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 Machree*.

REV. ROBERT LEECH,
(Rector, Drumlane).

VOL. II. No. I.

CAVAN:
THE ANGLO-CELT, LTD., PRINTING WORKS.

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-Celt*, 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-Celt*.

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.

* 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 Tullymongan 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 *Transactsons* 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-striken 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 fireside, 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 overwehlming 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 Killdarragh),

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 gullets 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

* 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 beb-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 story-tellers, "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 Bellananagh, 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 Bellananagh.

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 Bellananagh (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.Ph.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 Scattery 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.

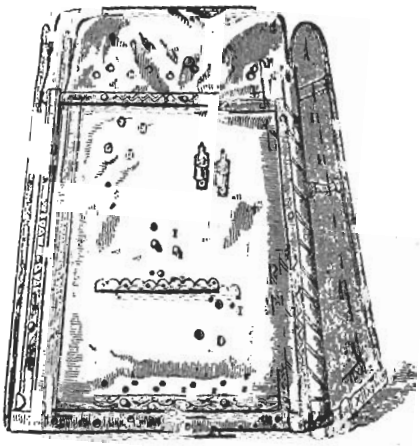
> in December, 1863, Dr. Reeves read a paper, which is in the *Proceedings* of the Academy, on those bells. He mentions that your family were the hereditary keepers of that of St. Mogue. It was of iron ; only three fragments of it remain. The case is of copper, which was ornamented with silver-plated 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 6¾ in. wide at the base. The sides are 4¾ 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'Rourkes), and the Clog Mogue now singularly repose together, typical of the ancient territories of their respective keepers, the O'Rourkes and the MacGaurans or McGoverns, 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 *Antient 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 Rig 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 strewed 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 decidated 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, quae 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 Largann [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: "Largan, two cartrons of land, annual value, 2 shillings." In 1606 (*Cal. State*

* 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 (Gallún na mBráthair), 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" (Ceall-dracht), 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 Gallonambraher. 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 (Dún or Dún ancoire). 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 themsevles 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

* 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-cliabh to Cenannus " (*i.e.*, from Drumcliff 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 ot 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." ‖

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* 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 27½ 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 Coppenagh, 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 Cill Dub, 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 exuviæ 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, Tobar Padraig. 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 Lus na Laog—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 Deerpark 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 Tor Feichin, 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.

DERVOR 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 Áṫ na Daiṁḃṁiġe, 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 Áṫ na Daiṁḃṁiġe 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 Áṫ na Daiṁḃṁiġe 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 Áṫ na Daiṁḃṁiġe. 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 ṫiġ áṫṫuiṁ, or "sweating house," one of those hot-air baths the medicinal uses of which were recognised and highly regarded by our forefathers. This ṫiġ áṫṫuiṁ 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 Castlerahan, is a small sequestered glen known as Glananehrin (Gleann an Aifrinn), 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

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* 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 torwards 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 clebrated 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 (Carraig liath), 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 Clor 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 Carraiganaur (Carraig an amaire), 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 Gallonambraher, 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 Carrakeelty-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-Celt* 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

* *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 Teampaill), which signifies the poll or division of the church, occurs as "Pollintample" 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 Ardbraccan 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-

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* *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 Magaghran 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 appeare 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

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* *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. Kilian'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 frier [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; 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 refection." 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 deliuery 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 Chardonnett, 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

* *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.

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* *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 Maonaig.

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 *Celtis* 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 assserted 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 gaurantee, 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 theirs 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.*

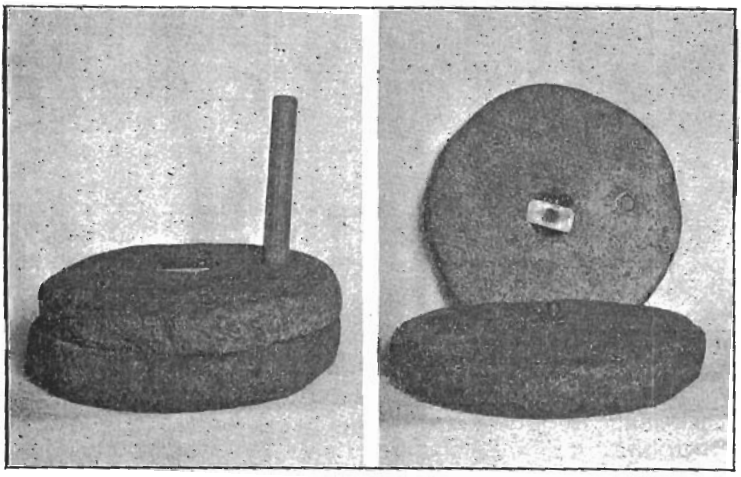
As quern stones are so common and so little thought of, it may be worth while attempting to revive a little interest in them. In these counties for 1,000 years and more they were the most impor-

* *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 so used 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.

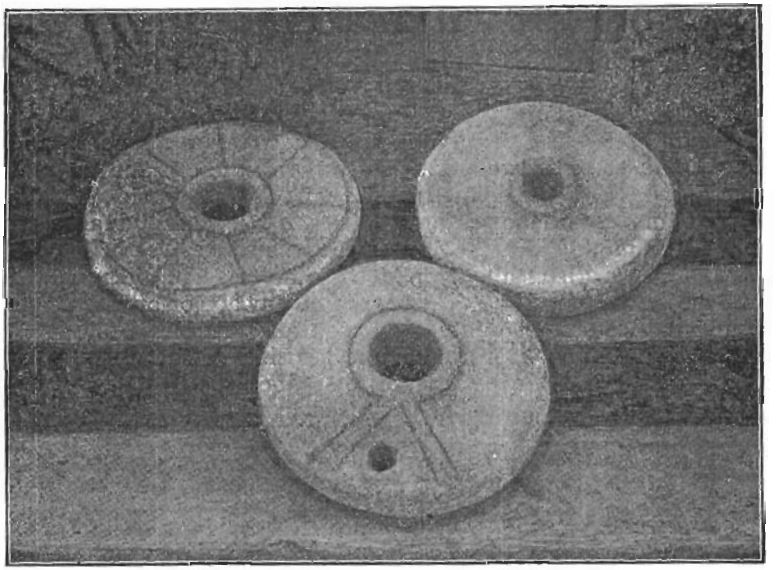
The next forward step in the process of making meal and flour was the saddlestone. The name is a good one; the concave upper surface of the nether stone bears a striking resemblance to the seat of a saddle. In this hollow the grain was crushed by a small stone muller working backwards and forwards, but 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, *Moretum*, 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—27B.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

* Cf. The " Múlos 'Onikós " 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 gradaully flattened. Occasionally the flat top was ornamented. The commonest ornament is a crude cross. This is not neccessarily 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 exhibted 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 Brefne 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 nothwithstanding, 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 Ebherian 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 unillumined 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 Dinnsenchus 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.

* 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.

* 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, broaded-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

* 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 Fomoire to be rival orders of gods. The Tuatha De, he affirmed, were the "good gods", the Fomoire 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 Fomoire by an arbitrary formula; but in doing so one would have run the risk of being

* 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 Firbolg 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-

* *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 Tailltiu, 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 MacCuillenain 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 Scotic 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.

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

† *Ogygia*, Part II., pp. 84, 5.

‡ *Sanas 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 (*Anglice* 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 nothwithstanding, 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 Scotic 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

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* *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 Cæsar'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 continential 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 Cæsar. 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

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* *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 colsely 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 Fomoire. The Fomoire 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 Fomoire. 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 Fomoire" 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 Fomoire 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 Drobhais, 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'aoin 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 off-shoots 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 as 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 Vennicniorum vicinos consentaneum est habitasse circa magnum *Erne* fluvium . . . . . ; ejusque accolas non ERDINOUS sed ERNAIOUS dictos esse suspicor" *Claudii Ptolemaei 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 Olillum Aronn, qui terras in Ultonia obtinuit, a cujus cognomine *Aronn* posteri 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

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* 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 ur Samaire ("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 gandfather —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 Samarobriva.‡ 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 Samarobriva 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

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* 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-Chonaill (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

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* Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 28. He says the same of the Treveri, whose leading chiefs in Caesar'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" (Caesar, II., 6).

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

§ *Caesar*, III., 28.

|| *Caesar*, 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 peremptorily 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 Volcae 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.)

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

† *Caesar*, VI., 24.

‡ " Primaevo 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 7½ 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 unregarded.

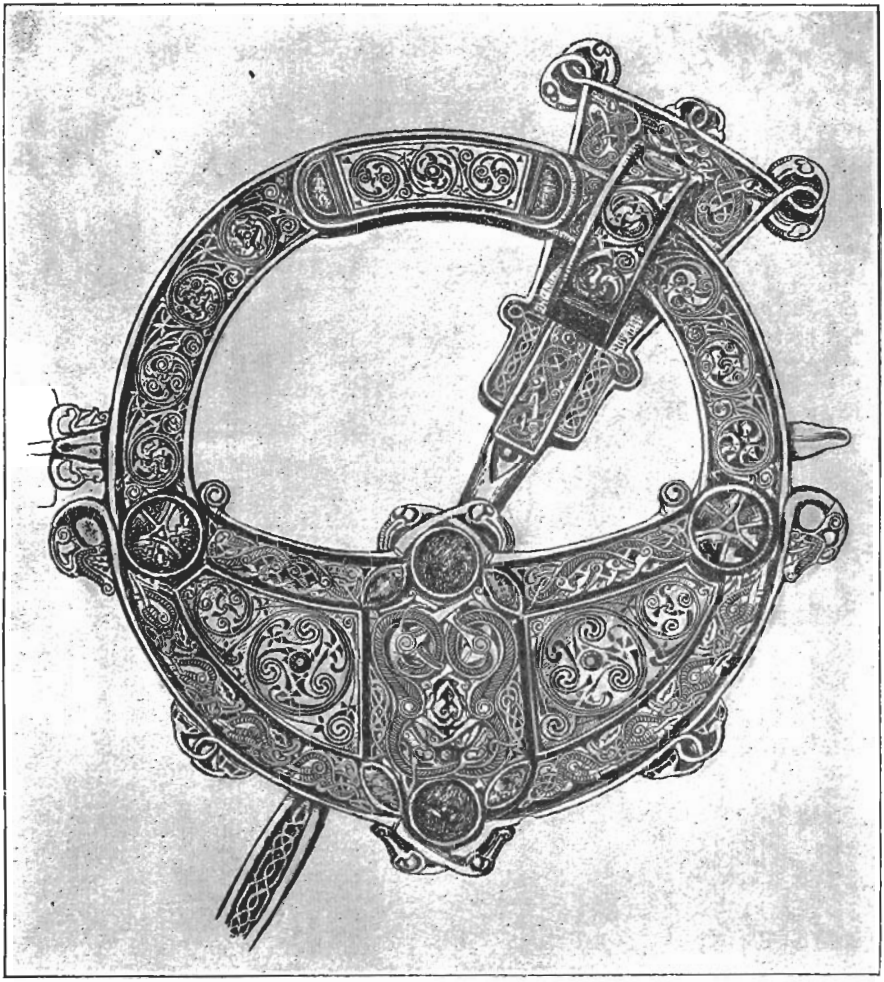
The head of a bronze pin was the only part exposed continuously to view ; consequently it alone challenged the designers' taste and skill. In the course of time—when the head had been enlarged, ornamented, incrusted with translucent glass, and treated in a hundred different ways, every bronze smith, 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 caligraphy 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.

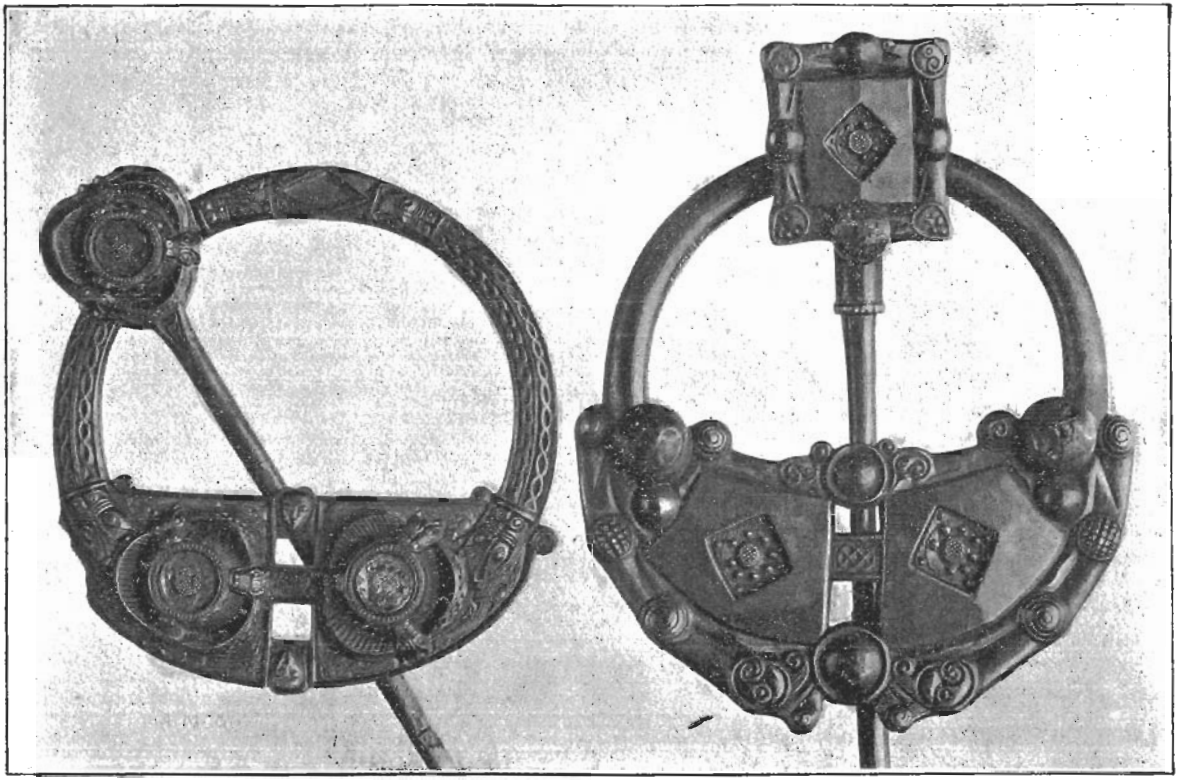
(A) The first-named of the four local brooches is preserved in the National Museum, Dublin. It is illustrated in the Museum *Guide* (Coffey's, 2nd ed., Plate III.), and labelled " Cavan " ; but it must be acknowledged there is a shade of doubt as to its having been found in the County. Through the great 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 4¼ 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.



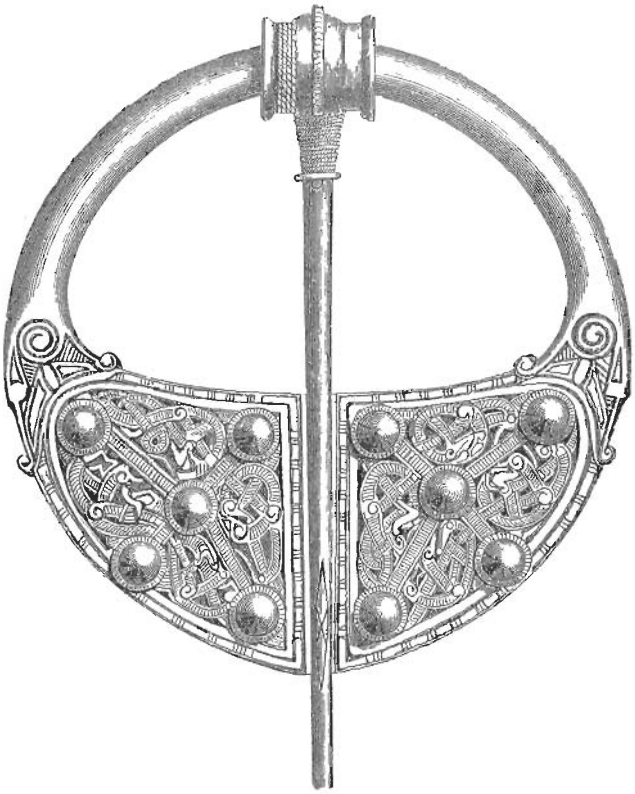
The Cavan Brooch,
Reduced about one-third.

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 ormanents.

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 (2⅛ 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 Mahommedan 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).

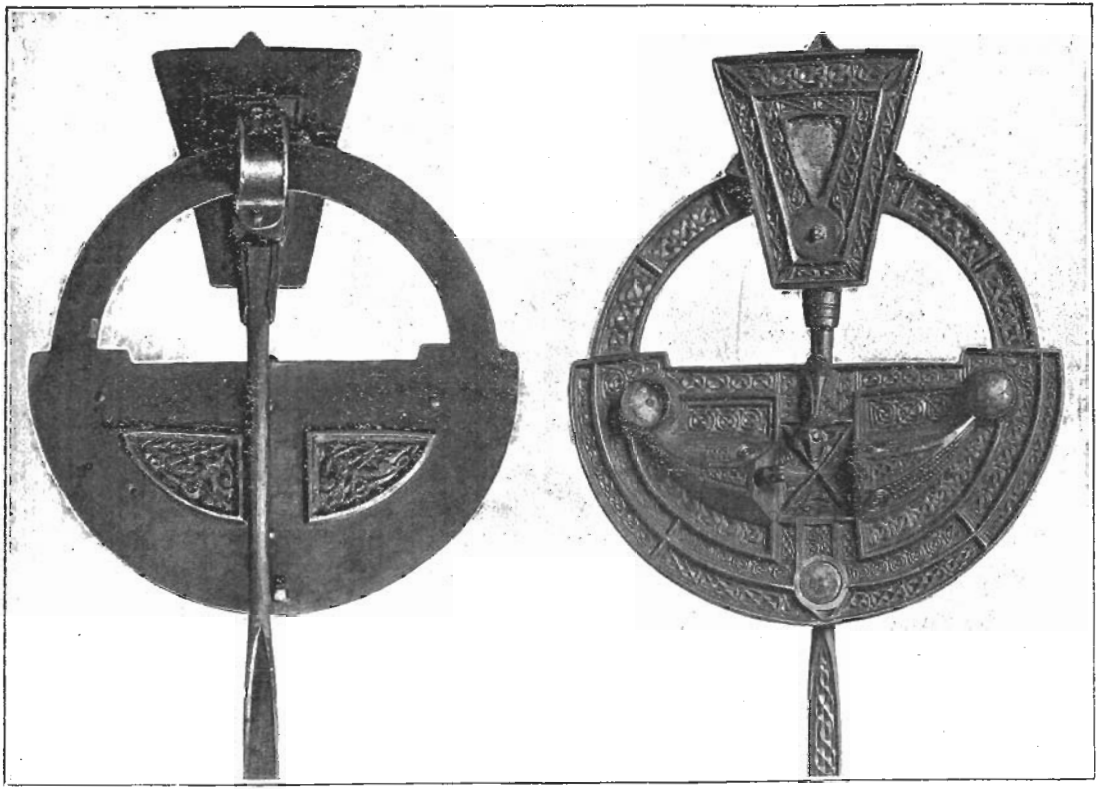
So tested, the culture of the ancient Irish and the skill and taste of their craftsmen do not come out badly ; neither do the skill and culture of the old Breifnians.

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 3½ 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 schoolboy 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.

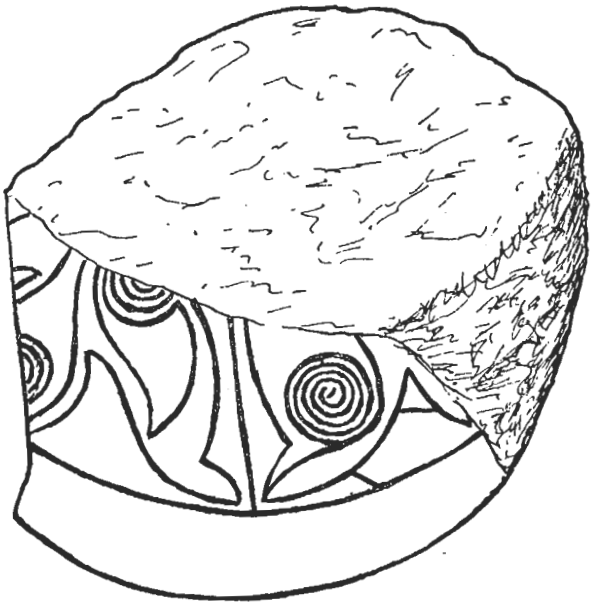
Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith.

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 Kinldy lent by the R.S.A.I.

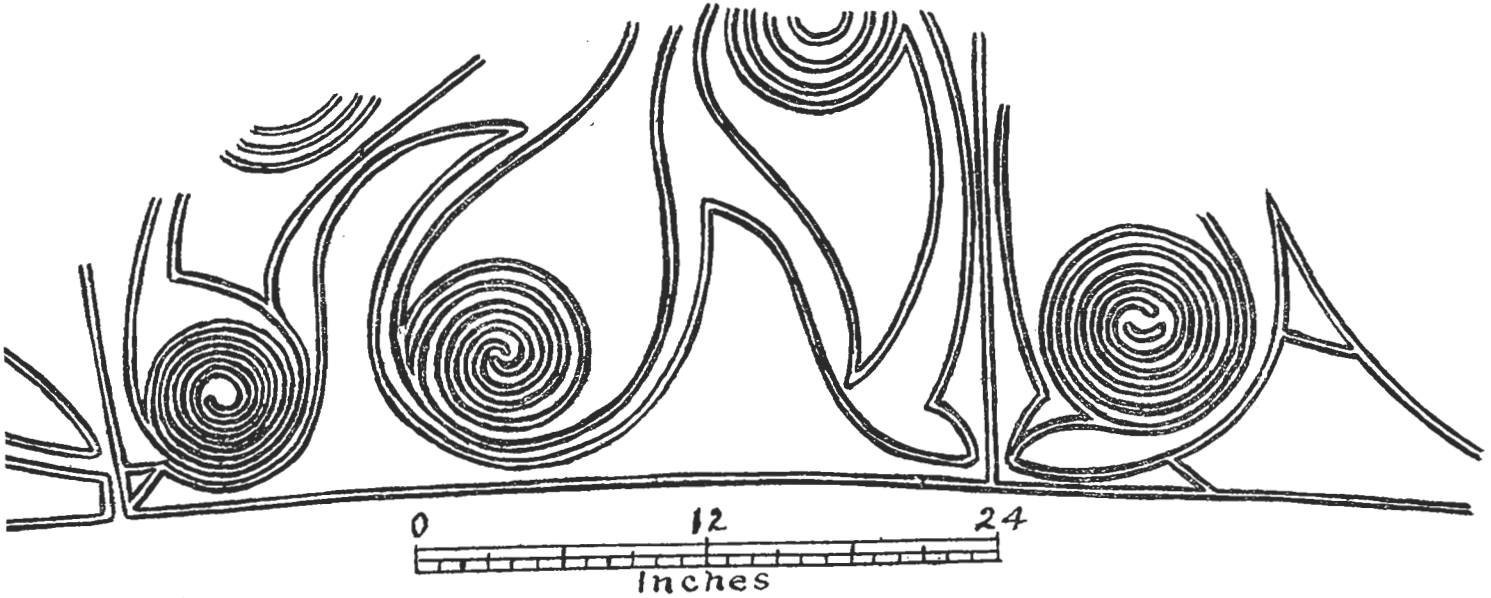
in the country. This is true whether such ornaments as that just mentioned were actually manufactured in Ireland or were imported from oversea.

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 "Wall 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 connextion 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 Cloghwally 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 Envigarrah, 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.

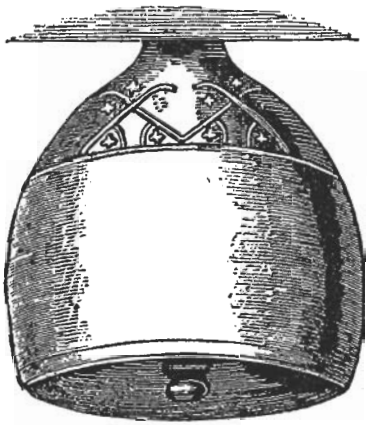
Harres Parr of Carnaveagh, Sergeant of the Killinkere Yeomanry. Interred at Lurgan, 22nd Nov., 1798.

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

(To be continued.)

THE BELL OF FENAGH.

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

* 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, 4½ 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 Abbacy 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 *redevivus* 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 befor 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 ꝑeaꞃ ꝺuiꞩe 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

* 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 Llwyd it can be inferred he was well versed in mathematics, law and philosophy. Such scholarship in the 17th entury 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 Irealnd 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 MCCCCCXXVI." 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.

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 Gwyllymsbrook, 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 ths 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 Grissel, 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.

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 decendant of John Reynolds of Co. Derry (1649-1736) who is buried at Desertlyn near Moneymore. In 1845, Js. 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 Brittania 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 1883.

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 incriptions 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 Kil*cavan*, 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 kindliness 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 ot 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 Commitee 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 archæological 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. ...	Ardrigh, Belfast (Honorary).
BRADY, Rev. Francis J. ...	St. Michael's Church, Calhan, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Right Rev. Msgr. Richard.	Loretto, Colo., U.S.A.
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, D.D.	Bishop's House, Culliss, Cavan.
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. Francis X., D.D.	519 N. 10th St., St. Joseph, Mo., U.S.A.
LOUGH, Mrs.	4, Willow Terrace, Booterstown. (Honorary.)
MASTERSON, Rev. Ed., S.J.	Milltown Park, Dublin.
MOORE, Right Rev. W. R., D.D, Bishop of Kilmore.	See House, Cavan.
O'CONNELL, His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell	49 Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.
O'FARRELLY, Agnes W., M.A.	26 Highfield Rd., Rathgar, Dublin.
O'REILLY, Right Rev. James, D.D.	Bishop's House, 608 Broadway, 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.L. ...	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.
BLACKLEY, Mrs. T., O.B.E. ...	London.
BOURKE, Thomas Joseph M.D.	Shercock.
BOURKE, Doctor	Portaliff House, Killeshandra.
BRADY, Very Rev. Hugh, P.P., V.F.	Crosserlough, Ballyjamesduff.
BRADY, Very Rev. Hugh, P.P., V.F.	Cootehill.
BRADY, P. J., C. E.	Broomfield House, Ballyhaise.
CHAMBERS, Thomas G., M.A.,	The Laurels, Bailieborough.
CLARKE, John, M.D. ...	Cavan.
COLE, J. A. ,M.A. ...	Scotch Quarters, Carrickfergus.
COLUM, Padraic	64, 5th Avenue, New York.
COMEY, Rev. Charles, P.P. ...	Killasnet, Manorhamilton.
COMEY, Rev. M., D.D., Adm.	The Presbytery, Cavan.
CONNOLLY, John	Ballinagh
COONEY, Peter	Manorhamilton.
CORCORAN, Very Rev. Michael Canon, P.P., V.F.	Gowna, Cavan.
CORR, Rev. Laurence, C.C. ...	Drumreilly Upper, Carrigallen.
CROWE, Rev. E. D., M.A. ...	The Rectory, Cavan
CULLEN, B. T., M.D.... ...	Farnham St., Cavan.
CURRAN, Th., M.D. ...	Ballinagh, Cavan.
DALTON, John P., M.R.I.A.	19, Belgrave Square, Monkstown, Dublin.
DIX, E. R. McClintock, M.R.I.A. ...	24, Clare Street, Dublin.
DOLAN, Joseph, M.A. ...	Ardee, Co. Louth.
DOLAN, Rev. Michael, C.C. ...	Drumkilly, Kilnaleck.
DOONER, Rev. F., C.C. ...	Dring, Granard.
DOWNEY, Daniel	Mountnugent, Cavan.
DUFFY, P., A.R.C.Sc.I. ...	Annesley Terrace, Cavan.
DUKE, S., A.R.Sc.I.	Agricultural College, Ballyhaise.
EARLEY, Rev. James, B.A., C.C.	Ballynarry, Kilnaleck.
FARRELLY, T. M.	Bailieborough.

FINLAY, Wm.	Killynebber House, Cavan.
FINEGAN, Rev. Charles, B.A., C.C.	Ballymore Eustace, Co. Kildare.
FINEGAN, Louis J., M.D. ...	Newtownmountkennedy, Co. Wicklow.
FINEGAN, Rev. Peter, P.P. ...	Queen's Park, Perth, W. Australia.
FITZPATRICK, Rev. Daniel, B.D., B.A.	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
GAFFNEY, Very Rev., Bernard P.P., V.F.	Virginia, Kells.
GALLIGAN, Rev. Henry C.C.,	Cootehill, Cavan.
GANNON, J. P.	Riversdale, Cavan.
GANNON, Rev. P. J., S.J. ..	Milltown Park, Dublin.
GERRARD, Rev. F., P.P. ...	Mountnugent, Cavan.
GERRARD, J. Dennison, B.L.	Dublin.
GODLEY, Miss	Killegar, Killeshandra.
GREEN, J. Maxwell, D.L. ...	Tullyvin, Cootehill.
HALPENNY, P. J.	Ulster Bank, Mullingar.
HALPIN, W. H.	Farnham St., Cavan.
HAMILTON, Robert	Farnham St., Cavan.
HAMILTON, Major, W. J. ...	Castlehamilton, Killeshandra.
HOARE, Most Rev. Joseph, D.D.	St. Michael's, Longford.
JUDGE, Very Rev. Js., P.P., V.F.	St. Brigid's, Killeshandra.
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, P.P., V.F.	Killenummery, Dromahair.
McCABE, Aiden E. R. ...	Church St.,Cavan.
McCAY, Cyril, B.L. ...	Main St., Cavan.
McGOVERN, Rev. J. B., F.S.A.(Scot.), F.Ph.S.	St. Stephen's Rectory, Charlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, S.E.
McGOVERN, Owen, N.T. ...	Aughaloora, Kilnaleck.
MACGOVERN, Sean	Ardcilla 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, A.R.C.Sc.	Cavan.
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 Joseph, M.A.	Dublin.
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'Donohoe, Rev. Charles	Kinlough, Bundoran.
O'Donohoe, Rev. P., C.C. ...	Killeshandra.
O'Hanlon, E. J.	Church St., Cavan.
O'Hanlon, John F. ...	Farnham St., Cavan.
O'Reilly, Henry, B.E. ...	Ricehill, Cavan.
O'Reilly, Rev. John, C.C. ...	The Presbytery, Cavan.
O'Reilly, Very Rev. Patrick PP., V.F.	Derrylin, Belturbet.
O'Reilly, Rev. Peter C.C. ...	Virginia, Kells.
O'Reilly, Thos.	Loughduff, Cavan.
O'Sullivan, J. J., A.R.C.Sc.	Lurganboy, Manorhamilton.
Peyton, Rev. W. W., M.A.	37, Rue de Faeqz, Avenue Louise, Brussels.
Rehill, Rev. John P., C.C.	Crosskeys, Cavan.
Reid, William, M.B.E. ...	Cavan.
Reynolds, H. Fitzgerald ...	25, Stallcourt Avenue, Pennylan, Cardiff.
Roe, Col. E.A.H., D.L. ...	Ballyconnell.
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.
Smith, Alfred, M.D. ...	30 Merrion Square, Dublin.

SMITH, Miss B.	9, Fairview, Clontarf, Dublin.
SMITH, Frederick P., M.D., D.L.	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney, Cavan.
SMITH, Mrs.	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney, Cavan
SMITH, Rev. Joseph, C.P.	Carmarthen, Wales.
SMITH, Rev. Philip, P.P. ...	Parochial House, Carrigallen
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.—Account for the Year ending December 31st, 1923.

RECEIPTS.

1923.	£	s.	d.
January 1st.			
To Balance in Ulster Bank, Cavan	25	17	3
,, Balance in hands of Hon. Secretary ...	1	0	0
,, Sale of Journals	5	1	0
,, Annual Subscriptions	49	12	3
,, Interest on Current Account		17	6
	£82	8	0

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d
By Heley's Account for Wrappers	0	3	4
,, T. J. Smyth's Account for Printing ...	4	9	6
,, Postages	3	14	5
,, Charge on Bank Account	1	1	0
Balance in Bank	71	14	6
Balance in hands of Hon. Secretary	1	5	3
	£82	8	0

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1923.	£	s.	d.
December.			
To Amount on Deposit Receipt in Ulster Bank	140	0	0
	£140	0	0

1923.	£	s.	d.
December 31st.			
By Balance	140	0	0
	£140	0	0

E. & O. E.

William Reid,
For Hon. Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.
J. P. Gannon,
15th October, 1924.