper.

The tradition of Cathal's evil life is borne out by admissions that he makes in his poems. His *Beatha* has the following extraordinary litany of crimes:—

Níor tiobar mo lám in don éar ó orfáir;  
 Tórfamh trior agus beairtinn bhuigean,  
 D'imreodamh cártai, cámpinn, fcoitfamm;  
 Sin agus oibre túr mo fadógal.

Ir meannnoc, fúgac, lúthair, clice  
 A doirtinn-re fuirgíó rior im' feóig  
 D'ait liom fúrgad, úrgad meirge  
 Agus tabairt mo érioidhe do mhaoi an óil.

Ἦρ βεας εἰαῖα, ἡδῆρῶα, φαίη νό πορραῖο  
 Δριαῖη ἄ ριννε μέ γε η-αοῖβ ;  
 Ἦρ βεας οἶμ ἐρῶαῖο, ἐρῶε νό παοῖη,  
 ἢ ἀμῆρῆρ ἐπορκαῖο Ἦρ μῶ ἡνῖμ ἐραορ.

Ἦι ἐπειορῆμν ὄν ἐλείρ ἡυῖβ Ἐίρεαετ πιακαῖο  
 Μῆά ἢα βρεαρ ἄ εἰαοῖδεαῖο ἰε ρῶῖς ;  
 Δετ ἀνοῖρ, φαραορ ! τα μο φαοζαῖ-ρα καῖτε,  
 'Σῖρ μιαν ἰομ ῖταῖο ἀσυρ λειζεαν ὄοῖβ  
 etc., etc.

From evil ne'er I withheld my hand,  
 I'd start a fight and bickerings fanned,  
 Cards I'd play, revile, and scold,  
 This the work of my days of old.

Bravely, cheerily, speedily, skilfully,  
 Whiskey I drained down my throat,  
 Carousing my joy, the drunken awakening,  
 And love-making to the hostess of the ale house.

'Tis few the fences, gardens, hedges, or the harrowing  
 With gusto that I ever did ;  
 Piety, prayers, or prayer time I never minded,  
 On fast days I fasted least.

From no cleric I'd take it as sin or shame  
 To win other's wives with kisses—  
 But now, alas ! my life is gone,  
 I'll stop it all from this time on.

He makes a similar admission in the *Aithreachas* :—

Βέμν ἀμ ἀσυρ φαμτοεάμν ἢ βυῖο βεαρ,  
 ἀσυρ βέμν ἀμ ἀσυρ φαμτοεάμν ἢ ἀρῖ λειτ ;  
 Ὀῖ μῖρε ὀρῆρῆαῖηαῖ, ἡδῆρῆαῖηαῖ, φαρηζαε, ἀ'ῖ βυῖο μῶορ  
 μο λειρς  
 Δετ, ἄ ῖρ ἢα ἢἡμῆρτα, ἀμν ὀ' φαρηρς ἢα ταβαῖρ ὄο βρεῖτ.

Anything that was pretty I coveted,  
 At times I coveted something particular,  
 I was adulterous, obscene, given to anger, and mighty  
     was my sloth,  
 But, O King of Graces, in Your anger give not Your  
     judgment,

When his wife upbraided him with never having earned a sixpence that he did not spend on drink, he answers :—

'Sclum tú mé, a bean uo a éanaí na briaíra beoít,  
 Nit mo éioide foillám 'rír leannán uam coiríde an tairt,  
 Nuair atáim na slómí 'rna rairéir i bpað uaim irtead,  
 Sé deir mo múmeál buirde, " Ír cmeálta d'ólramn  
 beoít."

O, listen, my lady, who psalmest the truth,  
 My heart is ne'er voidless since my curly youth ;  
 For spying the glasses and cellars so full,  
 My yellow neck whispers, " Me, me, a wee pull."

He could not help it—the poison was in his system. His yellow neck demanded the whiskey, and soaked it in as a sponge soaks water. And although the poor woman had only the price of a half-one left, and the children crying for food, yet she bought the drink for him. The answer was so human and pathetic that there was no gainsaying it.

Of course such self-accusations were conventional with the Irish poets—but in Cathal's case we cannot overlook the unanimous tradition concerning him; not only throughout Ulster, but in North Connaught and in North Leinster also. The following description of him is given in one of Nicholas O'Kearney's manuscripts :—

Cahal or Charles Buidhe Gunn, the author of the *Bunán Buidhe* and other humorous pieces, was a celebrated character, the counterpart of the *Mangaire Sugach*, who frequented the north-eastern counties of Ulster, in the character of a pedlar or dealer in soft goods. He was a wild rover that stopped at nothing.

In spite of the poet's evil life he lived to a good old age. The story of his death is told, with slight variations, throughout all the Irish-speaking districts of Ulster. He continued to "tramp the roads" even after he had passed his eightieth year. Feeling weaker than usual, one winter's day, he took refuge in a deserted farmhouse, and with some sticks and turf mould he managed to light a little fire in the grate. He felt that death was approaching and recalling all that he had learned in his youth, he commenced to think over his evil life and to excite himself to repentance. With the burnt end of a rod he wrote on the lime-washed wall his final "Repentance" or "Aithreachas," a long poem of about twenty verses, containing most sublime and beautiful thoughts on Christ's Passion, man's base ingratitude, and God's love and mercy towards sinners. Meanwhile, a strange woman called at the priest's house a few miles away, and told him that an old man was dying at a certain place and that no time was to be lost.



The priest arrived just in time to administer the last sacraments to the dying poet. Cathal's salvation is usually attributed to the beautiful prayers and meditations contained in the *Aithreachas*. No trace could be found of the strange woman who had come with the sick call, and everybody concluded that Cathal's benefactor was the Blessed Virgin herself, whom he had so tenderly invoked in the *Aithreachas* :—

Α ΜΑΙΓΩΕΑΝ ΒΕΑΝΝΙΣΤΕ, Α ΒΑΡΠΙΟΣΑΝ ΠΛΑΙΤΕΑΜΝΑΡ ΘΕ  
 ΝΑC ΜΕΑΝΑΡ ΤΟΝ ΡΕΑCΑC Α ΖΗΟΡ CΑΙΡΩΕΑΡ ΛΕΤΙ ;  
 ΞΕΘΔΑΙΘ ΜΕ Ο'ΡΑΙΛΤΕ ΔΙΡ ΒΑΛΛ ΤΕ CΥΡΩΙΞΑΘ ΜΗC ΘΕ  
 'ΣΑΙΡ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΡ-ΛΑΙΜ ΒΑΜ ΒΕΙΘ Μ'ΑΙΤΙΣ ΛΕΘ' ΙΜΠΙΘΕ ΡΕΜ.

ΤΑ ΜΟ ΛΕΑC-ΡΑ CΑΙΤΤΕ, ΙΡ ΘΕΙΜΗΝ ΝΑC ΡΑΘΑ ΜΟ ΡΑΟΣΑΙ  
 ΝΑC ΤΡΥΑΙΣ ΜΕ Α'Ρ ΜΟ ΙΟCΤΑΙ ΡΕΡΠΙΘΕCΑ ΔΙΡ ΕΛΑΡ Μ'ΑΞΑΙΘΕ,  
 ΔΟC ΖΥΘΙΜ ΤΥ, Α ΜΗΥΡΕ, Α ΘΥΙΜΕ, 'ΡΑ ΜΑCΑΙΡ ΜΗC ΘΕ  
 ΞΟ Ν-ΙΟCΡΑΙΘ ΜΟ ΕΟΡΡ Μ ΖΑC ΟΙC ΘΑ ΟCΕΑΡΝΑ ΜΕ.

“O, Blessed Virgin! O Queen of God's Kingdom!  
 How happy for the sinner who makes friends with her:  
 I will have your welcome soon, with the help of the  
 Son of God,  
 And on your white right hand I will take my place,  
 on your own asking.

My lease is out, my life here is short:  
 And woe is me, and my faults printed across my face.  
 But I beseech you, O Mary, O nurse, O Mother of the  
 Son of God!

That my body may pay for all the evil I ever committed.

Cathal Buidhe was a contemporary of MacCuarta and of MacAlindon. He lived in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and through the first half of the eighteenth. Yet he is more modern than some of the poets who lived a century later, and it is probable that he would be better understood by the present generation than by his own contemporaries.

A large number of his poems have already appeared in print. Six pieces are given in Henry Morris' *Ceud de Ceoltabh Uladh*:—*An Bunan Buidhe, Abhran Chathail Bhuidhe, Mailigh Mhodhmar, Ceathtuigh Bhan* and the *Aithreachas*. Two more have been published by Seosamh Lloyd in *Duanaire na Midhe*:—*Beatha Chathail Bhuidhe* and *Tuireadh Philib Mhic Ghiolla Ghumna*. The following pieces attributed to him are to be found in the manuscripts:—

- I. ΔΣ bun na ccúis zcrann (οαραβ τύρ—“ ΔΣ bun na ccúis zcrann pé rmeío mé oipci anunn.)
- II. Saorpuzad mholi mhic na buirde (οαραβ τύρ—“ Οαιρ εοζαδ an dá ζαλλ α εοιρiς ζο mall.”)
- III. Sorcúzad ná Saorpuzad Shile Tip Eozam (οαραβ τύρ. “ Δειρ beannaét uaim rior ζο Tip Conaill mar bfuil Δοδ.”)

IV. A poem on Whiskey of which the first two lines are :

Ír í mo cneac bean ceannuige na feite  
Ír a meirge Mhuirneac mo shrad rém tú.

- I. "At the foot of the five trees," beginning—"At the foot of the five trees I saluted her."  
 II. "The Freeing of Molly McEvoy," beginning—"By the war of the two Galls."  
 III. "The Vindication of Shiela of Tyrone," beginning—"Bring my blessing down to Tirconnail, where dwelleth Hugh."  
 IV. A poem on Whiskey:—  
 "My destruction is the wife of the merchant of generosity,  
 And O sweet tippler my love art thou.

It is probable that many of his poems are lost. Poems like his, full of human interest and intimacy, were not the kind that the contemporary academic scribes, trained in the Bardic Schools or in the Courts of Poetry, liked to copy and preserve. He was different from all the other poets of his age—one who broke away from all the bondage and shackles of the schools, and hacked out a road for himself. One could almost believe that he never came into contact with either the Bardic Schools or the Courts of Poetry. It is easy to fix his place among the poets of Ulster. Inferior to MacCuarta, he easily excels all the others—O'Doirnin, McCooey, MacAlindon and O'Carolan. One great proof of his excellence is that at least four of his poems:—*An Bunán Buidhe*, *Beatha*, *Aithreachas*, and *Abhran Chathail Bhuidhe*—became immediately popular throughout the whole North of Ireland, and have retained their popularity to the present day.

His two best-known poems are the *Aithreachas* and the *Bunán Buidhe*. The latter gives us a very striking and original presentation of the gospel of enjoyment popularised by Omar Khayyam. One hard winter, when all the lakes had been frozen for weeks, the Yellow Bittern died for want of water, and its dead body was found by Cathal, lying on the ice. The bird's death put him in mind of his own sad condition. He had promised his wife that he would drink no more, and, as a result, a dreadful thirst burned the inside of his yellow throat. He had always felt a sympathy with this particular bird—it had never, he thought, much happiness in life—like himself, it was yellow—and in the midst of his lonely nocturnal wanderings he used to feel companionship in the bird's weird cry. And now he finds it dead—killed by that very same thirst from which he himself was suffering so dreadfully.

It is said that the best test of true literature is the test of translation, for true literature concerns itself with thoughts rather than with the dress in which the thoughts are clothed. Judged by this test, the *Bunán Buidhe* ranks high. It has always

been a great favourite with translators. Thomas MacDonough's attempt pleases most, for not only is it an almost literal rendering but it retains some of the internal rhyme which makes Gaelic poetry so pleasing to the ear. It is worth our while to compare a verse of the original with its translation, and to notice the manner in which MacDonough tries to preserve the characteristics of the Gaelic metre:—

Δ Ουνάμν βυρθε, ρέ μο léan 'oo luige  
 1r 'oo cnaíma rínite aip leacaib lom',  
 1r can earbarò bíò áct 'oioz'baíl 'oige  
 Δ 'o'fás m 'oo luige tú aip cúl 'oo émm.  
 Úio'ò ré zo ríoppaí'òe áz ól na 'oige,  
 Δ' r' veip'ceap zo mbim-ra map r'm real,  
 Can fuit a'n 'deop 'oá 'bpuiz'mm nac leiz'mm ríop  
 Aip eazla zo 'bpuiz'mm-ré bá'p 'oen carc.

Here is MacDonough's translation:—

The Yellow Bittern, that never broke out  
 In a drunken *bout*, might as well have drunk,  
 His bones are thrown on a naked stone,  
 Where he lived alone like a hermit monk.  
 Oh, Yellow Bittern, I pity your lot,  
 For it seems that a *sol* like myself is accursed,  
 I was sober awhile, but I'll drink and be wise,  
 For fear I might die in the end of thirst.

The circumstances in which the *Aithreachas* was composed have already been related—of the poem itself it is difficult to speak. One shrinks from submitting it to criticism, it is so full of bitter pain and of true sorrow. Many of the verses have become incorporated in the common prayers of the Irish-speaking peasantry. I know an old Omeath woman whose night prayers always include the two verses:—

Δ Ri na 'b'feart, zo n-acturò Tú mo éporde,  
 Δ' zo 'otab'parò Tú m'anam zo pá'p'ceap na Naom';  
 A'ioizim 'Duit mo loctai e'odar cam ázur claon  
 Zo 'b'fuit mé faoi zlarai aize dia'baíl an traoz'ail.

Δ 'Eiz'carma zo r'caoilirò Tú m'feapz a' r' m'fuat,  
 Ázur 'oibip na r'muamci malluiz'ce reo uaim  
 Zo n'oor'cairò an Spiora'ò Naom' Δ mó'p-z'p'arca 'nuap  
 Δ élaio'p'ceap an éporde 'ta 'na éap'p'ais le épuap.

“ O King of the Powers! may You soften my heart,  
 And may You bring my soul to the Paradise of the  
 saints;

I admit to You my faults, my weakness and yielding,  
 And that I am in the chains of the demon of the world.

O Lord cast from me my anger and my hatred.  
 Drive away my evil thoughts.  
 May the Holy Spirit pour down His graces  
 That will soften the heart that is as a rock for hardness."

If the *Bunán Buidhe* brings Omar Khayyam to our minds, the *Aithreachas* is reminiscent of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. It would be difficult to find a truer and more sublime expression of sorrow than is contained in the following verses:—

    Sé mo leun-geur, faraoir ! nar ruḡad mé uall, boḡar  
     baib, san céill, san aon teanḡair 'mo éionn  
 Sufá oteádaí mé 'otear, mar ceitearnaḡ coillead  
 le feall,  
 Sé mo reíríraíl so h-éas nac otearm mé aon  
 aitearaḡ m am.

    A Ri na nḡmarḡa, ir uána uam aḡaric ort ruar,  
 'S nac bfuil oíḡce nó lá nac oḡarramḡim fuil ar Do  
     ḡruair  
 U' fúlamḡ Tú an páir aḡ Do námaíu o'ar ḡceannaḡ so  
     cruair  
 A'mur learrar Do lám, mo éráḡ, gur imḡiḡ mé uair.

" My bitter woe, alas ! that I wasn't born blind,  
 Deaf, dumb, without sense, without a tongue in my head,  
 Before I went into rebellion, and became an outlaw.  
 'Tis my scourging to death, that I did not repent in time.  
 O King of graces, it is bold of me to look towards You.  
 And there is no night or day I draw not blood from Your  
     face.  
 You suffered Your Passion at the hands of Your enemies  
     to buy us dearly,  
 Unless You stay Your hand, my torment that I ever  
     left You.

One hopes fervently that the poor penitent was granted his request:—

    Tabair féim uam beir 'focamḡ do éreáda so buan,  
 'Sa beir léiḡeáḡ do céime ḡaḡ tráḡ san ruan ;  
 A Ri na ḡréime, nac leiḡeanḡ do cáirde uair  
 m'anam réir-ḡeal, beir féim leat, so párríear ruar.

Grant that I may see Your Wounds forever,  
 To follow Your steps forever, without rest,  
 O King of Glory, that lets not Your friend go from You,  
 Bring my soul up with You up to Paradise.

    LORCÁN p. O MUIREÁDÓAÍḡ, SAḡART.

P.S.—The translations from the Irish, mostly free ones, are by Mr. O'Kelly, Irish teacher, Bailieboro'.

## EXHIBITS AT THE TWELFTH GENERAL MEETING.

[18th November, 1925.]

1. **Cannon Ball** from Ballinacargy Castle, Co. Cavan. It is of solid stone, and is about 6 inches in diameter. There are several instances of the use of cannon in the 14th c., notably by Edward III at the battle of Crecy, and at the siege of Calais (1346). The missiles were at first made of stone. About 1450 they gave way to metal. But stone was always at hand as a projectile and was never wholly superseded. The ballister, a military siege weapon in use before the invention of gunpowder, the predecessor of cannon, also hurled stone. Early chroniclers tell of some of them that threw a stone 360 lbs in weight.

Ballinacargy Castle was near Bunnoe. It was built about the 14th century. During the war between the Royalists and Parliamentarians it was the strongest place in Cavan. On the 2nd Aug., 1651, the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, wrote from Belfast to Sir Henry Vane:—

All the forces now in Ulster consist of 4,303 foot and 521 horse. All the horse and 1,300 foot are drawn into the field by Col. Venables, with intention to take in the strong fort of Ballinacargy, in Cavan, as also to settle some garrisons there in the bowels of the enemy, as Belturbet and some others . . . \*

On the succeeding 22nd Sept., the same Commissioners wrote to the Council of State that Venables "having spent two days in the battery of that castle [Ballinacargy], hath sent for more powder and ammunition to Dublin."† Not unlikely the cannon ball exhibited was fired off in the two days' "battery."

Venables failed to take the castle, and the Commissioners, in a letter to the Parliament, dated 8 Oct., 1651, give several reasons why he had to raise the siege and retreat to Dundalk—the place attacked was considerable, he had no ammunition or provisions, "the enemy had 400 in that fort and within two miles another great body of 2,300 foot and about six or seven hundred horse."‡

\* *Ireland under the Commonwealth* ; by Dunlop, p. 22.

† *Do.*, p. 55.

‡ *Do.*, p. 63.

Clogh Oughter castle could not hold a garrison of 400 or anything near it. Of O'Reilly's castle at Ballinacargy all that remains is the site.

Shown by Mr. P. J. Brady, C.E., Broomfield House.

2. Pair of **Red Deer Horns** and Skull of **Irish Elk**.—Lent by Mr. H. Gibson, V.S., Cavan.

3. **An Oil-painting** of Robert Emmet.—This painting has a long history in connection with Co. Cavan. In later times for seventy years it has been in the possession of the Smith family, mainly at Kevit Castle, Crossdoney. As well as can be traced out it is probably the identical portrait executed by the elder Petrie for Sarah Curran after Emmet's execution, the first sight of which on its easel affected her with such passionate grief. George Petrie, then a little boy, happened to be present in the studio unknown to her and remained unnoticed. The scene haunted his memory through life. (See Stokes's *Life of Petrie*, p 389) The popular portrait of Emmet in green, cut-away uniform, white breeches, and top boots, has little or no authority.

Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L.

## Cavan and Leitrim Items in 18th Century Periodicals.—I.

Annotated by REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN.

[Read 18th March, 1926.]

### I.—An Art Collector in Co. Cavan in the early 18th century.

On Monday, the 15th of this instant June, 1752, will be sold by Auction at Geminiani's Great Room in Spring-Gardens, Dame-street [Dublin], the Library, Paintings, Prints, and Medals of Mervyn Pratt of Cabra, Esq., deceased, being the most curious and valuable Collection that have been exposed to Sale for these many years past. There are many very curious Prints carefully collected and properly adapted interspersed in the Books, and as Mr. Pratt's Judgment and Taste in Painting was so well known and approved among the curious, it is hoped this will be a sufficient Recommendation, with this Assurance to the Gentlemen that not the least Article will be admitted into this Sale but the genuine Goods of Mr. Pratt. There is a curious Camera obscura, with a complete set of Prospects, and a Reflecting Telescope. Catalogues of the Books to be had on Monday next at Dick's and Lucas's Coffee-Houses, and Robert Dunlop's, Upholsterer, in Molesworth-street, also Catalogues of the Paintings, &c., to be had at the above places on Thursday next. The sale to begin at eleven o'clock each Day and continue till all are sold.

—*Pue's Occurrences*, June 6th, 1752.

[The Sale, however, did not begin on the date advertised; it was re-advertised for the 18th; as now selling on the 20th; to begin on the 23rd, and as now selling on the 30th June.]

### II.—Court-House and Jail to be built at Carrick-on-Shannon, 1752.

Whereas there is a Session-House & Goal to be built at Carrick-on-Shannon in the County of Leitrim, any Persons inclined to Treat for the Building of the same may by Proposals in Writing or otherwise apply to William Gore or Martin Armstrong, Esqrs.,

## BREIFFNE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FIRST ANNUAL EXCURSION : KELLS, 22nd JULY, 1926.



Members at Hill of Lloyd, Kells.

BACK Row (standing), left to right : MR. H. MAGUIRE (Hon. Treasurer) ; MR. MEBHAN, U.S.A. ; MR. E. J. SMYTH ; MR. W. M. REID, M.B.F. (Hon. Secretary) ; MASTER MYLES SMITH ; MR. P. O'CONNELL, M.Sc. ; DR. F. P. SMITH, M.D., D.J., and MR. S. DEMPSEY.

FRONT Row (Seated). --MRS. MEBHAN, U.S.A. ; MRS. W. M. REID ; MISS SHEE, U.S.A. ; REV. JOSEPH B. MEBHAN, P.P., M.R.I.A. ; THE MISSES SMITH, and REV. T. SMALL, P.P.



At St. Mary's Abbey, Kells : Examining the Stone Crosses.



at the next Assizes to be held at Carrick for the said County, and afterwards at the said William Gore's House at Woodford in the said County, who are impowered to Treat for the same.

*Pue's Occurrences*, March 7th, 1752.

### III.—Ballinamore Iron Works to be Sett.

From the first Day of December next, the Iron Works of Ballinamore in the County of Leitrim, viz., the Furnace, Forge, and Slitting Mill, with all Conveniences of Mine Yards, Coal Yards, Store Houses, and Houses for Workmen; as also a House, Garden, and Farm for any Person who may take the Works to dwell in; and to be sold a large quantity of Sow Iron, Mine and Coals and other Materials fit for Iron Works. Proposals to be received by William Gore, Esq., at Woodford, or at his house in Mary's-street, and by Mr. Lewis Meares in Caple-street, Dublin. Dated this 25th Day of August, 1747.

*Dublin Courant*, Aug. 29—Sept. 1, 1747.

[NOTE.—Captain William Slack (or Slacke) came over from England "to live in Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim" about the year 1693. There is evidence that he was very wealthy. He purchased the Bellsarro estate in the Barony of Mohill, and the property remained for some time in the possession of the Slackes. He erected an iron foundry at Ballinamore and other iron works at Drumod. When the owner of Bellsarro on acquiring Kiltubride went there to reside he brought with him a piece of cast iron about 23 inches by 18. This slab built into a wall remains at Kiltubride to the present day. It is the sole product of the Ballinamore Iron Works now known to exist. On it is engraved the date 1699. Kiltubride was later called Annadale, and in more recent years Lauderdale. There are some indications that it was once a House for Religious, but nothing is said about it by either Alemand or Archdall. It lies quite close to Fenagh Abbey, and Fenagh "was celebrated, in former ages for its divinity school, and was the general resort of students from every part of Europe." (Archdall.)

In 1901 or 1902 Miss Helen A. Crofton printed for private circulation her *Records of the Slacke Family in Ireland*. In old Chancery Bills she discovered that "in Feb., 1695, Wm. Slacke, John Skerret, and Joseph Hall, entered into an agreement concerning the erection of certain Iron Works in Leitrim," that this was renewed from time to time; and that the works mentioned were at Drumod and Ballinamore (p. 69). She considers that the works were finally relinquished "in 1713 or a little later" (do.). The advertisement above quoted gives them a longer life. It indicates that most probably they continued on to close on Sep. 1747. If then the incised figures 1699 on the metal slab at Lauderdale give the date of their actual erection, the Ballinamore Iron Works lasted almost fifty years.

No evidence has been reached of the existence of an iron industry at Ballinamore before the time of the Slackes. In his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, written in 1672, Sir W. Petty states: "There are not in Ireland ten Iron Furnaces, but above 20 Forges and Bloomeries, . . ."\* But he locates none of them. Gerard Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, published in 1652, contains a list of fourteen iron mines. Among them are enumerated one "In the County of Roscomen, by the side of Lough Allen"; another "In the County of Leitrim, on the East side of the same Lough"; and another,

\* Petty's *Political Survey of Ireland*, 2nd ed., 1719, p. 100.

also in Breifny, " In the County of Cavan, in a place called Douballie, in a drie mountain " ; which last, we know, was worked by Coote in and before 1641. But Ballinamore is not in Boate's list.

In pre-Norman times iron, of course, was plentifully manufactured by the native Irish. *The Book of Rights* frequently records shields, swords, and coats of mail, as tributes due by a subordinate chief to his overlord. Even raw iron is mentioned as a due. The yearly " high tribute of Corca without severity," for instance, consisted of " seven score cows, no light award, seven times fifty masses of iron, seven times fifty hoys of great battle . . . . . They shall give to the king of Connacht." (p. 105.)

*Leabhar na g-Ceart* or *The Book of Rights* is one of the oldest of old books. In the 10th c. it was ancient. It is not improbable, according to O'Donovan, that portions of it were compiled and perhaps put into metre by St. Benean, St. Patrick's disciple. Towards the beginning of the 10th c. it was altered and enlarged and brought up to date by Cormac Mac Cuileannain, the king-bishop of Cashel, who was slain in the year 907 or 908. (Introduction, p. VIII.) It was published with translation and annotations by O'Donovan in 1847.

#### IV.—Horse-Stealing in Co. Cavan.

Thursday last [21 April, 1748] ended the Assizes held at Naas for the County of Kildare, when Thomas Mason was found guilty of Horse-Stealing, and is to be executed next Thursday.—This Mason has been a notorious offender, as appeared by several examinations against him for Horse-Stealing out of the County of Cavan.  
—*Dublin Courant*, 23 April, 1748.

An earlier issue of the same newspaper, 19 March, contained the following advertisement :—

Whereas Thomas Mason of Clonsass in the King's County has been apprehended for Horse-Stealing, and Information given against him of several Horses stole from the County of Clare : This is to advertise the Public that there is in the Neighbourhood of the said Mason, which he sold and swopt, and is supposed to be stolen by the said Mason and his Confederates, several Horses and Mares, particularly one Bay Mare with a mealy Mouth, one little Black Horse, one Bay Filly rising five year old, one young Black Horse with a Star and one White Foot, one Sorrel Mare with a Star and Snip, and several others. Whoever has lost any of the said Horses are desired to apply to Mr. Edward Medlicott of Moortown near Kildare.

#### V.—An Escape at Carrigallen.

Whereas Patrick ——, about five Foot ten Inches high, 28 years old or thereabouts, well built, fair haired, red thin grown beard, a cut on his cheek, wears a Wigg, is or has been lately sick of an Ague, on the 12th Instant made his Escape from the Constable of the Parish of Carrigallen in the County of Leitrim, and sometime past carried on the Jockey Trade between the County of Leitrim and about Newcastle in the County of Dublin, and of late advertised to have left a Horse in the Hands of Edward

Byrne of Newcastle aforesaid by the Name of ——— ; whoever secures the said ——— otherwise ——— and delivers him into any of his Majesty's Goals in this Kingdom shall be paid ten Pounds by Humphry Galbraith of Carrigallen in the County of Leitrim aforesaid, Esq., or by Mr. George Nicolls, Attorney, at his House in Stafford-street, Dublin.

*Dublin Courant*, 20-23 June, 1747.

Whereas a Man who called himself ——— some time about the latter end of March last came to the House of Edmond Byrne of Newcastle in the County of Dublin, Innkeeper, and went in score with said Byrne ; and then left a small dark Bay Horse, short dockt, about five years old, and said in a few Days he would return for his Horse and pay him which he neglected, therefore said Byrne apprehends he may be a stolen Horse. If anyone can prove a property in said Horse and pay the Expences, they may have the Horse by applying to said Byrne.

May the 16th 1747.

*Dublin Courant*, 16-19 May, 1747.

#### VI.—Kildrumshardin Tithes.

To be let for such Term as shall be agreed upon to commence from the first of November last, the Part of the Tythes of the Rectory of Kildrumshardin in the County of Cavan which belong to the Right Hon. Lord Athenry and Andrew Nugent, Esq., being four-ninths of the Tythe great and small of said Rectory, payable by Composition or otherwise, except of the two Poles of Kill. Proposals to be received, etc.

*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, Sept. 10th, 1757.

#### VII.—Races at Belturbet, 1758 : 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th May.

On Whitsun Monday will be run for on the Course of Belturbet a Match between 3 Horses for 20*l.*—On Tuesday, 20*l.* to be run for by Irish-bred Horses, &c., 4 Years old carrying 8 stone ; 5 Years old 8 Stone 10 Pounds ; 6 Years old, 9 Stone 6 Pounds ; aged Horses, &c., 10 Stone 8 Pounds, 14 Pounds to the Stone.—On Wednesday, 20*l.* to be run for by Irish-bred Horses, &c., carrying 12 Stone. All Horses to be entered six Days before the respective Days of running with Mr. James Cochran, Clerk of the Course, and to pay one Guinea Entrances and no Horse to start for more than one Prize ; and no less then 3 Horses, &c., to start ; the winning Horse to pay half a Guinea for Scales and Straw.—On Thursday will be run for the 3 Days Collection of Sweepstakes. All Riders to ride fair without crossing or jostling ; and all Disputes to be left to the Judges of the Course.—N.B. Hunting, and Balls for the Ladies.

*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, April 15, 1758.

## VIII.—Auction at Quilca—No. 1.

To be sold by public Cant at Quilca in the County of Cavan on Friday the 5th Day of May next [1758] all the Household Furniture belonging to Thomas Sheridan, Esq., consisting of fine Feather Beds and Bedding, Four-post, Settee and Field Beds with Haratteen and Linen Curtains, and Window Curtains of the same, Press and Settle Beds, Mohogany and Oak Card and Tea Tables, Chests of Drawers, Desks, Chairs, Sconces and other Glasses, some Coins, Flint Ware and Glasses, one fine Landscape in a handsome Frame, some Kitchen Furniture, Utensils for the Dairy and Brewing, a large Binn for Oats, and Chests, a good Bombcart, a large Crane and Weights, Carrs and Carts, Ploughs, Harrows, and Drafts, with other Implements of Husbandry too tedious to mention. As also Milch Cows, Heifers in Calf, some three year old Bullocks, and some high-bred Young Mares got by Mogul, Scar and Bashaw. The Sale to begin at 11 o'clock and continue till all are sold. Dated the 24th day of April, 1758. The House of Quilca with the Demesne and any Number of Acres not exceeding 170 will be let from the 1st of October next for any Term of Years. Proposals will be received by Mr. Knowles at his Office at the Theatre. Letters post-paid.

*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, April 25th, 1758.

[NOTE.—Quilca (or Cuilcagh) is in the parish of Mullagh. It is a small estate three miles from the town of Virginia, in the south east of Co. Cavan. In the north west of the same county, its northern slope actually in Fermanagh, there is a mountain which bears the same name. It is the highest mountain in Cavan, 2,188 feet above the sea level. For a stranger there is some danger of contounding them, or at least of assuming that Quilca House is near Quilca mountain. It is not so. Despite identity of name they are about forty miles apart, and have no connection whatever with one another.

Sheridan is an old Cavan name. Sheridans 1,000 years ago were Erenachs of Granard (Terhan) and may have moved from Longford to Cavan. For those of the name we are here concerned with, Moybolge was the family burying ground for many generations. (See *Journal*, 1924, p. 207.) This implies that their home when living was scarcely further away from it than eight or ten miles. Quilca, about five miles from Moybolge, is said to have belonged to the Sheridans before the 18th century. But they lost it. Dr. Thomas Sheridan (1687—1738) got back the ancestral property. "By a marriage with Elizabeth, heiress of Charles McFadden," states the *Encyclo. Brit.*, last ed., "he restored to the Sheridan family Quilcagh House which they had forfeited by the Jacobite principles." The marriage took place before 1710. The date of the marriage gives the date of the Rev. Thomas's advent to Quilca. Charles McFadden, his father-in-law, was living in Quilca in 1708; in that year he became surety in £50 each for both Rev. John Gargan of Moybolge and Rev. Th. Clery of Killan.\* This shows that he was a man of substance as well as one of generous principles; and that like the Burrowes, Fosters, Humphrys, Hamiltons, and Johnsons, and indeed like most of the educated Cavan men of the day, he had small sympathy with the rigours of the Penal Code. He lived at least till 1715, as can be inferred from the same

\* *Burke's Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 286.

reference. In that year his generosity was on the verge of getting him into serious trouble.

Dr. Sheridan's son, Thomas, is often, for distinction sake, called Thomas the Actor (1719—1788). It was he that held the auction. On his marriage in 1747 to Frances Chamberlaine Thomas launched out in the true family fashion; he purchased the family estate in Quilca from his elder brother, Richard, divided his time between it and Dublin, and entertained lavishly. In Quilca his talented wife had her happiest hours. Her *Life*, written by her grand-daughter, Mrs. Le Fanu, assures us of this. The famous actress, Peg Woffington, also spent some time at Quilca. So did a host of other celebrities. The Sheridans were never over-anxious to pay their debts, sometimes could not. But that was no bar to their hospitality, which was always on a princely scale.

At the time of the auction Thomas Sheridan's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. A mob had wrecked his theatre in Dublin and he was penniless. He was offered a pension of £300 a year by the Duke of Dorset; but, notwithstanding his straits, he declined it, alleging that such a favour from the Government would confirm all the unjust reports to his disadvantage. The auction was a necessity. Immediately after it he betook himself to England and lectured on elocution with great success in Oxford and Cambridge.

According to Gates\* the Thomas just mentioned was born in Quilca. Other authorities say in Dublin, in the Old Mint, 27 Capel St. It is doubtful if the point can ever be finally settled. With Quilca, at all events, his name is inseparably connected. Carricknacraw, a mound or moat beside it on which he used to train his company and rehearse his plays for the Dublin stage, and in front of the house the course, which bears some slight resemblance to an amphitheatre, where he attempted a revival of the Roman chariot race, are still pointed out. He died in Margate, 14th Aug., 1788. His sister Elizabeth, his senior by nine years, was a firm believer in a family banshee. On the eve of his death she declared that it was heard wailing under the windows of Quilca.

The most brilliant of the Sheridans was Richard Brinsley (1751—1816), Thomas the Actor's son. The exact date of his birth has not been preserved. According to Fitzgerald (*Lives of the Sheridans*, London, Bentley & Son, 1886, Vol. I, p. 27) "It has been often repeated that Richard was born at Quilca, in Cavan." A strong argument against this is that the register of St. Mary's parish, Dublin, contains a record of his baptism on Nov. 4th, 1751. This is strong, but it is not quite decretorial, especially as the careless unconventional Sheridans are concerned. The Dublin house that claims his birth is in Dorset Street. It is just beside the Dominican Priory and opposite the Fire Station. It is now a narrow, tall, red brick tenement house. A stone slab placed over the door by the Dublin Corporation bears the following inscription:—

IN THIS HOUSE WAS BORN

1751

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Whether born in Quilca or not, Richard Brinsley spent there much of his childhood. Just before the auction, for instance, he and his younger sister Alicia—subsequently Mrs. Le Fanu—were there. He was at the time seven years of age. Then, presumably after the furniture was sold and taken away, they were brought back to the Town House in Dorset Street, and began to attend Sam Whyte's celebrated school in Grafton Street.

Quilca would be famous if only for Switt's caricature of it. "The Blunders

\* *Dict. of Gen. Biography*, Longmans & Co., 1875.

**GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN,**  
*OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.*

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(1830-1888.)

BORN AT BEAGH, IN KILLINKERE PARISH.

Deficiencies, Distresses, and Mistortunes of Quilca," is the magniloquent title of the Brobdingnagian work that he felt needed to do the subject justice, and it was "Proposed to contain one-and-twenty volumes in quarto." The mock-heroic prose Epic was begun in Quilca on April 20, 1724, and was "To be continued weekly, it due encouragement be given." It collapsed with the next week's instalment. Among the scores of Deficiencies he records:—

The Dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

But one chair in the house fit for sitting on, and that in a very ill state of health.

Not one utensil for a fire except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the house, and is likewise employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a flesh tork.

It is manifest that the Epic is not to be taken too seriously. In 1725 Switt again describes Quilca, this time in verse:—

Let me thy properties explain:  
 A rotten cabin dropping rain,  
 Chimneys with scorn rejecting smoke;  
 Stools, tables, chairs, and bedsteads broke.  
 Here elements have lost their uses,  
 Air ripens not, nor earth produces.  
 In vain we make poor Sheelah toil,  
 Fire will not roast, nor water boil,  
 Etc., etc.

During most of those years, 1724 & 5, and on till the spring of 1726 the Dean, as well as Stella and her attendant, Mrs. Dingley, was residing in Quilca, the guest of Dr. Sheridan. There he was hard at work finishing and preparing for the press *Gulliver's Travels*. On a previous visit to Quilca the radical idea of the Brobdingnagians and Lilliputians is said to have occurred to him on meeting a local gentleman of giant frame the name of Doughty. In the neighbourhood are still told wonderful stories about exploits of this genial giant. Quilca, "far from the madding crowd," doubtless recommended itself to the Dean at this period for the leisure it afforded him. When the last touches had been given his *magnum opus* he set out from Quilca straight for London with the MS. This was in the first months of 1726. By August of the same year he was back again in Dublin. He had left behind him the MS., mysteriously deposited in the hands of Motto, the London bookseller. In Oct. (*Ency. Brit.*) of the same year it appeared. It is hardly an exaggeration to say there is no purely literary work that has had more readers. We claim the honour for Quilca that this world classic may have been begun but was certainly there completed.

The house whose furniture was put up for auction in 1758, and which manifestly was a well-furnished mansion is not the one in which *Gulliver's Travels* was finished. The latter was a long thatched house of one storey. In 1724 a new house was in course of erection. Switt, since he did not dwell in it, has nothing worse to say of it than that "it was going to ruin before it is finished," and he stops at that. Both houses have disappeared. All that remains intact of them is the lower courses of a sidewall and perhaps part of a kitchen. The present house is modern. It and the demesne of 170 acres are now owned by Mr. P. E. O'Farrelly, a brother of one of our Life Members, Miss A. W. O'Farrelly, M.A. In Raffony House, beside Quilca, there is preserved a painted panel which once lined the hall of the old house. It is a landscape painted on wood. It is the sole relic of it that is now known about. Not improbably, it changed hands at the Quilca auction more than 150 years ago.

Dr. Thomas Sheridan was son of Patrick, of Kilmore and Togher. He was no kinsman of General Philip Henry Sheridan of American fame, who was

also born in Cavan. But he was most probably a near relative of the two brothers, William Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and Patrick Sheridan, bishop of Cloyne. The latter is said to have borne his expenses in T.C.D. He was the best classical teacher in Ireland; indeed the best instructor of youth in the three kingdoms. About the year 1730 he exchanged a living in the south of Ireland for the Headmastership of the Royal School, Cavan. The latter was then worth £80 a year. Here he could have lived well, but he threw it up. "The air about Cavan," complains Switt, "was too moist and unwholesome" (a reason which is available for the condemnation of any locality in Ireland and which has the great merit of being irrefutable), "and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood" (a subtle consideration equally untestable and of equally general application). The genuine cause seems to have been that Dublin appealed to him and he wanted to get back to its opportunities for display. Hence it creates no surprise that immediately after giving up Cavan School he declined an offer of the Royal School, Armagh, which his unwearied friend Switt had obtained for him. He died at Rathfarnham 10th Oct., 1738, almost in destitution.

Dr. Thomas may be taken as the founder of this branch of the Cavan Sheridans. His descendants consorted with princes and prime ministers, and intermarried with Baronets, Dukes and Earls. Strenuous efforts have been exerted to make out his forbears of chieftain rank, even to class them with the O'Reillys and O'Rourke. No convincing proof of this is forthcoming. The evidence reached seems rather to show they can merely claim the sufficiently high honour of belonging to the rank and file of the Cavan peasantry. The Quilca Sheridans were all unselfish, hospitable to a fault, intellectually and socially brilliant, but generally erratic.

### IX.—Manor Hamilton.

Pursuant to an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament in this Kingdom [of Ireland] whereby it is enacted that the Manor, Town and Lands of Manor-Hamilton; the Towns, Villages, Hamletts, and Lands of Clunine otherwise Clonine; Laughty-verdane, Lisnabreck, Corroghfore otherwise Corrogfore, Skreeny, Tannyfokill, Meenlaughtmore, Foghry, Brecktenovagh, Brecknymore, Menickingoan, Breekny, otherwise Breekney, Killeenagh, Coole Ruske otherwise Cool Rusk, Drumskibele, Cartrontemple otherwise Cartrantemple, lower Donaghmore otherwise lower Donnoghmore, higher Donnaghmore, Tullyskerny, Ramoone, Classigarne, Fannymanus otherwise Tannimanus, Gortnaleek otherwise Knoxhill, Ross, Carrick, Leitrim, Cornystack, Drumaghan and Duffrin, situate in the County of Leitrim, Part of the Estate of Sir Ralph Gore St. George, Bart., should be sold by Henry Sandford, Frederick Gore, and James Daly, Esqrs., Trustees in the said Act named, in order to purchase other Lands. Notice is hereby given that the said Trustees will receive Proposals for the Purchase of said Lands either in the whole or in Parcels. The Rent-Roll of the said Lands may be viewed in the Hands of the said Frederick Gore at his House in Sackville-street [Dublin], or with Mr. James Glascock on Usher's-island at any time before the Sale.

*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, June 3rd, 1758.



forth to burn and plunder the neighbouring districts. On one of these predatory incursions, in August, 1642, the district of Virginia was visited, and the Castle of Ballaghanea burned.\*

With the execution of Charles I. there set in an immediate reaction in Ireland. All parties flocked to the Royalist standard, and, with the exception of Drogheda, Derry and Dublin, the country was united against the Parliamentary forces.

Cromwell landed in Ireland in 1649, and before his departure in 1650 the Irish forces were relentlessly crushed, and schemes were formulated for a system of confiscation on a scale hitherto unattempted. In August, 1652, the Parliament in London passed the *Act for the Settling of Ireland*. The principal clauses of this Act were :—

- I. All persons who, at any time before 10th Nov., 1642, had contrived, advised, councilled, or promoted the rebellion, or who, before that date, aided the rebellion by supplying men, horses, money, etc., were excepted from pardon for life and estate.
- II. The same penalty was pronounced against all priests who took part in, or aided, the rebellion.
- III. One hundred and five persons were specially marked out for the death penalty.

This extraordinary clause condemned to death the Protestant Marquis of Ormond, whose name is placed first on the list. Other Protestant noblemen mentioned were the Earl of Roscommon, Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Baron Inchiquin. Leading Ulster Presbyterians, including Sir George Munroe, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir Robert Steward were also specified. Nearly all the principal Catholic landowners were mentioned, including the Earl of Castlehaven and the Earl of Clanrickard. But the death sentences were never carried out ; whether it was ever intended to carry them out we have no means of knowing. At any rate, some escaped to the Continent and the remainder took advantage of various clauses at the end of the Act which gave an opportunity of evading the course of the law.

- IV. All who, since Oct. 1st, 1641, either as principals or accessories, had committed murder were condemned to death and forfeiture.

Under this clause murder was defined as the killing of any person not publicly entertained and maintained in arms by the English ; furthermore, as murderers were to be held all who had killed any Englishman so entertained and maintained in arms if the killer had himself not been an officer or soldier in the pay of the Irish against the English. Over 200 persons were put to death, but it has been estimated that about one hundred thousand were condemned. Those who suffered belonged mostly to the wealthy classes.

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\* Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 301.

## Pre-Historic Rock-markings at Bally- dorrhagh, Munterconnacht, Co. Cavan.

In the course of his elaborate geological investigations, in the summer of 1864, George V. Du Noyer, of the Geological Survey of Ireland, made the very interesting discovery in the tld. of Ballydorrhagh of an elaborate system of rock-markings—*petroglyphs*—on a natural rock surface, quite unique in the East of Ireland. They are to be found on the glacialised surface of an inclined bed of lower Silurian grit near the summit of the hill of, ΔCΑΘ ΔΝ τSεαSαΙΙ, or Ryefield, in the tld. of Ballydorrhagh at the southern extremity of Munterconnacht parish, and close to the Meath border.\*

A lithograph copied from his original sketch of these markings, and drawn to a scale of half an inch to the foot, is given by Du Noyer and gives an excellent configuration of them. This lithograph, to the same scale, is reproduced in the accompanying illustration.

The markings [he writes] are all produced by simple scraping with a saw-like motion ; and some of them, if not all, must have been formed by a metal implement. The figures most commonly represented are detached straight-armed crosses ; but not unfrequently these are so grouped or clustered together as to form a network of lines crossing in every direction ; in two instances these crosses are inclosed in four lines, or rather an oblong rectangular figure is crossed from angle to angle ; sometimes a single line is crossed by two smaller lines near each other, and again one arm of the cross is terminated by a short blunt line, or an arrow-headed depression ; all these markings, from the mode of their construction, are deeper at the central portion of the lines than at the extremities, which fine off.

Some of the crosses had a fresh look, as if but recently scraped ; but the majority of them were either partially or totally concealed by a thick coating of lichen, the growth of many centuries, and they had to be carefully cleaned before their forms could be determined.

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\*Vide *Remarks on a Carved Rock at Ryefield, County of Cavan.* By Geo. V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A. *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, Vol. V., p. 379 *et seq.*, 1865.

In addition to these scrapings there are some small rectangular, as well as arrow-headed, notches produced by chiselling, and quite sharp in their outlines and depressed angles.



(Scale :  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch = 1 foot.)

**BRONZE AGE ROCK MARKINGS AT BALLYDORRAGH.**  
*MUNTERCONNACHT PARISH.*

The only local information I could gain [continues Du Noyer] regarding these singular sculpturings was the belief that they were the work of the fairies, or "good people," on "state

nights" such as St. John's Eve; and when I asked if the children of the place frequented this stone as a playground, and scored these crosses for their amusement, my suggestion was gravely refuted, though it was admitted that the sloping surface of the rock was occasionally used as a stone slide (a "Montaigne Russe") by the young people, the marks of which I could distinctly trace. The farmer on whose ground this rock crops up assured me that he had frequently bared the entire of its surface, and that the group of lines given in the lithograph are all that are on it.

The surface area of the rock over which these surface markings occur measures about eleven feet by nine feet; the total surface area is, however, much greater. These markings are still quite distinct, but had again become covered with lichen since Du Noyer made his examination of them in 1864. It should be mentioned that Du Noyer was assisted in the work by the late E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A. of Trim—Inspector of National Schools—an indefatigable student of Archæology.

The rock-surface is not less interesting for its Bronze Age markings than for its glacial striations. The rock dips at an angle of 35 degrees to the North; the glacial striae on it bearing 40 degrees West of North, and East of South; and consequently up the inclined plane. This enables us to determine the direction of the ice-drift in this district during the glacial epoch. When the surface was cleared and examined by the present writer, in the summer of 1925, the glacial striae could be very distinctly observed. Without entering here into the realms of geological theories and speculations it may be of interest to the non-scientific reader to know that in the past geological ages—in the period known as the Post-Pliocene—the climate of Ireland was intensely cold, and glaciers, *i.e.*, ice rivers, and ice-sheets, spread over the greater part of Britain and Ireland. This period in geological time is known as the *Glacial Epoch* or *Great Ice Age*.\* The immense snow fields became gradually melted into ice, owing principally to the pressure of the overlying snow, and from the edges of the snow-masses glaciers were projected into the valleys. In cold regions glaciers fulfil the same functions as rivers in warmer regions. Those glaciers were not stationary, but moved, although at a very slow rate across the country, and usually in

\*The ice-sheet was by no means permanent; there were many advances and recessions—each centuries in duration—with mild intervals between them. The last phase—before the land finally emerged from its frigid ice-cap—has been calculated to have passed over this country at least ten thousand years ago; but the evidence cannot be discussed here. Those who wish to pursue the study of the remarkable climatic changes which have taken place during the Tertiary Epoch should refer to a geological treatise *e.g.*, Sir A. Geikie's *Textbook of Geology*, or Prof. James Geikie's *The Great Ice Age*. In the field of Irish geology it is scarcely necessary to refer to the researches of the late Prof. Grenville A. J. Cole, M.R.I.A. Readers who have heard his delightfully lucid lectures will require no introduction to his *Open-air Geology, Ireland the Land and the Landscape*, and *The Changeful Earth*.

the direction of its general slope. Visitors to Alpine countries, who enjoy the thrills of crossing the great Swiss glaciers, will observe similar conditions to those which existed in Ireland in past ages.

The snow fell heavily, and at a very remote period in geological time—calculated to be at least 30,000 B.C.—the ice-sheet covered the land to a height of over 1,000 feet. The Great Central Snow Field, over which the ice accumulated to great depths, extended from Loch Erne to Loch Neagh, and covered West Cavan, Leitrim and Fermanagh. Over this region the ice and snow collected to a depth of several thousand feet, and from this immense Snow Field the glaciers moved over the country, radiating in every direction, finally reaching the sea and breaking off as huge icebergs. In southern Ireland the general direction of ice flow from the Great Central Snow Field was to the south or south-east; in Cavan and Meath it was to the south-east, as we would infer from geological deductions, and which is confirmed by observation of the striations.\*

As the glacier moves on it collects on its upper surface a mass of *detritus*—stone and gravel—which fall through fissures in the glacier, reach the bottom, are frozen into the ice, and are ground with all the weight of the ice against the rock-bed of the glacier. In this manner the glacier scratches, and polishes, the rocks over which it moves. These scores or grooves are generally called *striations*, and their direction is the same as that in which the ice-sheet has moved. The transported stones are also polished and striated, their edges and rough surfaces being ground into fine sand or mud. Further evidence of the action of ice may be deduced from the great number of isolated stone boulders, many of them of great size, which are to be found scattered all over the country.

When the *detritus* are ground under the ice great masses of boulder-clay are formed, and are found to contain striated stones. In many parts of Cavan curious egg shaped mounds of boulder-clay, and containing clay and striated stones, are to be seen; to these mounds geologists have given the title *Drumlins*. Some of these Drumlins are around Loch Ramor. The direction of the ice-flow which formed them is parallel to the major axis of the Drumlin. The present writer has observed that the situations of the East Breiffne Drumlins, at least, are in conformity with this general law, and agree with the direction of the ice-motion as indicated by the striations on the Ballydorrhagh rock. Loch Ramor is very probably of glacial origin; its configuration and position indicate a glaciated valley. When the glaciers melted an immense volume of water resulted, and this collected in the hollows in the boulder-clay. The mounds of clay heaped up during the transport of drift soils by the glaciers retained the post-glacial waters and formed the lakes of the Central Plain.

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\* Cf. *The Historical Geography of Early Ireland*, by Walter Fitzgerald, M.A., of the University of Manchester (George Philip & Son, 1925). W. B. Wright, *Quaternary Ice Age*.

The geological record revealed by the striations of the Ballydorrhagh rock-surface is therefore a very interesting one. Taking a glance down the corridors of time, we can visualise a period when this country was held in the grip of an Ice Age, with great masses of ice moving over the landscape and smoothing the surfaces of the rocks. The advent of man succeeded the passing of the ice, and the people of the Bronze Age carved their mysterious hieroglyphics on the ice-prepared rock surfaces. This crossing of straight lines is the very earliest form of decoration practised by the people of the Bronze Age. It is the form most easily produced on account of its obvious simplicity, and is to be found very generally among the decorations of our Pagan megalithic chambers. The simple scraped cross inclosed in a rectangular figure, which is displayed on the Ballydorrhagh stone, is also found among the ornate carvings in the sepulchral chambers of the cairns of *SLIAB NA CAILLIGE* which have been sketched with such meticulous care by the late E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A.

In recent years archæologists have succeeded, at least approximately, in solving the intricate problem of Bronze Age chronology, and in fixing the approximate period of these remarkable petroglyphs. The foremost modern authority—Montelius of Stockholm in his memoir published in 1908—places the commencement of Britain's Bronze Age at from 2,500 to 2000 B.C\*. The duration of Ireland's Bronze Age, as deduced by the late George Coffey and now generally accepted, may be fixed at from about 2000 to 350 B.C.† The characteristics of the Ballydorrhagh petroglyphs would indicate that they belong to an earlier, rather than a later, period of the Bronze Age.

Writing was unknown in Ireland during the Bronze Age, hence it must be clearly understood that these petroglyphs were either decorative or symbolical. Similar devices have been discovered in England, Scotland, Spain, Scandinavia and many other parts of Western Europe. The handled cross—*crux ansata*—is, in fact, an Egyptian symbol. How far these devices and designs were religious, totemic, or merely decorative, is a mystery—a secret the key to which has been lost. But, as Prof. Macalister remarks, it is possible that devices which to us seem merely decorative were at one time capable of a more recondite explanation. And, as in the case of the Ballydorrhagh petroglyphs, where the decorations consist of repetitions of a limited number of signs—based on some definite geometrical system—dispersed at random over the surface of the rock, the inference which is very obvious is this: that these petroglyphic patterns represent some well-defined system of symbolism, the interpretation of which is numbered among the most select secrets of the Bronze Age.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

\* "On British Bronze Age Chronology," *Archæologia*, Vol. LXI., p. 97.

† *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, Dublin, 1913, p. 5; Prof. L'Abbe Breuil in *Proc R.I.A.*, Aug., 1921; Macalister *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, Dublin, 1921.

## EXHIBITS AT THE THIRTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[18th March, 1926.]

**1. Inkstand of 1637.**—The object is of light stone. It is brick-shaped, about 3 ins. long, 2 wide, and 2 deep. Two round wells are hollowed out for the ink, or possibly for holding two small ink bottles. On the ledge in front of them is a crease or shallow trough for holding pens. The date 1637 is graven on one end, and the letters R. S., most likely the initials of the owner's name (possibly Robert Southwell) on the other. It is a rare article.

Ink bottles are presumably as old as ink itself. In Herculaneum one was discovered\* and Herculaneum had been overwhelmed by the lava in A.D. 79. The Roman examples extant are round or hexagonal pots with lids. They are usually made of lead or horn. Generally, too, as in the Castle Hamilton instance, they are double, as if intended for both red and black ink. The Byzantine emperors used an ink-stand studded with gems and a special officer, known as the *caniclinus* was in charge of it.† In the Middle Ages when a Secretary of State was appointed he was initiated into his office by a pen and ink-stand being delivered into his hands by a bishop, with the formula: "Receive the power of preparing public documents according to the laws and good manners."‡ Scribes went about carrying their writing materials suspended from their girdles. A passage in Shakespeare alludes to this custom. Jack Cade's summary sentence on the Clerk of Chatham is: "Away with him, I say! hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck."§

Before the Deluge the children of Seth, the virtuous son of Cain, erected, according to Josephus, two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and on these they inscribed their discoveries relating to the heavenly bodies for the benefit of their posterity. "Now this," Josephus says, *i.e.*, the pillar of stone, "remains

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\* Fosbroke, *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 413.

† Ducange: *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Lantinitatis*, Tom. 2, p. 87.

‡ Do., p. 19.

§ Second Part of King Henry VI, Act 4, scene II.

in the land of Siriad to this day." \* Josephus died A.D. 95. Accepting his testimony, these inscriptions were the most ancient pieces of writing in the world. The earliest distinct reference to ink is to be found in *Jeremias* XXXVI-18 †; but 800 years before the prophet's time, *i.e.*, about 1451 B.C., Moses is taken to make allusion to it (*Numb.* V-23), and it was then "well known and common." ‡ Once, indeed, that the custom of writing on papyrus, linen, the skins of animals, etc., was introduced some such substance could not be done without.

The ink on Egyptian papyrus rolls is the oldest of which we have any extant example. The earliest literary papyrus is known as the Presse papyrus. It is preserved in Paris. It is computed to be of the age of upwards of 2,500 B.C.; § in other words, if the computation be correct, it was written more than 4,400 years ago. Egyptian ink in the earliest papyrus rolls is of a deep glossy blackness. Roman ink was also of intense blackness. It was made, according to Pliny, of soot with burnt pitch or resin. Pine wood soot was considered the best, and furnaces were expressly constructed which did not allow the smoke to escape. Pliny also gives another method for the manufacture of ink. || Vinegar was added as a mordant to make it hold, and wormwood to preserve the MS. from mice. A dark fluid obtained from cuttle fish was also in high esteem.

Theophilus, a monk of the 11th c., makes known a very elaborate prescription for ink making. ¶ From the 14th c. less care was taken in the manufacture and it began to deteriorate. As a general rule, the older the ink the better.

About 50 years ago in these counties oak nuts were used for making ink. Economic schoolmasters held the prescription and turned out a serviceable article. Like dyeing from lichens, it is now a lost art.

Red ink, the commonest of coloured inks, is also very ancient. In the Egyptian papyrus rolls it is often employed for initial letters. Ovid mentions vermilion—*minium*—as used for the titles of books,<sup>o</sup> and early printing often followed the practice. Natural red ink or blood is not unknown. Draco's laws are said to have been written in blood, but most likely the expression is metaphorical, meant to bring out their extreme severity. Our folk-lore tales occasionally contain a thrilling incident of a compact with Satan *a la Faust*. The bargain is always signed in the blood of the contracting party. Genuine historical instances are not wanting. In 1649, for instance, Cardinal de Ritz promised the Duchess de Bouillon to assist her husband in his quarrels with the French Parliament. The promise he had to sign in his blood.\*\*

\* *The Works of Josephus*, translated by Whiston-Halifax, 1862, p. 27.

† Cf. Dixon: *Introduction to the S. Scriptures*, 2nd ed., p. 39.

‡ Jahn: *Biblical Antiquities* by Upham—London, Ward & Co., p. 45.

§ *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., sub. "Papyrus."

|| *Historia Naturalis*, lib. 27, c. 7, and lib. 35, c. 6.

¶ *De Diversis Artibus*—London, 1847, p. 50.

<sup>o</sup> Smith: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 170.

\*\* Michelet: *Origines du Droit Francais*—Paris, 1839, p. 201.



Papyrus as a writing material never found its way to England or Ireland. All our MSS. older than the 14th c. are either of parchment (sheep skin) or of vellum (calf skin and a much finer material) more commonly of the latter. Not until the second half of the 14th c. was the use of paper well established throughout western Europe. Though used in England in the 14th it cannot be shown that it was manufactured in that kingdom before the 16th c. As to Ireland, according to Dr. Reeves, the oldest record on paper now existing in this country is perhaps a bond between Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, and the Abbot of Lonley. A copy is inserted in the Register of Archbishop Sweteman, Fitzralph's successor as Primate. The bond is dated 30th March, 1356.\* This does not necessarily imply that paper was then used for the first time in Ireland. But it cannot have been long in use.

Blotting paper is mentioned as early as 1465. Fine sand served the same purpose up to that, and it is remarkable that it was not displaced by the new invention until well on in the 19th c.† In one of the countless books on Napoleon I it is related that when he was at Toulon in 1796 he called one day for a volunteer to come forward and write a dispatch to his dictation. A soldier stepped out of the ranks. Just as the latter had penned the last word a cannon ball came from the English and ploughed up the ground sprinkling earth over the paper. "Now," said the writer, "I shall have no need for the sand." His coolness attracted Napoleon's attention and made the soldier's fortune.‡ The volunteer was Junot, afterwards created the Duke of Abrantes. In many countries sand is still employed as an ink absorbent. Leitrim and Cavan men of a generation or two ago used it, and some of them would have nothing else.

Shown by Major Hamilton, Castle Hamilton.

**2. A Medal.**—Found, December, 1925, in Garrymore beside Ballinagh. It is something larger than a five-shilling piece. It was submitted by the Hon. Secretary to the Curator of the National Museum, who kindly sent back the following explanation:—

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND,  
KILDARE ST.,  
DUBLIN,  
18th January, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

The medal sent up for identification, and now returned, is a school prize medal of the Martinere Schools founded by one Major-General Claude Martin of Calcutta, Lucknow, and other towns in India towards the end of the 18th century.

\* *Eccl. Antiquities of Down*, etc., p. 362.

† *Ency. Brit.*, sub. "Paper."

‡ *Las Cases: Journal de la Vie Privée . . . . Napoleon*—Londres, 1823. Tome I, p. 166.

The bust on the obverse is a portrait of Martin. Motto: "Labore et constantia." On the reverse is an inscription in Persian characters and a date (circa 1796).

Yours faithfully,

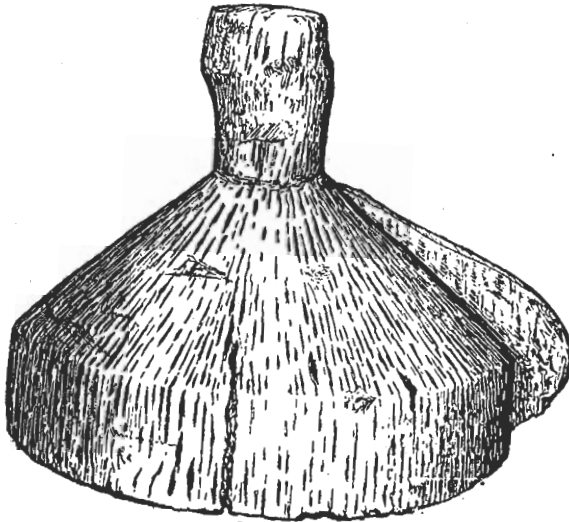
J. J. BUCKLEY,  
Acting Director.

W. Reid, Esq.,  
Solicitor,  
Cavan.

**3. Iron Candlesticks** of the 17th and 18th century.—Each used for rush-lights, resin, and tallow candles.

Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith.

**4. Wooden Object.**—It was found in June, 1925, eight feet below the surface, in Drumbo bog, near Killeshandra, Co. Cavan. It is of solid wood, apparently oak, and measures at its widest part  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and 10 inches in height.



**Wooden Object found near Killeshandra.**  
(Scale 1/4.)

The finder sent it to Mr. O'Hanlon, editor, *Anglo-Celt*, one of our members. Through Mr. O'Hanlon it was transmitted for exhibition to the R.S.A.I., Dublin. In the succeeding number of that Society's Journal—that for December, 1925, p. 136—along with the above drawing there is a note about it which ends, "It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of this object, which is unlike anything hitherto reported.

The printing block the Society has kindly lent us.

Shown by Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon.

## Epitaphs in Castlerahan Graveyard.

COPIED BY PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

HERE LYETH  
THE BODY OF  
JAMES BARTLY  
WHO DEPART<sup>d</sup>  
THIS LIFE JUNE Y<sup>e</sup>  
24TH 1746 AGE<sup>d</sup> 43.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SO  
UL OF CATHERINE  
GEGAN WHO DIED  
JAN<sup>y</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1734-5  
AGED 58.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOUL  
OF BRYAN BRADY  
WHO DEPARTE<sup>d</sup> THIS  
LIFE IN APRIL 1759  
AGED 50 ALSO FOR  
MARGART LYNCH WH<sup>o</sup>  
DIED AN<sup>o</sup> 1724 AGED 29.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
SOUL OF THOM<sup>s</sup>  
BRADY WHO DE  
PART<sup>d</sup> THIS LIFE  
FEBRUARY 29  
1763 AGE<sup>d</sup> 30.

PRAY FOR THE  
SOUL OF DANIE  
L BRADY DIED AN<sup>o</sup>  
1716 AGED 67 ALSO  
DANIEL BRADY  
JUNIOR DIED AN<sup>o</sup>  
1755.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOUL  
OF HENERY SCAL  
LY WHO DIED JAN  
UARY 24<sup>th</sup> 1740  
AGED 30.

Pray for ye Soul of  
 Mary Cabe who  
 died March ye 18<sup>th</sup> 1744  
 in ye 25<sup>th</sup> year of her age.

HERE LYETH Y<sup>o</sup> BODYE  
 OF BRYAN LYNCH WH  
 O DIED AVUGUST 1718  
 THIS MONVMENT WAS  
 ERECTED BY MATTHE  
 W LYNCH ANNO 1745.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>o</sup>  
 SOUL OF PAT  
 RICK DUFFY  
 WHO DEPART<sup>d</sup>  
 THIS LIFE APR  
 IL 24<sup>th</sup> 1771  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 64.

PRAY FOR  
 Y<sup>o</sup> SOVL OF MA  
 RY MURRY WH<sup>o</sup>  
 DIED X<sup>ber</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup>  
 1749. AG<sup>d</sup> 50.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>o</sup> SOVL  
 OF EDW<sup>d</sup> HOE WH  
 O DIED 8<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>o</sup> 15 1745  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 66.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>o</sup> SOVL  
 OF MARY HOE  
 WHO DIED MAY  
 Y<sup>o</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1731 AGE<sup>d</sup> 29  
 Mors ultima linea rerum.\*

PRAY FOR THE  
 SOUL OF EDM<sup>d</sup>  
 GORM<sup>ly</sup> WHO  
 DIED X<sup>ber</sup> 12  
 1738 AGE<sup>d</sup> 52.

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\* Note the frequent substitution of V for U in early 18th century inscriptions.

THE LORD  
HAVE MERCY  
ON Y<sup>e</sup> SOUL  
OF MABEL  
REILLY WHO  
DIED MARC  
H Y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> 1764  
AGED 69.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
SOUL OF O  
NER REILLY  
ALIAS LEA  
WHO DIED  
AUGUST 21  
1763 AGE 51  
ERECT<sup>d</sup> BY  
OWEN REILLY

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> S  
OUL OF OWEN  
REILLY WHO DI  
ED 10<sup>ber</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>  
1746 AGE<sup>d</sup> 47.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
SOVL OF MIELS REI  
LLY DIED JULY Y<sup>e</sup> 25  
1743 AGE 55.

Pray for the Soul  
of Hugh Reilly who depart  
ed this life Mar ye 2<sup>nd</sup> 1779  
ag<sup>d</sup>. 52 yrs. erect<sup>d</sup> by his  
wife Mary Reilly.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOU  
L OF CATHERINE  
MVRPHY WHO DIE  
D AUGUST 1737  
AGE<sup>d</sup> 17.

The Lord have  
Mercy on the Soul  
of Lau<sup>t</sup>. Reilly died  
April 1 1801 ag<sup>d</sup>. 60 yr  
& on his wife Marg<sup>t</sup>  
Reilly alias Duige  
nan died May 9  
1804 ag<sup>d</sup>. 64 yr  
Amen.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SO  
 VL OF MICHAEL  
 HOY WHO DIED  
 8<sup>ber</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> 29 1745  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 60  
 MICHAEL HOY JUNIOR  
 died 10<sup>ber</sup> 17th 1758  
 AGED 32.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOVL  
 OF EDMOND  
 REILLY WHO  
 DIED APRIL Y<sup>e</sup>  
 3<sup>rd</sup> 1739 AGE  
 28 YEARS.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
 SOUL OF PHILIP  
 DEGINAN WHO DI  
 ED APRIL Y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>  
 1744 AGE 67

Pray for the  
 Soul of Charl  
 es Monechan  
 died March the  
 25th 1742 Age 66.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOU  
 L OF PATRICK SHERI  
 DAN WHO DIED JUNE  
 Y<sup>e</sup> 17TH 1735 AGE<sup>d</sup> 47 ALSO  
 FOR GEORGE SHERI  
 DAN.

This Stone was Erected  
 By Edward Sheridan in  
 Memory of his Father Daniel  
 Sheridan who Died March  
 the 16th 1772 in the 64th year  
 of his Age.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOVL  
 OF EVELIN CAHEL WI  
 FE TO PATRICK MAN  
 AVGHAN DIED APRIL  
 THE 15<sup>th</sup> 1741 AGE 49.

PRAY FOR [Y<sup>e</sup> SO]  
 UL OF PATRICK  
 SHERDN WHO DIED  
 MAR Y<sup>e</sup> 17TH 1733  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 57  
 Order<sup>d</sup> by J<sup>o</sup> Sherd<sup>n</sup>.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
 SOVL OF BRYAN SHERID  
 AN WHO DIED  
 MAY Y<sup>e</sup> 12TH 1728  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 40.

PRAY FOR  
 Y<sup>e</sup> SOVL OF  
 JOHN SHE  
 RIDAN WH  
 O DIED JVLV  
 Y<sup>e</sup> 15TH 1741  
 AGE<sup>d</sup> 21.

PRAY FOR THE  
 SOVL OF WALTER  
 BRADY WHO DIED  
 MARCH THE 27  
 DAY IN THE 23  
 YEAR OF HIS  
 AGE 1732.

HERE LIES THE  
 BODY OF PATRI  
 CK LYNCH WHO  
 DIED MAY THE  
 8 DAY 1738  
 AGE 66 YE.

JOHN WHEELER  
 DIED MARCH 1745.  
 ORDER<sup>d</sup> BY HIS  
 FATHER BARTLV  
 WHEELER.

Pray for ye Soul  
 of John Brady  
 who died July ye  
 24th 1766 aged  
 30 years.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
SOUL OF NELLY  
NUGENT ALIAS  
REILLY WHO DIED  
10<sup>br</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1754 AGED 43

THE LORD HAVE  
MERCY ON Y<sup>e</sup> SOUL  
OF JOHN SHERID<sup>n</sup>  
WHO DEPART<sup>d</sup> THIS  
LIFE 7<sup>ber</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1752  
AGED 56. ERECT<sup>d</sup>  
BY CATHERINE  
SHERID<sup>n</sup>.

PRAY FOR THE  
SOVL OF EDMOND  
REILLY WHO DEPA  
RTED THIS LIFE APRIL  
Y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1756 AGED 26 Y<sup>rs</sup>.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> SOUL  
OF MARY REILLY WH  
O DIED X<sup>ber</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>  
1749 AGE<sup>d</sup> 76.

The Lord have mercy on  
The Soul of Philip Smyth  
who Died Oct<sup>r</sup> ye 1<sup>st</sup>  
ag<sup>d</sup> 56 years 1724.

PRAY FOR  
Y<sup>e</sup> SOVL OF PA  
TRICK GARGAN  
WHO DIED MARCH  
Y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1723 AGE<sup>d</sup> 19.

PRAY FOR Y<sup>e</sup>  
SOUL OF RO  
SE REILLY W  
HO DIED 7<sup>br</sup>  
Y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1755  
AGED 27  
ALSO FOR  
ANN REILLY  
DIED 1752



Pray for the  
Soul of Nelly  
Fitzimons who  
departed this life  
March 19. 1772 aged 75.

**HERE LIES THE BO  
DY OF JOHN FITZI  
MONS WHO DIE  
D AVGVST THE  
19. 1741 AGED 41.**

PHILIP O'CONNELL.



*Rev. Joseph B. Michon.*

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## In Memoriam.

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REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN, P.P., M.R.I.A.

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*Go forth out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I will show thee.*

(Gen. XII. 1.)

The words that the Lord addressed to Abraham were spoken on Oct., 18th, 1926, to a distinguished priest of Kilmore diocese, a priceless member of the Breiffne Antiquarian Society, and one whose memory the readers of this *Journal* should not willingly let fade.

On the eve of the publication of the *Journal* we cannot give more than a very brief survey of the life of the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, P.P., M.R.I.A., Killinkere.

The several literary specialities, produced by his fertile and graceful pen, shall have ample recognition in the next issue of the *Journal*.

Under the Southern Cross ; by the Great Lakes ; on the shores of the Pacific ; among London's teeming millions ; in the quiet homes of Ireland, there are students of St. Patrick's who imbibed knowledge from his refined and scholarly lectures—men who will heave a sigh when they learn of the demise of Father "Joe," whose valued advice was ever readily accessible, and whose untiring interest in their welfare bespoke his unselfish and noble character.

From Killargue to Mullagh, the parishioners to whom he ministered during his missionary career will whisper a fervent prayer for the genial *Σαῶν* who shrank from no sacrifice, and who spared no pains to bring consolation and sunshine into their lives. "Their welfare pleased him and their cares distressed." Not less intense will be the grief of the wide circle of friends which his charming and magnetic personality established far and wide.

Of another Irish ecclesiastic and historian—the late Canon O'Hanlon—it was said that he worked so hard in the discharge of his pastoral duties that men wondered how he could find time to write anything, and who wrote so much that men wondered how he could have done any missionary work.

With equal truth these remarks apply to the late Father Meehan.

While working zealously in the Ministry, he found time to study, with critical sagacity and in minute detail, questions—economic, social and industrial—relating to the Fatherland. All the intricate problems relative to these topics his logical mind grasped so completely that he could appear before Government Commissions (e.g. the Railway Commission, and the Congested Districts' Commission) and occupy several days giving evidence of a character so comprehensive, analytical and constructive as to arouse the wonder and excite the admiration of the Commissions and of the Irish Press. His evidence before the Railway Commission of twenty years ago was so lengthy and detailed that the report necessitated the issue of a special edition of the leading Dublin newspapers of the day.

All his literary work evinced qualities of a very high order. His English was vigorous, lucid, lively, forceful, and chastened with excellent taste. He had no room for, and showed no mercy to, uncouthness of expression or unrelieved monotony. His fidelity to his authorities was not the least of his gifts. He marshalled his facts, presented his arguments, and fortified them by an array of references that challenged contradiction.

His energies in later years were concentrated on historical research, with special solicitude for his own beloved Breiffne. It is no reflection on the valuable publications bestowed by other writers to this Society to proclaim that he was its *central figure*—its nucleus—that this *Journal* is his *magnum opus*, and the enduring *monument*—the crown of his literary career—that will surest and longest keep his memory green.

Father Meehan possessed in a remarkable degree the peculiar adaptability of the Indian tracker for pursuing to their sources and unearthing incidents connected with Breiffne (e.g. the records of Margaret of New Orleans) that would baffle an O'Donovan or an O'Curry.

Returning home from holidays in the autumn Father Meehan carried with him a scroll which hung in his study. It contained only one sentence—attributed to Stephen Grellet.

That single sentence sums up Father Meehan's dispositions towards his fellow-men. It implies, too, that he anticipated an early death. It reads:—

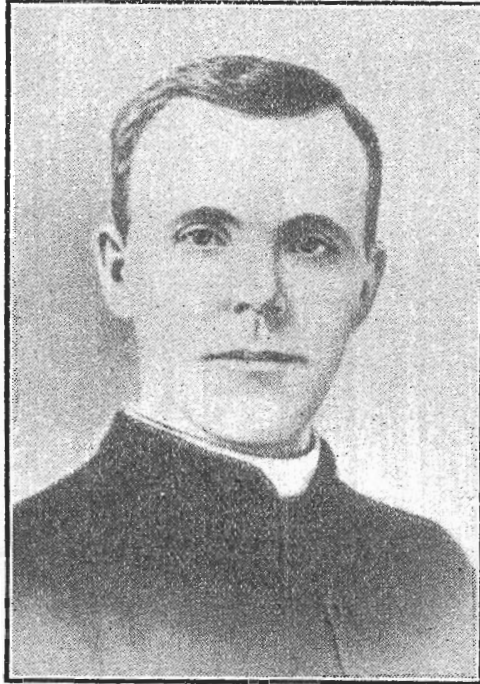
I shall pass through this world but once, if, therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me not defer it nor neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

His loss we deeply deplore, and we respectfully tender to his relatives, to his brother priests of Kilmore diocese, and to the people of Killinkere, whom he loved so well, our sincere condolence.

## Obituary Notices.

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**Rev. James F. Flood, M.A.**, of both Fordham and Emmitsburg, Pastor of St. Matthew's, Chicago, died on June 23rd, 1924. Born on March 9th, 1847, in the parish of Drung, he was fourth son of Francis Flood and Honor Brady. In the old Flood homestead, Drumbilla House, Cornagarrow, he was



reared to manhood. His education he received mainly in the U.S., spending five years in Fordham University, N.Y., and four at Emmitsburg, Md. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Feehan in the Cathedral of Chicago, on 20th July, 1885. After nine years' work in the city, in May, 1894, he was appointed Pastor of St. Matthew's. There he continued to labour till his death.

His interest in his native parish and diocese never abated. In the years after his ordination he crossed the seas several times

to visit Drung. To it he presented, among other things, the altar that now adorns the old Church; nor did he neglect to make later a liberal donation towards the building funds of the new Cathedral.

Like his brother, Edward J., who occupies a responsible position in the Supreme Court, Albany, N.Y., he was always keen on information about his native county's past. "When I was on a visit to Cavan town some forty-five years ago," writes this brother, "I tried to obtain some local historical pictures or post-cards to bring back with me; but I could get nothing except along the line of ridiculous caricatures, such as Paddy and his pig." The era of the picture post-card had not then arrived. The neglect has since been well supplied, and Paddy and his pig has walked the plank after the stage Irishman. To-day he could not fail to obtain very beautiful post-cards of Cavan historical ruins, Cavan historical personages, and Cavan beauty spots in almost any stationer's shop in the county.

In Father Flood's demise the Society has to regret the loss of a Life Member. To his brother in Albany and his relatives in Drung it begs to offer its sympathy.

**Mrs. Rose Burke**, a lady who took a large share in the social life of Cavan, passed away on Sunday, 27th July, 1924. In its succeeding issue the local paper, *The Anglo-Celt*, testified: "No death has occurred in Cavan for many years which occasioned more heart-felt sorrow than that of Mrs. Rose Burke, who was associated for a considerable time with her family's old-established pharmacy, O'Connor's Medical Hall. Mrs. Burke . . . took a ready and active part in every movement for the welfare of the town. To the poor she was a free dispenser in their times of sickness, and her purse was ever open to the wants of the needy." Her words were always cheery and encouraging, and her very manner spoke efficiency.

One of the original members of our Society, she continuously manifested an interest in its doings. The Society recognises the loss sustained by the poor of Cavan in the death of one of its most charitable ladies; and it wishes to associate itself both with the universal sentiments of regret, and with the sympathy, equally wide-spread, felt for her husband, sister, and relatives in their deep sorrow.

In the person of **Dr. Alfred John Smith**, F.R.C.S.I., M.A.O. (R.U.I.), M.B., M.Ch., early in the year, the Breifny Society lost one of its most distinguished members. He died at his residence, 30, Merrion Sq., Dublin. Dr. Alfred was the eldest son of Philip Smith, J.P., Kevit Castle, Crossdoney. After a preliminary education in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, he studied in Dublin, Leipzig, and Vienna. He specialised in Gynæcology and Mid-

wifery. He was past President Obst. Sect. of R. Academy of Medicine; past Vice-Pres. British Gynæ. Society; and past Ex-Assistant Master Rotunda Hospital. At his death he was Professor Midw. and Gynæ. N. Univ., Dublin; Fellow of R. Soc. Medicine, London, and R. Academy Medicine, Dublin; and Gynæcol. St. Vincent's Hosp., Dublin. His paper on a hundred cases of Laparotomy without a death, in the last mentioned Hosp., created at the time a great sensation throughout the United Kingdom, and its influence on medical practice continues undiminished. On that and kindred subjects he was an extensive contributor to the medical journals. Interested in the welfare of the Dublin Hospitals he was also a frequent speaker at their annual meetings.

In our Society Dr. Smith from the start took a lively interest, as he did in every forward movement of his native Cavan. The Society begs to offer his relatives their sincere sympathy.

On the 10th Aug., 1925, Very Rev. **Canon Michael Corcoran**, P.P., Scrabby and Columbkille E., and V.F., ended his fruitful career. Canon Corcoran was an ideal priest, humble, pious, and charitable, a gentleman and a scholar. Forty-nine out of the fifty years he laboured on the Mission were given to the parish in which he died, and in which his remains rest. Everything that was to be done in it he did, and did well. He built Gowna church, one of the most graceful and well-equipped churches in Cavan, two fine parochial houses, and five schools with a teacher's residence attached to each. Though often enticed to change to what was considered a more important parish, he declined, preferring to live and die amongst the people he saw growing up around him as children; and they on their part deeply appreciated and fully reciprocated his affection for them. To their temporal as well as to their spiritual interests he devoted himself intelligently and whole-heartedly.

The Society feels the passing away of one of its staunchest friends; one who always saw, but was ever ready to condone, its shortcomings.

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[NOTE.—*It is pathetic to have to add that these OBITUARY NOTICES was the last article written by the late Father Meehan for this JOURNAL. Before it appeared in print he, himself, had passed away.*]