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EAST WINDOW, DRUMLANE.

VOL. II.

No. II.

THE
BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S
JOURNAL, 1924.

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

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

VOL. II. No. II.

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MOYBOLGE IN 1924.

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

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REPORT OF MEETINGS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NINTH GENERAL MEETING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TENTH GENERAL MEETING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DRUMLANE ABBEY—I.

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

(Read 18th March, 1924.)

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

Anon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Do. do.

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

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

¶ Do., p. 251.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FOUNDER.

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

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

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

He then quotes from Colgan:—

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

* O’Reilly Pedigree, MS. in T.C.D.

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

‡ Alemand’s *Mon. Hib.*, p. 416.

§ O’Donovan’s *Cavan Letters*, p. 46.

the saints who resided in the Monastery of Druimleathan. These saints also interceded with God to bless this couple with a son'.^{*}

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

Lanigan gives more detailed information :—

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

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

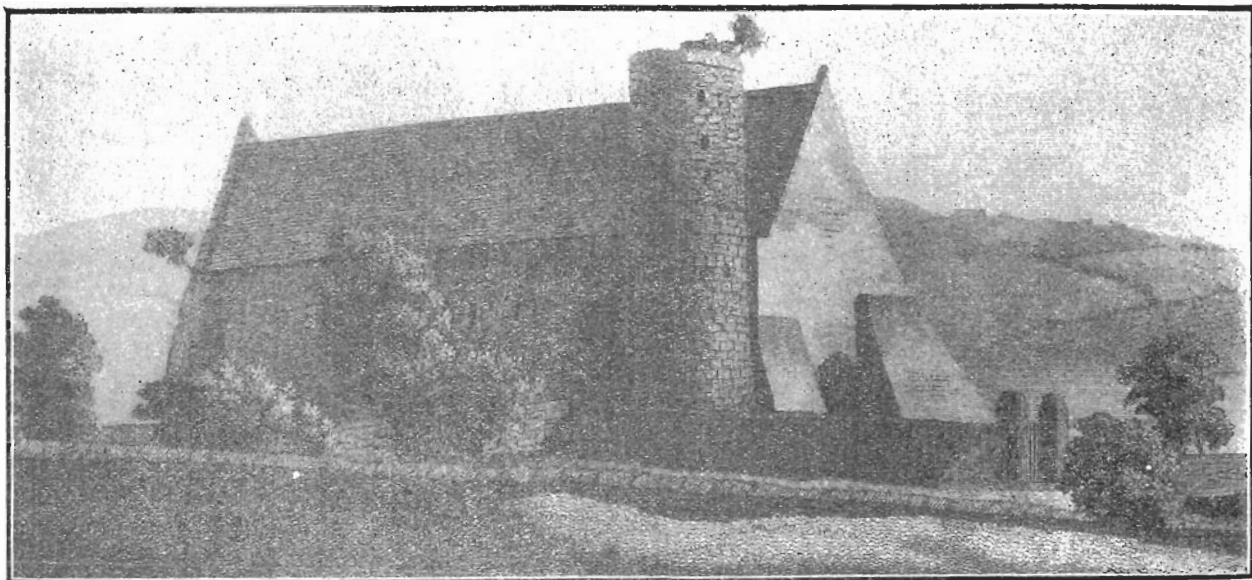
Two Irish Lives of St. Mogue were recently translated and edited by the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Oxford University. § *The Life of Maedoc I*, the editor describes as having a southern source, being concerned mainly with Ferns. To the *Life of Maedoc II.*, he attributes a northern origin. Strange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

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

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

‡ *Do.* p. 336.

§ *Cf. Journal*, Vol. I., p. 344.



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DRUMLANE CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER IN 1791.

[GROSE'S ANTIQUITIES.

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

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

.
”*

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Do. Introd., p. xxxiii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Lanigan, *Op. cit.*, — I., p. 363.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *De Annatis Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 249.

§ *Papal Registers*, July, 1456.

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

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

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

ST. MOGUE (c.560-632.)

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

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

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

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

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

§ Cf. this Journal, Vol. I., p. 204.

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

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

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

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

THE BREAC MOGUE.

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

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

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

† Reeves, *Loc cit.*, p. 447.

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

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

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

¶ Stokes, *The Breac Maedog*, p. 4.

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

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

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

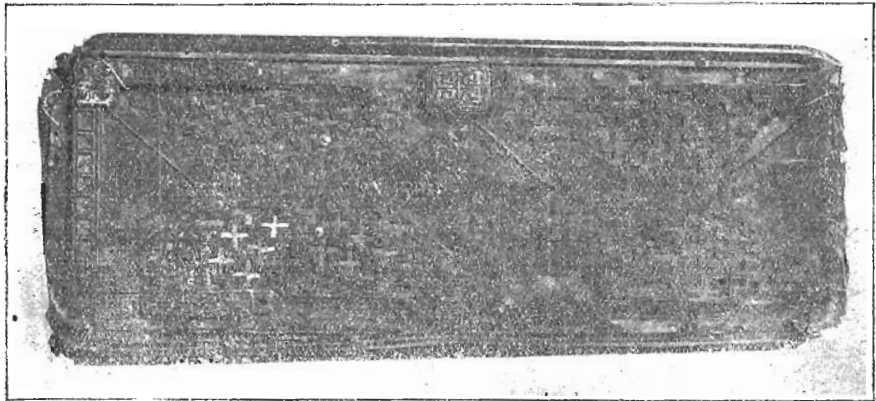
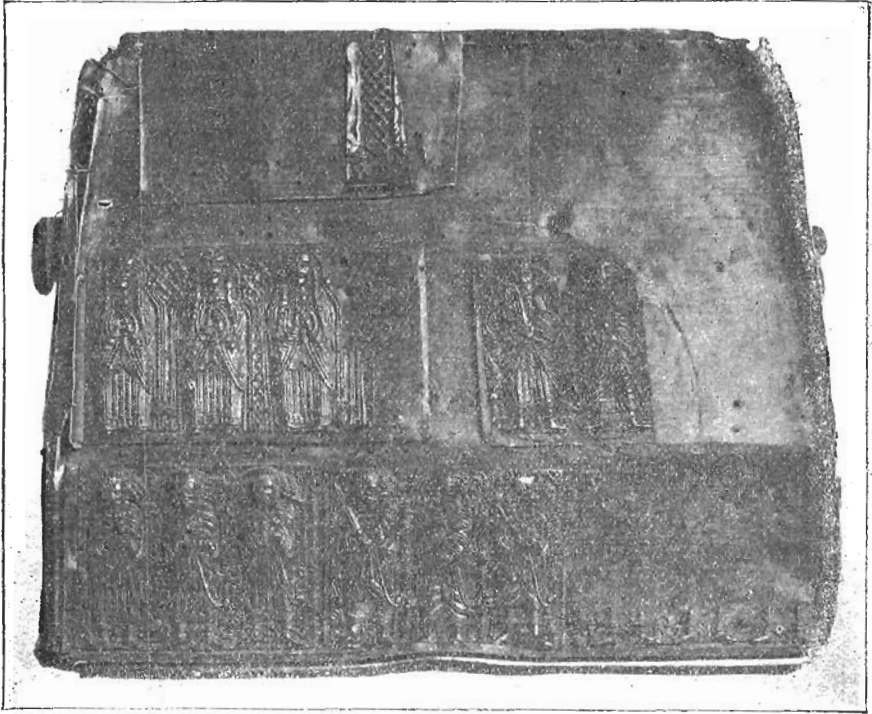
A general impression prevailed that the shrine closely resembled the exterior of the great Church of Drumlane. In confirmation of this Miss Stokes quoted the following sentence from a letter written in 1866, by the Very Rev. P. O’Reilly, P.P., of Drumlane: “It is said by the people of this parish who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

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

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

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

† Stokes, *The Breac Maedog*, p. 9.



SHRINE OF ST. MOEDOC: FRONT AND BASE.

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

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

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

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

Canon O'Hanlon adds the following note :—

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

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

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

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

Speaking of this polaire, Petrie observes :—

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

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

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

The next passage is from Miss Stokes :—

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

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

* *Round Towers*, p. 332.

† *Round Towers*, p. 333.

‡ *Breac Maedog*, p. 7.

§ *Plummer*, Vol. II., p. 258.

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

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

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

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

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

“ After binding and establishing his tribute and due honour on

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

† O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, p. 7.

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

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

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

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

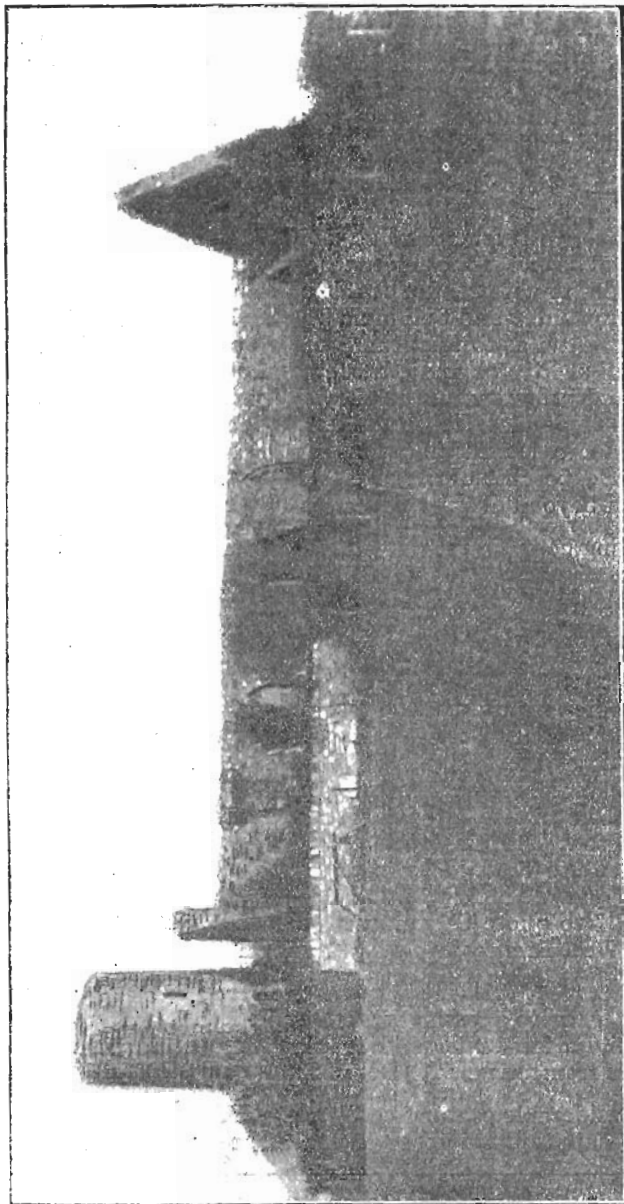


Photo by]

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, Introduction.

† O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, Anno. 1484.

‡ Quoted by O'Donovan, page 48, *Cavan Letters*.

lated from the Irish by Plummer (II., pp. 250, 251, and 254) :—

“ Columbeille and fair Caillin,
The two high saints ordained
That the division of the tribute dues without fault
Should be made in Drumlane.

.
A third of his tribute and dues
Maedoc the modest ordained
To glorious Drumlane
In which Aed made his abode.

Another third of the tribute without loss
To Cuillin na bFer nAlainn
Maedoc gave as chartered right
To his fair cemetery.

A third of every tribute levied here
Ferns evidently claims
As its portion from the northern quarter,
But without its being once delivered (there).

Two-thirds of Ferns' own tribute
Is to go by command of the righteous one
To Drumlane without hindrance,
And they themselves are to deliver it.

.
Over the men of Breifne, as is right,
To save them from the wrath of the Creator,
In Drumlane, on his own sacred soil,
Gentle Maedoc is judge.

Once when Maedoc was at Ferns at the end of his time, it was revealed to him that the term of his days was approaching.

He went thence to Drumlane. “ He left the headship and the coarbship of that church with Urcain, son of Oilhill, who was called Faircellach [Farrelly]. Maedoc had baptised this man, Urcain, and given him the name of Faircellach.” (Do. p. 256).

He then went to Rossinver, and sent in haste to Kildallan for Dallan Forgall, “ to be witness to his (testamentary) disposition in respect of his relics and high insignia, etc.”

Dallan comes at Maedoc's summons. The saint's bequest to Drumlane is :—“ I further leave the bell of the brooch and the bell of the hours to Drumlane, together with the other illustrious

and potent relic, namely, my beautiful wonder-working reliquary, which travelled with me to every place in which are relics of the saints and patriarchs . . . which had been divided with variegated arrangement between the Brec and the reliquary ; and this is why the name Brec (variegated) was given to it, because of the variegated arrangement together of the relics of the saints and virgins which had been united and made fast in it." (Do., p. 258).

Then he requests Dallan to convey his blessing to his various disciples, (Plummer, II., p. 263) :—

Take my blessing with thee eastwards,
O, Dallan, to the men of Breifne ;
'Tis to them I entrust my fair church,
Both men and cattle.

They never refused a monk of mine
In my lifetime clothing or food ;
There never was heard by beloved man
My rejection (?) by one of their princes.

Thus will they do for ever,
The family of Maelmorda above all,*
So that Christ may be ever gracious,
To their seed and descendants

My blessing on the descendants of Dunchad†
On the pleasant friendly band
Their society we have forsaken,
More beautiful the habitation to which I go.

Blessing on the house of Eochaid‡
The hardy plundering host,
They have as sod of possession
The well-known sod of my birth.§

Maedoc sent a hasty message to Dallan and to all the saints and other patriarchs who were not on the spot that they should come together in view of the death of the true saints and righteous men.||

* The O'Reillys.

† The McKiernan's and Masterson's of Tullyhunco.

‡ The Magaurans of Tullyhaw.

§ Port Island, in Templeport Lake.

|| Plummer, Vol. II., p. 265.

After Maedoc's death we read :—

Good is the saint of whom we speak,
Great Maedoc of Drumlane,
He went with renown on a victorious expedition
Un to the house of the Creator.

When fierce Maedoc died
Both wall and great garden,*
The church with its horned cattle,
Were entrusted by him to Faircellach. (Do. p. 278).

The last reference to Drumlane in Plummer, Vol. II., tells of the billeting, by Fergal O'Rourke, Prince of Tara, of soldiers on Drumlane, of the controversy between the coarb and Fergal, and the consequences. Observe here again the compiler's bias :—

Maelbrigde of the melodious voice
Concobar was his son ;
Maelbrigde did not succeed to the fair church,
But his son Concobar succeeded.

In the time of Concobar, head of schools,
After every one in Drumlane,
Came O'Rourke, with no weakly band,
To exact questing from the high church.

This was the number of the household of Fergal†
(Which came) to the city of elegant Maedoc,
Thirteen good men without concealment
Three and three hundred men of war.

.
' To a prince like thee it is not fitting,'
Such was the answer of Concobar,
' To be quartering soldiers on a church
Since thy care is for Ireland.

' Though thou wert Maedoc himself,'
Said Fergal then,
' I would quarter soldiers on thy church
While I am King over Erin.'

* The garden is still pointed out at Drumlane.

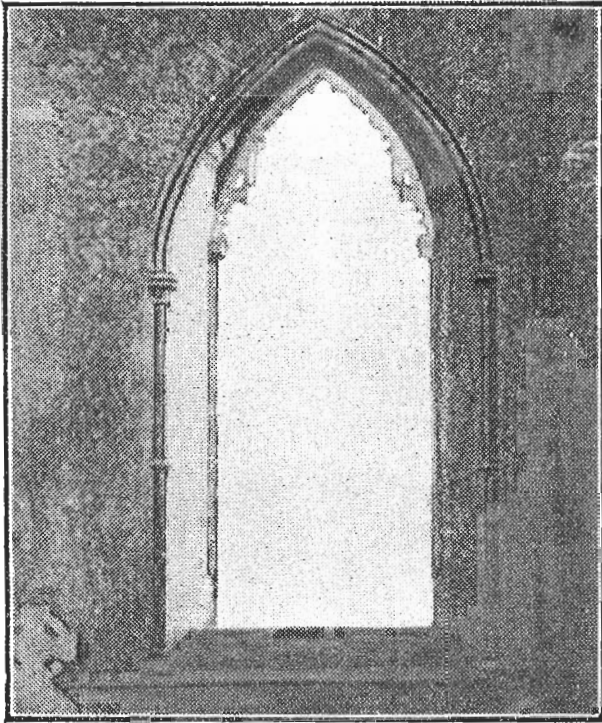
† This was Fergal O'Rourke, King of Connaught in 964.

Then arose and went
 O'Rourke and his household,
 They leave Drumlane without any stock,
 They carry it all to one place.

Abundant compensation for his plundering,
 Concohar, the coarb, received,
 Both depriving of O'Rourke of his Kingdom,
 And the exemption of his place for the billeting
 of soldiers. (Do., p. 278).

DRUMLANE CHURCH.

Let us now turn our attention to the Church, Round Tower and
 Abbey.



EAST WINDOW DRUMLANE CHURCH.

Photo by]

[REV. THOMAS J. BRADLEY, C.C., DRUMLANE.

“There was a church in existence at Drumlane in the sixth century, but this was totally destroyed before the year 1025, and the present edifice appears to belong to the 12th century,” Miss Stokes informs us.*

“There was here a celebrated monastery,” states Archdall, “which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was founded before the year 550, in which year St. Maidoc was born; to whom some have erroneously given the foundation.”†

In Vol. II. of Lord Dunraven’s *Irish Arch.* there is a map of Ireland illustrative of the invasions of the Norsemen. This map points out the line which they followed from Tir Aeda (Tirhugh in Donegal) on the Erne, in A.D. 836, to attack Devinish, Clones, and Drumlane. An ecclesiastical tower and church are marked at Drumlane. This church has long since disappeared. The more modern one is roofless, but, for a ruin, is in a good state of preservation. It has an internal area of 89 × 24 feet, and is as large as many of our modern churches. It has a door on the west gable, and a smaller door on each of the north and south sides.

The eastern gable contains a beautiful window (see illustration), though its stone mullions have disappeared.

On the south side there are three large windows, apparently modern. The north side contains two smaller rectangular ones. With the exception of the west gable, part of which has been demolished, the walls are still intact. This is due, to some extent, to repairs executed by the Board of Works in 1886-7, and subsequently.

From the illustrations, it will be noticed that a peculiarity of this church is the stone buttresses. They seem to have been erected, for the purpose of strengthening it, either during its construction or, perhaps, long afterwards.

THE ROUND TOWER.

Of the origin and uses of Round Towers, Dr. Petrie’s conclusions are:—

(1) “That the Towers are of Christian and Ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the 5th and 13th centuries.

(2) “That they were designed to answer, at least, a two fold use, namely, to serve as belfries, and as keeps, or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics, to whom they belonged, could retire for security in case of sudden predatory attack.

(3) “That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons, and watch-towers.”‡

* *Breac Maedoc*, p. 5.

† *Mon. Hib.*, Archdall, 1st Ed., p. 41.

‡ *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 4.

Drumlane Round Tower is the sole structure of the kind now remaining in the diocese of Kilmore ; indeed, it cannot be said with any approach to certainty that any other was ever erected in Breifny, East or West.

A very full description of it, well illustrated with drawings, is found in the *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, Vol. V., pp. 110 and 116 :—

“ The tower (we are there told) when viewed in connection with the Church, as shown in the sketch already given, inclines the observer to consider the opinion, that one object of these buildings was defence, as having some plausibility ; and this is confirmed by the very remarkable mode of building adopted in the tower ; for the lower part, to the height of twenty-two feet, is constructed of carefully wrought sandstone, and is equal in execution to the tower of Devenish itself, the stones being fitted to their places with great care. The doorway, which is in this part of the structure, partakes of the same skilful and admirable workmanship, being formed of stone of the full thickness of the walls, which in this part is three feet three inches. Its architrave projects boldly three or four inches from the general line of the ashlar, and the top, which is arched, is keyed in a workmanlike manner, as shown in the accompanying sketch.

“ In the upper part of what now remains of this building, a peculiarity of construction is observed which deserves to be noticed. After the point already mentioned is reached, a change takes place both in the material and workmanship, the remainder of the tower being built of coarse work of the meanest description. As there is no evidence whatever of the lower portion having been repaired or cased, at a period subsequent to its erection, there is little doubt that this work, at least what remains of it, now stands as originally erected ; another mystery connected with round Towers.

“ The probable solution is, that the object of the builder was to make the structure a place of defence ; and this was fully attained by the plan pursued ; for the lower portion would have resisted a degree of violence quite sufficient to destroy the upper part. It may also be noticed that the height of the ashlar-work reaches to about the same elevation as the walls of the church. If the parts had been reversed, the conclusion would have been that the building was the work of different periods ; one part exhibiting the first efforts of a rude people, and the other showing unmistakable evidence of an advanced state of architecture. Of this tower about 45 feet only now remain. Its exterior circumference at the base is 52 feet ; at the same part the internal diameter is ten feet six inches ; and, as already mentioned, the thickness of the wall, measured at the door, is three feet three inches. The entrance itself which is several feet above the ground,

is five feet six inches in height, and two feet wide at the sill, tapering to one foot eight inches and a half at the spring of the arch. Above the door, in the upper part of the tower, a small angular-headed window is observed, the top formed in the most simple manner, by two pieces of sand-stone inclined towards one another and meeting at the top."

Drumlane is in a limestone district. There is no sandstone except large boulders on or near the surface. The nearest sandstone quarries are near Cavan, in Latt, in an area on the lake side of Crossdoney, and near Ballyconnell. The builders of the tower probably used up all the available and suitable sandstone in the vicinity. Satisfied that the lower part of the building was secure, they then utilised coarser material which lay at hand.

Miss Stokes (loc. cit.) adverts to the same peculiarity of construction:—

"The round tower is peculiar in this respect, that while the lower part is built of fine ashlar masonry, the upper part is of the rude rubble work generally thought characteristic of an earlier period; the top is wanting, and it is not more than half its original height."

O'Donovan (*Cavan Letters*, pp. 4 and 5) opens his comments on Drumlane thus:—

"Drumlane, however, is so imposing that I am tempted to write a few words about it. It is called by the Irish, *Druim Leathan—Dorsum Latum*—a name which is not of ecclesiastical origin, but alludes to a beautiful ridge in the townland. The constant tradition of the country is that the 'round steeple' was built for a 'belfry.' Dean Richardson's story of an anchorite living on the top is not now known in the country, and old Kennedy, of Killycor House, a very intelligent gentleman, now in the 82nd year of his age, states that he never heard of an anchorite living in the steeple, *though he did* of a hermit living in a *cell* near the church. This tradition of a hermit living near the church must allude to Brian O'Farrelly who is recorded by the Four Masters to have commenced the erection of a *cloch angcoire* near the church." A.D. 1484 died John O'Faircheallaigh, a canon of the family of Drumlane, and Brian O'Faircheallaigh, a priest who had commenced the erection of an anchorite's stone cell at the Templemore of Drumlane.

In his edition of the Four Masters, O'Donovan, under the year 1484, returns to the subject:—

The late Mr. Kennedy, of Killycar, near Drumlane, who was maternally descended from the O'Farrellys, told the Editor, in May, 1836, that this *Cloch-Angcoire*, or anchorite's stone domicile, was a small, low, stone cell, situated near the great church of Drumlane. Harris, in his edition of

Ware's Antiquities, p. 135, states that *Cloch angoire* was the Irish name for the Round Tower of Drumlane; but Mr. Kennedy, who knew the Irish language and the tradition of Drumlane better than Harris, told the editor that the Round Tower of Drumlane was always called *claiḡtead*, in Irish, and that he always understood that it was the Irish term for *belfry*, and added, that the round steeple at Drumlane was originally built, and always, till about two centuries since, used, as a belfry.

The hypothesis that the towers were erected for the use of anchorites in imitation of the pillar of St. Simon the Stylite, Dr. Petrie remarks, originated with Dean Richardson of Belturbet, and has been warmly advocated by Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware's works, pp. 130-135, and in later times by the celebrated architectural antiquaries, Dr. Milner and Mr. King. . . .

As to the tradition [that an anchorite lived on the top of Drumlane tower] it scarcely deserves comment. If there were a tradition of a recluse having lived on the tower of Drumlahan, it must have referred to a period not very remote; and the circumstance of a religious enthusiast having taken up his residence there—as the hermit of Killarney did, in the abbey of Mucross—would no more make the one than the other, an *anchorite stone*, or tower. But I have the authority of the Rev. Mr. Beresford, the present Rector of Drumlahan, that the only tradition relative to the tower preserved there is, that it was a *cloitheach*, or belfry (p. 113). . . .

What description of cell the *cloch angoire* of Drumlahan was, or whether it was of any particular form, it is scarcely necessary to our purpose to inquire. It is enough for us to know that it was certainly not the existing tower, which is of very remote antiquity, nor a building of the round tower form or character, as there could have been no necessity to erect such a structure there, if that which already existed had been considered applicable to the purpose. But it cannot be questioned that the habitation of the anchorite at Drumlahan, or as it is now called, Drumlane, was, like other hermits' cells, a small, low, stone cell; for it was so described to Mr. O'Donovan in 1836, by the late Mr. Kennedy* of that place . . . who also told him that the building was partly remaining in his grandfather's time, and situated near the church (p. 114).

In confirmation of the last sentence, let me present the views of the author of the *Round Towers of Ulster*. He writes in 1844:—

“The writer is not aware of this tradition existing at pre-

* The Mr. Kennedy, of Killycar, mentioned so often here, was a retired East Indian Civil Servant, and well educated. He left Killycar, some time before his death, to live with members of his family resident in Dublin. After his death his remains were interred in Drumlane.

sent. He recollects, when pursuing his enquiries at Drumlane, being shown what was said to be the remains of a cell, at some distance from the church, wherein tradition said a recluse had at some time resided.”*

In July, 1844, two Belfast antiquarians—Messrs. Getty and Grattan†—carried out an examination of the interior of the tower. They found it filled to within eight feet of the door or window with rubbish, which they set about removing. Having thrown out the usual kind of debris to a depth of three feet, they came to a solid clay floor with distinct traces of lime, similar to what they observed in other towers. Under this floor, they discovered the greater part of a human skull and the principal bones of a skeleton, as well as the bones of oxen, deer, and a dog. Nothing of importance beyond these was unearthed, though the excavators went down to where the foundation stones narrowed the interior.

The Rev. Charles O’Reilly, then C.C., of Drumlane, who assisted in the investigations, drew their attention to a part of the solid floor which evidently had been tampered with before. The excavators were relieved of their perplexity by the timely and unexpected arrival of a young man, Philip Rudden (later a well-known teacher in the district) who threw light on the object of the earlier diggers. An old woman had dreamt that opposite the “cock and hen” engraved on the exterior, a crock of gold was buried within. Her friends hastened to the tower, and, having made vain efforts in search of the illusive treasure—so often reputed to be hidden underneath old ruins—departed, unbelievers, we may be sure, in the visionary dreams of old women.

Tradition alleges that an underground passage led from the church to the abbey by the lake shore; that a woman erected the first stage of the tower; and that a silver bell that once sat on the apex of this tower now lies submerged in Drumlane Lough.

It is of this bell O’Donovan writes :—“The bell which spoke with a silver tongue in the top of the tower is now in the bottom of the adjoining lake, and it is reported that its silver tongue was found not many years ago.”‡

Of the Abbey only one solitary wall remains. It seems to have had a frontage facing the west, with a wing attached to its north end projecting eastward.

The Papal Registers give an item, under July, 1431, that possibly may be connected with this wing. It reads :—

“Relaxation of three years and three quarantines of enjoined penance to penitents, who, on the feast of the Assump-

* Getty, *Round Towers of Ulster*, p. 11, note.

† *Ibid.*, p. 79.

‡ *Cavan Letters*, p. 6.

tion, visit the church of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Mary, the Virgin, Druimleathan, in the diocese of Kilmore, and give alms for the building (ad fabricam) of a cloister, refectory and several other necessary edifices.”

We know the funds were required for an addition to the Monastery, since the latter was already existing; a wing attached to the main building would be, then, as now, the more usual method of making an extension.

That the Canons succeeded in getting a favourable response to their appeal we may conclude, since, as we shall see further on, their next undertaking was to repair the church, for which more extensive privileges were offered to almsgivers and penitents.

Some thirty years ago, a farmer in the neighbourhood set about removing stones from the ruins of the old abbey to erect a byre. The late Rev. Robert Leech—to his eternal credit be it told—promptly exposed this bit of vandalism in the *Anglo-Cell*, and succeeded in preserving the abbey from further desecration.

COARB AND ERENACH.

Definitions of two terms that will frequently occur, in the course of a summary, in chronological order, of events pertaining to Drumlane, are necessary here. These are the words Coarb or Comharba and Erenach.

In Canon O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*, the following explanation of these terms is given:—

The Comhorba was the vicar, a legal representative of the patron saint or founder of the church; but the word Comhorba is not exclusively ecclesiastical, for in the ancient laws of Erin it meant the heir and conservator of the inheritance, and it is in the latter sense it is always used in our ecclesiastical writings.

There was an understood original compact, recognised by the Brehon laws, which vested the Comharbship of the church and its lands in two families, namely, in that of the patron saint or founder, and in that of the person who gave the original site and endowment.

It was the family of the patron saint that invariably supplied the Abbot, as long as there could be found among them even a psalm-singer to take the office; and when they failed to supply a fit person, then he was sought from the family of the owner of the land. If, in the meantime, a better and more learned man of the patron's family should spring up, the abbacy was to be handed over to him; but if he were not better, he should wait until it became vacant by death or otherwise

It, however, in the absence of a qualified person from either family, an unqualified person should succeed as temporal heir, he was obliged to provide a suitable clergyman to discharge the offices of the church, according to its dignity, whilst the natural Abbot administered the temporal offices and the management of the land.



A REGULAR CANON OF ST. AUGUSTIN.

(Reproduced from Alemand & Stevens' *Monasticon Hibernicum*—
London, 1722).

The Airchinnech or Erenach was a mere temporal agent or steward of the church lands, under the Comharba, whoever he might be. He sometimes took the tonsure and some other minor order, which raised his *eric*, or composition, in case of

any injury or insult offered to him. He was generally a married man, without any official value or reverence of person but what was derived from the character or ecclesiastical dignity of the patron saint, whose secular inheritance he managed. It happened often, however, that the whole administration of the church and its land was performed by one and the same person. This was when the Abbott, bishop, or priest performed himself the clerical duties, and also acted as his own Airchinnech or steward.

That the offices of Abbot, Coarb and Erenach were vested in the same person in Drumlane is obvious from the early obits of superiors of that sanctuary.

Sub anno 1025, the *Four Masters* record the death of an Abbot of Drumlane; under the same year, the *Annals of Ulster*, speaking of this identical person, call him *Erenach*. In 1059, the *Four Masters*, recording the demise of another Drumlane superior, call him *Erenach* and Successor of Maedoc, i.e., Coarb.

MODE OF LIFE.

It is relevant to the subject we are discussing to ask what sort of life the residents of this and other old Irish Monasteries led.

In the *Life of St. Columban*, Mrs. Conannon delineates in picturesque diction (pp. 69-75) the indoor and outdoor occupation of the monks of St. Columban's time:—

During the whole year, except between Easter and Pentecost the fourth and sixth feriac i.e., Wednesday and Friday, were fast days and no food was taken before "None," unless some "troublesome guest" rendered a dispensation desirable, for charity went before sacrifice in the spirit of the old Irish canon. During the Lents—the "Summer Lent" and the "Winter Lent"—the solitary meal was taken in the evening. But apart from these specialised forms of prayer, it is true to say that every action of the monks was a prayer. They never left their little bothies without kneeling for a blessing. They never raised a spoonful of food to their lips without signing the spoon with the sign of the cross. The "improbable labor" with which they conquered the stubborn earth, and wrung it into generous fruitfulness, was accompanied by prayer. Every homely duty—the milking of the cows, the building of the huts, the labours of seed-time and harvest—was sanctified by prayer.

So in a very special way, in a way that goes beyond the ordinary signification which we attach to the teaching *laborare est orare*, their lives were a continual prayer.

In communities like the Irish Monasteries, which were practically self-supporting, one had no occasion to look very far for an opportunity of practising the precept of work.

It lay ready to hand in sufficient quantity. Everything eaten, and worn, and used by the monks themselves, and the scholars who came to them for instruction, and the poor who flocked to the gate of their vallum, had to be produced by the labour of their own hands. . . . Their farming operations were thus necessarily extensive; and farm work, in those days, with primitive tools, must have been very difficult and very heavy.

While the monks on the farm laboured to produce the raw food materials, there was plenty of work for others in the preparation of it. . . . Was there a special "Miller" among the monks, or are the old tales right which show us students and monks taking their turn at the mill—as in more primitive establishments they took them at the quern? The "baker" whose functions demanded expert skill was, apparently, a permanent functionary; and the same is probable true of the cook. We must imagine both these officers kept pretty busy in their own premises where they kept the tools of their trade—a sieve, a kneading trough and a baking stone in the case of the baker, and a cauldron with its fork, and hazel rod spit and skewers, and even gridirons, in the case of the cook.

Boats were needed for their journeys and for their fishing expeditions; and boatmaking must, therefore, have formed a large proportion of the manual work, etc.

The clothing of a large community . . . gave plenty of employment in itself. Every process, from the shearing of the sheep to the sewing of the garments, was performed within the monastery enclosure. The wool, after being cut with long shears, not unlike hedge-cutters, was greased and scoured; then it was teased and double-corded, and spun into balls with distaff and spindle. The next process was weaving, and this would appear to have been carried out on a hand-loom, not unlike those at present in use. The "tailoring" was of the simplest description. The monks wore a long, plain garment of undyed wool, belted round the waist, and a cowl of the same material.

They wore on their feet coverings identical with the "pampooties" worn by the Arran Islanders to the present day. They were made of untanned hide, shaped roughly to the feet, and fastened with thongs.

To specially skilled monks were assigned the duties of Carpenter, and Smith, and Brazier. We know from the Breton Laws, and the old tales, how high these craftsmen ranked in the social scale, and the fact argues for the long years of expensive preparation which were recognised as necessary, and the distinction such highly specialised training conferred.

One famous craftsman in brass—a cerdd, to use his technical name—is associated with Bangor, St. Daigh, and we may picture him going each morning . . . to his own special workshop, a little hut of wood fitted up with anvil and bellow and moulds and hammers, and bags of charcoal, and all the other tools and appliances necessary for his work, and with the help of some young monk, whom he was training in the craft, manufacturing what the martyrology of Donegal ascribes to him :—

Thrice fifty bells, victorious deed,
With one hundred strong-ringed, croziers,
With sixty perfect Gospels
By the hand of Daigh alone.

PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.,
Bailieboro'.

(To be continued.)

APPENDIX.

In May, 1925, an authority on Mediæval Architecture, Mr. Liam S. Gógan, M.A., of the National Museum, Dublin, kindly came down and paid a visit to Drumlane. Subjoined are his observations :—

Ard-Mhusaeum na h-Eireann,
Baile Átha Cliath,
25/5/25.

REV. FATHER O'REILLY,
Maide Ban, Co. Cavan.

A CHARA,

I trust that you have not been impatient at my delay in writing, but I thought it well to refrain until the photograph of the O.P.W. [Office of Public Works] plan was ready. This I now send you, and, while some details are open to question, I believe you will find it of considerable interest. You will notice for example that the author of the plan ignored the interesting north window (two lights under horizontal hood-moulding) which your helper cleared of ivy for us. You will also notice that the heads decorating the E. window hood-moulding are not in accordance with our observations (actually two crowned heads and one mitred head).

The existing remains of an ecclesiastical character are those of :—

1. Belfry or round tower ;
2. An abbey church ;

3. Abbey domestic buildings : while from literary evidence we are led to infer the existence of

- (a) A pre-Maodhog cell (between 450-555), perhaps the successor of a pagan shrine ;
- (b) A Maodhog foundation (circa 575) ;
- (c) Post-Maodhog structures corresponding to tower (circa 1025).
- (d) A church and abbey of Austin Canons (established at Colchester, England, in 1105).

1. The belfry may, on the basis of her own data, be classed in the last of the four divisions drawn up by Miss Margaret Stokes (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 147). The masonry is of two kinds, (a) good sandstone, well coursed for one-half the actual height, the rest being (b) of roughly coursed rubble masonry in which is embedded many blocks similar to those composing the Abbey church and buildings, presenting the appearance of two separate cylinders of masonry one superimposed on the other. The builders of the rubble wall either found or made the lower wall level before starting: the Board of Works in due course levelled the top of the rubble portion and filled up a considerable gap at the same time. These two unkeyed sections of masonry are flush outside, but the upper wall begins its flight some six inches thinner than the lower. The doorway, the threshold of which is about nine feet from the ground, is covered by a true arch of good workmanship, consisting of three voussoirs which are also "through stones". The inner jambs are recessed for a door. The windows, which are found in the upper portion, are headed with cut arches which are not at all through stones. Vastly different hands, therefore, built the upper and lower sections. The vague carvings found about six feet from the ground on the eastern arc of the tower wall are worthy of comment.

2. The church, which has, we may safely presume, replaced an earlier building, is rectangular in plan and is devoid of aisles, transept and annexes: there is no marked division of nave and chancel. The masonry consists of moderately well squared and coursed blocks. The buttressing is remarkable. The buttresses, which are disposed irregularly, are in most cases massive in character and now present a side elevation triangular in shape. They are difficult to understand, but the following explanations are feasible:—(a) Remains of buttress capping indicate that some are original, (b) Sagging of walls, (c) Weakening of fabric by the introduction of modern windows, tomb-niches etc., may have led to the introduction of others, (d) Some are perhaps the remains of annexes. It is a point that deserves investigation. The west end doorway is notable for its roundhead and its archivolt of simple mouldings, the most striking of which is the nail-head or simple dog-tooth moulding. There is none of the recessing

characteristic of Irish and English Romanesque styles. As keystone there is a finely carved mitred head of the same style as the console inserted "ar nós cuma liom" over the repaired two-light window in the south wall, the mullion, head and hood of which have disappeared leaving but slight traces behind. Taking this doorway in conjunction with the pointed windows of the south wall, I would be inclined to put the building in the second half of the 13th century. The east window may be dated to about 1350 and the two-light window under a horizontal hood in the north wall at least a quarter of a century later. The window in the north wall, nearest the door in the north wall, is rather a casemate than a window proper, and is probably post-suppression. A more prolonged examination of the building than we were able to give it would no doubt repay the trouble.

3. Regarding the remains of the domestic buildings I do not wish to offer any comment. I refer you to the O.P.W. plan, which compares rather well with that indicated on your geological map of Cavan, and to the subjoined note still legible in the photograph. The surveyor was apparently under the impression that he had to do with a building much older than the church, and this is scarcely likely. I have no doubt however that your researches on the historical side will help to settle some of the still outstanding problems.

Le meas,

L. S. GÓGAN.

P.S.—In the *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. XVII, (Consecutive Series)—*i.e.*, vol. for 1885-6, is to be found the account of the finding of an iron caldron on the shore of the lake near the ruins, attributed tentatively by the late E. C. R. Armstrong to the Halstatt period of the early Iron Age (*op. cit.* vol. LIV. p. 114).

In glancing through the *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, there seems to have been at least a dozen Maedhógs, if Madog is British form of the name.

BREIFNE BEFORE THE UL-BRIUIN.

(PART II).

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

Historians and ethnologists have gone far afield in search of the parent stock of the Belgæ; yet all the time that stock lay close at hand in the transrhene quarter indicated by Cæsar. It was the Hercynian Volcae who Celticised the Germani of the Rhineland during the centuries when the Germani lived under them as subjects.* As time progressed hordes of the Volcae crossed the Rhine and settled in north-east Gaul, attracted by the superior fertility of the soil. The Germani eventually rose out against the Volcae, threw off the yoke of servitude, and made independent incursions into Gaul. In Gaul the Volcae reappear as Belgæ, this being not necessarily the name in use among themselves, but the name they bore among the Western Celts; and when Cæsar reached Gaul the Belgæ and Germani had become so thoroughly intermixed everywhere between the Rhine and the Seine that territorially the breeds were well-nigh indistinguishable. All this emerges patently and readily from the informations left us by Julius Cæsar and Titus Livius.†

The choicest troops of the armies which followed Bolgius and Brennus to the Balkans in the third century B.C. were recruited among the same Hercynian populations, and were officered by young chiefs of the Volcae.‡ As Tectosages those Volcae enriched the Galatian capital at Ancyra with the spoils and the tributes of Western Asia. From their eyrie on Mount Scordus, now the Schar Dagh, another division of Tectosages overawed every sub-Danubian kingdom between the Adriatic and the Euxine; nor did they desist from flaying that wide region when they subsequently settled in Pannonia§ around the fortress of Singidunum, the present Belgrade, on the Danube.

The sovereignty which the Celts wielded in Thrace for upwards of eighty years originated in the conquest of that country by Comontorius,|| a Celtic general whose battalions, there is good

* See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes*, pp. 170-2.

† Livy, Bk. V., chap. 34, contains the fundamental text. I might have included C. Cornelius Tacitus, for in his *Germania*, cap. 28, he corroborates and amplifies the testimony of Cæsar and Livy.

‡ See Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, II., p. 276 *et seq.*

§ See Justin, XXXII., chap. 3.

|| Polybius, IV., chap. 46.

reason to believe, were manned chiefly by Tectosages. The Tectosages, or Volcae, of Illyria and Pannonia appear in Roman history as Scordisci,* having been thus renamed in the south because of their association with Mount Scordus. When the Celts sank from rulers to subjects in Thrace, after the death of their last king, Cavarus, an exodus of Celtic aristocrats from the country no doubt ensued. But the rank and file of the Celtic colony apparently remained behind in considerable numbers, and begot a progeny which, for several generations, transmitted the martial qualities of the race, without impairment, from sire to son. Writing of the Balkan populations as they had regrouped themselves a full century after the reign of Cavarus, the historian Florus declares that "of all the Thracians the Scordisci were the most intractable."†

In ancient Greece the belief was universally entertained that the Celts who pillaged Delphi, and swarmed over the Propontis into Asia, had been nurtured near the northmost bounds of Europe, among the inhospitable tracts that adjoined the ocean and the river Eridanus, or Rhine.‡ If we are to appreciate the significance of this tradition it will behove us to take note of the wide distribution of Tectosages, in the third century B.C., among the Balkan and Asiatic borderlands of the Euxine, and then to turn our eyes backwards to the transrhenane seat where Cæsar long afterwards discovered the last remnant of the Hercynian Volcae Tectosages. Our mediæval literature abounds in allusions to Thrace and Greece, which not merely associate the exiled Fir Bolg intimately with these countries, but trace to the same source the mischievous propensities that were believed to have ineradicably infected the Fir-Bolg character. That literature clearly presupposes the existence, in the Ireland which was taken over governmentally by the Gaels, of a body of traditions closely identifying the Bolg as a people with Greece and Thrace.

During the time when the Tectosages ruled in Thrace the direct overland routes between the North Sea and the Euxine were all controlled by Celts; and the Celts whose chain-works of military encampments dominated those routes belonged mainly, if not solely, to the generic family of Volcae. During the same period the armies of Celts operating around Macedonia and Thrace were frequently reinforced by bands of youthful volunteers from the

* See, e.g. Livy, Bk. XI., chap. 57.

† "Saeuissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere." Florus, II, 4. In view of this evidence Polybius would seem to overstate when he says (*loc. cit.*) that the Thracian Celts were annihilated after the destruction of their kingdom (*circa* 200 B.C.).

‡ See e.g., Plutarch's *Camillus*, sec. 22, and Pausanias, Bk. I., secs. 3 and 4. The original Eridanus of the Greeks, though the name got associated in later centuries with both the Rhone and the Po, was a north-flowing river which discharged its waters among a group of amber islands (Electrides). See Julian's *Histoire de la Gaule*, I., 229.

Hercynian homelands. A steady tide of Celtic emigration thus flowed south across the Danube conveying to Balkan lands relays of young Volcae, all thirsting for the prizes, the distinctions, the glorious excitements of a warrior's life amidst those resounding camps and battlefields which were winning riches and new realms for the race.

The supremacy of the Celts in Thrace collapsed; and within fifty years of that event Rome, having in succession overthrown Antiochus the Great, conquered the Celts of Galatia, and shattered the Macedonian dynasty, became the paramount power at both sides of the Archipelago. The Balkans then ceased to be a profitable, or even a safe, abode for the Tectosages, and the southward flow of Celtic soldiers of fortune from the Elbe and the Rhine was arrested. For another century Scordisci roamed the countries below the Danube; but they did so rather as freebooters than as an organised military force. At length, in 71 B.C., a Roman general having cut his way to the bank of the great Celtic river, the last available entrance to the south was closed for ever against the incursions of Hercynian Volcae. The Celts were rolled back to their northern latitudes, and thenceforth they could gratify their passion for foreign adventure only by traversing the seas beyond.

The Bolg invaders of Ireland came hither armed with La Tène weapons, and brought with them, I suspect, an abundant store of tales about the exploits of their kinsmen around Greece and Thrace. These traditions were travestied by the Gaels, in obedience to the universal principle which dooms every pretension of a subject people to be reviled and misrepresented by that people's rulers. From earliest times, no doubt, our coasts were assailed at intervals by raiders who put to sea from Rhineland ports; but when the Celts had been hurled north beyond the Alps and the Danube such sporadic ventures assuredly developed into schemes of tribal transplantation from the outer Rhinelands to Ireland.

To this era belongs the invasion, or sequence of invasions, with which our legends link the names of Slinghe and his four associate commanders. The personal followers of Slinghe were called Gaileoin, a name which the Leabhar Gabhala derives from the matchless valour (*gal*) of that fighting stock*. The quality of a people's valour is demonstrable only in warfare, and in proportion to the efficiency there exhibited in the use of deadly weapons rises the measure of its worth. *Gal* primarily meant something more than valour in the abstract.

* The Irish version of Nennius (p. 44) enlarges the name into *Fir Gaileoin* and equates it with *Viri Armorum*.

He who hurled his *ga*,* or javelin, with unerringly destructive effect against the enemy was preeminently the man of *gal*.

The *Wiro* ground-form of *ga*, or *gae*, was *gaiso*, the theme of the Greek *gaisos* and of the Latin *gaesum*, words which both mean a spear. The transalpine allies who aided the Italian Celts in their life and death encounters with Rome, and whom Polybius and Plutarch style GAISATOI (Gaesatae), appear in the Capitoline Fasti as *Germani*.† By origin *Gaesatae* and *Germani* are military designations whose import would place them in the same category as the English terms *archers*, *lancers*, *grenadiers* or *fusiliers*. They were applied, one by the Celts,‡ the other by the Romans, to those formidable regiments of spear-men that sprang up perennially along the Rhine and the upper Rhone, among the seats of an old and prolific population whose hereditary calling was war. Identical in breed and in name with the same *Germani*, or *Gaesatae*, were the *Galleoin*§ of our iron age invasions. But just as the tribal occupiers of north-east Gaul in Cæsar's time, though largely interblended with *Germani*, were collectively known as *Belgæ*, so most likely is the *Leabhar Gabhala* quite warranted in saying of the triple host that seized on Ireland, "it is correct to call them all *Fir Bolg* in general."

The mist of enigma that has gathered round *Fir-Bolg* may be dissipated, I think, by the simple expedient of eliminating its extrinsic element *Fir*. The residual *Bolg*, wherein we see plainly reflected the shape and countenance of *Bolgæ*, would appear to me to have infixd itself in Gaelic as an unequivocal loan-word from some Celtic dialect; and the dialect, I surmise, was none other than the Rhineland *patois* of the *Germani*. The school of Gaelic historians represented by Keating and O'Clery, for whom the miscellany of late-born romances known as the *Leabhar Gabhala* possesses the authority of a contemporary record of events, not

* The Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension, which has been edited by Whitley Stokes, explains *hasta* in Irish by *ga*. (Irish Glosses, p. 8). In the Heroic Tales the forms used are *gae* and *gai*. The implement with which Cuchulainn slew Ferdiad was the *gae bulgae* (gapped *gae*).

† See Mommsen's *History of Rome*, II., p. 78.

‡ *Germani* is a Celtic word (see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und Die Nachbarstämme*, p. 59), used to denote the pre-Celtic, but not pre-*Wiro*, population of the Rhenish provinces whom the Celts of Segovesus (see *Ivry V.*, 34) had subjugated and Celticised. The geographical name *Germania*, on the other hand, dates only from the time of Cæsar ("vocabulary recens et nuper additum," Tacitus, *Germania*, II). The Romans, under Augustus, extended the name over the vast, unknown region between Gaul and Scythia, thus turning a medley of diverse races into "Germani."

§ Philological authorities are in complete agreement as to the phonetic equivalence of *gaisos*, *ger*, and *gai* (*gae* or *ga*). See e.g. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch (sub voce ger)*; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 340; W. Stokes, in *Irish Glosses*, p. 57; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, p. 41. The proofs of such equivalence are supplied by two well-established postulates, viz., the interchangeability of *r* and *s* in *Wiro* languages, and the disappearance of inter-vocalic *s* from Gaelic inlaut.

alone at every turn of the legendary wanderings of the Gaels, but also at every stage of the pre-Gaelic story of our country, have unheedingly degraded the Fir-Bolg, doubtless beyond the possibility of redemption, into a body of earth-carriers, or "Men of the Sacks." In Irish the word *bolg* or *bolc* undoubtedly did, and does, mean a sack. But, seeing that in old Irish *bolc* likewise meant a gap,* it seems strange that, among a school of historians who had a particular fondness for etymological puerilities,† not one should have thought of transforming the Fir Bolg into "Men of the Gaps."‡

Unfortunately for the social credit of the Bolg some innovating scholastic, or raconteur, at an early date prefixed a pleonastic *fir* to their name,§ and thus tempted their disdainful oppressors, the Gaels, to read a depreciatory meaning into a venerable name-word. He who would render Fir-Bolg worthily in English should write, I feel convinced, not "Men of the Sacks," but "that virile race, I mean the Bolg."

Though, in the historical notation of the Gaels, the formula Fir-Bolg became the professorial symbol, it did not quite succeed in ousting the original name from Gaelic literature. As late as the tenth century Eochaidh Ua Floinn, who enjoyed a foremost celebrity among his contemporaries both in history and in poetry, used the primitive form in its dual shapes Bolg and Bolcc. In his poem on the Tuatha De Danann he twice replaces the conventional *Fir* by *Tuath*; and, while presenting the pair of compounds in the accusative case, the poet evidently treats Bolg and Bolcc as genitives, for in both instances the initial consonant is eclipsed.||

What interpretation should we admit for Ua Floinn's *Tuath Bolg*? *Tuath* signifies a folk-group having a separate social and political status. A political or social entity can be composed only of human beings; and I doubt whether the most wildly imaginative of fabulists could conceive the idea of a self-subsisting

* See Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 236.

† A typical illustration of this weakness is afforded by the L. Gabhala's derivation of *Fir Domnann*, viz., *fir doman-shuinn*, "the men who used to deepen (or dig, *doimhnighedh*) the earth." It is not easy to realise that this pun was perpetrated by serious antiquaries who knew perfectly well that *doman*, or *domun*, stands for *mundus*, not for *terra*.

‡ This hypothesis has been actually proposed in recent years by a scholar of eminence. (See *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.* Vol. X., p. 188).

§ The Irish translator of Nennius—who is supposed to have been the eleventh century poet, and historian, Giolla Caoimghin—similarly amplified *Gaileoin* into *Fir Gaileoin*, and discovered said people to be the offspring of Galeoin, "son of Ercal" (Hercules). *Irish Nennius*, p. 49.

|| "For Tuath mBolcc" (*L. Gabhala*, edited by Macalister and MacNeill, p. 154). "For Thuath mBolg" (*Ibid.*, p. 158).

“Community of Sacks.”* Eochaidh Ua Floinn’s Tuath Bolg means, not the “tuath of the sacks,” but the confederacy, or commonwealth, of the Bolg colonisers of Ireland.

Still some objector may urge that the *m-Bolg* of “for Tuath *m-Bolg*” was intended to serve as a contraction of *Fer mBolg*. Grammar, no doubt, has often been invoked in mitigation of very flagrant licences of language. But the grammarian who would fain uphold the equation “Tuath Bolg = the nation of sackmen” must be prepared to answer the further challenge to his ingenuity that is offered by the syntax of *Bolg Tuath*. The O’Kelly kingdom of Ui-Maine had two subordinate *pagi*, or family-clusters, which were registered in the kingdom’s archives by their official designation Bolg Tuath. The seat of one of these folk-groups lay in North Roscommon, in the region of Sliabh Badhna. The second occupied a small territory in South Galway, around the slopes of Sliabh Echtge. We read in the Book of Lecan “*Le Bolg-thuathaib bagna denam a isdad*”; and, again, “*Biathad a graidi ocus a comed ar Bolg thuath Echthgi*.”† In O’Donovan’s translation these passages are construed, respectively, “The Bolgic tribes of Badhna have the building of his”—that is, of the O’Kelly over-king’s—“edifices, etc.,” and “The Bolgic tribe of Echtge have the feeding and keeping of his stud.”

The genitive plural of the common noun *bolg* being likewise *bolg*, it is undeniable that “men of the sacks” is correctly rendered in Irish by “Fir bolg.” But, inasmuch as this *bolg* becomes *bolga* in the nominative and accusative plural, and *bolgaib* in the dative plural, it can have nothing whatever to do with either one or other of the expressions, *le Bolg thuathaib bagna* and *ar Bolg thuath Echthgi*. The fact that the Irish equivalent of “men of the sacks” is “Fir bolg” might count for much if *bolg* were a word of only one signification;‡ but even so that fact would yield us little help for resolving the constructions *le Bolg thuathaib* and *ar Bolg thuath*.

* The monstrosity of such a notion must have been apparent to the Editors of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, whose trusty judgment is demonstrated by their English renderings of the expressions here cited, viz., “against the race of Bolg,” and “from the Bolg race,” respectively. I would suggest *nation*, in the sense which it conveys in our sixteenth century records [e.g., “commission”—issued to divers magnates of the Pale in May, 1565—] to treat with Hugh O’Reigly (O’Reilly), captain of his nation.” Fiants of Elizabeth, I, p. 112] as a more suitable term than *race*.

† *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, ed. by O’Donovan, pp. 90 and 92. In a poem cited by MacFirbis, *Bolg thuath Muighe Luirg* and *Bolghuath buird Baghna* are mentioned (*L. Geneal.*, p. 51).

‡ In modern Irish *bolg* may mean quite a variety of objects, such as sack, stomach, belly, bulge, pustule, belows, etc. (See Dinneen’s Dictionary), all of which involve the idea of expansibility or inflation. It is fundamentally the same word as the English *bag*, which in the Anglo-Saxon of Northumbria was written *baelig* and *baelg* (see Skeat’s *Etymol. Dict. of the English Language*).

The *Bolg* of these phrases cannot be an adjective, for no such adjectival form ever existed in Irish. The *thuath* of *Bolg thuath*, being transparently a genitive of either the dual or plural number, needs a substantive for its government. The governing *Bolg*, moreover, being itself governed by the preposition *ar*, must be taken as a noun in the accusative case; and the clause when translated literally will read in English: "To the *Bolg* of the cantonments of Echtge is the foddering and the stewardship of his steed-herds." In the companion clause *Bolg*, not being an adjective, must necessarily be a substantive in apposition with *thuathaib*,* that is to say, a dual or plural substantive in the dative case; and in this instance the literal translation would run: "With the *Bolg*, to wit, the petty folk-units of Badhna, is the making of his buildings, etc."

Thus *Bolg* functions both as an accusative—a case which for o-stem nouns does not differ in shape from the nominative—and as a dative, in verbal collocations which invest it with a manifest character of plurality; while, as has been seen, the same term appears unchanged in the genitive form employed by Eochaidh Ua-Floinn. From these premises I draw the necessary inference that the body-shape of *Bolg* has never been affected by Gaelic accident.† The older school of grammarians, who were content to classify inflectionless nouns as indeclinable, would have been fully justified in relegating *Bolg* to that category.

The analogy of *Fir Donnann* would suggest that the *Bolg* of *Fir Bolg* was, from an early date, regarded as a genitive. Yet I am strongly disposed to believe that the originator of the appellative *Fir Bolg* meant *Bolg* to be read as a nominative, standing in apposition with *Fir*.‡ The tradition of an incursive folk-troop called *Bolg* was known to the Cymric author Nennius in the eighth century, and in the section of his *Historia Britonum* which pertains to the early peopling of Ireland the tradition was recorded by him thus: "Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter" (Builc with his followers took possession of Man and other adjacent islands).§ The name-word *Builc* of this passage is clearly ethnic, not personal, in connotation; just as, in the opinion of C. Jullian,|| is the name *Belgius* or *Bolgius*, the reputed vanquisher of Ptolemy Ceraunos in 282 B.C. The *Leabhar*

* If the first member of the combination (*Bolg-thuathaib*) stood for sack, as personifying sack-men, it would have been written *bolgaib*.

† It will hardly be claimed that the eclipsis or aspiration of the anlaut constitutes inflection.

‡ The normal declension of the compound term, as shown in the *Dinnsenchus* poems and other mediæval texts, would run: nom. and acc. *Fir Bolg*; gen. *Fer mBolg*; dat. *Feraib Bolg*. Stokes's *Coir Anmann* aspirates the initial *b* in the nominative, making the combination *Fir Bholg*; and later writers (e.g. Keating and MacFirbis) do likewise, though not invariably. O'Clery (F. Masters and L. Gabhala) replaces *Bolg* by *Bolcc*.

§ Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, cap. 14.

|| See his *Histoire de la Gaule*, I., p. 300.

Gabhala tells that, when overthrown by the Tuatha De Danann, the Fir Bolg who survived fled "into the outer isles and islets of the sea, so that they dwelt in them after that."*

With good warrant, therefore, did A. G. Van Hamel of Rotterdam maintain: "The name *Fir Bolg* is older than the tradition of their coming over on their bags, and must have a different origin. That tradition was invented as an explanation of the name at a time when its true meaning was no longer understood (800-1000);"† and he might have affirmed furthermore, with substantial justification, that the name *Fir Bolg* is of later genesis than *Bolg*. The Leabhar Gabhala had probably not developed from its embryonic origins—at all events had not passed the sapling stage of growth—when the fading reminiscence of "Buile cum suis" was rescued from extinction by the British historian Nennius.‡ In view of all these facts and considerations the philological argument of Pokorny, based as it is on the assumption that the Bolg landed in Ireland bearing the full-blossomed title of *Fir Bolg*, would seem in essence to be of the nature of an *ignoratio elenchi*.§

I see no difficulty in believing that the combination *Fir Bolg* was a Gaelic resetting of the name which the Germani used for their Belgæ associates. In Ireland the archetypal form of Bolg would quite naturally have shrunk to a monosyllable after a century or so of circulation in the medium of an unaccustomed vernacular; but the sound of the radical element would not of necessity have been sensibly affected. Phonetic law neither would, nor could, have forbidden the survival of Bolcae as Bolg in the era antecedent to the word's colligation with *fir*.

* The oldest manuscript version of the L. Gabhala now existing adds "ut dicitur in Britannia" (see Van Hamel in *Zeitsch. f. Celt. Phil.*, X., p. 158). The Irish Nennius (p. 48) gives the same information thus: "The Fir Bolg seized upon Mann, and certain islands in like manner, Aran, Islay, and Rathlin." In his note on the passage Dr. Todd writes:—"Buile is most probably a corruption of Bolg, or Fir Bolg."

† *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

‡ The unverified—and, I fear, unverifiable—hypothesis that the termination *raige* in Irish indicated a sort of trade guild, or a homogeneous community of industrial operatives (see MacNeill's "Early Irish Population Groups," p. 81), may be admitted without any real danger of prejudicing the identity of our Irish Bolg. The *Bolgraige* of MacFirbis (L. Genealach, p. 54) may have been sack-makers, and some or all of these sack-makers may have sprung from the enslaved Bolg. But "may be" implies "may not be"; and, whether they actually were or not, the supposition that guilds of sack-makers may be presumed to have existed in Ireland (Joyce, *Place-Names*, II., 197, gravely assures us that even forts, such as Dunbolg and Caherbullog, etc., "for some reason or other took their names from sacks") will not enlighten us on the ethnology of the original Bolg race.

§ Instructively learned though his dissertation is, Pokorny, strange to say, does not appear to realise that the question of seniority, in point of age, as between *Bolg* and *Fir-Bolg* is of any importance or relevancy. At all events he ignores the chronological factor of the problem which Nennius presents to our notice. Van Hamel overlooks this factor likewise, though in combating the "sack" theory he uses Nennius to good effect.

Before the eighth century the Gaels must have outlived all reminiscences of the Celts—must have forfeited every inherited trace of a Celtic consciousness—for the proud name of the Celts is not once mentioned in their literature. Is it surprising that the Gaels, in whose legends survive not a solitary tradition of kinship or of political relationship with the world-renowned race that had ravaged Rome and Delphi, should have forgotten or misremembered the identity of their martial precursors, the *Bólcaë*, and have thus become oblivious of the provenance of our Irish *Bolg*?

Though the Germani and their confederate adventurers in Ireland were Gaelicised in speech a rarely used term of their imported vocabulary would speedily have become archaic in the linguistic world of the Gaels. Such most certainly would have been the fate of an ethnic symbol like *Bolg*, whose use must have been confined almost exclusively to the narrations of professional lecturers and story-tellers. These were a select class, limited in number, and entitled by their learned status to employ a technical terminology. The English language has absorbed words directly from the speech of the American Indians, of the aborigines of Australia, and of other primitive races; yet the fact that such words have never undergone phonetic change—have never assimilated their crude sounds to the genius of the matrix tongue—does not prohibit their inclusion in English dictionaries. The *Bolg* or *Fir-Bolg* I hold to be a name of transparent ethnological import. In form an exotic, but an exotic that has long been acclimatised, it retains its primitive structure uninfluenced by Gaelic phonology, even under the disabilities to which it has been subjected as a make-believe genitive.

Many years may possibly elapse before the last word is written on the etymology or meaning of *Fir-Bolg*. But the elucidation of the question does not further concern us here; for whether the *Bolg* of *Fir-Bolg* does, or does not, stand for *Belgæ*, there cannot be the slightest doubt that emigrant *Belgæ* settled in Ireland. The *Menapii*, or *Manapii*, were *Belgæ*; and Ptolemy fixes a colony of *Manapii* on the Wexford coast, between the *Cauci* at the north side and the *Coriondi* and *Brigantes* at the south.* Ptolemy had heard, or read, of these people as named in their native language. But the Celtic name inevitably got Gaelicised in Ireland.

The speech of the Gaels is commonly classed as Q-Celtic, to differentiate it from the language of the Continental Celts, that language being called, by contradistinction, P-Celtic. This

* *Ptolemy*, Bk. II., chap. 2. Geographical and other considerations suggest that the Hercynian *Volcae* of Cæsar eventually got absorbed into the *Chauci* confederacy—the “*Chaucorum gentes*” of Pliny (IV., 28), the “*populus inter Germanos nobilissimus*” of Tacitus (*Germania*, XXXV)—and if this happened, the *Volcæ*, or *Belgæ*, element would probably have been well represented among the Irish colony of *Cauci*.

classification rests on the false assumption that Gaelic is an offshoot or dialect of Celtic. Historically it would be more correct to speak of Celtic as a dialectical variety of Gaelic. Gaelic and Latin are sister languages, diverse forms of a primitive speech which was spoken by the Alpino-Danubian Wiros long before the birth of Celtic. In the family group the twin tongues Gaelic and Latin stand in relation to Celtic not as sisters to sister, but rather as aunts to niece.

Nevertheless, the terms P-Celtic and Q-Celtic serve a useful philological purpose; for they direct attention to the chief plane of cleavage that pervades the Latino-Celtic group of languages, separating them into two broad divisions that contrast sharply in structure. The Latin for horse is *equus*; the Irish is *ech* or *each**; the Celtic was *epos*; the Greek is *hippos*. The radix consonant thus appears as a velar sound in Latin and Irish, and as a labial sound in Greek and Celtic. The Celts and the Dorian Greeks belonged to the same wave of Wiros, the men who rose to ascendancy in Europe by the power of their iron swords.† Latin and Gaelic originated in the speech of the earlier bronze-sword Wiros.

By the time when the Celts first appear, *eo nomine*, in history, the swarm of Wiros to which they and the Dorians belonged had labialised the velar consonants, and converted the Q-language of the bronze-sword men into a lip-sound variant. The Menapii, as their very name indicates, spoke P-Celtic; and they did so because they were either Celts or a Celticised people. But when the Manapii of Ireland were Gaelicised the tribal-name inevitably changed its shape. The language of the Belgæ is still represented in Britain by Cymric, or Welsh; and a mediæval elegy of the Cymry, bewailing the death of Curoi MacDaire, recalls him by his Belgic name Corroi Mab Dairy.‡ The word son being *mab* or *map* in Cymric, and *mac* in Gaelic, it follows by the rule of three principle that the Gaels would have turned Manapii into *Manach* (*aigh*).

In Ireland the Aryan termination *os* disappeared from the old-Aryan *ec(v)os*, leaving behind only the stem *ec* to denote a horse. Loss of terminations is an invariable consequence of the imposition of a language by one people on another. The proto-Gaelic which the bronze-men brought to Ireland was transferred twice—first to the aboriginal population, secondly to the Belgæ-Germani colonisers of a long later age—and each transference produced a fresh set of parings and contractions of the primitive speech. It was by such prunings and crushings the Franks turned *hominem* into *homme*, *feminam* into *femme*, and reduced generally the many-syllabled words of the Gallo-Romans to abridgments that are sometimes less than half the original size. The Gaelic analogue of

* The old form was *ec*.

† See Peake, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

‡ See the *Myvrian Archaeology of Wales*, p. 80.

the Latin *equus* and of the Celtic *epos* thus became *ec*, or *ech*: and we may feel assured that the Gaels similarly shortened Manapii into Manach or Monach.

Dubhald MacFirbis tells us that a little colony of Monach, who were of the seed of Daire Barrach—second son of Cahirmore—on being expelled from Leinster migrated to the Erne, and settled along its outer course.* There they were known as Fir-Monach, and from them the county Fermanagh has inherited its name. With good reason have modern scholars pronounced these Fir-Monach to be a disguised branch of the Leinster Manapii.† MacFirbis, it is true, brings the Fir-Monach to the Erne in the time, and under the protection, of St. Tigernach of Clones. St. Tigernach flourished in the early half of the sixth century; and it would have been quite impossible for a refugee colony from Leinster to appropriate lands near the Erne at such a date.

In 332—just a century before the coming of St. Patrick—the three Collas, cousins of Muiredhach Tirech, had shattered the Fir Ulaid and the Dal Fiatach—that is the Clanna Rudhraighe of Emain Macha and the northern Ernai—at the battle of Achad Iethderg in Co. Monaghan, and had driven the two septs eastward into Antrim and Down.‡ For a hundred years the children of Colla da Crioch were supreme between the Erne and the Foyle; but when Niall of the Nine Hostages planted two of his sons in the North, Eoghan at Ailech and Conall Gulban in Tir-Chonail,§ the expansion of the Clann Colla-da-Crioch was effectually checked. Pressed south towards the Erne, and east towards the Blackwater, the race of the Collas had to evacuate all Tir-Eoghan, and to withdraw permanently into the counties Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Armagh. Even the lordships of Fermanagh and Monaghan were held eventually by the Clann-Colla O'Hegnys, Maguires, and MacMahons as feudatories of the northern Ui-Neill.

In the sixth century the Clann Colla were steadily giving way before the pressure of Ailech's rulers, and falling back step by step towards the Erne. Is it conceivable that, under such circumstances, the Clann-Colla would have handed over the County Fermanagh, or a single cantred of it, to an outcast tribelet from

* *Book of Genealogies*, pp. 466 and 501. MacFirbis distinguishes these people from their cognates as *Monach Locha hÉrne*. See also O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Cearth*, p. 173.

† MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 58; Julius Pokorny, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.*, p. 170. Pokorny might profitably have noted that the *Fir* of this compound is obviously a Gaelic accretion, and that, such being the case, its union with Monach must necessarily have been posterior to the immigration of our Irish Manapii. This illuminative fact seems to have escaped him when his philological microscope was focussed on *Fir-Bolg*.

‡ *Annals of Tigernach* (in O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernic. Scriptores*), Vol. II., p. 69.

§ A third son, Enda, seized the smaller lordship of Tir-Enna (barony of Raphoe). See *Book of Fenagh*, p. 397.

Leinster? The Fir-Monach, or Feara-Manach,* reached the Erne long before the sixth, or even the fifth, century; and they were received there as guests and old friends of the Ernai. Comparatively few in number, as apparently they were, they could not have come as aggressors. They were admitted to the district by the Ernai, in all probability, because both the Ernai and the Manapii entertained, each towards the other, the sentiments begotten of an ancient kinship.

The Fir-Monach were descendants of Daire Barrach; and Daire Barrach appears in the Leinster genealogies as the second son of Cahirmore, the eponymous head of all the Leinster Eremonians. Just as the patent of nobility in Connaught, in Meath, and in Ailech consisted, in pre-Norman times, of a pedigree going back to Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin—son of Muiredhach Tirech, and father of Brian, the ancestor of all the Ui-Briuin—so likewise were the chiefs and lordlings who could trace descent from Cahirmore the acknowledged noblemen of Leinster. But it is more than doubtful whether Daire Barrach was a true son of Cahirmore; and a like doubt applies to his elder brother, Ros Failghe. Though the two are set down as the eldest of Cahirmore's ten surviving sons it is a remarkable fact that neither they, nor any of their descendants, ever reigned over Leinster.

The Leinster kings were descended from Fiacha Ba h-Aicidh, whom the genealogists represent as the youngest son of Cahirmore. Ros Failghe was the ancestor of the Ui-Failghe; and when St. Patrick passed through the territory of the Ui-Failghe the ruling chief was Failghe Berraide. It was this Failghe—a descendant of Ros Failghe—who slew Odran, the Saint's charioteer, in mistake for the Saint himself. The motive of the crime was revenge for the destruction by St. Patrick of the idol Cenn-Cruaich, "For Crom was Failghe's god."†

The Ui-Failghe worshippers of Crom Cruaich were evidently an old race whom, in recognition of their strength and territorial consequence, the genealogists linked up with the "Leinster Eremonians." Such genealogical graftings were necessary products of the political alliances which the "sons of Miledh," or "Mil,"‡ so industriously cultivated in their own interests. As

* This is the form used by the F. Masters, who commonly pluralise *fer* in the later style, *feara*. A branch of the Monach migrated to the County Lown, the abode of Ptolemy's Larini, where they were known as Moncha Ulaid. In the *Book of Rights* (*loc. cit.*) their name appears in the dative case, Manchaibh.

† *Trip. Life*, pp. 218-9. As a matter of fact Domhnach Crom Dubh celebrations were regularly held until recent years on Arderin, a Slieve Bloom peak that looks right down on the scene of Odran's murder.

‡ Though this august patriarch has come to be popularly known as Miledh, his more correct name is Mil, *Miled* being the gen. case in the declension of *mil*. The nom. *mil* in old Irish was a common noun of the dental-stem class, and therefore the self-same word as the Latin miles, or mile(t)s. In the 9th century Féilire of Oengus we read, at February 12th, "Daman mil mind martra," *i.e.*, "Damianus a soldier, a diadem of martyrdom" (W. Stokes); and again, at October 21st, St. Fintan, son of Tulchán, is distinguished as "cath-mil," a battle-soldier.

progenitor of the Fir-Monach, Daire Barrach may safely be presumed to have been some powerful chief of the Manapii on whom has been bestowed the like honour of a place among Cahirmore's "sons." His name, Daire, would suggest that a mixture of Ernai blood flowed in his veins, for not alone was the redoubtable Curoi of nautical fame the son of a Daire*, but of Curoi's kindred also was a Daire Dornmhar who stands out in the Clann-Degaid pedigrees as great-grandfather of Mogh Lamha, and, therefore, grandson of the celebrated Conaire Mor. The ardrigh Conaire, who was murdered by Nemedh, had this Mogh Lamha for father.

An interesting Irish Tract which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, and which has been published by Dr. Whitley Stokes under the title *Coir Anmann* (Fitness of Names), contains the information: "Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, it was that fostered Mogh Nuadhat, that is Eoghan Mor the son of Mogh Neid."† Eoghan Mor is the outstanding personage in the proto-history of our Irish Clann Ebir, or Ebherians. Perhaps the most suitable parallel for him will be seen in the person of Romulus, the founder of Rome. With the dim figure of Romulus—magnified by the semblance much more than by the substance of reality—begins the tale of Rome's marvellous history. But Livy and Virgil push the starting point of the story back to the flight of the pious Æneas from the flames of Ilium.

The so-called "children of Ebher" are first seen on the stage of Irish history late in the second century A.D.; but though they were slow in appearing, the abruptness and the aggressiveness of their entrance made them at once exceptionally conspicuous. They came in under the leadership of Eoghan Mor, a champion of such might that after a protracted fight he compelled Conn of the Hundred Battles to share with him, half and half, the entire dominion of Ireland. The dividing line followed the Eiscir Riada, or the range of sandhills that stretches from Ath Cliath of the Liffey to Ath Cliath Medraighe, beside Galway Bay; and the fact that such division was made cannot be doubted, for, in attestation of it, Leath Chuinn and Leath Mogha (Conn's Half and Mogh's Half) survived, not alone as permanent name-words

* A Daire of the northern Ernai was father of Fiatach Finn (*vide infra*, p. 21); and a Daire Sirreachtach (O'Flaherty's Darius Prædabundus and MacFirbis's Daire Doimthech) was ancestor of the MacClanchy's of Dartry in West Breifne. The parent Daire was probably the eponym of Ptolemy's Darini, and of Keating's Sliocht Dairine, or Dairfhine.

† O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, *Introd.*, p. xxi. Stokes's rendering is "'Tis he (Daire Barrach) that reared Mog Nuadat" (*Irische Texte*, II., p. 303).

hold Daire's rath-builders constructed the great fortress of Dun Ailline;* and the information would imply that, by the time the Eburones reached Ireland, the Manapii had succeeded in extending their sway west through Kildare to the Barrow.

From the temporary home which they owed to Daire Barrach's hospitality the Eburones passed into Munster, a province that was then torn by political feuds. It is not likely that any single field force in Munster was fit to face those aliens; for the men who had collided in Gaul with Cæsar's legions had surely acquired from that severe training, and had transmitted to their children, new resources of strategy in the arts of attack and defence. The Eburones being moreover—as we may well assume them to have been—a band of brave fellows, many youths of the Manapii, eager for adventure and thirsting still more for spoils, would doubtless have flocked to their standard.

The Book of Lecan relates:—"Eoghan Mor went after that to assume the kingship of Mumhan, accompanied by his foster-father, that is Daire Barrach."† Many battles having been fought and won by Eoghan—including a *Cath Samaire*, or Battle of the Morning Star—the victor threw down the gage to the redoubtable Conn himself, then flushed with a brilliant succession of triumphs. And "Mogh Nuadhat broke ten battles upon Conn,"‡ with unflinching success, compelling him in the end to relinquish the sovereignty of half of Ireland. The strife ended in making Eoghan practically *leath-ri*,§ or joint-king, of Ireland. The Book of Leinster genealogist places Mogh Nuadhat "in co-reign with Conn Ced-Chathach, until he was slain at Magh Leana."|| In fact Mogh and Conn entered into a royal partnership similar to that which Ambiorix and Catuvolcus had held over the Eburones.

The contests and achievements that have got crowded into the life-span of Eoghan probably represent several generations of Ebherian history. The Ebherians make their first appearance in Munster at Claire, or Sliabh Claire,¶ a station which lay not many miles to the east of Temhair Luachra. In the time of Oilill Olum, Eoghan Mor's son, the chief strongholds of the Clann-Ebir and the Clann-Dedad are seen standing within easy view, one of the other, in the ancient territory of the Ernai. This propinquity of capitals will surely not consist with tales of an antecedent hostility between the races of Dedad and of Ebher. The Ebherians, I think, were first admitted to Dun Claire as

* Now Knockaulin, near Old Kilcullen, in Co. Kildare.

† See O'Curry's *Cath Muighe Leana* (Introd., p. xvi.).

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ Whitley Stokes translates this compound, "king of the half of."

|| Facsimile copy, p. 319.

¶ Now Duntyleague, in Coshlea barony, near the confines of Co. Tipperary.

of Irish geography, but as territorial symbols that long embittered the relations between the races of Conn and of Eoghan.*

The people who rose into such sudden prominence under Eoghan Mor must surely have been in the country for some considerable time previously, feeling their way, consolidating their forces, and making the ground sure under their feet. Very probably the doings of three or four generations of Ebherians have been worked into the career of Eoghan Mor; but Eoghan, nevertheless, may safely be regarded as the first really big man of the Ebherians, the chief who led his followers into the Irish land of promise. The principal branch of the Ebherians were appropriately known as Eoghanachta. It is likely enough that the name Connachta emerged contemporaneously, to denote the tribes who gathered round Conn; the name Connachta being to Conn as Eoghanachta is to Eoghan. But though the name Connachta got attached to Conn's province, the name Eoghanachta never extended itself over all Munster.

The Clann-Ebir or Ebherians, were "the people of Eber." The Eburones of the Meuse were likewise a "people of Ebur." These Eburones were friends and neighbours of the foreign Menapii. Reasons have already been adduced for believing that Daire Barrach, the begetter of the Feara-Manach, was a Manapian regulus; and Daire Barrach it was who by "fostering" Eoghan Mor nursed the Ebherians from infancy to adolescence in Ireland. Fostérage was a dearly-loved institution of the Gaels, and an institution that profoundly affected their social life. But in the historic period kings did not become foster-fathers to princes of equal, or of lower, estate.† Neither could the earliest chroniclers of the Gaels, who were separated by several centuries from the era of Daire Barrach, have been supplied with any particulars of young Eoghan's bringing-up.

The story of Eoghan's "fostering" may safely be placed on a level with the mythical suckling of Romulus and Remus by a she-wolf; for both are of the figurative genus. Each, no doubt, images a happening of real life, a turning of the tide in the affairs of the people of Romulus and the people of Eoghan that led from indigence on to fortune. The natural, indeed the only probable, interpretation of Eoghan's legend is that the exiled Eburones (Ebherians) abode in Ireland under the protection of the Manapii for some time after their arrival in the country. The tale relates that while the stripling Eoghan dwelt in Daire Barrach's house-

* "In the third year after (Conn's accession), Ireland was divided from one Ath Cliath to the other, between Conn Ced Chathach and Mogh Nuadhat, *cui nomen erat Eoghan Taidlech, a quo nominatur Eoghanachta*" (*Annals of Tigernach, circa 170 A.D.*). O'Flaherty's date for this event is 192 A.D., but the true date seems to be about 180 A.D. (177 plus 3). The Four Masters place it some fifty years earlier.

† The elaborate Cain-law of fostérage is set out in the published *Senchus Mor*, Vol. II, pp. 146-193.

friends and guests of the Ernai,* probably too as mercenary allies. History shows many examples of mercenary gangs turning against their masters, and usurping the functions of government. There is good ground for suspecting that the uprising of the Eoghanachta in Munster was the sequel of an outbreak or revolution of such kind.

The Eoghanachta might well have been tempted into treacherous designs by the internal divisions that sapped the strength of the Ernai. At the battle of Cenn Abrat, or Cenn Febrat—which was likewise fought around the Samair or Morning Star†—the senior family of the Ernai co-operated with the sons of Oilill Olum, being prompted to array themselves against their own people by the desire of avenging an atrocious crime. In 220 Conaire, king of the Munster Clann Dedad and high-king of Ireland, was slain by Nemedh, son of Sraibhcenn, an ambitious prince of the Ernai. Conaire's sons, the three Cairbres, had to quit Munster, leaving the vacant throne of the Clann-Dedad to the regicide Nemedh. The Cairbres subsequently returned to unite with the Eoghanachta at the battle of Cenn Febrat, a battle which resulted in the death of Nemedh and the flight of his ally Lugaidh Mac Con.‡ It was that battle that won for the Eoghanachta lasting supremacy over Munster.

In the professorial genealogies Duach Dalta Degaid (fosterling of Degad), the Ebherian high-king who brought the Ernai of the north to Munster,§ comes in as the grandson of Iondatmar, which Iondatmar had for father a certain Niad Segamain. Both Niad and his son have been duly installed by the historians in the illustrious line of potentates who, from time immemorial, occupied in succession the supereminent throne of Tara.|| Niad Segamain has a title to our regard which no Gaelic historian ever suspected, for, though he was unknown in Tara, we are indebted to him for a concrete link which connects our island with Gaul.

In the County Waterford three Ogham stones have been discovered on which are inscribed the same name in the genitive form, Neta Segamonas, of the transitional period when Celtic was being transmuted into Gaelic¶ “ This,” writes Pokorny, referring:

* This view is further favoured by the circumstance that Eoghan's mother (Mogh Neid's wife) belonged to a family of the Ernai. See *Keating*, II, 262.

† See *Jour. R.S.A.I.* for December, 1920, pp. 113, 114.

‡ *Annals of Tigernach sub. anno 212.* See also *Keating*, II., pp. 277, etc. The old tale *Cath Cinn Abrad* is printed in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, Vol. II, pp. 76-80.

§ *Vide Infra*, p. 20.

|| See *F. Masters*, A.M., 4881, and A.M. 4982; and *Keating*, II., pp. 178, 180.

¶ See Profr. Macalister's valuable “ *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*,” Pt. III., pp. 177, 196, and 207.

to one of these inscriptions, "gives testimony of a late settlement of Gaulish emigrants in Ireland."* Niad Segamain stood for a champion of Segomo, and Segomo was a war-god of the Celts.† Seeing that, according to Livy, the Celts reached the Hercynian slopes, beyond the Rhine, under the leadership of Segovesus, we may well believe that they would have venerated in an especial degree the god Segomo, who impersonated *segos*, that is, strength or power.‡ When the Belgæ-Germani broke west over the Rhine they would naturally have remained faithful to the worship of this Segomo. The Niad Segamain who appears in our Ogham inscriptions, in the genitival attire Neta Segamonas, represented simply "A champion of the war-victory god, Segomo"; and from this champion may, quite conceivably, have issued, in the course of some few generations, the mighty Eoghan Mor, who effected the rehabilitation of his exiled people in the pride of a sovereign territorial and political existence.

Closely associated with the Eburones of Gaul in a last bold stand against the Romans§ were the Nervii and the Treveri, two contiguous tribes who habitually boasted of being Germani by descent.|| The life and soul of the resistance to Cæsar among the Treveri was the chief Indutiomarus, who was slain in 54 B.C. while investing the camp of Labienus near the river Aisne.¶ The list of Ireland's overkings includes an Indutiomarus, whose name, but slightly modified in old-Gaelic, was registered as Iondatmar;° and assuredly significance attaches to the fact that this Iondat- (or Ionnat-) mar is set down in the pedigrees as the son of Niad Segamain.

Long before the close of Cæsar's campaigns the leaders of the anti-Roman faction in every Gallic state had become marked men; and such of them as survived the carnage of Cæsar's victories and slayings had to choose between flight from their fatherland and the certainty of being hunted like wild-beasts to death. Escape for an individual refugee being in that era difficult, and emigration impossible, we may reasonably assume that parties of the beaten Nervii and Treveri were banded with the fugitive Eburones who sailed to our shores, to seek refuge in the only remaining retreat wherein they could reckon on being safe from pursuit by the Roman enemy.

The Ogham mementoes of Niad Segamain were set up in the

* Pokorny: "A Historical Reader of Old Irish," p. 23.

† See Holder's *Sprachschatz*, p. 1447. The word survives in modern German in the form *sieg*, meaning victory, and in personal names like Siegfried.

‡ Consult Holder, *op. cit.*, pp. 1443, 1451.

§ At Aduatuca, *De Bell. Gall.*, V., pp. 26-39.

|| "Treveri et Nervii circa affectionem Germanicæ originis ultra ambitiosi sunt." Tacitus, *Germania*, 28.

¶ *Cæsar*, V. 58.

° *F. Masters*, A.M. 4982.

country of the Deisi ;* and the Deisi were reputed to be descendants of Fiacha Suighde, brother of Conn Ced-Chathach. Recasting the old manuscript story of the Deisi,† Keating relates that, when expelled from Tara, they were allowed to settle in Co. Waterford by the reigning king of Munster, that is, Oilill Olum, son of Eoghan Mor.‡ “These three sons of Fiacha Suighde,” writes Keating, “divided that territory between them into three parts, and they are called Éarna, the offspring of Oilill Éarann.”§ Thus Keating himself acknowledges that more than one account of the origin of the Deisi had come to him among the manuscript materials of his history ; but, not daring to discredit the orthodox historians, he decides the question in characteristic fashion thus : “However, they are not the Éarna, but the descendants of Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, it is these that were styled the Éarna.”

The legend which makes the Deisi descendants of Fiacha Suighde may at once be set aside ; for Deisi cantonments existed in Ireland a full century and a half before Fiacha’s birth. In an old tale of the Cuchulainn cycle, which recounts the destruction of Temair Luachra by the Fir Ulaid, it is told that the northern champions lost their way in a wild night march, and reached Druim-Coll-chailli, “which is called Ani-Cliach, in the territory of the Deisebeg” before becoming aware of the fact.|| Ani-Cliach, or Ani of Cliu Mail, is the present Knockainey Hill, near Bruff ; and Cliu Mail mic Ugaine was “the land of Curui, son of Daire, son of Dedad.”¶ The Deisi-Beg occupied, in the days of Curoi and of Conor MacNessa, a territory now represented, on a reduced scale, by the Limerick barony of Small County.º The Samair, or Morning Star, flowed through their ground ; and Athneasy [Ath na-(d)heise] bridge, spanning that river, is to-day a tangible mark of the river’s ancient association with those long forgotten people. . .

The Deisi-Beg must have been held in high estimation at Temair Luachra, for their domain lay close to Curoi’s fortress and was unsurpassed in fertility by any other tribe-land of Munster.

* This territory, called *The Decies* in post-Norman times, was co-extensive with the present diocese of Lismore.

† The earliest version of the saga has been published by Kuno Meyer, in *Eriu*, III., pp. 134-142.

‡ Vol. II., p. 313.

§ It is further told that North Decies—or Decies above the Suir (in Co. Tipperary)—was given to the Deisi by Oengus MacNadfraech, King of Cashel (Munster) in St. Patrick’s time.

|| *The Mesca Ulad* (Ed. by Hennessy, in Todd Lect. Series, Vol. I) p. 16.

¶ *Ibid.*

º For the locations of Ani-Cliach and Deisi-beg see Hogan’s *Onom.*

. . . Until Irish died out in the district the river was generally called *Abhainn na n-Dheiseach* (see O’Donovan’s Supplement).

The Irish name for Bruff, situated beside the Morning Star, was and is, *Brugh-na-n-Dheise*.

It is by no means unlikely, therefore, that the Deisi of Clu Mail may, as Keating unwillingly discloses, have been a branch of the Ernai; and it is certain that, if they were not such, they must have been an ancient stock who performed for Temair Luachra some superior kind of vassal service which the Clann Dedad specially prized. At all events, the Deisi of Co. Limerick were not sprung from Fiacha Suighde; and, as the supposition of a diversity of breeds cannot be entertained, neither were the Deisi of Co. Waterford.* The Eburones evidently tarried for a considerable time in the country of the southern Deisi before they marched up by the Suir to Clu Mail, whence, as it would seem, they soon ejected the Ernai.

So far as I know only one name has come to us from the Menapii that can be treated as authentic. The notorious *Comes littoris Saxonici* of Diocletian who assumed the Roman purple in Britain, in 287 A.D., and had coins struck in assertion of his imperial authority, was named Carausius; and Aurelius Victor tells us that he was "a citizen of Menapia."† Camden, surmising that the Menapia here in question stood at or near Wexford, took Carausius to be by nativity a Leinster man. Incredible though it may seem, an eminent Celticist once seriously essayed to prove that Carausius was none other than our Irish Curoi Mac Daire.‡ Rejecting the ending of the Romanised name—which is little more than a Latin tag—Rhys compared the stem *Carau(s)i*§ with Curoi and found them to be phonetic equivalents.

The careers of the two men, there can be little doubt, were dedicated to similar pursuits. Curoi was well known in Wales, in Britain, probably along the coasts of Gaul, as a daring pirate-admiral. The Welsh elegy on Curoi proclaims that "Dairy's son held a helm on the Southern Sea," which sea would have been the English Channel.|| Yet neither these facts, nor the weighty authority of Sir John Rhys, will suffice to bridge for us the chronological chasm that separates the era of Carausius from the era of Curoi.

But there remains a fact which, notwithstanding its manifest importance, was quite overlooked by Rhys. Family names, it is well known, are regularly transmitted from generation to generation. Treasured as precious heirlooms of the household they survive the alienation of every other species of the family's belongings. Carausius assuredly was not the first man of his name to whom the "city Menapia" gave birth. It is much more likely that

* Fiacha Suighde's descendants probably acquired lordship over the Deisi, after the fall of the Ernai, and thus became "Deisi" in the same sense as that whereby Conall Cearnach's offspring got turned into Cruithni.

† "Carausius, Menapiae civis" (Aurel. Victor, *De Caeasribus*, XXXIX.)

‡ The late Profr. Rhys, in *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, for 1891, p. 651 *et seq.*

§ In one of the older texts of Aurelius Victor I have seen the Latin name printed Corausius. Rhys restated his argument in 1900 in one of his most ambitious works (*The Welsh People*, p. 100).

|| *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, p. 80.

have given a Munster kingdom to Degad. Neither would the stranger, Degad, have been accepted as provincial king by the subjects of Duach. Every line of the story bears the impress of falsity. But of one important fact, the fact that mainly concerns us here, there is no attempt at concealment; and that is, that the Clann Degaid of Munster were a migrant branch of the Ulster Ernai.

O'Flaherty had previously told us that the northern Ernai—who included the Ernai of Breifne—took their name from Oilill Aronn, an Eremonian prospector who, by some means or other, grabbed a principality in Ulster. *Aronn* is structurally the same word as *Erann*, and *Erann* is the genitive of Ernai.* Oilill Aronn means Oilill of the Ernai. The Ernai did not take their name from this Oilill, but Oilill took his cognomeh from them.† Oilill was a native chief of Ptolemy's Erdini; and recognising him for such we shall not marvel to learn that his father's name was Fiacha Fermara,‡ or Fiach the Navigator.§ From this Oilill, through his descendant Sen, and Sen's son Degad, sprang the Munster Clann Degaid, the race that produced the high-kings Ederscel, Conaire the Great, and the second Conaire, who was assassinated by Nemedh. From the same stock, through Cairbre Riada—Conaire's son—issued the family of Gaels that attained to the sovereignty of Scotland; and of the "race of Conaire," too, was a man whose name is deservedly writ large on the page of Irish history, the Emancipator Daniel O'Connell.

In our Gaelic genealogies Sen is assigned two sons, Degad, who went to Munster, and Eochaidh, who inherited the ancestral patrimony around the Erne.|| From this Eochaidh came, in the fourth generation, a certain Fiatach Finn, a man who so exalted the northern Ernai that he may fairly be regarded as their Charlemagne, or their Frederick the Great. Under date 108 A.D. the Annalist Tigernach records: "Fiatach Finn regnat an Emain, annis xvi.;"¶ and O'Flaherty tells us that the same Fiatach Finn became *Rex Hiberniæ*, or Monarch of Ireland, in 116 A.D.° In token of the distinction to which they had been raised by Fiatach Finn the northern Ernai were thenceforth known as Dal Fiatach.

The Clanna Rudhraighe had previously enjoyed unchallenged supremacy at Emain Macha; but after the time of Conor

* Nom. *Ernai* or *Erna*; gen. *Erann* or *Erand*; dat. *Ernaib*; acc. *Ernu*. The oldest forms of the nominative appear to have been *Erainn*, *Eraind*, and *Herainn*; gen. *Erann*, *Erand*, or *Herann*. The form *Erna* used as the gen. of Ernai and the acc. (=Ernu) both of Erainn and Ernai, is late.

† The *Coir Anmann* (p. 313) acknowledges this, but at the same time confuses the subject by a further application of the "fostering" principle. "In the Erna of Munster Ailill was fostered. Hence he was named Ailill *Erann*."

‡ See *Keating*, Vol. II., p. 239.

§ O'Flaherty writes the name *Fiachus Marinus*.

¶ See *Ogygia*, p. 142.

|| O'Conor's *Rev. Script. Hibernic*, II., p. 27.

° *Ogygia*, p. 301. "Fiatachus Finn, ex Ultoniæ Ernaeis Herimone satus."

among the Menapians there was at least one noble family that produced a long catalogue of individuals so named.

Carausius could not possibly have been Curoi MacDaire, but he might well have been a scion of Curoi's family stock. If we hear of a Brian O'Rourke whose *floruit* belongs to the eighteenth, or the nineteenth, century, we know that he could not have been Brian of the Ramparts, or Brian of the Battle-Axes; but we know equally well that he could, and must, have been by lineage an O'Rourke of Breifne. The correspondence of the names Curoi and Corausi(us)* strengthens considerably the chain of circumstantial evidence that convicts the Ernai of being, if not actual Menapii, at all events a people closely allied to the Menapii by blood and breeding.

On comparing Ptolemy's geographical notes with our own Leabhar Gabhala we see that the Ernai of Breifne came in midway on the coast-line assigned to the Fir Domhnann. The Munster Ernai, on the other hand, had no connection with the area allotted to the people of Rudhraighe or of Genann. Where should we look for the cradle-land of the Irish Ernai? Whether did it lie around the Erne or around the Morning Star? Our Gaelic historians have already answered this question; and I shall cite the answer as given by the most careful and sententious of them all, Roderick O'Flaherty. He writes:—

“Deagus igitur Olilli Aronn ex Seno filio nepos ex Ultonia a Rudricii regis filiis pulsus, Duacho alumno suo Hiberniæ clavum tenente, in Momonia ditionem adeptus est, et post Duachi mortem totius Momoniæ gubernaculum.”†

Briefly explained this means that an Ebherian prince of Munster named Duach was fostered among the northern Ernai by a certain Deag, or Degad, who had Sen for father, and for ancestor Oilill Aronn; that Duach subsequently became king of Munster and ardrigh of Ireland; that Degad, on the other hand, was ostracised by the Clanna-Rudhraighe; that he fled south to his foster-son, Duach, by whom he was placed over a minor kingdom in Munster; and that on Duach's death Degad became king of all Munster.

Such is the pretty tale that was fabricated, transparently for the purpose of making the Ebherians the real old stock of Munster. The “fostering” of Duach by Degad may at once be relegated to the same category as the invented fostering of Eoghan Mor by Daire Barrach. But, even if Degad had been the actual foster-father of Duach, and if Duach, furthermore, was the mighty potentate he is represented to have been, he could not

* *Vide supra*, p. 3, note 5.

† “Hence Deag (= Degad), a descendant of Oilill Aronn through his son Sen, having been banished from Ulster by the sons of Rudhraighe, obtained a royal estate in Munster during the time when his pupil, or fosterling, Duach, held the sovereignty of Ireland; and, after Duach's death, he succeeded to the regency of Munster.” (*Ogygia*, p. 266).

the family called *Dal Fiatach*, which at an early date became engrafted into the *Clanna Rudhraighe*.* Dr. Reeves should have seen that this postulate of an "engrafting" of the *Dal Fiatach* on the *Clanna Rudhraighe* stem would seriously compromise the title of the *Dal-Fiatach* to be granted an Eremonian pedigree. By the happy devices of grafting and fostering Gaelic historiographers were able at will to elevate tribes, just as well as to depress them, in genealogical status; and once the apocryphal "Eremon" had come into being, to fill the rôle of chief parent of Ireland's imperial families, temptations inciting to the use of such manipulative artifices multiplied apace.

Eugene O'Curry lays great stress on the sanctity which clothed our Gaelic genealogies, and on the responsibility that rested on the official *Ollamhs* to preserve such important records intact.† Seeing that, in his view, the corpus of our royal pedigrees could not by any possibility have been falsified or contaminated, he will permit nobody to doubt its absolute authenticity in every line and word. Unfortunately in all ages and countries the passion for gain has prompted the counterfeiting of documents, and more especially of documents which convey legal ownership of the possessions most coveted of men, namely, material wealth and power. The activities of forgers are never wasted on papers that can bring nobody worldly credit or profit.

The surpassing importance of genealogies in connection with elections to kingship in Gaelic Ireland is well known; but in the transcendent character of that importance lay the chief danger of vitiation which threatened the integrity of those instruments. Candidates for regal office did not hesitate sometimes to disqualify rivals by blinding and maiming. Not infrequently, indeed, rightful heirs to kingdoms were fated to die prematurely by violence. *Ollamh*-guardians might easily have been coerced, or purchased, by unscrupulous and ambitious aspirants to royal dignities. The Eberhians of Munster produced more than one usurping sovereign who would not have submitted to be checked in his career by documentary deficiencies which any accommodating scribe might remedy.

Even in the pedigrees of the dynastic houses of post-Patrician Ireland—among whom are to be numbered the *Ui Briuin*, *O'Rourkes* and *O'Reillys* of Breifne—the genealogical tracts of our best manuscript compilations are often at variance as to individual names and relationships. But while we may, nevertheless, permit O'Curry's contention to pass without actual demur in respect of the composition of those bulky assemblages of family trees we dare not, except ironically, allow his claim to be extended back to the legendary forefathers of the Gael.

(To be concluded.)

* *Opus Citat.*, p. 352.

† See *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, Lecture X.

MacNessa the Clanna Rudhraighe steadily declined, and a century later the Ernai snatched from them the headship of all Uladh, from the Boyne to the Drowse. The Clanna Rudhraighe were not absolutely effaced. From time to time men of the race regained the sovereignty of the North. But during the ten centuries that followed the reign of Fiatach Finn the Ernai, or Dal-Fiatach, supplied fully three-fourths of the kings of Uladh. For most of that time—to be more precise, from 332 A.D. onward—Uladh comprised only the restricted area now covered by the counties Down and Antrim.

Thomas Moore sings of the proud days when Erin's kings
 "Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger."

These leader-kings were sovereigns of Emain Macha, not of Erin; and Emain Macha perished in the flames in the year 332. In that year the victorious Collas pillaged and burned Emain Macha, consigning Conor MacNessa's renowned oppidum to the same doom which the sons of Atreus had inflicted on Priam's noble city of the Troad. When the three Collas levied war against Uladh the Fir-Ulaid king, Fergus Foghá, belonged to the Clanna-Rudhraighe line; but this Fergus was slain at the fateful battle of Achadh Iethderg. The Clanna Rudhraighe and the Dal-Fiatach were then swept together east of the Glionn Righe and the Bann rivers, and there confined to a corner of ancient Uladh.

This reduced territory they swayed together until the era of collapse inaugurated by the Anglo-Norman invasion. The Dal-Fiatach supplied the vast majority of kings of the curtailed Uladh;* but they did so in virtue of being at that period the foremost sept of the northern Fir-Domhnann. The two races, Clanna Rudhraighe and Dal-Fiatach—or Ernai—became thenceforth indistinguishable, while constituting together the new Uladh commonwealth. The Ernai and the Clanna Rudhraighe were, *de facto*, collateral branches of a single Pan-Ulaid stock; and as such both were jointly and severally integral constituents of the Leabhar Gabhala's Fir-Domhnann. In the faint light of our dawning history, it is true, the Fir-Domhnann as a specific *gens* come into view only between the Drowse and the Shannon. But this simply means that the older and more comprehensive appellation of the people of Rudhraighe and the people of Genann had then got restricted in application, the generic having been replaced by more particular names in those northern areas which comprised Rudhraighe's "Fifth."†

The learned Dr. W. Reeves, most circumspect of investigators, and always an orthodox expositor of Gaelic history, explains the fusion of the pseudo-Eremonian Dal-Fiatach with the Clanna Rudhraighe thus: "From him (*i.e.* Fiatach Finn) descended

* For an exhaustive list of those kings see Dr. Reeves's *Antiquities of Down Connor and Dromore*, p. 363 *et seq.*

† "To Rudhraighe and to Genann with their people was the name applied," L. Gabhala, p. 119.

EXHIBITS AT NINTH GENERAL MEETING.

[27th March, 1924.]

1. **Bronze Gouge or Scoop.**—Length, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, diameter of end, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. It was discovered in 1922 in the townland of Crosserlough, in the parish of Crosserlough or Kildrumfertin.

Shown by Patrick McGennis, Esq., Kilnaleck.

2. **A Number of Flint Arrow Heads.**—Discovered about Cavan town.

Shown by William Reid, Esq., Cavan.

3. **The Drumlane Cross.**—Its description will be found in the article on Drumlane. (See Index).

Shown by Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, C.C., Bailieborough.

4. **A Cavan Spinning Wheel.**—

In the Belfast Museum there is a unique collection of spinning wheels. The collection was presented to the Museum in 1908 by a Mr. Horner. Mr. Horner, who had made a special study of spinning wheels, by request also prepared a catalogue dealing with them. It sells at a penny, and contains descriptions and illustrations of about a score of the different patterns used all over the world. The Indian, still employed in the East, Mr. Horner regards as the parent of all spinning wheels. A 14th century MS. in the British Museum, he states, has on some of its pages spinning wheels "designed merely as elaborations, and quite unconnected with the text. So far as is known, this is the first authentic record of wheels in Europe." ("Catalogue," p. 6). The spindle and distaff was the precursor of the spinning wheel, and in distant ages far beyond historic times, served as a spinning medium. In Shetland and remote parts of Scotland it was in use at least as recently as 1864, just as it was in Egypt in the time of King Tutenkhamen (*Past in the Present*, by Mitchell); and in Africa, Asia, and even in many parts of Europe, it alone is still employed.

Three types of wheels are known of in Ireland, viz. :—(a) The Irish Castle Wheel, (b) the Picardy Wheel, and (c) the Low Irish Wheel.

The first is peculiar to Ireland, "no other country possessing one quite like it" (C., p. 8). In shape it bears some resemblance to a castle. Hence its name. It belongs principally to Donegal and Antrim, "and is still used in these counties for the spinning of wool, flax spinning by wheels having long since ceased to exist." (Do.).

The second is met with in Galway. There is no treadle, the wheel being turned by the hand.

The third is the sole spinning wheel ever seen in Breifny. In shape it is more graceful than the Irish Castle wheel, and it is the one most sought after by collectors. It is the wheel that was "mostly in vogue in Ireland during the palmy days of hand flax spinning. In records of 100 years ago or more this wheel is always called, and with truth, the 'Dutch wheel.' It was introduced into Ireland from Holland by the Earl of Strafford (about 1636). . . . Definite records are extant of the introduction of this wheel into Ireland, with information accurate enough to stamp it as being distinctly Dutch. Irish spinning wheels are prized, as Ireland was the foremost of the three kingdoms in the great hand flax-spinning industry, and to-day Ireland takes the lead in modern mechanical flax-spinning of the world." (Do.).

This wheel is usually called the Old Irish spinning wheel. It can be easily met with working in West Breifny. At a cattle show held in North Leitrim (Creevelea) in 1906, prizes were offered the best spinners. In a "confined class," many competitors entered and three sturdy ones appeared with their wheels. Their work was so excellent (and the excitement so high) that the judge, Professor Carroll, of Glasnevin, was unable to decide between them, and so he wisely divided the prizes equally, and all three exultingly marched home 1st prize winners. Further west the spinning wheel is also yet going. But in East Breifny, as far as can be ascertained, its hum has not been heard for a generation. Even a discarded wheel is hard to come across. In neighbouring counties meritorious efforts are being made to revive the cottage industry.

Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

MOYBOLGE AND ITS ANCIENT CHURCH

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

In the barony of Clankee, and in the present townland of Srahan, about midway between Mullagh and Bailieboro', rises the hill of Moybolge, crowned by its conspicuous moat and the ruins of an old church. The latter, in pre-Reformation times, was the parish church of the old parish of Moybolge (or Moybolgue). Part of this old parish is now merged in Killann, but the greater portion forms the present parish of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood. From the main road between Mullagh and Bailieboro' a steep ascent of about a mile leads to the top which commands a beautiful and extensive view over many of the surrounding counties. Both the extensive ruins of the church and the fine moat testify to the importance of Moybolge in far-off days.

Local tradition says that the church itself was founded by St. Patrick, but the name can be traced to a period nearly eight centuries before the Apostle's time. It had its origin in the Fir Bolg colony, which settled in Ireland many centuries before the Christian Era.

The Fir Bolg were the most celebrated of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. According to some ancient writers they were Scythians who, having sailed to Ireland from Greece, landed with a large force at Eris in Mayo, while another force landed at Inbhear Slainge, now the Bay of Waterford. The date of this landing is placed at about the 13th century before the Christian Era. The Fomorians, who were then masters of the country, were reduced to a state of subjection by the Fir Bolg, who divided the country between them. One tribe, the Fir-Domnán, took Connacht, and another tribe, the Fir-Gaillian, or spearmen, occupied Leinster. Other accounts say they were a colony from ancient Gaul, from the country called by Cæsar *Gallia Belgica* or Belgic Gaul, comprising Belgium and Northern France. These Belgæ were celebrated by Cæsar for their prowess and skill in their wars with the Romans. All accounts agree that the Fir Bolg colony came to Ireland at least a thousand years before the Christian Era. The story of the origin of the name as found both in Keating's History and in the Book of Invasions is adopted by Professor MacNeill and now generally accepted. Having migrated from Ireland to Greece (*i.e.*, the Eastern Empire) they became

slaves and were deprived of their rights as citizens. They were forced to carry earth in leathern bags from the low lands to the rocky places so as to make the land fertile. Hence the name Fir Bolg, meaning "Men of the bags, or sacks." Not content with this occupation they made use of the leathern bags to construct boats in which to escape back to Ireland. The story is given thus by Keating:—

The posterity of Simeon Breac, son of Starn, son of Neimheadh, having been in Greece, *i.e.*, Thrace, as we have said, they grew so that the people who were there of them were numerous. How be it, the Greeks, put bondage and great tyranny on them, such as their being digging the ground, raising earth, and carrying it in bags or in sacks of leather for putting it on stony crags, until it should become fruitful soil. Great sadness seized them, and enmity to the Greeks through the slavery in which they had them: and with that it was resolved by them to leave that evil plight. Having determined on that counsel, five thousand of them get together, and they make boats of the bags or of the wallets of leather in which they used to be drawing the clay: or it is the fleet of the king of the Greeks they stole, as the Cin of Druim Sneachta says, so that this posterity of Simeon Breac, son of Starin, came back to Ireland at the end of two hundred and seventeen years after Neimheadh had occupied Ireland*

Keating says that the fleet numbered one thousand one hundred and thirty ships carrying five thousand persons. The Fir Domhmann were so named from the pits (Doimhne) they used to dig in the soil when raising the earth; and the Fir Gaillian from the spears with which they used to defend themselves when at work. All these powerful tribes have come under one generic name of Fir Bolg and were governed by one supreme monarch.

The Fir Bolg race ruled at Tara for a period of about eighty years, under nine successive kings. The ninth and last Fir Bolg sovereign was Eochaidh MacÉrc. During his reign another colony, the Tuatha De Danann, invaded Ireland. The Fir Bolg rallied all their forces and a fierce battle was fought, Anno Mundi, 3303, at Magh Tuireadh, on the shores of Loch Mask, County Mayo, in which the Tuatha De Danann were victorious. The Fir Bolg had ten thousand of their army slain, together with King Eochaidh MacÉrc. About thirty years later the united forces of the Fir Bolg and Fomorian fought another great battle at Magh Tuireadh against the Tuatha De Danann, but were again defeated. The Tuatha De Danann then became the rulers of the country.

Two centuries afterwards the Tuatha De Danann were dis-

* "FORAS FEARA AN ÉIRINN," edited by Comyn, Irish Text Society, p. 189.

placed by the Milesians who conquered the country about 1000 B.C. The Fir Bolg having assisted the Milesians against their old enemies, were restored to a large portion of their former possessions in Leinster and Connacht. Fir Bolg kings ruled over Leinster and Connacht for several centuries. A Fir Bolg tribe, under the name of Ernaigh, is recorded as inhabiting the territory around Loch Erne including Cavan, Fermanagh and Leitrim. But later the Fir Bolg appear to have been reduced to a state of vassalage by the Milesians who constituted the ruling power. About the commencement of the Christian Era the Fir Bolg tribes resident in Leinster were obliged, owing to the excessive rents imposed on them, to remove into Connacht where they obtained lands on more reasonable terms. The Books of Leacan and Ballymote contain a poem describing the Fir Bolg possessions in Meath and Connacht. The author is Giolla Mac Liag, a bard of the eleventh century who was secretary and historian to Brian Boru. The various lands enumerated in the poem include the district around Ceanannus in Meath:—

The plain of Tailteann, the land of Cearmna,
 Tlachtga of the three Fineamnas,
 The ford of Sigi, in Meath and Bridam
 Were the territories which they possessed.

The district of Tailten stretched from near Navan to Sliabh na Caillighe, or the Loughcrew Hills, at Oldcastle. The old records say that Queen Tailte, wife of Eochaidh MacErc, the last Fir Bolg ruler, chose those hills as her place of burial, and that she was the first person buried in this great pagan cemetery. She was daughter of Madhmor, King of Spain, and was famous for her great beauty and learning. From the hill of Moybolge the cairn-topped Sliabh na Caillighe is a conspicuous object on the western horizon. The Fir Bolg and Milesians appear to have continued in a state of war down to the time of the Christian Era. But the Milesians were able to retain their superiority. In the first century the Fir Bolg race revolted and conspired to seize the country from the Milesians. They invited the principal Milesian chieftains to a banquet in Co. Mayo, and there had them seized and murdered. About thirty years afterwards another Fir Bolg revolt took place, in which they were joined by the Clann Rudhraidh of Ulster. A great battle was fought at Moybolge, A.D. 56, in which the Heremonians were defeated and their monarch, Fiacha Finnfolaidh, slain. Elim, King of Ulster, then became monarch of Ireland.

The battle of Moybolge is thus described by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 56 (Ed. by O'Donovan):—

Fiacha Finnfolaidh, after having been seventeen years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by the provincial

Kings, at the instigation of the Aitheach-Tuatha in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg (*Orgain Moighe Bolg*.) These were the provincial Kings by whom he was killed: Elim, son of Conra, King of Ulster; Sanbh, son of Ceat MacMagach, King of Connaught; Foirbre, son of Finn, King of Munster; and Eochaidh Aincheann, King of Leinster. He left of children but one son only, who was in the womb of Eithne, daughter of the King of Alba (Scotland.) Tuathal was [the son's] name.

In this battle the Heremonians, *i.e.*, Milesians, were almost annihilated. The term Aitheach-Tuatha, meaning the plebian, *i.e.*, vulgar race, was applied to the Fir Bolg tribes. This was Latinised *Attacotti* and Anglicised *Attacots*. The various wars in which the Fir Bolg were engaged are usually known as the Attacotic Wars. McNeill, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that the Attacotti received the name in Britain or Gaul.* Elim, son of Conra, ruled for twenty years after the battle of Moybolge. Tuathal Teachtmhar (*supra*), son of Fiacha Finnfolaidh, having lived an exile in Alba, returned and wrested the monarchy from the Fir Bolg. In a battle fought A.D. 76 Elim was killed and Tuathal Teachtmhar became monarch of Ireland. The *Four Masters* describe this battle A.D. 76:—

Elim, son of Conra, after having been twenty years in the Sovereignty of Ireland, was slain in the battle of Aichill by Tuathal Teachtmhar. God took vengeance on the Aitheach-Tuatha for their evil deed, during the time that Elim was in the Sovereignty, namely, Ireland was without corn, without milk, without fruit, without fish, and without every other great advantage, since the Aitheach-Tuatha had killed Fiacha-Finnfolaidh in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg till the time of Tuathal Teachtmhar.

The Fir Bolg forces engaged in these rebellions were expelled in large numbers from Ireland and settled in the Hebrides and in the Scottish Highlands. There they became mixed with the Picts and Scots whom they assisted in the wars with the Romans in the third and fourth centuries. They are usually referred to under the name of Attacotti. According to many writers, large numbers of the Attacotti joined the Roman legions and distinguished themselves in defending the Roman Empire. In the third century the Fir Bolg warriors of Connacht—the Clan Moirne—figured prominently in the Fenian ranks and are frequently mentioned in the Ossianic poems. The last provincial Fir Bolg King was Aodh MacGaradh, King of Connacht, who ruled in the third century. He was attacked and defeated by Cormac, King of Ireland, and Connacht was transferred to the Heremonians. After this the Fir Bolg race finally lost its power and became subject to the Milesians.

* *Phases of Irish History*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

The battle of Moybolge fought A.D. 56, *i.e.*, 376 years before the coming of St. Patrick, has established the name for the district. Through the mists of time the memory of this great pre-Celtic people is preserved. It is probable, however, that the district received the name *Magh Bolg* or "Plain of the Fir Bolg" long before this battle and that the surrounding district was inhabited by the Fir Bolg tribes. The whole of Magh Bregb, according to the *Dinnsenchus* was called Magh Bolgaide before the name of the Brega was fixed on it.

The district of Moybolge appears to have witnessed many historic scenes in those pre-Celtic times long before the advent of Christianity. According to local tradition this battle was fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient church and moat. Going from the old church of Moybolge towards the present church of Tievurcier, we pass through a large plain. The adjacent townlands of Carnans Upper and Carnans Lower have received their name from a number of monumental cairns (*i.e.*, great heaps of stones raised over the graves of warriors) which formerly stood in the place. These cairns were usually erected on the spot where the person was killed, or to mark the place of his burial.

THE MOAT OF MOYBOLGE.

On the summit of the hill, about a hundred yards from the old church, is to be seen one of the largest and most remarkable moats in Breiffne. From its size and prominent position it is visible for many miles around, a conspicuous object in the landscape. Judging from its shape and situation there can be no doubt that it is a sepulchral mound. The slant height is about 27 feet, and the circumference of the base about 345 feet. The accompanying illustration shows the aspect looking westward. A wide and deep fosse, circular in shape, surrounds the moat, and encloses a small area stretching on the eastern side. The moat is not situated in the centre of this ring, but the base just touches where the circumference of the circle would pass if completed. However, a modern fence, which passes along the western base of the moat, cutting away a portion, has somewhat broken the continuity of the circular fosse. The top of the moat is flat and circular. A solitary whitethorn, shown in illustration, grows on the east edge.

No indication of an entrance can be detected. Some shallow cuttings on the east side show that some attempts, of a superficial nature, were made at excavation in recent times. However, these cuttings do not reveal anything. Both moat and fosse are in a good state of preservation. The area enclosed by the fosse is now under tillage. Viewed in the light of history one is forced to conjecture that the moat may be the sepulchre of King Fiacha

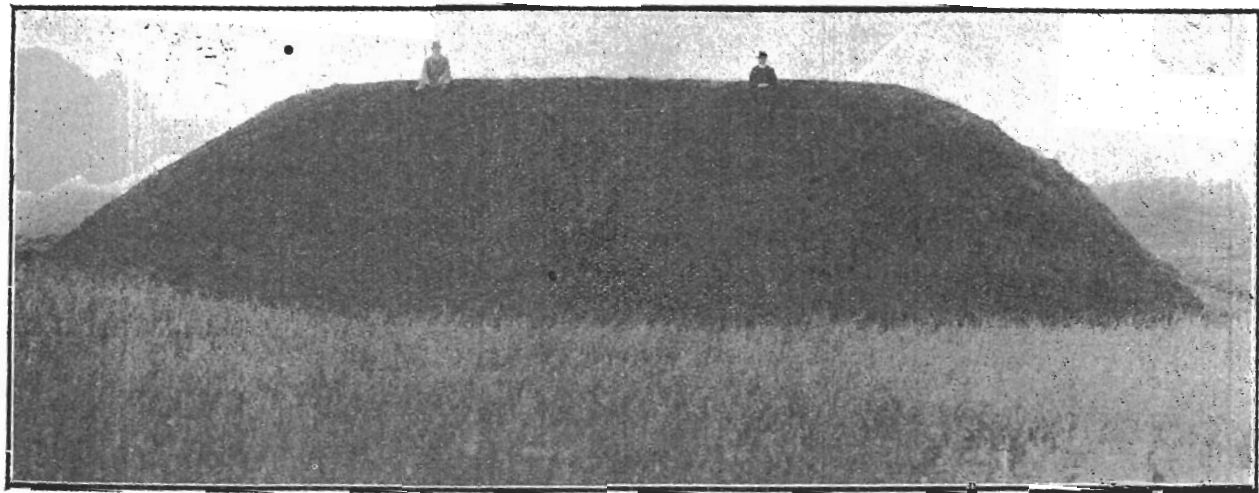


Photo by]

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

THE MOAT OF MOYBOLGE.

Finnfolaidh, Monarch of Ireland, who fell in battle close to this spot, A.D. 56. This fine moat, in such a commanding position, is befitting a monarch's tomb. Just as the cairn on the shores of Loch Mask was raised by the Danann victors over the grave of Eochaidh MacErc, after the battle of Magh Tuireadh, so we may assume that the moat of Moybolge was raised by the Fir Bolg victors over the grave of Fiacha Finnfolaidh.

LEGEND OF THE *CAILLEACH GEARAGAIN*.

Tradition insists that the church of Moybolge was founded by St. Patrick himself. Although we have no positive proof, yet the tradition is too strong to be ignored. When St. Patrick visited Slane and Tailtean it is not improbable that he visited this district and placed it under his jurisdiction. The legend has it that St. Patrick set out on a long journey *via* Ardee, driving his donkey before him, and wherever the beast would lie down he was to erect a church.* After many days he reached Moybolge, where the tired animal stretched itself upon the ground, and here he erected his church. Here he performed many miracles, including the following, which forms the extraordinary climax to the legend:—

One Sunday morning the people were gathering to hear Mass in the church. A woman, young and beautiful, named Gargan, (or Gawraga as it is locally pronounced), was making her way along a laneway close to the church. She was fasting, intent upon receiving the Blessed Eucharist. Coming upon a horseman in the laneway, she asked him to hand her a few of the blackberries which were on the top of the fence. He complied with the request, and on receiving the berries, she, disregarding her intentions, eat them. Instantly she was transformed into a ferocious black swine, which swallowed both man and horse. Fuming and foaming, she dashed among the people, devouring them one by one as they crossed her path. The Saint, who was in the vicinity, hearing the tumult and learning its cause, quickly made his way to the spot. Going down on one knee, he hurled his holy water brush in her direction, whereupon she was blown in four quarters, each going in a different direction—one to Lenanavragh lake, one up in the air, and the other two to respective places in and alongside the roadway leading to Tievurcher, where the present Catholic church is situated. But the legend has it that prior to her demise she pronounced a sort of anathema on the district, in which it was

* According to Mahaffy, the ass, as a beast of burden, was not introduced into Ireland until about 1780. Hence, this portion of the legend is to be accepted with some reservation. Mahaffy's conclusions, however, are not to be accepted as definitely deciding the question.

Vide J. P. Mahaffy *On the Introduction of the Ass as a Beast of Burden into Ireland* (*Proc. Royal Ir. Acad.*, Vol. xxxiii, 1917).

stipulated that when ninety-nine generations of red-haired Gargans crossed the stream on the roadway wherein she lies she would rise again and destroy the land. So persistent was the belief in this tradition that up to the middle of the last century, funerals and other processions of people, would avoid crossing this particular spot by going into the fields. A strong aversion to crossing it at all existed in some people's minds up to recent times. At the other place where part of her body is supposed to have been deposited in the townland of Cornaville and near the church of Tievurcher, is a huge dolmen or "Giant's Grave," but tradition does not connect this dolmen with the story of this female monster. The stone on which St Patrick is supposed to have knelt when he hurled the holy water brush at the monster was shown in the district till some years ago when it was wantonly destroyed. The imprint of his toe and knee is said to have been deeply outlined in the stone. Some miles from Moybolge in the sacristy wall of Clannaphilip church there is the sculptured head of a wrinkled old woman, which is claimed to represent the Cailleach Gearagain. Among the allegorical pictures which covered the walls of the famous "Painted Parlour" of Quilca, which existed at the time of Dean Swift, there was one which was supposed to represent this female monster. The paintings were the work of a London artist, and scene-decorator, named Lewis, who worked for the Sheridan family.* A visitor to Quilca in 1852 describes the legend as it was then told to him†. According to his narrative the body of the "Garragh-Maw" (as he writes it) was buried in the "Mound of Moybullagh" where, "like an over-fed Esquimaux," she reposes "after the toil of her carnivorous achievements." Whatever may have been the origin of this rather apocryphal story, which has come down through many centuries and still remains in vivid local memory, it is fairly evident that the legend of St. Patrick's visit to Moybolge is as definite as evidence of such a nature can ever be. No account of this visit is to be found in any of the *Lives* of St. Patrick, nevertheless local tradition is positive on the question, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

NATIVE OWNERS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

The Gargans or MacGargans, were the chieftans of the barony of Clankee and owned the present district of Moybolge. They remained in possession until deprived of their lands during the closing years of the 16th century. The MacClearys were also extensive landowners. The Fiants of Eliz. record pardons extended to many of those families and help us to locate the dis-

* The story of the "Painted Parlour" will be more fully discussed in a later paper.

† *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. XL., Nov., 1852.

tricts which they then held. We find that pardon was granted under date 12th June, 1586, to Turrelagh Magargan of Moyboldge, husbandman; Owen More MacCleary, kern, Moulmoro M'Philip O'Reyly of Skee [Skeagh], gent; Fershy O'Monghan, Gillernow M'Manchan, Nich. O Soolechan, Gillepatrick McOwen McMoriertagh McCleary, and Shane O'Soolechan, of same, husbandmen; Turrelagh McPhilip McOwen O'Reyley, of same, gentleman; Tho. McDonagh Magargan, of Moybologe, husbandman; Patr. Magargan, of same, smith; Patr. McConnyll and Gillernow O Conalty of Carricgilkey [Carriga]; Brien McTirloo McMoriertagh McCleary, of Corlurgan and Gillepatrick McOwen More McCleary, of Dirredawe [Derydamph], husbandmen; Ferrall oge McEdm. McFerrall O Reyely, of Droumaghacar [Drumacarrow], gent; Brien McTirloo leay McCleary, of same, kern; Bryen McCahill McShane O Reyly of Leayer [Leare]; Philip McCahill McShane O Reyly of same; Hewe McCleary of Tonlegy [Tanderagee], clerk; Connor McWm. McCleary, of same, husbandman; Coimuck oge McManus McCleary of Tullecaslan [sub-name of Tandragee], Philip McManus McCleary of same; Cahill McManus McCleary of same, horseman; Conor McShane McFerrall O Reyely of Aughenoullian [sub-name of Tandragee], and Owen Boy McShane McFerrall O'Reyly, of same, gentlemen; Patr. McDonell Boye McI. Cleary and Murtegh McTurreleigh McI. Cleary, of Aughenowlan, husbandmen; Malaughlin McPhilip Magargan, Moybolge, gent; Shane McBryen Magargan, Bryen McShane Magargan, Patr. M'Philip Magargan, Nich. Magargan, Shane McBryen oge Magargan, Tho. McMortegh Magargan, Philip M'Mourtegh Magargan, of the same; Edm. McGlasny O'Reyly of Pottell [Pottle], horseman; Gille Isy O'Soolechan of Towllene Skegh [Tullynaskeagh]; Shane O'Reyly of Lytevar [Lisgar?]; Tho. Magargan of Moybolge, Te.nan McShane Magargan, of same; Gillepatrick McKreaner of Begleive [Beglieve], husbandman; Cahill McOwen O'Reyly of Dirrenekishy, Conor McOwen O'Reyly of same, kerns; Hugh McShian McFerrall O'Reyly of Corrolorgine; gentleman, and Hugh McShianlia Mackecleare of same, kern; Patr. oge McKeclare of Norgher [Urcher]; and Patr. Mackclear of Pottle [Pottle], kerns; Gillepatrick McGilleduff McCleary of Lysenalske, kern; Cormock O'Conewe and Ferrall O'Conew of same; Shane O'Conewe of Lisballo [Lisball]; Gillepatrick McOulmartin and Shane McOulmartin of same; Donell McMolaghlín McCleary and Brein McDonnell McCleary of Tonelegie (*supra*); Donell McMortogh O'Doohie of Moyne [Moyer?], Hewe McShane O'Reyly of Drounlono [Drumlon] and Turrelegh McHewe McShane of same, gentlemen; Gilleyssy M'Cormock McCleary, drowne of Naspooucke [Drumanespick], kern; Philip McGillese McBrene O'Reyly of Cornenawfe [Cornanaff], gentleman; Mourtough McMaconnell, of Droumdone [Drumgoun], clerk.

in the same year and under date 18th July (27 *Eliz.*) the following are among those granted pardon in the barony of Clankee—Conogher boy McWilliam Magargane of Clogagh; Philip McDonogh Magargan of Little Releghe [Relagh Beg]; Philip Roe McGargan of Carrykgill [Carriga], clerk; Donell O'Deoran, of Tullgalghork, priest. The Fiants of 1601 under date 19th June (43 *Eliz.*) record the following pardons—Owen O'Reillie of Corglaisse [Corglass]; Murtagh M'Gergon, Edm. McGergan and Tho. McGergan of Moibolge; Mullmorie McConnor O'Reillie of Killcolie [immediate district of Bailieboro']; Cormock bane O'Reillie, of the Meigh [Muff], gentlemen.

The clan McGargan* predominated in the parish of Moybolge. In the other districts of the barony of Clankee the O'Reillys and Clarkes were the principal families. The O'Reillys had castles at Muff and Tandragee in the barony of Clankee. The Annals have frequent mention of the district and its chieftains. For example, the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1431 record a toray of the English of the Pale "in search of spoil into the Clann-in-Caich of Ua Raighilligh." (See *Journal* Vol. I., p. 117.) The same *Annals*, A.D., 1502, mention "Domnall (Ua Raighilligh) of the Magh (Muff)." After the confiscations in the 16th century the Barony of Clankee suffered the same fate as the other Cavan baronies. The Indenture dated 28th November, 1584 (27 *Eliz.*) between Sir John Perrott and Sir John O'Reilly, of Cavan, details the surrender to Perrott of the Baronies of Breiffine, including "the towghe (tuagh) of both the Clankeys called the Barony of Ineskeyne"†. In 1587 Sir Edward Waterhouse proposed to erect castles in Farney, Co. Monaghan, on the border of Clankee, and garrison them with horse and foot so as to keep the chieftains in check. The castle of Muff was situated between Bailieboro' and Kingscourt. It was the most important O'Reilly stronghold in the barony of Clankeé. Barely the foundations remain.

According to Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster* (1618—19) the grants to Undertakers were four in number, viz.:

I. 3,000 acres originally granted to Lord Aubigny and held in 1618 by James Hamilton. This grant included the lands of Kenneth and Cashel. It was sold by Lord Aubigny in 1611 to Sir James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboyes. In an Inquisition of 1619 it is stated that "upon the pole of land called Lisdromskaghe (Lisdrumskee) there is built a very large castle of lime and stone called Castle Aubigny, with the King's Arms cut in freestone over the gate."

* While this paper was going through the press (Oct., 1924), a Berlin Exchange message states that Ludwig Wolff, the author of the novel "Carra-gan," has received a letter from a small Irish village, in which the writer protests against the use made of his name, and demands a certificate from the novelist that he is not the person whose character is depicted in the book. In default of which he threatens legal proceedings.

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1584, p. 391.

II. 1,000 acres in Kilcloghan, parish of Knockbride, granted to John Hamilton.

III. 1,000 acres in Drumuck, parish of Knockbride, granted to William Hamilton.

IV. 1,000 acres in Tonragee granted to William Bailie. He was a Scottish Undertaker and was granted by James I. in 1610 the lands of Toneregie in the "Precinct of Clanchie." This grant included the greater portion of the ancient parish of Moybolge. The present town of Bailieboro' owes its origin to this William Bailie. The Anglicised form of the old Irish name of the spot where the town now stands is Kilcoly; the *Fiants* of Eliz. (1601) write it Killcolie. The name is still in use among Gaelic speakers. An Inquisition of 1629 refers to "the poll of Kilcolkie called by the name of Bailieburrow." The Down Survey Map (1654) marks "Kilkelly Castle." In the "Muster Roll" of Clankee supplied by George Alleyne in 1618, we find that William Bailie was possessed of 24 armed men for protection. The ancient castle was situated in the townland of Lisgar. Tradition has it that it belonged to the O'Reillys until confiscated in 1610. Pynnar describes it as 30 feet by 22 and vaulted. A report issued in April, 1629, describes the Castle as then completed and known as the "Manor of Bailieborrowe." The old castle in which Bailie lived remained standing until about 1832 when it was pulled down to make room for the present castle. Rev. George Creighton was appointed "Vicar of Moybolge and curate of Lorgan" on the 4th October, 1619, and later obtained a large grant of Glebe lands including "the lands of Blackvane, near the proportion of Toneregie (Bailie's Proportion), in the barony of Clonkee, and half the poll of Grahrew."*

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The Irish Hagiologists record a St. Siric of Magh Bolg whose festival occurs on 26th November. The *Martyrology of Donegal* has "Siric, Bishop of Magh Bolg in Fir-Cul in Bregia." The *Feilire of Aengus* records "Bishop of Siric in Magh Bolg in Fir-Cul of Bregia." A similar notice occurs in the *Feilire of O'Gorman*. In all the Irish *Calendars* the festival of Bishop Siric of Magh Bolg in Feara-Cul-Bregia is recorded under 26th November. The ancient territory of Fear-Cul-Bregia, as noted by O'Donovan† was nearly co-extensive with the present barony of Kells, Co. Meath. Mention is also made of this district by the Martyrologists in noticing the festival of St. Beccan of Imlech-Fiaich in Feara-Cul-Breagh on 5th April‡. Emlagh, or Imlagh, is a parish in the barony

* *Patent Rolls*, Charles I.

† *Letters from Meath*, p. 153.

‡ O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. IV., p. 35; Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*, p. 717; Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I., p. 136.

of Lower Kells. A Monastery was founded there by St. Beccan at the close of the sixth or early in seventh century.* O'Donovan, in his Index to the *Annals of the Four Masters* confounds Feara-Cul of Bregia (*i.e.*, East Meath) with the territory of Feara-Ceall now the barony of Fircal in Offaly (King's Co.). He subsequently corrected this error† and showed that these territories are totally different. However, in many of the *Calendars* and *Lives* published since O'Donovan made his topographical investigations, both Bishop Siric and Abbot Beccan are erroneously entered as belonging to Fircal in Offaly. St. Beccan is represented by some writers as patron of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, but he is chiefly remembered as patron of Emlagh in Feara-Cul-Bregia. The Martyrologists do not tell us at what period Bishop Siric flourished, but it seems to have been in the centuries immediately following the coming of St. Patrick and probably about the seventh century. No tradition of this Bishop appears to have survived in the parish of Moybolge.

The old church of Moybolge, now in ruins and lying a short distance to the south of the moat, was one of the Hospitals of Co. Cavan which we have already noticed. The extensive ruins, which are visible for miles around, with the surrounding graveyard containing many interesting monuments, testify to its former importance. Although no date can with certainty be fixed for its foundation, yet local tradition is persistent in assigning its origin to St. Patrick, to whom it was dedicated. Like most of the other Hospitals of Co. Cavan it served as a parish church from early times until the confiscations at the close of the 16th century. The *Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Fleming*‡ contains the "Citation of Nicholas (Mac Brady), Bishop of Kilmore (Triburmen), for a metropolitanical visitation of his diocese," and dated 9th July, 1409.

The bishop is to cite his clergy and to appear with them at St. Patrick's Church, Moybolge, on 18th July, or the juridic day next following. He is also to cite David, claiming to be Bishop, and Master Thomas, Archdeacon of Kilmore. Dated at Droghda.

This clearly indicated the ecclesiastical importance of Moybolge in the 15th century, and establishes its having been dedicated to St. Patrick.

The Inquisition held at Cavan 19th September, 1590, for the purpose of defining the endowments held by the Hospitals found that the Termon or Hospital of Moybolge contained three polls or cartrons of the yearly value of three shillings§ On the accession

* Cogan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 576.

† *Letters from Meath*, p. 156.

‡ Ed. by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, D.D., *Proc. R.I.A.*, Vol. XXX., Section C., No. 5, 1912.

§ 32 *Eliz.*, Excheq. *Inquis.*, No. 3, P.R.O., Dublin.

of James I. of England the Hospitals and Termon lands were allotted to supporters of the Crown. In the list of Crown lands on lease from the King of Ireland in 1606* we find Moybolge with its Hospital and Termon lands assigned to Sir Garrett Moore. Three years afterwards, *i.e.*, in 1609, it was recovered by the Commissioners for the Bishopric. Another Inquisition for enquiring into the values of the lands attached to the Hospitals was held in Cavan on 25th September, 1609†. The Commissioners found that the Bishop of Kilmore was entitled to the following rents "issuing out of lands in the Barony of Clonky (Clankee)" :—

Moybolge, 4 polls, 20 shillings ; Eniskine (Inniskeen), 2 polls, 3s. 4d. ; Killan, 1 poll, 4 shillings ; Knockbride $\frac{1}{2}$ poll, 2 shillings ; Lisleagh, in the parish of Knockbride, $\frac{3}{4}$ poll, 9 pence ; and Drumgoon, 2 polls, 1s. 8d. That Killann Parish containeth 3 ballybetags and 9 polls ; that the parsonage and vicarage were inappropriate to the late Abbey of Kells, to which all the tithes were paid, except out of the poll of termon land, 2-3 of which are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore.

The same Inquisition found :—

Parish of Moybolge, 23 polls, the parsonage inappropriate, and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, one-third to the vicar, two-third to the late Abbey of Kells, except two-third of 3 polls of termon land which are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore, and to whom the vicar pays 6s. proxies.

In the list of Cavan Hospitals given by Archdall‡, and evidently following the report of the 1590 Inquisition, we have "Moybolge, three cartrons of land ; annual value, 3 shillings." In the report of this Commission the origin of the Hospitals of Cavan is clearly indicated. (See *Journal*, Vol. I. p. 216.)

The Church of Moybolge belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary's, Kells, Co. Meath. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth granted to Garrett Fleming of Cabragh, a large portion of the Monastery lands in Cavan and Meath, belonging to the Abbey. The following are the items of this grant :—

In Meath : the entire abbey, monastery, or religious house of Kenlis, otherwise Kells, with the site thereof, and all hereditaments in or near the same and thereto belonging ; all manors, castles, lands, and other hereditaments whatever

* *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, 1606, p. 60.

† *Patent Rolls*, James I.

‡ *Mon. Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 72.

in Kells, Emlobeggan, Corbally, Grangeston, Knockummary, Kilbride, Kildrume, Urier and Granston, and in Maghelendon, now in Cavan county, to the said late Abbey in anywise appertaining; the rectories, churches or chapels of Emlobeggan and Killagh; rent, six pounds three shillings and eight pence Irish. In Cavan, Leitrim and Fermanagh, counties: the rectories, churches, or chapels of Killine, Knockbride, Castelrahan, Templeporte, and Crodragh, late parcel of the Estate of the said Abbey; rent thirteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence.*

He surrendered this grant to King James in 1603 and had a regrant of same from the King, dated 19th October, 1609†, together with additional grants in the counties of Louth and Kildare. By a grant of 22nd December, 1608, Sir Arthur Chichester recommended that he should be given a grant in the Parish of Enniskeen where:

He has settled himself and built a castle of late, to his great charge, in a wild place called Clanchyenagh (Enniskeen), in the O'Reilly's country, otherwise called the County of Cavan.

The grant continues:—

The territory and precinct of land, called Clankina, containing five parcels called Ballybetaghs, viz.: Ballinacabbry, Ballydonerie, Ballenmoyegh, Ballioghlie, and Ballymacglanaghan, rent, thirteen shillings and four pence; to deliver out of his territory thirteen and a half good beeves at the Castle of Dublin yearly, on the Feast of All Saints, for the chief Governor use.‡

King James in 1617 granted to Sir Robert Stewart, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, among others, "the three rectories of Lorgan (Lurgan), Moibolge, and Mointerconought; all being parcel of the estate of the Abbey of Kells, in Meath county."§

Like most of the other Hospitals of Cavan, Moybolge served the purpose of a parish church until its confiscation. When the Abbey of Kells was dissolved the Hospitals soon suffered the same fate. The Termon lands were conferred on the Royal favourites and the churches fell into disuse. We have very few details to enable us to reconstruct the history of Moybolge church during the centuries preceding the Inquisition of 1590. No doubt its

* *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

† *Inquis Ullonia*, James I.

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 15 James I.

ecclesiastical organisation was similar to that prevailing in the other parish-churches of Breiffne. Only a few notices of the early friars who were pastors of the Hospitals of Clankee have come down to us. In 1586 a Rev. Hugh Clarke was living in Tonelegy (Tandragee); the *Fiants* of Eliz. for that year (*loc. cit.*) describe him as "Hewe McCleary, Clerk." In the same year a Rev. Philip M'Gargan was living at Carrykgill (Carriga), beside Moybolge, and described as "Philip Roe McGargan, Clerk." In Drumgoon a Rev. Mortagh McConnell is described as "Mourtough M'Macconnell of Droumdone, Clerk." Another notice in the *Fiants* of the same year has "Donnell, O'Deoran of Tullegalkhork, priest." As this townland is marked on 1609 map as situated between Muff and Inniskeen, it is apparent that Rev. Donell O'Deoran, was attached to the church of Inniskeen which, although in Co. Cavan, is now in the Diocese of Clogher.

Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and after the Inquisition of 1590, the Hospitals became derelict. The Termon lands had been confiscated and famine and war were devastating the country. The Plantation Map of 1609 shows the Hospitals of Clankee, viz., Moybolge, Inniskeen, Knockbride, Drumgoon, and Killan, roofless and in ruins. The use of those churches, then, must have been discontinued for many years previous to 1609. After 1612 some of the Cavan Hospitals were repaired and used for church services. An Inquisition held in 1620 found that only eighteen churches in the Diocese of Kilmore were then used for religious services, and, even in these, none had been held before 1612*. In the Barony of Clankee only the churches of Moybolge and Drumgoon are mentioned by the Inquisition as being then in use.

The church of Moybolge appears to have been continued in use from this time until burned during the wars of 1646. It is stated in the diary of Friar O'Mellan, chaplain to Sir Phelim O'Neill, that in 1646 the English in Lisnegarvey (Lisburn), Killyleagh, Newry, etc., plundered the haggards and houses of the inhabitants of Oriel as far as Cill-anna (Killann) and also destroyed Moybolge. The church has remained in ruins since that time, but portions of the residential building adjoining appear to have been repaired, and used occasionally as a church and school. The present ruins, consisting of side-walls and south gable, of what was manifestly the place of residence of the clergy in charge of the church in pre-Reformation times, show traces of having been kept in good repair. In the early years of the 18th century, Father Gargan, whose name is still remembered locally,

* The churches were :—Kilmore, Kildallon, Kildrumferton (Crosserlough), Drung, Laragh, Drumgoon, Moybolge, Templeport, Killinagh, Kinawley, Annagelliffe, Keadue, Annagh, Castletarra, Tomregan, Drumlane, and Killeshandra (*Patent Rolls*, 17 James I.).

taught classics in those old ruined walls and is reputed to have produced classical scholars, who, in those days were able to compare favourably with the State educated students of Oxford and Trinity. Down to the middle of the 18th century the old building, serving the purposes of a place of worship and a school, was kept occasionally in use.

Rev. William Brooke, father of Henry Brooke the well-known author, was Rector of the union of Killinkere and Moybolge, to which he was appointed by Dr. Wetenhall, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore*. The extensive parish of which Rev. Mr. Brooke had charge in the early years of the 18th century is thus described in *Brookiana*†:—

Killinkere and Moybolgue have been long known by the name of the sister parishes. In some respects they are like each other—extensive—thrown aside, as it were, in a romantic corner of the country, thinly inhabited, and almost in a state of nature. Nature, however, has been more indulgent to one than to the other. Killinkere is hilly, nay, mountainous—her hills are covered with heath and briars—Moybolgue, on the contrary, a wide, extended plain, a deep rich soil, in which the plough for miles would scarce meet with a stone to interrupt its course; but these fertile plains are devoted to pasturage; so that, instead of the human voice divine as you pass along, you hear the lowing of kine, and the bleating of the fleecy race. Tradition tells us, that this parish was sacred to the Pagan priests of the Irish; yet, there is not so much as the remains of one druidical altar in the whole. It is not surprising that this tradition should float down the stream of time; the ground is rich, and the Druid, as well as others of the same class, liked to live on the fat of the land. Again, the chapel is very old, and it is well known that the Christian priest raised his oratory on the remains of the Pagan temple. The church is in ruins, and there is something so venerable in these ruins that they are really worth visiting. Some of the inhabitants say, that it was built in the fifth century by St. Etchaenius, Bishop of Cluan-foddy; Colgan makes no mention of it, which is the more extraordinary, as he was born in the adjoining parish; but, it is plain from the remains of the eastern window, that it was not built in those early days, when the pride of the wooden church “was a stone belfry and its little bell.” The hand that planned it, however, seems to have traced some of the Grecian lines of architecture; but, that hand

* Rev. Mr. Brooke's successor was the Rev. Mr. Cosby. An account of the life of Henry Brooke will be given in a later paper.

† Edited by Chas. H. Wilson, Vol. I., pp. 30 *et seq.*, London, 1804.

is now mouldered into dust, and there is not so much as a stone to tell where it rests.

“ Who builds a church to God and not to fame,
Will never mark the marble with his name.”

In the year 1780 a literary gentleman (presumably the editor of *Brookiana*), a particular friend of Henry Brooke's, paid a visit to these ruins and tombs. Here he met with the patriarch of the place and parish, old Mr. Sheridan, a younger brother of the Quilca doctor, who at the age of ninety, evidenced in conversation much of the classical turn and literary tastes of his brother. A dialogue ensued between the traveller and old Mr. Sheridan which is interesting from the light it throws on the Moybolge of 150 years ago, as well as on the Irish education of the time. This Mr. Sheridan was grand-uncle to Richard Brinsley Sheridan on whose oratory, as on an absorbing spell, we are told that Pitt, Fox, and Edmund Burke, hung breathless with wonder and delight. The visitor's impressions of the old church are thus described :*

He did not expect to meet with anything in it beyond that of any other country churchyard, which had sunk under the silent touches of time, but was astonished at the number of monuments which the affections of the living had raised to the memory of the dead. Some of them, it is true, were very rude, and some of them were very frail ; but many of them were of black marble, with inscriptions in the Roman tongue, that would not disgrace the pages of a Parr, or a Naugenius. Many of these inscriptions were in the old Gothic characters, and did credit to the chisel. Mr. Sheridan, who had lived all his life in a little solitary cottage, adjoining the churchyard, accompanied the gentleman. He was ninety years of age. If the conversation of this venerable old man should afford the reader as much pleasure as it afforded the traveller, it will render any apology unnecessary for repeating the heads of it in this place.

Traveller—I believe you may be called the patriarch of this parish ?

Sheridan—In point of age, I think I may ; I was born in it, I was bred in it. Father Gargan taught Latin in a corner of that church, at the age of eighty. I read Liyy under him, and can repeat some of the speeches at this time—we had no translations of the Classics in those times.

Traveller—The Latin tongue in those days, was highly cultivated, even in the remotest parts of Ireland ?

* *Brookiana*, Vol. I., p. 32.

Sheridan—It formed almost the whole of our education—the very shepherds could speak Latin*

Traveller—But you don't appear to have paid any attention to your native tongue—the Irish?

Sheridan—We had many who excelled in the study of the Irish language too.

Traveller—I see no epitaphs or inscriptions in this churchyard in that language.

Sheridan—Yes, there were many, but they have been effaced by time; many tombstones have sunk into the ground; what you see is only of modern date, comparatively speaking.

Traveller—It is a pity that someone did not copy these inscriptions.

Sheridan—That would have shewn the triumph of letters over death and time; you see the very stones decay and sink into their graves, whilst the swarthy daughters of Cadmus may be said to flourish in immortal youth—but time consumes all, the ashes and the urn. Even if they were transcribed, who would read them? An Irishman won't read what an Irishman writes. And, as to foreigners, I may exclaim, with the old Irish priest in Rome: "*Nobis ex Hibernia, vix butyrum pinguescit.*"

Traveller—A lamentable truth!—but the promise of a brighter day already shines on the horizon of this long benighted region.

Sheridan—Thank Heaven!

Traveller—This churchyard appears to be the favourite burial place of this part of the country.

Sheridan—It is so—St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, is said to have consecrated it; then, again, the situation—solitude, the companion of the wise and good.

Traveller—A mind that is fond of solitude, and disposed to contemplation, could scarce meet with any place better suited to such dispositions.

Sheridan—I found it so; even in my boyish days I could not be tempted to forsake it. My ancestors, for generations, sleep in that churchyard. I take my morning and my evening walk in it—it is my library. I dress the graves of those who are neglected by their heirs. It is a very old burying place; it contains, perhaps, more Milesian dust than all the rest of the kingdom put together. It contains the remains of those who have travelled into foreign countries in pursuit of fortune and science; but their memories will soon be forgotten.

Traveller—So that you have no poets or historians to hand them down to posterity?

* This was not uncommon in those days. *Campion*, in his *History of Ireland*, written in 1571, states that Latin was then widely spoken. In the beginning of the 17th century *Father Mooney*, the Franciscan Provincial, found country boys who were well versed in *Virgil* and *Homer* (*Meehan's Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 66). In 1670 *Petty* found that Latin was freely spoken in the wilds of *Kerry*. *Smith* in his *History of Kerry* also notes the same fact.

Sheridan—The muse has fled—the musical finger no longer waits on the soft oaten stop—Poverty, with haggard mien, has put them all to flight.

Traveller—Then all those pleasures that could soothe us in affliction or brighten up our joys, have, of course, fled with them.

Sheridan—Except Religion—she of all the train has yet staid behind, and points to the skies. One of our best poets reposes in that corner.

Traveller—Let us drop a tear on his grave.

Sheridan—With all my heart. He has one happiness, however ; his love-songs will never be forgotten.

Traveller—In what language did he write ?

Sheridan—In Irish, a language admirably suited to all that is tender in the human heart.

Traveller—Can you favour me with any of his verses ?

Sheridan—You must know, sir, that in this part of the country as well as in many other parts of the kingdom, there is a tradition that treasures of gold, pearls, etc., are hidden in the bowels of the earth, and that certain genii are appointed to watch those treasures ; the poet requests that one of these guardian spirits will watch over a young woman to whom he has paid his tuneful homage ; this is the song, and I'll give you a literal translation of it :—

THE TRANSLATION.

“ Oh, Ebho, thou that hast been chosen out of all the brightest inhabitants of air, to guard the treasures of Roza, long since deposited in the valley of Rudna.—You are faithful to your trust, you have been praised by all the poets.—The Spring has often invited you to her bowers ;—you have often reposed on her green mantle, strewed with primroses ;—but if you wish that the poet devoted to love and tears, should sing your praises, watch over a more precious treasure than gold or shining stones—watch over the young and beautiful Mabilla.—What pearl can be compared to her teeth ?—What ruby to her lips ?—What diamond to her eyes ?—or, can melted gold be compared to her hair ?—Mabilla is a real treasure, that no treasure can purchase :—but why do I sing ?—has love deprived me of my senses ?—the fair Mabilla is already attended by a guardian angel, that guides her steps, that watches over her slumbers, and that may yet whisper in her ear, that my heart beats for her alone.”

He also wrote a poem on Spring. You may form some idea of the original, even from the translation, which is a very poor

one. I'll repeat you a few lines, and, if you should think the whole worthy of your acceptance, it is at your service.

Then let us hail the breathing spring,
That flies to us on trembling wing,
And loves to linger in our clime,
When she has even pass'd her prime.
Till she has trac'd in summer tide
Her infant buds to full blown pride.
Hail, lovely spring, forever hail,
The pride of ev'ry Irish vale,
The pride of ev'ry verdant plain,
The pride of ev'ry past'ral strain ;
The pride and promise of the year,
In every region far and near—
Whether in icy Sandal's dight,
On our dear land you love to light ;
Or loosely rob'd in snowy vest,
The primrose peeping on your breast ;
Or else if winter crowds the fire,
As yet unwilling to retire,
With clouds o'ercast thy radiant smile,
Still thou art welcome to our isle.

Traveller—What age was he when he died ?

Sheridan—About six and twenty.—I saw him a few hours before he died. To say that he was resigned, would be too cold a term ; he spoke of his approaching dissolution with the gaiety of a man who is setting out of a fine morning, to visit a number of friends whom he had not seen for many years.

Traveller—Death is often our best friend, and perhaps he had few in this world.

Sheridan—He had very little intercourse with this world ; he passed his days in a little cottage, at the foot of that hill, in solitude.

Traveller—The bird of Eve, according to Milton,
"Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid."

It seems he has not left a brother poet behind to embalm his memory with one melodious tear.

Sheridan—It matters not :

"So sinks the day-star in the Ocean's bed."

This interesting dialogue records many of the traditions which were then existing regarding the old church of Moybolge, and which seem to have been since forgotten. Allowing for some manifest anachronisms in the narrative, the tradition of its foundation by St. Etchænius would seem to have existed locally when Brooke's biographer visited Moybolge in 1780. Tradition

lingers long, and, although now apparently forgotten, yet there is no reason to doubt that some traces of legend had floated "down the stream of time."

St. Etchen (*Latinised Etchænius*) was Bishop of Clonfad, Co. Westmeath, about five and a half miles to the south-east of Mullingar. He founded the monastery of Clonfad about the middle of the sixth century. St. Etchen is chiefly remembered as having been the Bishop who ordained St. Columbkille in the church of Clonfad about the year 550.* The Acts of St. Etchen have been compiled by Colgan† from various sources, but they do not seem to be connected, in all passages, with strict adherence to chronological consistency. He belonged to the royal house of Leinster, and is believed to have been born about A.D., 490, or towards the close of the fifth century. According to the *Four Masters* his death took place on the 11th of February, A.D. 577. The *Calendar of Cashel*, under the same date, has "Sanctus Episcopus Etchenus, qui ordinem presbyteratus dedit S. Columbækille obiit." The *Martyrology of Tallaght*, the *Martyrology of Donegal*, the *Feilire of Aengus*, and the *Feilire of O'Gorman*, record his festival on the 11th February. He was buried in his church of Clonfad, where his grave is still traditionally remembered.

There is hardly any authentic account of St. Etchen's early proceedings until he is mentioned as Bishop of Cluain Foda, and as the ordainer of St. Columbkille. By a strange anachronism Colgan (*loc. cit.*) supposes Etchen to have been Bishop of Clonfad in St. Patrick's days. The error is due to his confusing Etchen with a Bishop Ethian, who was a contemporary of St. Patrick. The editor of *Brookiana* (*loc. cit.*) evidently followed Colgan in assigning St. Etchen to the fifth century. No mention of Moybolge is to be found in any of the records of the life of St. Etchen. But the tradition mentioned in *Brookiana* must have existed locally in the 18th century, as the compiler would hardly have noted it without some local warrant. Beyond the fact that he was a native of Leinster, only very scant details can be gathered of the earlier years of St. Etchen, or of any of the religious foundations with which he was connected. Whatever connection he may have had with Moybolge seems to be now unknown except in the 18th century tradition.

The reference to Father John Colgan, the distinguished Franciscan hagiologist of the 17th century, connecting him with the district of Moybolge is of much interest, as the question of his birthplace has always been doubtful. Notwithstanding his fame as a historian, it is remarkable how few are the biographical

* Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III., p. 553; O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. II., p. 470; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 127; Todd's *Obits of Christ Church*, p. 53.

† *Acta Sanctorum*, tomus II., Februarii XI.

details regarding him which have survived. He was born in Ulster about the beginning of the 17th century. It has been supposed that Donegal was his birthplace,* but his earlier years are clouded in obscurity. He studied at the Irish Franciscan College, Louvain, where he was afterwards Professor of Theology. This College had been founded in 1617 by Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam. Father Colgan devoted himself to Irish studies and, on the death of Father Hugh Ward in 1635, collected the manuscript materials which Father Ward had brought from Ireland. In 1645 Father Colgan produced the first three vols. of his monumental work, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, containing the lives of the saints whose names occur in the *Calendar* for Jan., Feb., and March.† His *Trias Thaumaturga* appeared in 1647. Many of his unpublished manuscripts appear to have been lost; at least they cannot now be traced. His writings were very voluminous, and many volumes on the subject of Irish Hagiology appeared from his pen. A prodigious worker, he pursued his historical researches notwithstanding very indifferent health, which seriously hampered him during his later years. He died at Louvain about 1657. In the *Bibliotheca Franciscana* (Madrid, 1732), the date of his death is entered as 1647. This is manifestly incorrect, as in 1655 he published at Antwerp a Life of Duns Scotus.

The editor of *Brockiana* must have heard locally the tradition that the "adjoining parish" to Moybolge was the birthplace of Father Colgan. He was also apparently acquainted with his writings. Such a tradition would then be entitled to a good deal of credence, as it would have been established a century after Father Colgan's death. During this period there was a close connection between Ireland and Louvain, and many of the Irish priests who had studied there—including a number of Cavan priests—would have been personally acquainted with Father Colgan, and known the history of his early years. The question deserves further investigation. When the life of Father Colgan is examined more closely, and the history of his early years gleaned from the obscurity which surrounds it, it may be found that the neighbourhood of Moybolge can lay claim to the honour of having been the birthplace of this great historian.

Father Gargan, who is mentioned by old Mr. Sheridan in the dialogue (*supra*), was an accomplished classical scholar, and as we have already noted, taught Latin in the old church. He was a native of the district. In 1704 a Rev. John Gargan was re-

* O'Doherty's *Inis Owen and Tirconnell, being some account of the Antiquities and Writers of the County of Donegal*, pp. 71-106, Dublin, 1895. Two, at least, of Father Colgan's contemporaries at Louvain—Michael O'Clery (one of the compilers of the *Four Masters*, and who brought the manuscript to Louvain), and Hugh Ward, were natives of Donegal.

† Vide Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland* (passim).

gistered as P.P. of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood, and was then aged 55. He was ordained in Dublin in 1677, by Most Rev. Patrick Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, and lived at Greaghnadarragh. His sureties (for £50 each) were James Smith of Knockbride, and Cwen Doherty of Corweelish.* He is again mentioned in 1715 as among the number of Cavan priests "refusing to appear" to take the Oath of Abjuration "notwithstanding summons and warrants have been often granted against them." In this year his sureties were Chas. McFadden of Quilkagh, and Patr. McCabe of Lislea.† Mr. Sheridan of Moybolge, who is described as being ninety years of age in 1780, mentions (*supra*) that he studied Latin under Father Gargan. This is clear evidence that Rev. John Gargan was the teacher of this classical school, and that he was P.P. of Moybolge during at least the first quarter of the 18th century. During this period, when the enactments of the Penal Code were rigorously enforced, Father Gargan had to live in concealment. His scholarly accomplishments are still locally remembered, and he is said to have died at an advanced age and to have been buried in the graveyard of Moybolge. As a classical scholar he must have been acquainted with the writings of Father Colgan, and we can suppose that the tradition of Father Colgan's birthplace, as well as the tradition of St. Etchen, was known to him, and handed down by him to his students. To men like Father Gargan, working under almost insuperable difficulties, is due the preservation of many treasured traditions.

Among the poets of Co. Cavan, flourishing in the 18th century, and mentioned in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, we find the name of Brain Riabhach O'Cleirigh (Grey Brian O'Clery) of Moybolge under the year 1730‡. It is very probable that he is the poet mentioned by Mr. Sheridan (*supra*) as having died at the age of 26, and resting in the churchyard.

Father Paul O'Brien, the Irish poet and grammarian, was a native of this parish, and was born at Breakey, mid-way between Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood, about the middle of the 18th century. According to O'Reilly, he was a great-grand-son of William O'Brien, a native of Co. Clare, who married a Miss Betagh, of Moynalty, Co. Meath, and settled in the district of Breakey. This William O'Brien is mentioned by O'Reilly (*op. cit.*), under the year 1720, as the author of several poems. Father O'Brien was Professor of Gaelic in Maynooth College, and his *Irish Grammar* is still recognised as a standard work. In the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, 1808, will be found, as a prologue,

* *Registry of 1704*, Dublin, printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

† Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*. (1660-1760), p. 286.

‡ Rev. Dr. O'Brien supplied O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*, p. ccxxii.), with the first two lines of two poems composed by this author:

(1) "τὰ το ὕμνηζε θεὰν ζαν ἀρθόειλ."

(2) "Ἄ κόμητρα θεανάρθό θέιμε."

his Address (a poem of seventeen stanzas) to the Society. His poems, many of which were evidently composed during his boyhood days at Breakey, are still to be heard in Southern Breiffne.* Many of them have been published in the *Gaelic Journal*†. Father O'Brien died in 1820.

EXISTING RUINS AND TOMBS.

The church is long in ruins, and the storms of centuries have left their traces on its crumbling walls. The ruins are very extensive, and the original buildings would seem to have covered a comparatively large area. In pre-Reformation times the monastery appears to have consisted of, at least, two separate buildings, one serving as the church proper, and the other the place of residence of the priests. The 1609 Plantation Map has both buildings marked, each of which is surmounted with a cross to denote its ecclesiastical uses. In the case of the other Hospitals in the Barony of Clankee, as well as those in the Barony of Castlerahan, which are marked on this map, no second structure is indicated, as in the case of Moybolge. At first it does not seem easy to say what exact purpose each building served. We might be inclined to conjecture that the present building, with gable and walls standing, was a more modern one, but the evidence afforded by the 1609 map, and also the style of the masonry, would not justify such an assumption. A close examination of the ruins would indicate that the wall stretching from east to west is a remnant of the old church, and that the building extending from north to south was the residence of the friars. The latter building may also have served the purpose of a chapter-house, or assembly-room.

The southern gable and sidewalls are in a fair state of preservation, but the northern gable has entirely disappeared. The building, which is rectangular, measures 21 feet long by 14½ feet in width. The walls are about 10 feet in height, and the gable is about 18 feet high. The gable contains 2 windows, with slightly curved arches, and sides sloping inwards. The external measurements of each window is about 4½ feet by 1½ feet. The sills and side-jambs are broken, and the stone-cut facings have disappeared. However the upper window still retains its lintel, although dilapidated. The eastern wall contains a window of the same dimensions as the windows of the gable, but its sides are badly broken. The visitor of 1780 seems to have observed particularly this eastern window which was then, as now, in ruins. Portion of a transverse wall, about 10 feet high, touches the north end of the west wall. It does not seem to have belonged to the west

* For his well-known song: "Cailín Dear Úrécáinín," see CÉAD CO-CEOLTAIB ULAD, by ÉNNÍ Ó MUIRSEARA, LEACANAC 51 AGUS t. 218.

† Vide Vol. X., 1899.

gable, nor was it portion of the south wall of the church, but may have belonged to an isolated building which has since disappeared.

The eastern wall has a recess about 8 feet from the ground and an opening rising upwards through the wall was manifestly a chimney, terminating about 20 feet high. This recess served the purpose of a fire place, which was on an upper storey. The position of the beams supporting this upper storey can be traced from their sockets in the walls. The western wall shows no traces of ever having had a window. The doorway to this building must have been on the northern gable, but, as the latter has entirely disappeared, its exact position cannot now be determined. The style of the building is typically pre-Reformation. The masonry, as well as the style of the windows, is of the simplest type. The visitor of 1780 saw, even in its ruins, "some of the Grecian lines of architecture," but the ravages of time have left their mark and all traces of architectural beauty, if such ever existed, have been swept away. The fact of this building remaining in a fair state of preservation, while only a remnant of the church survives, would indicate that it was occasionally repaired and used in the period after the church had fallen into decay. We have already noted that Moybolge was burned in 1646. The church does not appear to have been repaired afterwards, but the adjoining building was preserved and used as a school. No doubt it served the purposes both of a church and school. While its primary function was that of a church, yet it is obvious that its secondary purpose, viz., that of a school, would be necessary to even partially evade the exactions of the Penal Code. But, according to the narrative of old Mr. Sheridan (*supra*), it was then designated a church, and served the dual purpose of church and school. The building must have been kept in repair during the pastorate of Father Gargan, but as a place of residence had certainly been abandoned for a long time previous to 1700. There is no reason for believing that it was used as a residence after the Reformation period. During the troubled years of the early 18th century it was finally abandoned, and in 1780 was already in ruins.

North of this building, and stretching from east to west, was situated the ancient church. Of this a solitary wall—apparently the north wall—is all that has survived. It is impossible to conjecture what may have been the dimensions of this church, in which Bishop Nicholas MacBiady held his Visitation in 1409. The remaining wall is 32 feet in length and about 10 feet high. It is built of the rudest material, bound together with grouting. Many of the stones have fallen out of the north side, leaving a very dilapidated appearance. No trace of a window is to be seen. The space around the south base of the wall is lower than the surrounding churchyard, and indicates that this was the interior of the church. This space is rectangular, and traces of where the south wall and west gable stood can be detected. The position

of the east gable cannot be traced with certainty. The original church may have extended eastward, so that the east gable would have been in a direct line with the east wall of the building described above. The existing traces of a continuation of the remaining wall of the church stands a detached fragment of a wall, the east end of the church stands a detached fragment of a wall. From the position of the church it is hardly likely that this is a remnant of the original gable, but seems to have belonged to an isolated building. It may have been a belfry.

Local tradition has it that on the approach of the English forces, during the Cromwellian period, to destroy the church, the bell ascended into the air and was transported by some invisible agency towards the little lake of Clogagh, adjoining the townland of Cormeen, into which it fell.* It continued to ring during its aerial flight, and so gave the alarm of the impending attack. At intervals—some say seven years—it is believed still to be heard ringing from the depths of the lake with a muffled tone. This tradition, may have had its origin in the burning of the church in 1646. Similar legends are to be heard in the neighbourhood of many of our ecclesiastical ruins, and are not always without foundation. On the approach of invading forces the bells, which were often of silver, were hastily taken down, and thrown for safety into the nearest lake or river, where they are supposed to ring every seven years.† It may be surmised, with a reasonable degree of probability, that the bell of Moybolge church may, at some future time, be found in Clogagh lake.

The existing ruins are so scattered and imperfect, that it is now impossible to ascertain definitely what was the extent of the monastery of Moybolge in pre-Reformation times. But from what remains it is evident that it was much larger than any of the other Hospitals of Southern Breifne. The disappearance of the greater part of the original buildings is accounted for locally by the fact that the stones were removed for building

* Hence the name *Clogagh* meaning a bell, from which according to local authority, the lake derives its name. The Gaelic form is *clóg*, corresponding with the Latin *clocca*, and English *clock* (cf. Breton *clou'h*). Joyce believes it probable that the Irish borrowed the word *clóg* from the Latin, through the early missionaries.

† In at least one case the tradition has been duly verified. At Kilwheery, along the river Brosna, near Ferbane, in Offaly, there was a persistent tradition that the bell of St. Rioch, who founded the Monastery there, was thrown for safety into a deep pool of the Brosna, during the Penal times. When the bed of the river was altered, during the drainage operations of 1849, the bell was discovered in the very pool pointed out by tradition. (*Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, 1868-9, p. 347).

Similar traditions exist at Drumcliff, near Ennis, Co. Clare, and at Killadonnell Abbey, near Rathmelton, in Donegal. In the latter place, the thieves who stole the bell were drowned in crossing Lough Swilly, and the bell lies at the bottom. The silver bell which hung in the round tower of Rattoo, Co. Kerry, is believed to lie in the river Brick, but repeated searchings have failed to discover it. (Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 398).

elsewhere. The Holy Water Font belonging to the ancient church is lying in the churchyard, and almost hidden in a mass of accumulated debris, alongside where the south wall of the church must have stood. The bowl is circular and 18 inches in diameter. The position it now occupies is obviously underneath, or adjacent to, the original position it occupied in the interior of the church. Near the entrance gate to the churchyard is the head of what appears to be an old Celtic cross, measuring 19 inches by 22 inches. It has a small cross in raised relief between the arms. On the upper surface of one of the shafts is an inscription of one word very much obliterated, and which reads: *Geargain*.

The extensive graveyard contains a large number of tombs, and many distinguished ecclesiastics of the diocese of Kilmore lie within its walls. Many of the inscriptions are very much worn, and are in some cases indecipherable. The visitor of 1780 (*supra*) was very much impressed at the number of fine monuments which then existed. Some of them were of black marble, inscribed in Gothic characters which "did credit to the chizzel." He also noted that some of those inscriptions were in Latin. According to old Mr. Sheridan's narrative, many inscriptions were in the Irish language, and he accounts for their disappearance by their having been "effaced by time," as well as many of the tombstones having sunk into the ground. By this he probably means their having become hidden under the accumulated debris. It is more likely that these monuments were broken, and carried away, when the old church was torn up, and the materials utilised for building elsewhere. This happened in the case of other ruined churches in the diocese of Kilmore, and accounts for the relative paucity of 16th and 17th century monuments. We cannot help regretting with the writer of 1780 that these inscriptions were not copied, even this would have shown "the triumph of letters over death and time."

A raised tomb, situated to the left of the entrance gate has an inscription, in Gothic characters, which records that it was erected by Thorlagh Smith and his wife Margaret, for their family, A.D., 1680. It bears the Smith coat of arms. The inscription is very much worn. A walled-in enclosure measuring 25 feet by 12 feet is situated north of the old church. In this enclosure, among other tombs, is a massive tombstone, resting on four small pillars. Underneath is buried the Most Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore (author of an Irish Catechism that was well known a century ago), who died in 1829, and also his brother, Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P. of Lurgan, who died in 1808*. Alongside, another tombstone, raised on pillars, marks the grave of the Very Rev.

* For the inscription see this *Journal*, Vol. II., No. I., p. 43.

Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., of Cavan, who died in 1843. It has the inscription:—

This tomb was erected by the Very Rev. Patk. O'Reilly, P.P., of Cavan, in memory of his parents, Philip O'Reilly and Judith, alias MacDonnell, and also in memory of his sister Mary, alias McDermott, and her two children, Rev. Patk. McDermott, and Judith O'Reilly, alias Macdermott, all of whom died young.

Dated May 1st, 1839.

The remains of the above Very Rev. Patk. O'Reilly lie here also, who died in the year 1843, aged 78 years, being then P.P. of Cavan and V.G. of Kilmore for 30 years.

At the other end of the enclosure is a flat tombstone inscribed:

This Monument was erected for the Rev. Michael Smith, P.P., of Killanne, who departed this life the 10th of April, 1777, aged 64 years.

R. I. P.

Two smaller enclosures adjoin. Built into the wall of one of these is a stone bearing the date 1780.

Alongside the wall of the old church is the grave of Father Owen O'Reilly, P.P., of Denn. He belonged to the townland of Srahan—in which the graveyard is situated—and is buried here with his friends. The flat tombstone (which displays a chalice and missal in raised relief) is inscribed:—

**Sacred to the Memory of the
Rev. Owen O'Reilly, Parish Priest
of Denn.**

The monument was erected by Father O'Reilly during his lifetime. He died about 1849 or early in 1850.*

Near the south corner of the graveyard is an upright slab of slate marking the grave of a Father Moynagh (or Mooney) P.P., of Kilmore. The inscription is as follows:—

**Here lies the body of the
Reverend Luke Moynagh, Pastor
of Killmore, who Departed
this life the 26th of October, 1781,
aged 54 years.**

R.I.P.

* His name appears for the last time in the *Cath. Directory* of 1849.

A flat tombstone near the western boundary reads:—*

This Monument was erected by the Rd. Bernard Cahil, Pr. of Kilmore, in memory of his Father and Mother, Terence Cahil, who died the 15th of June, 1751, aged 82, and Judy Reilly, who died the 1st of April, 1753, aged 80 years. Requiescat in Pace.

Another flat stone close by has the inscription:—

This Monument was erected by Bryan Reilly, in memory of his Father, John Reilly, who departed Feb. 2nd, 1755, aged 63 years : also his sister, Margaret Reilly, who departed April 22nd, 1754, aged 22 years.

A fine monument to the memory of Rev. John Lynch, P.P., of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood has been erected near the west wall of this churchyard. It is inscribed:—

**Erected
By Thomas Lynch
to the Memory of his
Brother, the Rev.
John Lynch, P.P.,
Kilmainham and Moybolouge
who died February 24th,
1864, aged 67 years.
May his Soul rest in Peace.**

Although Moybolge has been the burial place of the O'Clerys, Gargans, and other important Breiffne families, very few of their monuments, among the large number of existing ones, can be traced. Many fine monuments have been broken, and others are now so worn that their inscriptions are quite illegible. At the east end of the ruined church is to be seen a massive flat tombstone which is said locally to mark the grave of a Bishop Gargan. Nothing concerning him seems to be remembered locally. Traces of an inscription can be detected, but it is now illegible. He was evidently one of the pastors belonging to the Church before, or during, the Reformation period. In the ruined building, adjoining the church and which served as the church during a later period, is another flat tombstone, with missal in relief, marking the grave of a priest whose name is now forgotten. The inscription is obliterated. Around those ruined walls, in unmarked graves, lie many Kilmore priests of centuries

*The Rev. Bernard Cahill, here mentioned, was pastor of Kilmore in 1750. (*Arch. Hib.* Vol. V, p. 134).

long passed away. Many tombstones display coats of arms executed with much skill: the O'Reilly arms, with the inscription, *Fortitudine et Prudentia*, occur frequently.

KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

The boundary of the ancient Kingdom of Breiffne passed by Kilmainham-wood, which, although in Co. Meath, is in the diocese of Kilmore. A commandery was founded here in the 13th century, by the Preston family, for the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.* The foundations of the Knights Hospitallers were entitled "commanderies" or "preceptories," *i.e.*, residential seats of the Order in direct connection through their principals, or "preceptors," with the administrative organisation of the Knights of St. John. No fewer than twelve of these foundations are specified by Ware, including Kilmainham-wood and Kilmainham-beg, near Kells. Those preceptories were off-shoots of the Hospital of Kilmainham, at Dublin, which was founded about 1174 according to Ware. All these foundations were of Anglo-Norman origin, and were richly endowed by the Norman lords.†

The property of the preceptories was confiscated at the time of the Reformation. Kilmainham-wood is described by Ware as "a preceptory of the Knights of the Hospital." In 1575 (*Fiants of Eliz.*) it was leased for ever to Callough O'More, or O'Moore, in consideration for the good service of Rory O'More and his son, Callough, to Edward VI. On 23rd Sept., 1587, a lease of the commandery was granted to Henry Duke, for the term of 21 years, at the yearly rent of £4 10s.‡

The Inquisition held at Trim, Co. Meath, on the 13th Sept., 1619, to inquire into the Church property belonging to that county, has the following notice of this commandery§:—

Callaugh O'Moore, lately of Kilmainham-wood, in the county of Meath, was seized of the manor or preceptory of Kilmainham-wood, containing three hundred acres arable, and two hundred acres in Donnagh, *alias* Boyannagh, in the aforesaid county; two hundred acres in Tancree, *alias* Oldcar [Shancor?]; and one hundred and twenty acres in Cowhill [Coole], and the rectory of Kilmainham-wood. All these premises are parcels of the manor of Kilmainhamwood, and are held from the king *in capite* and by the service of a knight.

* Vide Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I., p. 219; Archdall's *Mon. Hib.* p. 556. Harris's *Ware*, II, 271.

† Vide C. L. Falkiner *The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland* (Proc. Royal Irish Acad., Vol. XXVI., 1907): Herbert Wood, *The Templars in Ireland* (Proc. Royal Ir. Acad., Vol. XXVI., 1907). Cf. Charles McNeill, *The Hospitallers of Kilmainham and Their Guests* (Jour. R.S.A.I., June, 1924).

‡ Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*, p. 555: Cogan, *op. cit.*

§ *Inquis. Midensis*, 17 Jas. I.

In the 14th and 15th century records numerous variations of the name are recorded, *e.g.*, Kylmaynan, Kilmagnean, etc. In the *Register* of Abp. Sweteman,* under date 17th July, 1366, is a letter from the Archbishop (Sweteman) to Philip Oragilich (O'Reilly), King of Brefnia, proposing to meet him, "or someone on his behalf, on 26 July, on some march of his country beyond Kellmagnean Beg, and asks to be informed of the King's will in this matter within three day." The letter is dated at Dromeskyng (Dromiskin), Co. Louth. In this case the preceptory of Kilmainham-beg, near Kells, is probably the place mentioned. This was founded, according to Ware, by Walter de Lacy in the twelfth century. It also was confiscated in the Reign of Henry VIII. The property of the preceptory lay in the neighbourhood of Kells. It was leased to Alexander Barnwell in 1568,† and described as "lying near to O'Reyley's country." The lease was issued "upon condition that he will build such fortifications as shall be thought meete by our deputy and council for the strengthening of those borders of the country against O'Reilly and MacMahon within the space of two years."

In the records of the *Visitations*, noted in Sweteman's *Register*, it is not always clear whether Kilmainhamwood, or Kilmainham-beg, at Kells, is intended. However, the internal evidence is sometimes an indication. On 14th Nov., 1366, a metropolitan visitation was "personally held by the primate in the parish church of Kylmaynan in the diocese of Kilmore," and was attended by Richard O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore. It is also recorded that "the Bishop and Patrick Mcbradi, proctor of the whole clergy of Kilmore (Tirburnen) and many others of the clergy in the cemetery, towards the east part of the said church conceded that the primate should complete his visitation by Master Peter Okerbyllan, his commissary."

It is certain that the "Kylmaynan" here mentioned is Kilmainham-wood. In the Index to the *Register* Kylmaynan is equated by the editor with a Kilmainham in the Barony of Clanmahon. As many of the Archbishop's letters are dated from Dromiskin, Co. Louth, it is obvious that Kilmainham-wood would have been the more convenient place to meet the clergy of Kilmore diocese in those days. On 15th Jan., 1368, the archbishop issued a commission to Masters James Scotelare and John Kenan, his clerks, to meet Bishop Richard O'Reilly. The meeting took place "at Rathdycke, a place in the diocese of Kilmore, near Monalthe, in the diocese of Meath." The identification of Rathdycke is doubtful. The editor of the *Register* surmises Rantavan, near Mullagh. On the 12th June, 1366, the "parish

* *A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweteman*, Edited by Rev. H. J. Lawlor, D.D., *Proc. R.I.A.*, Vol. XXIX, 1911.

† *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1568.

church of Kylmaynan beg" is referred to, and Bishop Richard O'Reilly cited to attend there. On the 9th October, 1366, is a letter to Bishop Richard O'Reilly and dated at Tarmifechyn (Termonfechin):—

The Archbishop's metropolitan visitation, which was begun in the Bishop's diocese by Master Peter O (Kerbyllan), Chancellor of Armagh, and is being continued by Masters William Oferallaich, comarb of St. Medoc, and Adam Mctiarnan, dean of Drumleachan, not having been finished in the case of the bishop and others in the deanery of Kellmor, the bishop is cited to appear before the archbishop on 20th October, in the parish Church of Kilmagnean beg, in Kilmore diocese, to submit to said visitation, and is commanded to cite by his official general the dean of Kellmor, and all rectors, etc., of the deanery of Kellmor.

In this letter it is obvious that the Kilmagnean beg in *Kilmore diocese* is Kilmainham-wood.

In Archbishop Fleming's *Register (loc. cit.)*, under date 20th May, 1413, we find the:

Institution of Sir John Exlantoun, or Baker, priest (chaplain) of the College of Kylmaynan, presented by William Foule, Prior of the conventual church of Kymaynan, by authority of Thomas le Botiller, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, to the vicarage of Molary [Mullary, Co. Louth], on the death of Sir William Fotyn.

It is certain that this, too, refers to Kilmainham-wood. It may be noted that in the *Visitations* above quoted, it is referred to simply as Kilmainham—the spelling varying in the different documents.

After the suppression of the monasteries Kilmainham-wood lost its ecclesiastical importance, and for administrative purposes was merged into the neighbouring parishes. In the 17th century it seems to have been ecclesiastically united for a short time, with the adjoining parish of Robertstown (Kilbeg) in the diocese of Meath. This was necessary owing to the scarcity of priests resulting from the rigorous enforcement of the Penal Laws.

The 13th century commandery of Kilmainham-wood was situated in a prominent position on the hill overlooking the present village. Of the ancient church or college not a trace remains. The site is now occupied by a Protestant Church (completed in 1806), surrounded by an extensive graveyard. In the graveyard are many inscriptions recording the names of the O'Carolans, who were formerly the chieftains of the district. One of the O'Carolan tombs deserves special notice. It is a large, flat stone displaying the figures of an Irish Chieftain and his wife, incumbent, splendidly sculptured in bas-relief. The stone has sunk below the level of the surrounding ground

and the earth partially covers it. Until a few years ago the monument was entirely hidden under the clay and debris. This accounts for its good state of preservation.

To the once powerful family of O'Carolan—whose chief residence was at Nobber, Co. Meath—there are frequent allusions in the early records. In Archbishop Sweteman's *Register* (*loc. cit.*) mention is made of Master (*i.e.*, Rev.) Peter O'Kerbyllan (O'Carolan), who in 1366 was the Archbishop's commissary. In the same year we find him Chancellor of Armagh, and commissioned to hold a metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Kilmore. He was appointed to the Canonry of Derry in 1367. The best known scion of the same family was Turlogh O'Carolan (1670-1738), "the last of the Irish bards." He was born at Newtown, near Kilmainham-wood. In the *Fiants of Eliz.* (under the years 1591 and 1601), are numerous "pardons" to the O'Carolans of "the Nobber."

A path-way which leads up the hill to the site of the ancient church is still traditionally remembered as the "Monks' Pass." In the neighbourhood is the tld. of Garmanagh, signifying the "monks' garden," which indicates some of the church lands. The Holy Water stoup belonging to the old church is lying in the cemetery. This cemetery, described in Sweteman's *Register* (*supra*) as "towards the east part of the said church," was the meeting-place of Primate Sweteman with Bishop Richard O'Reilly, and the Clergy of Kilmore, on the 14th Nov., 1366. Kilmainham-wood was then a parish church. No inscriptions earlier than the 18th century seem to have survived. All traces of the ancient church and commandery, together with many ancient tombs, were swept away at the time of the Reformation.

MASS-ROCKS AND CHURCHES.

During the Penal times Mass was celebrated in secluded glens in the tlds. of Tavis and Boggan. A small mud-wall chapel was erected in a valley in the tld. of Kilmainham-wood, about a quarter of a mile north-west of the ancient church, and alongside which the road now passes. In former times this little river valley, with rising ground on either side where watch was kept, afforded an excellent secret meeting-place. Traces of the walls of this chapel, now hidden under a thick growth of ferns, can still be detected. This rudely-constructed chapel served the district at various periods during the Penal days. From the dimensions of the structure it is evident that it could hold no more than a score of people, and that it was merely the cover for a temporary altar. The people knelt on the slopes around during Mass. This little chapel was in use down to the close of the Penal days, and until the beginning of the last century. During those times Mass was occasionally celebrated secretly in the ruined church of Moybolge.

In 1817, during the pastorate of the Rev. Thomas Blake, a church was erected in the village of Kilmainham-wood on the bank of the Kilmainham river. An inscribed stone in the wall has :—

ERECTED BY THE
REV. THOMAS BLAKE.
A.D. 1817.

This church continued in use until 1898, when the present handsome church was erected, on a new site, during the pastorate of Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons. The older building then fell into disuse.

The present church of Moybolge is situated in the townland of Tievurcher. It was erected in 1832 by the Rev. John Murray, C.C. Father Murray, who had been C.C. in Drumkeeran, Co. Leitrim, was transferred to Moybolge and Kilmainham-wood as Adm. *pro tem.* on May 10th, 1831. He was an indefatigable church builder, and during his time erected many churches in the diocese of Kilmore. He died P.P. of Kinawley in 1852. The church of Tievurcher occupies the site of an older church which had been constructed during the close of the 18th century. In the church, *inter alios*, is a mural tablet to the memory of Rev. John Brady, C.C., of Moybolge, who died on the 15th October, 1842, aged 54. The oldest parochial Register commences August, 1839. No earlier records of the parish have survived. St. Patrick is Patron.

SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

In the *Annals* of the Diocese of Clogher, under date 16th Sept., 1530, we find that to the Rev. Thomas Mackaj [Mackay or Mackee] was then committed the canonry and prebend of Moybolge; and he bound himself to the Papal treasury of Clement VII. for the *Annats* of same. The following is a translation of the Latin Bull or Decree :—

D. Thomas Mackaj, a cleric of Kilmore diocese, in person (or as principal) bound himself to the Apostolic Camera for the Annats of Ros [Carrickmacross] which is vacant by the death in Rome of Patrick Osyge [O'Sheehy], and of Killaind [Killann in Kilmore or Killanny in Clogher], and of Mauolg [Moybolge], parochial vicariate churches, and of the perpetual benefice of Cluanis attached to the parochial church of Innes-cain [Inniskeen]*, the above parishes of Clogher and Kilmore dioceses being "certo modo" vacant, the fruits of which taken together do not exceed 20 marks. And regarding Mauolg [Moybolge] it is erected into a canonry and prebend of the Church of Kilmore for the life of the said Thomas. And the other vicariates and benefice are united to the aforesaid

* This appears to refer to the parish of Inniskeen adjoining Moybolge.

canonry and prebend under date 7th Kalends Sept., 7th year of Clement VII.' And he bound himself under penalty to make good to the treasury the annats of the aforesaid within six months or else to give notice of non-possession. The Bull of Collation was restored to him because he reports the existence of an intruder.*"

Regarding the surname Mackaj, or Mackay, it may be noted that the Barony of Clankee received its name from the Clann-kee O'Reilly whose members adopted the title of MacKee [*mac an Caoilic lit.* "of the Blind (O'Reilly)."] "All the families of this sept," writes O'Donovan, "had taken the name of MacKee, but they were compelled to resume their true name, O'Reilly, by the celebrated Hugh O'Reilly, Primate of all Ireland in 1645."† It is very probable that the Rev. Thomas Mackaj was one of the O'Reillys who temporarily tolerated a change of surname. No later reference to his connection with Moybolge occurs in the Annats. At any rate he appears to have had charge of several vicariates, an occurrence by no means rare at that time.

In 1586, a Rev. Philip McGargan was living in the tld. of Carriga, beside the old church of Moybolge, to which, obviously, he was attached. The *Fiants (supra)*, dated 18th July, 1586 (27 *Eliz.*), record a pardon, *inter alios*, to "Philip Roe McGargan of Carrykgill, clerk." The parish church of Moybolge was confiscated very soon afterwards, and its pastors had to conceal themselves.

Kilmainham-wood was a parish church until the Reformation, and was served by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The property belonging to the Commandery was very extensive; according to the Inquisition of 1619 (*loc. cit.*) it possessed about 820 acres, all of which suffered confiscation. The parish, owing to the scarcity of priests and the difficulties of administration, was temporarily attached to the neighbouring parish of Robertstown—an ancient parochial division of the present parish of Kilbeg, Co. Meath. We find that William Foule was Prior of the conventual church of Kilmainham in 1413 (Abp. Fleming's *Register, loc. cit.*)

In 1690, the Rev. Dr. Robert Cusack was presented by James II. to the Rectories and Vicarage of Robertstown and Kilmainham-wood.‡ Dr. Cusack died, or was transferred elsewhere, shortly afterwards, and Kilmainham-wood was detached from Robertstown and united to Moybolge, thus returning to the diocese of Kilmore.

In 1704, and for at least a quarter of a century afterwards, the Rev. John Gargan, a native of the parish, was P.P. of Moybolge and Kilmainham-wood. The traditions of this distin-

* *De Annatis Hiberniae*, Vol. I., p. 44.

† *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, Jan., 1861, p. 38.

‡ *Cogan, Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 407. Appendix.

guished classical scholar are still vividly remembered in Moybolge where his name has emerged from the obscurity of the Penal days. Some details of his life from the *Registry* of 1704, have already been given in this paper (*supra*). He is said to have taught Latin, in the ruined church of Moybolge, at the age of 80. In 1704 he was aged 55, and appears to have lived until some time after 1730. Tradition says he was buried in Moybolge.

The next pastor of whom we have any record is Rev. Denis Brady, who was P.P. in 1750. In the *Relatio Status* of the Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmôre, dated 9th June, 1750, he is mentioned as pastor of "Mayboly and Kilmainham."* Very probably he is identical with the Denis (Dionysius) Brady who took the prescribed ecclesiastical oath—that he would return on the mission to Ireland—in the Irish College, Salamanca, on the 12th Sept., 1739.† Again, we find that on 22nd Aug., 1740, in the Royal College (*Colegio Real*), Salamanca, Don Dionisio Brady was examined in Second Year Theology, and approved.‡ The date of his death has not been ascertained, but he is still traditionally remembered in the parish.

In 1797, the Rev. John O'Reilly was P.P. This appears from a matrimonial dispensation recorded in the old parochial Register of Killinkere. He was probably Father Brady's immediate successor. It is said locally that Father O'Reilly was later on transferred to Bailieboro', and died there. Owing to the absence of parochial records the dates are uncertain. His successor in Moybolge appears to have been the Rev. Thomas Blake. At any rate Father Blake was P.P. in 1817, when he erected in Kilmainham-wood the first church since the Reformation. Born in the tld. of Newtown, close to the village of Kilmainham-wood, he entered Maynooth in 1802. After a strenuous pastorate, he died in June, 1839, and was buried in the old church of Kilmainham-wood. Rev. John Lynch succeeded in 1839, and was P.P. until his death on February 24th, 1864, at the age of 67. He belonged to a well-known old family of Virginia. He rests in Moybolge old graveyard, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory. The inscription has already been noted (*supra*). Rev. Thomas Brady was P.P. from 1864 until Oct., 1869. Then he went to Ballinamore. He was transferred afterwards to Cootehill, where he died in 1897. The next P.P. was Rev. Terence Corcoran. He became pastor of Drung in 1888, and was succeeded in Moybolge by Rev. Philip Treanor, who died 24th Jan., 1890, aged 52 years, and in the 30th year of his sacred ministry. He was interred in Tievurcher Church where a mural tablet commemorates him. The next P.P. was Rev. John Smith, who died 12th Dec., 1893, aged 63, and in

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

† *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol., IV., p. 29.

the 39th year of his priesthood. His mural tablet is in Tievurcher Church, where he is interred. Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons succeeded. During his pastorate he erected the present church of Kilmainham-wood, which was consecrated in October, 1899. In 1902 he was transferred to Bailieboro', and was succeeded by Rev. Matthew O'Reilly, who died 27th April, 1906, at the age of 50, and in the 22nd year of his sacred ministry. Father O'Reilly is buried in Tievurcher Church, where also a mural tablet has been erected to his memory.

Rev. Patrick Smith, who was the next P.P., died on the 5th Feb., 1918, aged 60, in the 33rd year of his priesthood. He was buried in Tievurcher. His successor was Rev. Michael McGauran, who was transferred to Ballinaglera in July, 1924. The present worthy P.P., Rev. Terence Small, succeeded on the 1st Aug., 1924.

Arranging tabularly the pastors' names for this parish, as far as they have yet been traced, the list would read as follows:—

LIST OF MOYBOLGE AND KILMAINHAM-WOOD PARISH PRIESTS.

MOYBOLGE.

—	1530	—	Rev. Thomas MacKay.
—	1586	—	Rev. Philip Roe McGargan.

KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

—	1413	—	Rev. William Foule.
—	1690	—	Rev. Dr. Robert Cusack.

MOYBOLGE AND KILMAINHAM-WOOD.

—	1704	—	Rev. John Gargan.
—	1750	—	Rev. Denis Brady.
—	1797	—	Rev. John O'Reilly.
—	1817	1839	Rev. Thomas Blake.
1839	—	1864	Rev. John Lynch.
1864	—	1869	Rev. Thomas Brady.
1869	—	1888	Rev. Terence Coreoran.
1888	—	1890	Rev. Philip Treanor.
1890	—	1893	Rev. John Smith.
1893	—	1902	Rev. Patrick Fitzsimons.
1902	—	1906	Rev. Matthew O'Reilly.
1906	—	1918	Rev. Patrick Smith.
1918	—	1924	Rev. Michael McGauran.
1924	—		Rev. Terence Small.

I am indebted to Father Small, P.P., for his invaluable assistance in the compilation of this list.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

Extracts from the Parish Registers of Killinkere.

II. (1800-1845.)

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

John Parr, son to John and Margaret Parr, of Cornaveagh, bapt. by Rev. James Young, 12th April, 1802.

Mr. David Kellet, of Ardamagh, was married to Miss Elizabeth Soden, of Envigaroge, 4th Feb., 1802. [Out of chronological order.]

James, son to Joseph and Ann Parr, of Gallon, bapt. 27th May, 1802.

Anne, daughter of John and Margaret Parr of Cornaveagh, bapt. 24th Oct., 1802.

Philip Smith, Esq., of Longfield, was interred in Killinkere 28th Nov., 1802.

Simon Kellett, of Envigaroge and Miss Mary Stafford, of Cornedan, married by licence 4th May, 1803.

Mr. William Love, of Carnlych and Miss Susanna Parr, of Cornaveagh, married by licence 10th June, 1803.

Sterling, son of Wm. and Susanna Love, of Rockfield, bapt., 17th March, 1804, by Rev. Ja. Young, for Rev. Arnold Cosby.

Susanna, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 22nd April, 1804.

Charles, son of David and Elizth. Kellett, of Ardamagh, bapt. 23rd Sept., 1804.

John Young, of Carnalynch, interred in Bailieborrow Ch'yard 24th Dec., 1804.

Ann, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 12th January, 1806.

George, son of Bartel and Jane Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 21st Dec., 1806.

Mr. John Parr, of Co. Meath, and Miss Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, married by licence 24th April, 1807.

James Horatio, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, of Mollagh, bapt. 31st July, 1808.

Richard Ster. John O'Reilly, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, and Mrs. Sally O'Reilly, of Mullagh, Bapt. 8th Oct., 1809.

Mr. David Mortimer, of Cloghwellybeg, and Miss Mary O'Reilly, daughter of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, Esq., married in Dublin, 24th Oct., 1809.

Ann Jane, daughter of Edward and Susanna Parr of Cornaveagh, bapt. 24th June, 1810.

Rev. Edward Mahaffy, Curate of Par. of Mullogh, alias Killinkere, married by licence Miss Sofia Cosby, daughter of Rev. Arnold Cosby, of Beek's Court, and Vicar of said Parish of Mullogh als. Killinkere, 1st Aug., 1810.

Mr. Bernard Parr, of Cornaveagh, died 24th Aug., 1810, and on the 26th was Buried in Moynalty.

Edward Parr, of Cornaveagh was interred in Lurgan 21st April, 1811.

Mrs. Jane Parr, wife of Bernard Parr of Cornaveagh, was interred at Moynalty 29th April, 1811.

Sarah, daughter of Bartel and Jane Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 1st Sept., 1811.

John Parr, son of Young Parr of Cornaveagh, interred in Lurgan, 30th December, 1811.

Edward, son of John Parr, of Cornaveagh, decd., and Mary Parr, bapt. 24th May, 1812.

Mortimer William, son of Edward Ster. O'Reilly, Esq., and Sally O'Reilly, of Mullogh, was bapt. 12th July, 1812.

Elinor, daughter of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 7th Nov., 1813.

Jane, daughter of Bartel and Jane Kellett of Envigaroge, bapt. 27th March, 1814.

Marshal Caleb, son of Edward Ster O'Reilly, Esq., and Mrs. Sally O'Reilly, of Mullogh, bapt. 15th May, 1814.

Young, son of Joseph and Ann Parr, of Coragorman, bapt. 15th May, 1815.

Charles, son of Simon and Mary Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 28th Jan., 1816.

Ellinor Kellett of Envigaroge, buried at Lurgan, 5th Aug., 1816.

Ann, daughter of Robert and Jane Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 25th Aug., 1816.

Rev. Arnold Cosby, Vicar of the Parish of Mullogh, alias Killinkere, died about 8 o'clock in the forenoon, 19th January, 1817.

Robert Drope and Mary Morel, of Dromagolin, married 15th March, 1818.

John, son of James and Peggy Kellett, of Envigaroge, bapt. 31st May, 1818.

William, son of Simon and Mary Kellett, of same, bapt. 6th Dec., 1818.

Mary, daughter of Charles and Susanna Kellett, of same, bapt. 21st March, 1817.

George Greer, of Monaghmore, in par. of Bailieborough, and Elinor Kellett, of Envigaroge, married 24th Aug., 1819.

William Henry Wahab, of Bailieborough parish, and Catherine Parr, spr., of Killinkere, married 22nd May, 1845.

With reference to the family of Kellett, which appears in so many of the above extracts, the following may be of interest:—

The Royal Irish Academy possesses a very rare newspaper volume, entitled *The Public Monitor, or New Freeman's Journal*. This contains a series of articles, under the title of "A View of Stephen's Green." Two men, Vantrump and Doderidge, are represented as watching the crowds of passers-by on that fashionable walk. One asks the other who certain people are. The answers he receives are often of the most outrageously scurrilous nature, but sometimes, as in this instance, exceedingly complimentary.

The issue for May 22-25, 1773, has this passage:—

Vantrump—Pray, who are the Gentleman and Lady in serious Conversation near the Tree?

Doderidge—That is Mr. Kellett, of Cornasesk, in the County Cavan, a gentleman that hitherto conducted himself with a becoming dignity in Life, who dissipates the cloud of grief from the Widow, and wipes the Tear from the Cheeks of the Orphan; he is candid in his Intercourse, happy in his Disposition, and boundless in his Liberality; Virtues truly suitable to the Humane and Good. The Lady with him is his wife, a Gentlewoman of similar Principles, and yet with those shining Qualities that pervade her, there is a native Dignity in all her Actions, that show a Superiority of Mind exceeding Numbers of her Sex.

*Behold Minerva's Dignity of Mein,
With all the Sweetness of the Cyprian Queen.*

Vantrump—Who is the beautiful young Lady that just came up with them? She excites my Admiration; Innocence is stamped on her Countenance, and Modesty in her Mien; methinks the Blushes of the Morn glow on her Cheeks.

Doderidge—That is Miss Kellett, their Daughter, as amiable a young Lady as we have hitherto exhibited, whose innate Principles of Goodness exceed any Delineation I can give of her; for she is enamoured with the Beauties of Innocence, which adds Dignity to her modest and graceful Charms.

*The Orient Blush, which doth her cheeks adorn,
Makes Coral pale, vies with the rosy morn;
A thousand Charms attending on her Train,
With her they rise, with her they set again.*

H. B. SWANZY.

EXHIBITS AT TENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[13th November, 1924.]

I. THE LAST PIECE OF IRON MANUFACTURED IN IRELAND.

The piece of iron exhibited weighs 29 lbs. 6 ozs. It is a regular hexagonal plate, 1 foot in breadth, 1 inch thick. In its centre a graceful figure is cut out. It was made as an experiment, and as such was successful. It was smelted at the Creevelea furnace in 1898 from the ore of the district, and the molten metal was run into a prepared sand mould.

Creevelea is in Co. Leitrim, within four miles of Drumkeeran. It is on the northern edge of a district which the geological maps indicate as the Connacht Mineral Area. This area has Lough Allen as its centre and extends over a good part of Breifny. From Swanlinbar and Doobally (near Blacklion) on the east it stretches across central Leitrim past Drumshambo until it reaches Arigna, just over the Leitrim border, in Co. Roscommon, on the west. From Ballinamore on the south it extends to Creevelea on the north. At every one of the places named iron has been manufactured in comparatively modern times. In Swanlinbar iron was manufactured about the end of the 16th century, in Doobally by Coote, immediately before the 1641 troubles; at Drumshambo in the 17th and 18th centuries; at Ballinamore in the 17th century; at Arigna from c. 1788 to 1808, and again in 1825-6; in Creevelea in 1858; again about 20 years later, and lastly in 1898. Details of the mining at all these places and times are available, and will, it is hoped, be given in a special article. In 1825 a company to work the Arigna mines was floated in London with a capital of £300,000, in £50 shares. "According to tradition," states Joyce, "the iron mines of Slieve-an-ierin, east of Lough Allen, in the County of Leitrim (*Slíabh-an-íairn*—the mountain of iron) were worked by *Goibniu*, the great Dedannan smith; and it is now as celebrated for its iron ore as it was when it got the name, long ages ago." (*Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 1913, Vol. II., p. 290). Breifny's immense wealth in the mineral has had through the centuries a marked influence on its history. One instance of this has already been shown. (See this volume, pp. 68 and 70.)

The exhibit is a specimen, the last made, of the manufacture of "The Peat-Charcoal Fuel and Iron Company of Ireland, Ltd.," whose registered London office was 5, St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill, and whose works were at Creevelea. The Company wound up towards the end of 1898, about three years after its registration. It had acquired rights in "Rose's Patent." This patent is No. 14,533, A.D. 1895. It was applied for on 31st July of that year and accepted by the Patent Office on the 27th June of the following. The provisional specification describes it as "An improved method of extracting moisture from peat and such like materials, and apparatus therefor." The main cause assigned for the breakdown of the Company was the failure, from some cause, of the "apparatus" or machinery to do its work. The patentee himself, Mr. Rose, C.E., visited Creevelea to set matters right; but he was unable to go to see the machinery in operation, and died there rather suddenly. The iron ore, however, was considered to compare favourably with the best that England or Scotland produced. That it did had been established by half-a-dozen analyses, all of which are still available. The quality of the iron ore in the Connacht Mineral Area "was known of old to be excellent," testifies Weld, writing in 1832, "and the iron wh. was produced at Arigna by the O'Reillys, both in castings and in bars, obtained the highest reputation in Dublin, and in every place to which it was sent." (*Stat. Survey of Roscommon*, p. 37). And the quantity is inexhaustible. It is there by the million tons, and still awaits enterprise. Since the Creevelea Company gave up in 1898 no iron has been taken from the ore in the Connacht Mineral Area, nor, as far as we can learn, anywhere else in Ireland.

The simple iron slab shown at the meeting has an additional interest. The company referred to, before closing down, expended about £5,000 at Creevelea. It produced very little iron. The experimental slab was its main product, and is the sole result of its industry now known about. Hence the slab (29 lbs of iron) may be said to have cost about £5,000.

Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

II. AMBER BEADS FOUND IN KNOCKBRIDE.

In June, 1921, as the turf was a-cutting, a cluster of amber beads was come across near the lake shore in Skeagh bog, parish of Knockbride. They were seven feet beneath the surface. Nineteen were in the group; four got broken by the slane, or turf-spade. The finder, Mr. John Smith, of Derrydamph, carried them home in his pocket as playthings. They were knocking about his house for two years until observed by Mr. James

M'Breen, a Knockbride farmer who takes a most intelligent interest in antiquities. Through Mr. M'Breen they were brought under the notice of members of the Breifny Society, and entrusted to safe keeping.

The nineteen beads plainly formed a necklace. Each is perforated in the centre, the perforations so large that whipcord could easily pass through. No string was found; most likely it had melted away. The largest bead, the shape and size of a cricket ball, but not quite so perfectly globular, is perceptibly over $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Its perforation is not the work of an expert hand, for it does not run through with absolute straightness. This, too, is to be said of the others. This bead manifestly hung at the end of the necklace. The other eighteen are graduated in size, two by two. Each pair is very nearly of the same size, the smallest about as large as playing marbles. All of these are flattened on the holed ends, and could rest comfortably one against another. A crack is discernible running through the centre of three of them, as if they had been split in halves and put together again. The colour of all the beads is the same, yellowish brown or wine-colour, streaked like marble. They are all highly polished. They are solid, and, of course, translucent, and from interior yellow facets the light reflects and sparkles as from broken glass or diamonds. No trace of decomposition is observable on any of them. This, so far as we can ascertain, is the first time that amber has been discovered in Breifny. It is also the first antiquarian find from Knockbride brought under our Society's notice. But its interest makes up for this parish's previous apparent barrenness.

Amber beads were the precious gems and jewels of the Bronze Age. Fashions change; human beings slowly, if at all. It is in no way unlikely that long before an O'Reilly was invested with power at Shantamon, or an O'Rourke inaugurated at Croghan Hill, near Killeshandra, some stately Knockbride chieftainess may have entered a noble feast at Skeagh, or maybe Stradone, adorned with this fine set, and so carrying her head as high and proudly as does Lady Vere de Vere, in all the blazonry of flashing diamonds, as she steps into the Queen's drawing-room at Buckingham Palace. Should we decline leaving it to Fashion, there is not a whole lot to decide which of the two would be the more beautifully arrayed.

For the prehistoric historian, if one may say so, the prevalence of amber has a more serious aspect. Amber beads have frequently been found in Irish bogs, crannoges and tumuli. In the Dublin Museum alone there is a collection of about 1,200 of them so obtained, but in few instances, unfortunately, is it known where precisely. Yet amber is not an Irish product; it was all imported. Wood-Martin, indeed, alleges that it is in deposits near Lough Neagh. But even if so, both this place and all the many localities

on the Continent in which it has in modern days been discovered may be disregarded. In the Bronze period practically the sole source of amber was the shores of the Baltic. Scandanavia, consequently, was very rich in amber. On the other hand Scandanavia had no gold. Still, all over the peninsula ancient gold objects have been come upon in abundance. In the case of the majority of them, their character and their style of ornamentation as well as an actual analysis of the gold itself composing them, demonstrate that they came from Ireland, a country in prehistoric times immensely rich in the precious metal. Scandanavia had no gold; Ireland had no amber. The foregoing facts coupled together furnish evidence of an exchange between the two countries. They can hardly be accounted for by mutual raids and piracy. Was it a case of barter? And was there in those far-away times intercourse and trade between this country and Norway and Sweden? This is a big question. But it is for the general or national antiquary rather than for one interested solely or mainly in Breifny. Hence we have sketched but its barest outlines. It has been observed in many countries that primitive trade started by the exchange of ornamental rather than of useful objects.

There are one or two other noteworthy things about amber.

Just as in common coal, ferns and club-mosses, no longer known of, are often observable, so in amber the insects, occasionally seen enclosed and preserved in it, are sometimes of species that no longer exist. This testifies to the immense period of time that has elapsed since its formation. Then for countless years man is acquainted with amber. In Scandanavia it has been found in Stone Age interments. Amber is commonly described as a "fossil resin," or as "a simi-mineral substance of resinous composition"; probably it is a product of "coniferae," or extinct pine-like trees. Were it classed roundly as a metal, then with little hesitation might we say that after stone it was the first metal discovered and worked by man. It was known to the Israelites at least 600 years B.C. (v. Ezechiel, I., 4). The Greeks called it "Electron," whence the term electricity; for it was in amber the property or force first attracted attention. To borrow from Faraday, the rubbing of a piece of amber evoked "an invisible agent which has done for mankind far more wonderful things than the genii of Aladdin did or could have done for him." So the translucent substance has attractions for all of us. It is hard to say whether the "semi-mineral" does not bear a deeper interest for the geologist, the student of electricity and the mechanical engineer, than it does even for the professed antiquary, with his half-solved problems of ancient invasions and early trade-routes.

THE SEAL OF CÚ CONNACHT Ó RAGHALLAIGH.

BY L. S. GÓGAN, M.A.

The following Note appeared in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, London, Vol. IV., p. 414:—

“ Seal Matrix with screw-out centre : Mr. H. S. Kingsford communicates the following:—‘ Since the publication of my notes in the July number of this Journal (above p. 249), Mr. H. P. Mitchell, Keeper of the Department of Metalwork, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to another example of this class of matrix which is preserved in that museum. It is of silver, and measures one inch in diameter. Unfortunately the centre piece has been lost, the legend alone remaining. This is in Lombardic capitals, and appears to read:—

✠ S. CONCONhAchTORAGILLICI

but so far it has evaded interpretation. The matrix is clearly of the first half of the fourteenth century.”

The above note should be of considerable interest to readers of this Journal in particular. The legend offers no difficulty whatever to the Irish scholar who readily reads it as: S. Con Connacht Ó Raghallaigh, *i.e.* Seal of Cú Connacht Ó Raghallaigh (O'Reilly), who is, no doubt, the King of Breifne referred to in the *Annals of Ulster* as having become a monk in 1365 and died two years afterwards. Two others of the name are, however, referred to in the same work.*

L. S. GÓGAN,

Irish Antiquities, Nat. Mus.

* V. Trans. R.I.A. Vol. I., p. 151.

BATTLE OF CAVAN, 1690*

(Translated from *Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, Vol. I,
pp. 66-68.)

By REV. P. J. GANNON, S.J.

Towards the commencement of this year [1690], the King [James II.], having received information that M. de Schomberg, with a view to extending his quarters, had detached Brigadier Woosely (sic) to seize Belturbet—a small town in a country well supplied and very suitable for his purpose—sent me to those parts, with 1,500 foot and 200 horse, in order to keep watch upon the enemy and dislodge him if possible.

I arrived at Cavan, five miles from Belturbet, very late in the evening; and, as the weather was execrable, the troops were lodged in the town. I charged Brigadier Wauchop, who had been in command there during the winter, with the care of posting detachments in the country around. He told me he had already done so, and would have word of the slightest movements of the enemy. Nevertheless, the following morning at daybreak we heard the cry: "To arms." In fact the foe, having made a night march, was already in sight of our advanced posts. Immediately I ordered my troops to mount a height on the right of the town, and drew them up in battle array a little in front of a sort of fort where we had a garrison. The design of the enemy, who was equally ignorant of my arrival, was to seize this height and attack the fort. But, perceiving more force than a simple garrison, he too drew up for battle. He had 3,000 foot and 300 horse. I advanced to the attack, and drove our foes from fence to fence, to the very slope of the hill. They were even being driven down it in disorder, when, unfortunately, Brigadier Nugent and several officers of his regiment were wounded. As they were seen retiring a panic terror seized my whole army. In a moment, from being conquerors we became conquered. All my infantry fled into the fort, without my being able to rally them outside. The enemy did not follow up my cavalry, which withdrew twelve miles to the rear. He only remained half-an-hour on the field of battle, and then retired to Belturbet. On this occasion he lost between 200 and 300 men, and we 500. I remained some days in Cavan to give the necessary instructions for the security of this frontier, and then returned to Dublin.

P. J. GANNON, S.J.

* Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 56.

Epitaphs on Tombstones in Denn Graveyard

Copied by EDWARD CLARKE, N.T.

I H S
HERE LYE THE
BODY OF BRYAN
BOYLON WHO DIE
D MAY 1712 ACE 62

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF PATR
ICK SMITH WH
O DIED APRIL 27
1724 A8ED 27

I H S
PRAY FOR-Y-
SOVL OF LOV
GH IXNCOS<R
WHO D IED AP
RIL 25th 1728
AGE 49

PRAY FOR
SOUL OF ED x I
OUD SMITH
WHO DIED SEP
TEMBER 13
1738 ACEd 62

I H S
Pray for the
Soul of Tho
mas cangly w
h o died dece
bery 28th 1758
aged 67 yrs

Pray Fo y
Soul of
Patrick
hughs
deid The 17
oF Febry 17
66 Aged 56

I H S

This Stone was eved
By Pau Boylan over The
Body of his wife Ann
Boylan alias Smith who
Departed This life 23
of March 1769 aged 34

Here lieth the Body
Owen Reily of Ryef
ort who Depd. this life
the firs of June 1772 ag
ed 86. this Stone was Er
ected by his wife Eliz
a beth Reily

The Lord have me
rcy on the soul of
Caihr Olwill who
died Jan the 22
aged 60 yr 1813

Here Lyeth The Body
Phelem Mcabe
Nelly Lynch
Pray for y soul

[No date given].

This Monument was erected
by P Corr
in memory of his S
the Revd. Paik Cor who de
pd this life Jany 1821
Agd 37 yrs

The tombstones are all standing except this one which lies flat.
It lies inside the gate to the right.

PRAY FOR
SOUL OF FRAN
S CORR WHO
DIED

1768
AGED 07

This stone lies in a field about a mile from Denn graveyard,
as you go to Ardkill School.

North Leitrim Preparations in 1804 Against a French Invasion.

At a Meeting of the Deputy Governors and Magistrates of the Manorhamilton Division for the County of Leitrim held at Manorhamilton the 11th day of February 1804 at which Major General Sir Charles Ross, Bart. and William Dillon Esqre., Assistant Commissary of the District assisted. The following persons have been approved of by Government as Lieutenants of Division, Inspectors of Baronies & Superintendents of Parishes of the Manorhamilton Division aforesaid :—

LIEUTENANTS OF DIVISION.

Baronies.		
Rossclagher	Robt. Johnston, Esqre.	Oakfield.
Drumahair	Francis Nisbitt Cullen Esqre.	Manorhamilton.

INSPECTORS OF BARONIES.

Drumahair	John Johnston Esqre.	Friarstown
Rossclagher		

SUPERINTENDENTS OF PARISHES.

Ennismacra	Revd. Mr. Sandford
Killinummary	Mr. Jno. Robinson
Drumlease	Revd. Mr. Walker
Killargy	Revd. Mr. Gumly
Union of	} Revd. Mr. Johnston
Manorhamilton	

Parish.	
Rossinver	Revd. Mr. Saunderson James Johnston Esqre. John Ellis Esqre. Terence Conolly Esqre.

RESOLVED That the Baronies of Rossclagher and Drumahair are, in the Event of a Landing between Killala Bay exclusive & Sligo Bay inclusive, to Drive their Cattle behind Belturbet by Florence Court & Derralin to Belturbet that proper persons will

be appointed in each Parish to take charge & Drive the said Cattle who will be allowed at the rate of One Shilling & three pence per day and if the Superintendents of Parishes will state before the next General Meeting held here the Number of Mounted & Dismounted Yeomen that may be necessary to see this duty carried into Execution Major General Sir Charles Ross will give Directions Accordingly—

RESOLVED That it appears to the Meeting that it is Expedient to have the following Numbers of the Schedules specified in the Defence Act which should be procured without delay and Distributed to the Superintendents of Parishes Accordingly—

RESOLVED THAT one Copy be retained for the Lieutenants of Division, a Duplicate given to the Assistant Commissary of the District and a General Return of the whole to Major Genl Sir Charles Ross, the said Returns to be in exact conformity with those prescribed—

No. 1	...	...	60
2	...	...	200
3	...	...	40
4	...	...	40
5	...	...	100
6	...	...	40
7	...	...	20
8	...	...	40

RESOLVED That such persons who come forward voluntary to supply a proportion of Cars & Horses for the use of Government will not be liable to have the remainder of their Cars & Horses pressed until all those that do not come forward with a Voluntary Offer shall have furnished all their Cars and Horses in their possession—The Commissary General is directed to pay Three Shillings per Day for each Conductor & Four Shillings & six pence per Day for each one Horse & Driver while the same shall be employed in the public service.

RESOLVED That the Boats upon the Coast should upon the appearance of an Enemy repair to Bundoran and the Boats upon Lough Melvin to Kinlough, any person failing to comply with this Order shall have their boats destroyed—

RESOLVED That Superintendents of Parishes be Summoned to attend at Manorhamilton on Monday the 20th Inst. at 12 O'Clock in the forenoon at which Time Printed Schedules shall be delivered to them in order that they may be properly and regularly filled up by Tuesday the 28th Inst. previous to the next General final Meeting to be held at Manorhamilton on that Day. It is to be expressly understood and explained by Superintendents of Parishes at large to the people that no person neglecting to register

any part of his property according to the Provisions of the Act will be entitled to any Compensation should any part of it fall into the hands of the Enemy or be otherwise destroyed, on the contrary those people who register their property will receive a Just and Fair Compensation for any Losses they sustain if the Terms of the Act are strictly complied with on their part—

RESOLVED That Copies of the Minutes of this Meeting be printed and circulated without delay in order to explain to the people concerned what is required of them and to prevent the possibility of Misconception on the Subject—

Signed by Order,

THOMAS CASCADDEN,

Clerk of the Meeting.

The above document was copied from the original which was in the possession of the late Mr. Thomas Corscadden, Hollymount, Manorhamilton. Mr. Corscadden was High Sheriff of County Leitrim in 1903 and was grandson of the Clerk of the 1804 Meeting.

During these years there was constant dread of a French invasion of Ireland. This, contemporary newspapers and periodicals show.* The battle of Trafalgar, 21st October, 1805, in which the French fleet was practically annihilated, put an end to these alarms. But they recurred.† In the actual invasion or inroad of 1798, Humbert's 1,000 Frenchmen traversed Leitrim. Starting from Ballintogher in the morning they marched to Dromahair; thence, by the old road which goes through Riverstown, to Kiltargue. At Kearney's Cross Roads they turned to the right and faced for Granard. Then through Drumkeeran, Drumshambo, and all South Leitrim, to Ballinamuck.

J. B. MEEHAN.

* See, for instance, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, Aug., 1803, pp. 452 and 479; Oct., 1803, p. 587.

† See Do., April, 1810, p. 158, etc.

NOTABLE BREIFNY INDIVIDUALS.

—continued.

VI.—WILLIAM JAMES, THE PHILOSOPHER (1842-1910).

William James, the well-known American Philosopher, has played such an important part in the development of educational psychology that it becomes of interest to recall his Cavan ancestry.

In 1789, James's paternal grandfather, also William by name, went to America from Ballyjamesduff. He was then aged 18. It is said that he left home because his family tried to force him into the Ministry (Presbyterian)—for which apparently he had no desire. He arrived in America, according to tradition, with a very small sum of money, a Latin grammar, in which he had already made some progress at home, and a desire to visit the field of one of the revolutionary battles*. Having exhausted his resources, he had to take employment, and become a clerk in a store in Albany. He worked his way up rapidly. Later he engaged in many enterprises, and bought land to the westward. He founded the salt industry of Syracuse (where the principal residential street bears his name) and amassed a considerable fortune (*Op. cit.* Intro.). Among his many public services was the promotion of the Erie Canal project. On the completion of that great undertaking, at the celebration of the opening of the water-way—just a century ago, in 1823—he delivered at Albany the “oration” of the day. The “oration” is described as “containing more sense and information than oratory.”

He was one of the organisers and the first Vice-President of the Albany Savings Bank (founded in 1820), and of the Albany Chamber of Commerce. In 1803, William James married his third wife, Catherine Barber, daughter of John Barber, of Montgomery, Orange County, New York. The Barbers, active people in the affairs of the times, were also of Irish origin. John Barber was the son of Patrick Barber who went from Co. Longford about 1750 and settled at Neelytown near Newburg (after having lived in New York City and Princeton) about 1764. Catherine Barber adopted the three children of her husband's prior marriages. She became the mother of five sons and three daughters.

William James, who emigrated from Cavan in 1789, died in 1832. In an obituary notice the *New York Evening Post* said of him :

**The Letters of William James* (the Philosopher); Edited by his son, Henry James. Intro. Vol. I. p. 2 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920. Two Vols.)

"He has done more to build up the city [of Albany] than any other individual." "When old Billy James came to Syracuse," said a citizen who could remember his visits, "things went as *he* wished." "Two portraits of the first William James have survived," writes his great-grandson, Henry James (*Op. cit.* Intro. p. 3), "and present him as a man of medium height, rather portly, clean-shaven, hearty, friendly, confident, and distinctly Irish."*

Henry James was the second son of William, and Catherine Barber. He was born in 1811. In 1840 he married Mary Walsh, a descendant of Hugh Walsh who went to America from Killingsley [Killyleagh], Co. Down, in 1764. Henry James produced some works on Philosophy. During visits to Europe he became acquainted with Thackeray, Carlyle, and Emerson. "I suppose there was not in his day," said E. L. Godkin, "a more formidable master of English style*," He died in 1882.

William James, who afterwards became one of the leading philosophers of the 19th century, was the eldest son of Henry James just mentioned, and was born in New York on the 11th Jan., 1842. His no less distinguished brother, Henry James the novelist, was born on the 15th April, 1843. William James was strongly influenced by his father's philosophical beliefs—mainly derived from the teachings of Swedenborg. The boyhood days of William and Henry James are described by Emerson: "In their speech, singularly mature and picturesque, as well as vehement, the Gaelic [Irish] element in their descent always showed. Even if they blundered they saved themselves by wit"†. In 1863 William James entered the Harvard Medical School and took the M.D. Degree in 1869. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy in 1885. As a teacher at Harvard University for thirty-five years, he influenced the lives and thoughts of more than a generation of students. During a stay in England in 1889 he wrote to his brother Henry "I am on the whole more curious to see the Emerald Isle than any other part except Scotland." In the same year he landed at Queenstown and visited Dublin. In 1890 he published his *Principles of Psychology*, which remains one of the standard works on the subject. His philosophical writings are very voluminous and display great depth, great originality and imagination. Throughout his life he never ceased to manifest a deep interest in Irish affairs. During his later years his health was never robust. Having resigned all active duties at Harvard in 1907, he died at Chocorua, New Hampshire, on the 26th Aug. 1910.

Ph. O'C.

**Life of E. L. Godkin*, Vol. II., p. 218. New York, 1907.

†*Early Years of the Saturday Club*. Chapter on Henry James, senior, p. 328.

VII.—REV. ROBERT LEECH (1831-1909).

The name should be particularly honoured by the Breifny Antiquarian Society. During the thirty years (1872-1901) of the Rev. Mr. Leech's connection with Kilmore diocese he took a deep interest in its people, their traditions and history, and almost single-handed he tried to do the work that our Society now aims at accomplishing. The pages of the local paper, *The Anglo-Celt*, were continuously graced by articles from his pen. The editor tells that when, on 12th April, 1915, a disastrous fire broke out and was consuming his offices and printing works, he was less moved by the material loss, immense though it was, than by the thought that there before his eyes, in the files of his newspaper, was going up in flames and smoke a vast deal of labour on Cavan incidents and history. Of this Mr. Leech's contributions formed a main portion. During the last three years every effort has been made to recover copies of them, but hitherto without success.

Mr. Leech belonged to an old North of Ireland family. The Leeches appear to have been in Londonderry for some hundred years. In that county, in the Vale of Ballynascreen, near Draperstown, on the 1st March, 1831, the future Rector of Drumlane was born. In the family there was a tradition of scholarship; both his father, Alexander, and his grandfather, another Robert, were noted for their interest in legend and history. His father had married a Miss Hepburn, a descendant of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, one time husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Robert was their eldest son. His only brother, David, went to S. Africa, and his family now flourish in Basutoland; and his sole sister, Mrs. Henderson, also emigrated to the same country.

From 1850 to 1860 Robert taught in the Royal School, Dungannon. Among his pupils were Captain Norton, M.P., who took first place in the Indian Civil Service; Professor Swift McNeill, ex-M.P.; and the late T. W. Russell. Before leaving Dungannon he married Miss Hurst, whose mother was a daughter of Dr. Francis, a near relative of Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the *Letters of Junius*, and who himself published a translation of Horace. Of their eight children, five sons and three daughters, but three survive (1924), viz., George A. H. Leech, now in California (to whom we are indebted for dates and facts in this sketch), Mrs. Brittain, who also is in California, and Miss Edith Leech, who resides in Dublin.

In 1860 Mr. Leech became Headmaster of St Patrick's Grammar School, Dublin. Throwing up this lucrative post, he entered Trinity College in 1868. There he read a distinguished course, (see *Crockford's Clerical Directory* for 1894). In 1872 he was

brought to Cavan and appointed curate of Kilmore parish. Two years later, on the death of Rev. G. Moffat of Drumlane, he succeeded as Rector. In Drumlane he laboured till 1901. In that year he resigned the parish and went to live in Dublin; and there he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding. He died in May, 1909. His remains were laid in Mount Jerome Cemetery, near the grave of Thomas Davis, a poet with whose retiring character and unselfish patriotism he had much in common.

Physically Mr. Leech was a very strong man and an all-round athlete. In his 70th year he thought nothing of walking 15 or 20 miles of a day through his parish. He was, too, a man of many accomplishments; playing old Irish airs was his favourite indoor pastime, and he possessed a beautiful tenor voice.

As to his writings, his poetic pieces—which his son is endeavouring to collect and publish—were numerous. Among them are *The Fall of McLoughlin*, which tells of the O'Kanes of Dungiven in his native county; *Maine Hall*, full of battle scenes of ancient days around the great fort of Lisnamaine near Carrighill, Belturbet; and the *Rise of McManus*, his longest poem. The last mentioned was written in 1898, a very busy year for his pen. It contains fine descriptions of Lower Lough Erne, Swanlinbar, Quilca, Slieve Russell, etc. It is built round an imagined visit of Conal Cernagh to the Holy Land, and, in subsequent historic times, the feats in the same land, perhaps equally imaginative, of Irish Crusaders, including the McManus of the day. This was both the last and the greatest effort of his Muse. His prose writings were almost wholly on local antiquarian topics, and there is not very much of Cavan on which he did not throw a ray of light. The re-publication of his *Anglo-Celt* articles in the *Boston Pilot* resulted in a pressing invitation from representative Irish-Americans to go on a lecture tour in the United States; but he always shunned publicity as far as he could, and declined.

In Drumlane his memory will long remain green. There he is remembered as a clergyman, kindly and affable, who, while devoted to his flock's best interests, was everybody's friend and counsellor.

VIII. MRS. JAMES SADLIER (1820-1903).

Mrs. Sadlier is probably the most prolific novelist that Ireland has produced. She wrote upwards of 60 original works. They were widely read throughout America; before her death some of them had reached the 16th edition. Some of them, too, were translated into French and German, and many of them were republished, and more than once, by Glasgow and Dublin firms. She turned out, besides, a few dramas, numberless newspaper and magazine articles, many poems, many translations from the French and a few purely religious books.

In the Preface to *The Confederate Chieftains* she declares, "it is not for the mere novel reader that I write now or at any other time." Each romance had a special purpose. Thus, *Con O'Regan* is a powerful anti-emigration appeal; *Bessy Conway* paints the need of religious influence on the formation of character, and the theme was suggested to her by Rev. Isaac Hecker, the distinguished founder of the Paulists; *Aunt Honor's Keepsake* was a chief cause of the establishment of the Catholic Protector for Boys and Girls and was written at the instigation of Dr. Ives; and *The Blakes and Flanagans* aims at exposing the evils of American public school education, and it, too, was penned at the instance of another leading American ecclesiastic, Archbishop Hughes. In no case does the moral purpose detract from the naturalness of the story. The characters are true to life and sometimes very amusing, the dialogues witty and not infrequently studded with Cavan allusions and Cavan turns of expression. Similarly, the object in view in over a dozen of her novels is popularising Irish history and hero times. Among them are, *The Daughter of Tyrconnell*, *McCarthy Mor*, *The Heiress of Kilorgan*, and *The Confederate Chieftains*. The scenes of the last mentioned are mainly laid in her native county. *The Hermit of the Rock* is an Irish *Old Mortality*, a storehouse of legend and tradition. Full expression is always given to the author's sympathies and dislikes, but she never shrinks from satirizing her countrymen's faults, is never historically unfair, and never sinks to melodrama.

It is an honour to Breifny that it can claim this good woman and great writer.

Mrs. James Sadlier was born in Cootehill, Co. Cavan, on Dec. 31st, 1820. No doubt the house will some day be marked by a slab. Her father, Francis Madden, was a shopkeeper in the town named. Her mother, Mary Foy, came from the neighbouring parish of Drung, and her people still carry on the business of millers at Bunnoe, and have given in almost every generation a priest to the diocese.

In the early 19th century facilities for education in Cootehill were poor. But for a time she was taught by the Presbyterian minister of the place and his wife, who were struck by her ability and took a deep interest in the cultivation of her talents. Mr. Madden had arranged to send her to an Ursuline convent when he died.

While still in her native town Mary Anne Madden contributed verses to *La Belle Assemblée*, London, edited by Mrs. Cornwall Baron Wilson and Mrs. Norton. They not only accepted them but expressed a wish to meet the young poetess, should they visit Ireland or she London.

She left for America in 1844 in company with an old servant. She visited relatives in Canada, taught for a time in a Ladies' School, and was received into a very exclusive circle. In Canada.

she met James Sadlier of the lately established firm of D. & J. Sadlier, New York, who had come to Montreal with a view of establishing an agency. They were married in 1846, and for the ensuing fourteen years they resided in Montreal. There her stories, *Elinor Preston*, *Willie Burke*, *Alice Riordan*, *New Lights or Life in Galway*, *The Red Hand of Ulster*, *The Fate of Father Sheehy*, &c., were planned and penned. She was also correspondent of the *N. Y. Tablet*, *Boston Pilot*, &c.

In 1860 the Sadliers returned to New York. James Sadlier was head of the Publishing Department of the firm; a firm which, for many years supplied almost the whole of America with Catholic literature, including a fine edition of the Bible, their business extending even to Asia and Africa. The official Catholic Directory of the U. S. was annually brought out by this House.

In New York Mrs. Sadlier continued to write. She also edited for some years the *N. Y. Tablet*, then one of the leading exponents of American Catholic thought, and contributed extensively to its columns. She had such brilliant collaborators as Dr. Brownson, D'Arcy McGee, and Dr. Ives. Indeed the list of contributors included most of the leading *litterateurs* of that day.

Besides her stories, Mrs. Sadlier translated from the French such important works as De Ligny's *Life of Christ*, Orsini's *Life of the Blessed Virgin*, the *Catechism in Examples*, &c. She also translated *The Orphan of Moscow*, *Legends of St. Joseph*, *The Lost Son* and several other tales for the young. *Ireland by Moonlight* and *Rome Memories* are the best known of her verses. She edited T. D'Arcy McGee's poems and prefixed a biographical sketch. She also compiled a *Catechism of Sacred History*, a *Doctrinal Catechism* and collaborated in several series of Readers.

She laboured for her own people and for the Irish emigrant. The influence of her work in the constructive period of the American Church can scarcely be overestimated. In 1895 she received the Lætare Medal (v. Vol. I, p. 338, of this *Journal*) from the University of Indiana.

Besides her literary work Mrs. Sadlier found time to take an active part in several of the charitable foundations of New York, the Foundling Asylum, for instance, Friendless Girls, Home for the Aged, Night Refuge, &c.; and by her pen she encouraged and helped to support various educational institutions. She had a wide circle of friends. The doors of her New York home and of her country house in Far Rockaway were always wide open and noted for hospitality. In both she entertained many distinguished persons.

"Mrs. Sadlier," states a lady who knew her well, "had a modesty that never sought self-advertisement and a natural love of retirement. She was winning and kindly in manner, gracious and dignified. In conversation with people of culture she appeared at her best. She was rarely gifted as to personal

appearance. Her exquisite delicate complexion retained its tints almost to the last, and her blue eyes kept their brightness. Only her dark hair had turned white."

She retained her intellectual faculties, bright and clear, to the end, her memory being phenomenally good. She died in Montreal, April, 5th, 1903, aged 82 years and three months. It was Palm Sunday, her favourite Feast, for she had been fond of quoting Gerald Griffin's lines: "My Sunday palm beside me laid, &c." Her palm was sent her by the Jesuits of Montreal, who had ever been among her greatest friends. When many mourners were gathered round her bier some one suggested that the *Magnificat*, not the *De Profundis*, should be recited. The remains were taken to New York and interred in the family plot in Calvary Cemetery. There they lie under the monument of granite, surmounted by a marble Celtic Cross, which she had erected over her husband, who had predeceased her nearly twenty-five years.

She lost two sons, both in early manhood. One of them, unusually promising, had but just been ordained in the Jesuit Society. One daughter married Francis Chadwick, of a County Louth family; another, Charles Le Blanc, son of the Sheriff of Montreal; and a third remained unmarried, devoting herself to literary pursuits. The last mentioned, viz., Miss Anna T. Sadlier, Litt. D., one son, and Mrs. Chadwick survive her (1923). Dr. Anna has inherited her mother's genius for story-telling. Her work already includes over 40 volumes, together with numerous contributions to periodical literature.

O'Donoghue's *Poets of Ireland* has a short life of Mrs. Sadlier. *Ireland in Fiction**, besides giving a few biographical notes, describes the plots of 15 of her tales. But all the dates and most of the facts given above are on the authority of her daughter, Dr. Anna Sadlier. Miss Sadlier's prompt and gracious reply to a request for accurate information begins as follows:—

OTTAWA, ONT.,

286 Daly Ave.,

Aug. 13th, 1923.

DEAR FATHER,

I was very much gratified to receive your letter in relation to my mother. How pleased she would have been that she is, in the words of D'Arcy McGee, "remembered in Erin" and especially in her own beloved county of Cavan....."

J.B.M.

*By Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. (Maunsel—1919). .

which has been printed for him in Brussels by the Society of the Bollandists. It contains three lives of Irish saints. All three are taken from the famous collection of O'Clery MSS., preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels.

This work, like Dr. Plummer's previous ones, (see this *Journal*, vol. I, p. 344) has a special interest for our Society. The second Life is that of St. Naile, a saint who is said to have been Abbot of Devenish for nine years, but whose principal associations are with Kinawley in Kilmore diocese. He is Patron Saint of the parish, and to it he has given his name (Kinawley = Cell Naile). Inbher Naile, now Inver, a parish in the diocese of Raphoe, is also called after him. Brother Michael O'Clery copied the Life from a Tirconnell MS., which then belonged to Niall Meirgeach, the son of MacSweeney Banagh.

As historical documents these Lives have about the value of the Book of Fenagh. But "as documents for the study of primitive (pre-Christian) Irish Culture, and of early tribal law and custom, they are of first class importance."* They also provide excellent material for students of philology and folk-lore.

In a paper on the "Ancient Church Sites and Graveyards in Co. Fermanagh," published in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, June, 1919, Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry gives in a Table the following particulars about the Kilmore parish just referred to:—

- Name of Church or locality in Irish—Cill Naile ;
- Name of Parish Church in the Eccl. Taxation of 1306—No return for the parishes of the Diocese of Kilmore ;
- Patron Saint—St. Naile or Natalis ;
- Feast Day—27th January ;

In the Irish Baronial Maps, 1609-10, a roofless church is marked in Dromheruie ; in the Survey of Co. Fermanagh held at Devenish, 7th July, 1603, the name of the church is given as Keannallee ; in the Inquisition held at Ennis-killen, 18th Sep., 1609, the church's name is spelt Killnallie, Killmally, &c.; the site of this church is indicated by the graveyard and ruined parish church in Lismonaghan townland.

This church has been in ruins since after 1657.

"At the present day," she states, "the names of a good many of the churches and graveyards [of Fermanagh] are not those of the townlands in which they are situated. . . . All the parish churches [of Fermanagh] either occupy the site or are in the vicinity of early monasteries whose names they bear," with the one possible exception of Derryvullan.

Just alongside the grounds of the fine modern church in the hamlet of Kinawley is the graveyard, in its centre some remains

**Literary Supplement of the Times*, Sept. 10, 1925, p. 537.

LITERARY NOTES.

Everybody knows that Aedan of Ferns and Mogue of Cavan were one and the same person. But it is quite a puzzle, especially to those unacquainted with Irish, to make out how Aedan (or Aed) and Mogue are not different names, but really the same name. In a Foreword to *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum**—a book by the way whose praises are sounded by every Antiquarian Journal in the Kingdom—Professor MacAlister incidentally gives a very neat explanation of the puzzle. After endorsing the Author's opinion that Mo-Chaoi and Caelán were two distinct individuals, he goes on :—

To compare these names we must first strip off the accretions, The prefixed Mo-, with the "aspiration" [*i.e.* silencing] of the following consonant which it induces, is no part of the real name of the saint. It is an honorific or hypocoristic prefix, meaning "my," and is often found prefixed to the names of saints (as Mo-Lua, Mo-Chonna, Mo-Chua, etc). The suffix -án is a diminutive termination, also used hypocoristically. These prefixes and suffixes are often piled up ; as in Mo-Cholm-án, " My little Colum," Mo-Cholm-óg (same meaning); and yet more curious, Mo-Aedh-óg, "My little Aedh," pronounced and often written in modern times "Mogue," in which the real name of the saint is buried out of sight by the endearing additions : a good example of "killing with kindness" !

Similarly Laserian and Molaise (*i.e.* Laser-ian and Mo-Laise), unlikely though it appears at first sight, are one and the same name. Denuding the former of its suffix and the latter of its prefix, it can be seen that they come very close to identity. In English we occasionally reply, "Yes my friend" and in French, "Oui mon père" ; but in neither language has the usage developed as far as it did in Irish.

Dr. Plummer, "the doyen of British Celtic scholars," has supplemented his labours on Irish hagiography by a new volume†

*By H. C. Lawlor, M.A.—Belfast, 1925.

† *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, Vitae adhuc ineditae sanctorum Burxelles. Société des Bollandistes, 1925.

of the walls of the church that has been a ruin since after 1657. It is fairly certain that these walls were raised either on or close to the site of St. Naile's original monastic foundation.

In the diocese of Kilmore there are 30 or 40 ruins such as Kinawley. From St. Patrick's time onward till about the 11th c., churches were usually built of wood, for wood was plentiful. Then they began to be constructed of stone. Of the 42 parishes at present in the diocese of Kilmore most of them have within their boundaries an old crumbling building, not yet level with the ground, that in the 15th, 16th, or 17th c., or perhaps through them, was a church. Almost invariably they are surrounded by graveyards*. Some parishes have two. Drumlease has three, not counting Creevelea Abbey which is on the left bank of the Bonet and so in another parish and diocese. One stands close to the Sligo 'mearne' (to use a localism), on the declivity opposite Parke's Castle. An ancient road or togher runs Sligowards between castle and church, a dozen yards from the latter. The Church is quite plain and unornamented. But as a ruin it is a respectable one, both side-walls and both gables are standing. It would accommodate about 100 persons. Overlooking Lough Gill the view from it is of unsurpassable beauty. Mr. Bigger M.R.I.A., of Belfast, dates this church back to about the 12th c. If so, it can claim, with one exception, to be probably the oldest church in the diocese. The exception is in the same parish. It is the little church in Drumlease graveyard on the hill over the river Bonet. This is the hill on which Saint Patrick set up his wattle booths, which have given its name to the parish (Drumlease-ridge of the huts). The building is now low; and it is small, a score could not find standing-room in it. That it was either a vault or a grave enclosure will be found difficult to credit. The opinion that it was an oratory or church built near the time of St. Patrick himself has many supporters.

Around the Drumlease church first mentioned there is no cemetery. But an annual fair used to be held beside it, up to, it is said, about 100 years ago. The pound is behind the church. It was well paved. Bit by bit Mr. Dolan, who owns the land, removed the cobble stones and now uses the enclosure as a garden. Inside the church, alongside the wall opposite the entrance, there is one grave and a flat tombstone over it. The epitaph is much worn and difficult to decipher. But recognising this Mr. Bigger, having read it, left a copy with Mr. Dolan who lives beside the

*Graveyards in Breifny which go back two or three hundred years are seldom not on the track of pre-Reformation churches, "Caldraghs," used until a generation ago for interments mainly of unbaptized children are also, most likely in almost every case, on the sites of primitive or pre-mediaeval churches.

church. With this copy in hand no visitor has any trouble in making out the inscription for himself. It runs as follows:—

**HERE LIE THE
BODIES OF ROB
ERT AND MARY
CHILDREN TO
CAPN ROBERT PARKE
1677**

The Bonet referred to above is the largest river in North Leitrim. From its source in Glenade Lough it flows wholly through Kilmore territory until it reaches within about half-a-mile of Dromahair. Thence onward until it enters Lough Gill, three miles further on, it forms the boundary between Kilmore and Ardagh, separating Drumlease parish of the former diocese from Killenummery of the latter. Killenummery is the sole Ardagh parish in N. Leitrim, and it is isolated from the rest of Ardagh. There is a curious legend about it. Around Dromahair you will often hear that Killenummery once belonged to Kilmore and by right should still pertain to it. "When John O'Donovan visited Dromahair he sought information from the native Seanchaidhes as to the origin of the name Killenummery, and he was told by an old man who enjoyed a high reputation for traditional lore, that the word meant 'church of contention.' The reason assigned for this name was that an age-long dispute prevailed between the dioceses of Ardagh and of Kilmore for the possession of Killenummery parish." The usual story is that a Kilmore P.P. of Killenummery was appointed Bishop of Ardagh and brought his parish with him.

The legend, we fear, has to go by the board.

The Seanchaidhe's derivation of Killenummery cannot be sustained. The FF.M., under the year 1362, "give the name in its true form, *Cill an iomaire*, which, means 'the church of the ridge.'"

As to the story, it is equally apocryphal. Rev. James McGauran of Kilmore diocese, indeed, became Bishop of Ardagh in 1815, but he was P.P. of Oughteragh (Ballinamore), not of Killenummery. "There have been many instances of parish priests who were promoted from their own diocese, to the episcopal charge of other dioceses, but I doubt if a single case could be cited in which the diocesan connections of a parish thus surrendered were broken." Dean Monaghan in his *Records of Ardagh & Clonmacnoise* gives no instance of a P.P. of Killenummery having been raised to the bishopric, and the work is so reliable and exhaustive that it may be safely said there never was.

Kilronan also, "it is sometimes alleged, was brought [from Elphin] into the Ardagh diocese by a Dr. MacDermot Roe who, having been its parish priest at the time of his election, was elevated in 1747 to the episcopal see of St. Mel."

Dean Monaghan refers to both these legends (*op. cit.* p.9) but only to refute them; and Mr. Dalton fully approves of their rejection.

The tradition about Killenummery, it should however be added, is not a pure invention of the Dromahair people. It has the following basis and most probably no other.

“ In Perrott’s Indenture [dated 1585] a good deal of land in the neighbourhood of Dromahaire is scheduled as belonging to the bishopric of Kilmore; and among the particulars of these church lands given we find ‘Killenummery, [Killenummery] 2 quarters.’ In the same document two quarters ‘in Killyree, [Killery] in the Ballintogher area, are stated to belong to the bishopric of Ardagh. . . . It would seem to follow from these items of evidence that, while in 1585 Killery was in Ardagh, Killenummery belonged to Kilmore.”

The conclusion would be precipitate and erroneous. “ The published *Obligationes pro Annatis* show that the Killenummery church was in the Ardagh diocese in the year 1426, that is a century and a half before Perrott’s Indenture*. . . . Again, in 1489 on 21st Feb., a Bull of collation to the parish was delivered to Bernard MacMogley, a priest of the Ardagh diocese.”† Civil authorities are not always the best of guides on church matters.

It remains to be acknowledged that all the statements within quotation marks as well as almost all the others in the foregoing discussion are taken from a very learned paper on the *Boundaries of Clonmacnoise & Ardagh Dioceses* kindly lent by the author, Mr. J. P. Dalton. The paper was read at a Meeting of the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Archaeological Society held at Dromahair this summer (1924); but it has not yet appeared in print.

In referring to the Cavan Brooch in last year’s *Journal* (vol. II, p. 184) it was mentioned that an exact copy of the ornament was presented to Queen Victoria. This copy is now in the National Museum, Dublin. It is in the first show case one meets after passing the entrance turnstile. It is a beautiful object and well worth seeing. The card attached explains how it comes to be there. It states:—

“Queen Victoria’s Brooch,” presented to Her Majesty on the occasion of her visit to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1849. It is a copy reduced in size, of an ancient Irish brooch in the Royal Irish Academy Collection and is of Wicklow gold set with a pearl from Lough Esk.

Presented by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur Duke of Connaught.

* *De Annatis Hiberniae*, 1400-1535—Dublin, 1912,—p. 158.

† *Do.*, p. 114.

The autograph letter written in presenting it is alongside the explanatory card. It is as follows:—

Royal Hospital,
Dublin.

Her Majesty Queen Victoria brought this Celtic Brooch from Ireland after her first visit in 1849. After her death this brooch was given to me and I now make a gift of it to the Science and Art Museum in Dublin.

Arthur.

General Commander of the
Forces in Ireland.

May, 1st 1902.

The original, "the Cavan Brooch," may be seen in the same Museum in the Section of Irish Antiquities. It is of bronze, not gold.

In the last No. of this *Journal* (Vol. II., p. 107) attention is directed to a valuable series of articles on Militia Commissions, Co. Cavan, which were copied in the P.R.O., Dublin, before its destruction, by Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A., one of our members, and published with annotations by him in *Notes & Queries*. A slip made in referring to them has to be corrected: the four articles appeared not consecutively but fortnightly; but the little Magazine itself is, and has always been, published weekly, never fortnightly as stated. Consequently the articles mentioned will be found in the issues of May 17th & 31st, and June, 14th & 28th, 1924, *i.e.* in Vol. 146, Nos. 46, 48, 50, & 52.

The series is continued in the issues of Aug. 30th, Oct. 25 & Nov. 1st, 1924, *i.e.*, in Vol. 147, Nos. 9, 17 & 18 of the same Magazine. These latter three articles possess an undiminished interest for our Society. Most of the surnames of those who received Commissions in the 18th c. are still common in Co. Cavan; and the biographical notes, the source of them always indicated, may be relied on for accuracy.

Particulars are given about the following persons mentioned in the Lists. In every case the residence given below is in Co. Cavan.

In No. 9.

Lieut. Patrick Enery of Templeport, d. Dec. 19th, 1732;

Qr. Ms. John Mee of Butler's Bridge;

John Stephens (Cornet 1715, Capt. 1725) of Ballynacargy, md.

Mary, dau. of Rev. Francis Shuldham, Vicar of Kildrumfertin, in 1717, d. 1759;

Lieut. Isaac Bredin of Ennismore;

Capt. John Enery of Bawnboy, d. on his passage from Dublin to Parkgate April 24, 1758, ancestor of the Enerys of Bawnboy and of Ballyconnell;

Capt. Christopher Harman of Kilmacnoran, d. early in 1719 ;
 Two Wm. Harmans, one of them of Corgrave ;
 Ensign George Knipe ;
 Capt. J. Moore of Moyne Hall ;
 Ensign Luke Stanford of Belturbet, d. Feb. 4, 1749/50 ; and
 Lieut. Norris Thompson of Legakelly, d. Nov. 1767.

No. 17 has similar brief biographical notes on :—

Lieut. Wm. Stephens of Ballynacargy (otherwise Stephens Fort)
 d. May, 26th 1767,

Cornet Edward Reilly of Cullentra and Tullicoe, d. July 22, 1769 ;
 Lieut. Josias Veitch of Dunmurry ; and
 Cornet Mathew Young of Lahard, Killeshanrda.

No. 18 gives a note on :—

Adjutant John Nixon, perhaps son of George of Drumcullion,
 Killeshandra, who died in 1696,

Cornet Brockhill Cottnam of Dervony ; and

Cornet Wm. Nesbitt of Drumalee, Captain 1727, d. 1754.

In the annotations many side lights are thrown on Cavan matters. For instance, we see that Moyne Hall came into the Moore family through the marriage of Major Nicholas Moore of Co. Louth with Abigail, dau. and co-heiress of Roger Moyne of Moyne Hall,* and we are also told, on the authority of *Faulkner's D Journal*, that Josias Veitch, above mentioned, son of John of Gartinardress, md. on Saturday, 24th Aug, 1745, Hannah Pattison "niece of the Widow Ford, of Island Bridge [Dublin], a very agreeable young lady, with 1,200l. Fortune." His only son, Edward, of Dublin and afterwards of Butler's Bridge, was buried at Castleterra, Ballyhaise, July 9th, 1799. He left his lands in Cavan-Lisbree, Kilmore, and Drumbolusk near Ballyjamesduff—to his friend Ralph Harman.

The authority quoted for the statements regarding B. Cottnam is a Chancery Bill dated Nov. 21, 1681. To this Rev. Mr. Swanzy appends the short paragraph :—

It may be of interest to note that this Bill was probably the last ever inspected in the Irish Record Office, the compiler having consulted it at about one o'clock on April 13, 1922. The Office was seized that evening by the persons who eventually destroyed it.

This year (1924) Mr. Fitzgerald Reynolds has also in *Notes & Queries*, in the issue of Nov. 15, an article on a Londonderry branch of the Reynolds, and in the issue of Dec. 6th one on the Coynes, a family that had connections with Co. Cavan. Copies of all the Nos. in which Mr. Swanzy's and his own contributions appear he kindly continues to present to our library. They may be there consulted.

The cross here depicted is very old : it is referred to in the *Annals* under the year 1156. There it is called "the Cross of Doras Urdoimh" (the Gate or Door of the Portico). It was erected on its present pedestal in 1688 "at the charge of Robert —ife . . .

* Cp. Journal, Vol I, p. 277.

soverai[gn]e of the corporation of Kells," as an almost illegible inscription at the base shows. (*V. Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1892, p. 129). How the top was broken off is not known.

In Kells there are portions of as many as five crosses all equally famous. Some of them have beautiful interlaced ornament, others figures executed in bas relief. Four are in the churchyard. This one stands at the end of a street—Cross street. Still it is not a "Market Cross," as were most probably the ones in Cote-hill and in Cavan town.

As to the purposes of such crosses:—

There can be little doubt that their use was to mark a sanctuary An old Irish canon enacts that the boundary of a sacred place should have the sign of the cross; and another lays down the rule; "Wherever you find the sign of the Cross of Christ do not do any injury." The cross which at present stands in the Market-place, Kells, marks the spot which was formerly the entrance to the enclosure of the ecclesiastical city. The fugitive who had once passed that point was under the protection of the church. A still more instructive example is furnished at Tristelkieran, in the parish of Loughan. There the churchyard stands by the side of the Blackwater, and has three crosses in position, marking the bounds of the sanctuary. There are the remains of a fourth cross in the bed of the river, so that one coming from the opposite bank might be in a place of safety while still endeavouring to ford the stream.*

No one motoring through Kells from Cavan to Dublin can miss this cross. The steep street leading down to it sweeps round in a circle, evidently retaining the contour of the exterior rampart of "the ecclesiastical city" and of the great fort that preceded it.

* *History of the Diocese of Meath*, by John Healy, LL.D.—Dublin, 1908, Vol. I, p. 39.



THE CROSS IN A STREET OF KELLS.

[Through the courtesy of "The Catholic Pictorial."]