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The Late
REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN,
P.P., M.R.I.A., M.R.S.A.I.
(1862-1926).

Founder and First President of the Breifne Antiquarian Society.

(Photo *circa* 1890).

The Parishes of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan.

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

[Read 13th Nov., 1924.]

I.—CIVIL HISTORY.

Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were recognised as distinct parishes until the early 18th century. In the *Books of Survey and Distribution* (1641) the parishes are grouped together, while the 1669 *Commonwealth Grants* couple Lurgan and Munterconnacht together, and give Castlerahan by itself. The *Down Survey Map* of 1654 has Castlerahan and Lurgan marked as separate parishes. The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 present Munterconnacht and Castlerahan as a unit. But the fact that the parishes were grouped together for taxation, or plantation, purposes does not necessarily imply that they were ecclesiastically united. As will be shown, both were regarded as separate, and were under distinct ecclesiastical jurisdiction, until the middle of the 18th c. In pre-Reformation times each had its Hospital which served as its parish church.

Munterconnacht, which seems to have been the older tribal division, derives its name from MUINTEAR CU-CONNACT, *i.e.*, Cuconnacht's family or descendants. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* has the same spelling, and the references in the *Pedigree* explain the origin of the name. We learn that Giolla Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly, founder of Cavan Abbey, had thirteen sons, one of whom was named Cuconnacht. The descendants of this Cuconnacht settled in this district in the 13th c., and gave it its title. The account of the battle of Magh Sleacht, A.D. 1256, given in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, seems to indicate that this Cuconnacht fell in the battle fighting against O'Rourke and O'Connor.

There were killed on the spot Cathal O'Reilly, King of the Muinntir Maolmordha, and of the Clann of Aodh Finn, and his two sons, Donal Roe and Nial, and his brother Cuconnacht, etc. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* further tells us that: "From Cormac son of Shane (according to some) came the nobility (uairte) of Muinntir Connacht called SUIOCT NA TUPÍ, *i.e.*, the Descendants of the Three." Who the three were is not specifically explained

but by inference from the context, it is obvious that three O'Reillys are intended. This Shane mentioned in the *Pedigree* was a grandson of Giolla Iosa Ruadh. So we may conclude with certainty that the O'Reilly settlement in the district dates at least from the 14th century. The boundaries of the ancient province of Connacht, to which Breiffne then belonged, extended eastward to Loch Ramor and the Blackwater.

Castlerahan (CASTLE AN RAITH, *i.e.*, the castle of the little fort— from which the Barony also derives its name) was another stronghold of the O'Reillys. The earliest spellings of the name do not differ materially from the present day form. "Castelraghen" (*State Papers*, 1542), "Castleraghan" (*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1587), "Castelrayne" (*ibid.*, 1584), "Castleraghyn" (*ibid.*, 1591), "Caslan-raham" (1609 Baronial Map), "Castlerahen" (*Patent Rolls*, 1603), "Castlerahine" (*ibid.*, 1607), "Castleraghen" (*Down Survey*, 1654). O'Donovan in his notes on the district says:—

"The name Castlerahan (Castleraghan is barbarous) certainly signifies the castle of the (at or near) *little fort*, as the locality and tradition among the peasantry will prove."*

The *O'Reilly Pedigree* also affords a clue to the original orthography:

"The district of Uachtar-tire (UACHTAR-TIRE, *i.e.*, the upper district) or the south-east district of Breiffne, now called Loch Ramhor or the Barony of Castle Raheen, was the patrimony of Felim, the son of Shane O'Reilly."

THE MOAT OF CASTLERAHAN.

In the tld. of Castlerahan may be seen a conspicuous moat—one of the few large moats to be met with in Breiffne. It crowns the highest point in the tld., and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country with Loch Sheelin stretching to the west and Loch Ramor to the south-east. On this moat was erected the castle of the O'Reillys, traces of which remain. No doubt its commanding position prompted the chieftains to utilise it as an admirable site for the castle. We have many instances elsewhere of castles erected on existing moats. The top of the moat was levelled so as to make it the more adaptable site for building purposes. It is evident that the moat of Castlerahan is one of those pre-historic erections which had their origin in the pre-Christian era. A large circular fosse surrounds it. The top of the moat is now rectangular in shape, and traces of the walls surrounding the castle can still be detected. At the eastern corner a remnant of a wall, apparently belonging to the castle, still remains. From the existing fragments it is clear that the original buildings were very substantial, and that a vast amount

* *Cavan Letters*, dated from Virginia, 25th May, 1826.

of labour was expended in clearing the site and constructing the foundations. A more imposing position for this "castle of the little fort" could hardly be chosen.

In the grants to Sir Edmond Fettiplace in 1610 (*infra*), described by Pynnar, we find that the proportion of *Carvyn* (Carnin) was then in the possession of Sir Thomas Ash, and furthermore that, "upon this there is built a very good Bawne of Lymie and Stone, being 70 feet square and 12 feet high, with two Flankers; but all the land is inhabited with *Irish*." This appears to refer to the Castle of Castlerahan whose dimensions approximate to Pynnar's figures. The castle is marked on the 1609 map in the tld. of Castlerahan. It seems to have fallen into disuse shortly afterwards; and, as happened elsewhere, the materials were carried away for building purposes. A local interpretation of Castlerahan is Raithin's Cashel, or stone fort, Raithin being described as having been a "Dane." However, this interpretation can hardly be considered a likely one. Close by the moat, and now in ruins, is the old Hospital of Castlerahan.

THE ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBAN CONFISCATIONS.

When English law began to become operative in East Breiffne, and during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, the Irish Statutes were gradually superseded. Henry VIII had already entered into indentures with some of the Connacht chieftains, giving titles and lands in order to secure their allegiance. Sir Henry Sidney, when Lord Deputy, about 1570, induced many of them to surrender their lands with a view to obtaining re-grants according to English law. In 1584 Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy, commenced to elaborate an already well-planned scheme, and to enforce the English system of land tenure. Leases, tenures, etc., were surrendered by the native owners and re-obtained in conformity with the newer statutes.

The object aimed at was three-fold. In the first place a fixed revenue was to be secured to the English crown; secondly, the uncertain extortions, the "cuttings and spendings" of the chiefs, were to be abolished, and the chiefs were to be compensated by grants to them, and to their heirs, by English law, of the castles, lands, and fixed rents and services which had hitherto descended, according to Tanistry; finally, every landowner, chief or clansman was to be given a legal title of his own.*

The Commission set up by Perrott in 1585 to effect this settlement was known as the Composition of Connacht. Already—in 1562—Lord Deputy Sussex was preparing to transfer Breiffne O'Reilly from Connacht to Ulster. In his report to

* Cf. Butler: *Confiscation in Irish History*, chap. III.; *The Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, Jour. R.S.A.I., Vol. XLIII., p. 101; Sigerson: *History of Irish Land Tenures*.

Queen Elizabeth in that year, setting forth what he “conceived for the reducing of your English subjects in this realm to live under the obedience of the law, and of your Irish subjects to live under the direction of certain constitutions more agreeable (*sic*) to their natures and customs,” he specifies that :—

“O’Raili’s country is to be taken within Connaught, but because it lieth fitter for another government, and bordereth upon the English Pale, I leave it out of the government of Connaught.”*

Already, in 1228, Henry III. had declared the province of Connacht—to which Breiffne then belonged—forfeited to the English crown, and granted the greater part of the province to Richard De Burgo. But Breiffne was not included in the De Burgo grant since at the time of the Anglo-Norman Invasion Tiernan O’Rourke, Prince of Breiffne, was in possession of Meath. For this reason the grant of Meath to De Lacy was held to include Breiffne. But Breiffne had successfully resisted all attempts at permanent settlement.† Lord Deputy Perrott, with all that astute statesmanship which characterised him, cut the Gordian Knot by dividing the Principality of Breiffne into the counties of Leitrim and Cavan; the former was attached to Connacht and the latter to Ulster.

In the *Fiants* of Eliz.‡ we find the following list of landowners in Munterconnacht and Castlerahan to whom Letters Patent were issued :—

1584.—MINTERCHONACHI and CARNE. (*Vide Journal*, Vol. I., p. 297).

A grant, under Queen’s letter, to Elienor Nugent, widow of Nicholas Nugent, late of Kilcairne, Co. Meath—and dated 26th June, 1583 (XXV. Eliz.)—includes (*inter alia*): “the lands of Clonkeighwy [Clonkeiffy], Co. Cavan.”

1586.—Keilfenlagh, Monterconnaghte, Knocknegirtane, Aghotegili [Ryefield]. (*V. Journal*, Vol. I., p. 297).

LYSSMACONNAGAN.—Brian M’Melaughlin O’Lynce.

CLOGGY [Cloggagh].—Donell m’Owen m’Brien O’Lynce; Brian m’Owen m’Brien O’Lynce.

BARECOWNE [Barconny].—Melaughlin m’Tho. O’Lynce.

KYLDORCGHE [Kildorragh].—Hugh m’Tirlagh O’Lynce; Patr. m’Tirlagh m’Oconnor O’Lynce; Brian Bane m’Cahill Boy O’Lynce; Farsie O’Lynce.

BAROROWNY [Barconny].—Gillepatrick m’Turlagh Roe O’Lynce; Cahill gortagh O’Lynce; Gyllyse boy m’Cahill charry O’Lynce; Donell m’Cahill charry [O’Lynce].

* *Cal. S. P., Ireland, Carew MSS.*, 1562, p. 334 : preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace.

† Cf. Knox : *History of Mayo*, pp. 314 *et seq.*

‡ 15th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, *Appendix*.

CARNE.—Cornuck bane m'Owie m'Cowconaghte M'Ewayster, kern, and Tho. m'Symon, kern.

BANEH [Beherna].—Connor m'Wm. O'Multulle, smith.

BALLADONGHO [Balladorrigh].—Edm. m'Gerrott O'Reilye, gent.; Rowry m'Rory O'Ferrall, kern.

BALLYLYNCHE [*alias* Barconny].—Hugh bane m'Farrall O'Lynce.

1592.—MOUNTER-CONNAGHT, MOINTERCHONATY, and AGHOTEGHILL. (Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 298).

1601.—BRACKLONE [Brackloney].—Conor m'Hugh [O'Reilly].

In 1603 Elizabeth died and was succeeded by James I. During the latter's reign we find many pardons issued to the people of the district, including the following:—

1603.*—CASTLERAHEN.—Brian oge Clerie; Shane Clerie; Cahell Clerie; Teig Clerie.

1604.†—MOUNTERCONAGHT.—Thomas McShane O'Reilie; Hugh McGerrott O'Rely; Mulmorie McThomas McShane O'Rely; James McHugh Duffe O'Relie; Shane McHugh o'Duffe O'Rely; Hugh McOwen O'Rely; Tirlagh oge McTirlagh O'Rely; P'aly McThomas McShane O'Rely; Cahill O'Relie; Brian McGerrott O'Relie.

1610.‡—CASTLERAHINE.—Hugh McCahill O'Lince; Brian McCabe.

In 1610 the king granted to Christopher Nugent of Downenosse, Co. Meath, two polls of land in Lisvecanegan [Lismacanigan] and one poll in Finewoeh [Finaway in Crosserlough Par.]. The Nugent family remained in possession of these lands until dispossessed in 1666. Owen McMulmorie O'Reilly obtained in 1611, together with other lands in Crosserlough, a grant of one poll in Cladagh and half a poll in "Corneinucklagh in Barconny."§

A grant from the king to Luke Plunket, lord baron of Killene, dated 29 Jan., 1612, specified certain lands in Cavan and Meath. The lands in Castlerahan barony include:—||

All the territory or precinct of land called Moynterchonnagh [Munterconnacht], containing 3 tuaghs or ballybetaghs,¶ viz.:—Fechapull otherwise Balliaghacapull, Balliaghadoo, and Bally-Illane, containing the following 48 polls, viz.:—

Corronnagh, two polls; Gallonfreigh and Gallonstramore, one poll; Carrick, one poll; Gallon-Iteragh and Gallonstramore, one poll; Aghochoollin and Keallragh, one poll; Monechoghell, two polls; Moet, Crosfeighen, Aghadowan, Owteragh, Kairgiagh, and Pollgarrue, one poll each; Lechearrowecheile, two polls; Edenconishian, two polls; Shanidrom, Aghomoure,

* *Patent Rolls*, 1 James I.

§ *Ibid.*, 9 James I.

† *Ibid.*, 2 James I.

|| *Ibid.*, 10 James I.

‡ *Ibid.*, 8 James I.

¶ A ballybetagh was about 1,000 acres. (Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 206).

Ballaghdoragh, Neidd, Cloonmarfgaffrey, Knockwouny, and Cowletweo, one poll each; Knocknegartan, three polls; Politedewe and Aghonehae, one poll each; Gallonknocktample and Gallonroe, one poll; Knockney, containing a stone castle and two polls; Aghobrack, Lorganboy, Pollinishie and Lishimighan, one poll each; Dounomolloge and Knockawroe, one poll; Lissedonellan and Aghonecheadgoalagh, one poll; Lorgereough and Sharrenhiewe, one poll; Tomquill and Omery, one poll; Kiloge, Mullaghneschanchloone, Aghenedan, and Ardskea, one poll each; Clontrassan and Beherny, one poll.

Total 2,400 acres: rent £6 Irish. The premises are created the manor of Courtown [Co. Meath] with 400 acres in demesne; power to create tenures and to hold courts leet and baron.

The functions of the courts *leet* and *baron* here referred to may require some explanation. The former was an ancient Saxon institution for the trial of offences, also for the preservation of the peace and the prevention of crime, characteristic of the English Hundred to which the Irish Barony closely corresponded, and usually held by a bailiff or steward of the Sheriff. It also properly belonged to a borough which ranked as a Hundred. The Hundred was the divisional name given (in England) to a portion of a county for administrative or military purposes. The term—the origin of which is obscure—has long since become obsolete but it is still preserved in the fictitious “Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds” of English Parliamentary procedure. The courts baron are so called either from the baron or lord who presided over them, or from the freemen, who were called barons, in ancient times. Their origin seems to have arisen from notions of patriarchal jurisdiction. In the first instance they were attached to every manor, and were held by its lord, or his steward, assisted by his freeholders, to decide on the purely civil controversies that arose between them. A court baron also belonged to every Hundred or County, and in many cases to particular franchises or lordships, which might include several manors. As the cause in dispute might be removed to a higher tribunal, courts manor have long fallen into disuse.*

Some of the tld. names in this list are easily recognisable, e.g. :—Gallon-Iteragh (Eighter), Crosfeighan (Crossafehin), Knocknegartan, Bally-Islane (Island), Gallonfreigh (Gallonfree), etc.; many of the others are no longer in use, or are only remembered as sub-denominations. A few are included in the *Down Survey* list (*infra*). Gallonstramore (Σπατ Μόρη) is a sub-denomination of Eighter, as is also Pollgarrue, Keallragh (Ceatoprac), and Kairgiagh. Gallonroe is a sub-denomination of Knockatemple, and is remembered as Μυλλὰς Ρυαδὸ (i.e. the red hilltop) where the Protestant church of Munterconnacht is situated. In the tld.

* Vide *A Dictionary of Science, Literature and Art*, by W. T. Brande and Rev. G. W. Cox., Vol I., p. 576; Vol. II., pp. 341-342.

of Knockatemple, and on a narrow headland jutting out into Loch Ramor, is a fairly large moat which is marked "Castle" on the modern O.S. maps. No indications of a castle can now be traced, but it is likely that Knockneny, "containing a stone castle," refers to this. Monechoghell was apparently a sub-denomination of Croaghan (cf. *Down Survey, infra*). In the list we find an Iteragh and an Outeragh (ιοεεαμ and υαεεαμ, i.e. lower and upper divisions). The former alone has survived as a tld. name. The list, a very interesting one, preserves for us the names of the principal divisions of Munterconnacht as they were recognised in 1612.

The Plunkets remained in possession of these lands until the confiscations under the *Act of Settlement*, about half a century later. However, under the "Innocents." recommendation they managed to hold portion of their estates.

In 1609 a grant to Marie, Baronesse of Delvin [Co. Westmeath], widow, and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin her son, included (*inter alia*): "Ballilince alias Barconny, two polls."* By a deed, dated 6th April, 1612, Robert [Protestant] Bishop of Kilmore, with the consent of the dean and chapter of the diocese, demised to Sir Oliver Lambert of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and Sir Garrett Moore, of Mellefont, Co. Louth, one half poll of the lands of Moynterconnaght, and two polls of the lands of Castle-rahin.†

THE JACOBITE PLANTATION.

In the Survey of confiscated lands in Cavan which was carried out by Sir John Davies in 1610, the division of *Carvyn* was assigned to Sir Edward Fettiplace. The details of this grant, as given by Hill, have already been described.‡ It consisted of 1,000 acres and included the townlands of Polleneheny [Enagh], Carrickevey, Carrovadegoone [cf. No. 17 *Down Survey, infra*], Mullomore, Dromhill (Vide No. 17 *infra*). Cornakilly, Garurosse [Garryross], Carvine [Carnin], Aghanoran (Vide No. 10 *infra*), Carmine [Cormeen], Derrilurgane, Kilcholly (Vide No. 13 *infra*), Killagagh (Vide No. 7 *infra*), Luggagoage (Vide No. 7 *infra*), Lurganlostie [marked on P.M. adjoining "Kilouran" and occupying the approximate position of the present tld. of Aghalion], Killowran (Vide No. 19 *infra*), Cornaran [Carn], and Rasadan.

The premises were created the Manor of Mullomore, with 300 acres in demesue and a court baron. The remaining portions, mostly consisting of waste and unarable lands, were allotted to the Irish "natives." It will be observed that this grant to Sir

* Patent Rolls, 7 James I.

† *Ibid.*, 11 James I.

‡ *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343 : *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 302.

Edmond Fettiplace included almost the entire parish of Castle-
rahan. But the original idea of the Plantation did not materialise,
and, as we shall see later, there was hardly any change in the
native ownership or occupancy of the land. In fact, it was
specially stipulated that an immediate wholesale importation of
English colonists would be injudicious, "lest if many strangers
be brought in among them, it should be imagined as an invention
to displant the natives, which would breed a general distaste
in all the Irish."*

THE LOCH RAMOR FERRY : ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

When the district of Aghaler—where the present town of ΔΑΔΘ
ΛΑΘΔΑΙΡ (Virginia) is situated—was assigned to Capt. John
Ridgeway in 1610, subject to the condition that he should found
a town therein, the grant required that all necessary appur-
tenances—a school, church, market-place, etc.—should be
provided.† Furthermore, as we should expect, a ferry was stipu-
lated. In the details of the Jacobean grant, dated 14th August,
1612, from the King to John Ridgeway, the various conditions
are thus specified:—

The towns and lands of Aghaler, two polls; Carrigagh,‡
Cornaslive, and Dromgora, one poll each; in all 250 acres.
The lough of Loughraure, and the entire fishings—Rent £1 6s. 8d.
English.

In Castlerahan Barony, Killeginnemoore, a gallon or half poll,
25 acres; rent 4 shillings.

The grantee is bound to plant and settle upon the poll of
Aghanure§, parcel of the two polls of Aghaler, within four
years, twenty persons, English or Scots, chiefly artificers, to
be burgesses of the town to be built there, and called Virginia,
and within the said time to be incorporated and made a body
politic; and to assign convenient places for the site of the said
town, a church and churchyard, a market place, a public
school, with a back side and garden adjoining—the said town
to consist of the said 20 burgesses, besides cottagers and
inferior inhabitants, who were to be accommodated with
houses and lands, viz., ten with two acres each and ten with
one acre each, to be called the Burgess field, and 30 acres
adjoining the town for a common; licence to hold a Thursday

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1606, p. 24.*

† *Vide Journal, Vol. I., pp. 22 et seq.; also pp. 299 et seq.*

‡ A tld. which adjoined Aghaler; now partly included in the tld. of
Murmod. Ct. 1609 and 1654 maps. It is not marked on the modern O.S.
maps.

§ This was evidently, in 1612, a recognised sub-denomination of Aghaler,
but was not classified as a separate tld. Neither the 1609 nor 1654 maps
have it recorded, nor is it mentioned in the plantation grants, nor in the *Fiants*
of Eliz.

market at Virginia, and a fair on St. Peter's day and the day following, unless such day fall on Saturday or Sunday, in which case the fair is to be held on the Monday and Tuesday following; with a court of pie-powder,* and the usual tolls; rent, 13s. 4d. Irish, he and his heirs to be clerks of the market, and no person to sell by retail within three miles of the town without licence, except the inhabitants; licence to keep a ferry over Loughrawe, from the castle of Bellaghong [Ballaghanea] to the lands of Moynterconowe on the south side of the said Lough; to take the same fees as such ferries usually took; rent, 3s. 4d. Irish.†

A year previous to this, in 1611, Ridgeway was already preparing to establish a ferry and had actually "contracted at Bealturbert for a boat for use at Lough Rawre."‡ The licence was granted him in 1612. The need for a ferry over Loch Ramor was evident to the Jacobean grantees, and in other places at the same period similar licences were given. What the fees may have been may be surmised from the terms of a Cork licence, issued in 1611 to Patrick Tirry, of Cork County, to maintain:—

A ferry over the river and port of Cork . . . with the following fees, and no other, to be taken, viz., for every man or woman, a penny sterling; for every cow, horse or garran, a penny; for every six sheep, swine or goats, a penny; for every barrel of meal or corn, a half-penny.§

In the same year the king granted to Pierce Tunulton, of Portaferry, Co. Down, a licence:—

To maintain, at the proper expense of him and his heirs, a good ferry boat at the ferry of Strangford, with four able ferrymen.||

Ridgeway lived in the castle of Ballaghanea, and around it his servitors and followers resided. Hence the establishment of the ferry from there. When the town of Virginia developed at a later period the ferry-house was established in its present position.

17TH CENTURY TOPOGRAPHY.

THE DOWN SURVEY (1654) AND PLANTATION (1609) MAPS.

The *Down Survey Map* (1654)—which has Munter-Connacht as a separate unit—marks the tlds. as then defined, and it is of interest to compare them with the present day forms. This well-known map was drawn up by Sir William Petty in connec-

* Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 271.

† *Patent Rolls*, 10 James I.

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1611, p. 130.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

|| *Ibid.*, 9 James I.

tion with the Cromwellian confiscations. Each parish map has annexed to it a list of all the landowners in the parish in 1641, and, from the reference numbers, we can tell who were the owners of any particular tld. in that year. The lists are given in the *Books of Survey and Distribution (infra)*.

It may be noted here that an earlier tld. map of Cavan exists, viz., the *Baronial Plantation Map of 1609* drawn up in connection with the Jacobite confiscations. This is the earliest tld. map known to be extant. In connection with the *Down Survey*, it is of the greatest importance in determining the earlier forms of the various tld. names, as well as locating those which have since dropped out of general use. The Parish of Munterconnacht is not indicated on the Plantation Map of 1609 although marked on the *Down Survey*, which was completed 45 years later. The omission was probably due to the fact that Munterconnacht was not then included in Chichester's Scheme of Plantation.

The following is the *Down Survey* list of the tlds. of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan, together with the reference numbers. The forms which are given on the 1609 Plantation Map will be indicated by P.M. ; the present day equivalents will be placed in brackets, thus [].

89. ETOR AND CARGAGH [Eighter].—Cargagh is no longer in use as a tld. name, but a sub-denomination of Eighter is still remembered as CÚIL CARRAIGEAC—the stony corner—which is obviously the “Cargagh” of the *Down Survey*. (Cf. “Kairgiagh,” *Patent Rolls*, supra).

90. CARRICKE [Carrick].

91. AGHEKENCROUGH [Croaghan].* The older spellings indicate that a first syllable has been lost. Vide *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)*.

92. MUNINCOGHAN.—This appears as a sub-denomination of 91 (supra). The *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)* have “Monecohell,” and the Jacobean *Patent Rolls (supra)* “Monechoghell.” The old Parish Register mentions “Monycohill,” and “Monychoghill” under the years 1752, 1757, and 1759. In the *Cavan Townland List*, published in Cavan in 1709, or 1790, it is given as “Moyn Yeohill.”

* Vide CÉAD DE CEOLTAIB ULAD, ÉIRÍ Ó MUIRGEARA DO ÉRINNIG; LEATANAC 9 in an AGALLAÍN or Disputation between PÁDRAIG PLUMCEADÓ—a bilingual poet of the last century still remembered around Loch Ramor—and the MAOR LOC RAMOR, an agrarian despot, Henry Sargent, who died in 1861. His name is hardly likely to be forgotten in the neighbourhood of Loch Ramor. The ADHÁN begins:—

‘DO BÍ MÉ, LÁ ÉIGIN, AR CARRAIG NA SAOB.

CARRAIG NA SAOB is the name of a wood in Croaghan tld. Sargent lived at Eighter. Tradition invests him with all the characteristics of a mandarin—a Robespierre *in parvo*—a prototype of the *Bourgeois* who loom over that inglorious chapter of French history which closed so abruptly on the eve of the Revolution.

93. **KNOCKANTEMPLE** [Knockatemple].—The *Books of Survey and Distribution (infra)* give “Tinedin” as a joint tld. τ_{15} , or τ_{100} , $\Delta\text{N } \epsilon\Delta\text{V}\Delta\text{M}$ = the house, or the side, of the hill-brow. The “Mullaghroe” of the Parish Register (1752 *et seq*) is a sub-denomination of Knockatemple. *Vide* 1612 Grants (*supra*).

94. **ANCHONQUILLY**.—This tld., which seems no longer remembered locally, is marked on the map as situated between Knockatemple and Corronagh, and extending to Loch Ramor. $\Delta\epsilon\Delta\text{V } \Delta\text{N } \text{COITTE}$ = the field or plain of the wood. It may be remarked, as an interesting grammatical point, that the noun COITTE , generally regarded as feminine, occasionally occurs as masculine in Breiffne Gaelic. This is an example.

95. **CORNANAGH** [Corronagh].

96. **KNOCKNEGARTAN**. [$\text{Cnoc na } \zeta\text{ceap}\nu\text{c}\Delta\text{N}$] = the hill of the forges. According to local tradition a number of tradesmen of the O'Reilly Clan settled here. Evidently the forges were the factories where weapons of war were manufactured.

97. **AGHANTRGALL** [$\Delta\epsilon\Delta\text{V } \Delta\text{N } \tau\text{Seasail}$ or Ryefield]. “Aghotegill” *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586 and 1592, *supra*. “Aghantegall” (*Commonwealth Grants, infra*). “Aghenteggell” (*Hearth Money Rolls, infra*).

98. **BALLAGHDORRAGH**.—A description of some pre-historic rock-markings on a rock-surface in this tld. will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*.

99. **ISLAND**.—The derivation of the name is difficult to conjecture. It occurs in many of the old lists, and is not, as would appear, a modernism. The 1612 *Patent Rolls (supra)* have “Bally-Illane,” which shows that a first syllable has been lost. The Parish Register (1752 *et seq*) has “Island.”

100. **KNOCKNAFEA** [Knocknaveagh].

101. **BARNAGH** [Behernagh].

102. **LURGANBOY**.

L.R. **LOUGH RAMOR** [Loch Ramor].—“Logh Rawre” (P.M.) As already mentioned the correct Gaelic form of the name, as recorded by the Annalists, is Loch Muirdeamair . The absurd Elizabethan perversion “Lough” can be traced to the letter written by John Ridgeway in 1611, in which he refers to “Lough Rawre” (*supra*).

CASTLERAHAN PARISH.

1. **CORNAHELT**. The greater part of the modern town of Ballyjamesduff is situated in this tld.

2. **CARNECRUAN** [Carn].

3. **CROSSERGOOLE** [Crosserule]. “Crosseroule.” (P.M.)

4. **CLOYAGHREMONAN** [Ramonan]. “Ramunan.” (P.M.)

5. **CLADAGH** [Claddagh]. “Cladagh” (P.M.)

6. **LISMAHEINGANN AND CORNAMUCKLAGH** [Lismacanigan and

Cornamucklagh]. Lismacanagan (P.M. The "Mallywee" (*i.e.*, Mullach Bhuidhe) of the Parish Register (1768 and 1776) is a sub-denomination of Lismacanigan. The *Down Survey* makes a castle in Cornamucklagh.

7. BARCONY.—The P.M. has two tlds. "Keillagagh" and "Lugogorah. There were formerly several recognised subdivisions of Barcony. The Parish Register has "Rutagh"—also spelled "Rootagh"—in 1751, 1753, and subsequent years. In 1758 we find "Legevouog," and in 1775 "Legwooge," evidently the "Lugogorah" of the P.M. The 1821 census gives two sub-denominations "Rutha" and "Knockawillin." Another sub-name, "Cooknahaw," still in use, seems to be the "Keillagagh" of the P.M.

8. GARGRANERAGH [Garryross].—"Garoaurose" (P.M.).

9. CORMEENE.—Cormune (P.M.).

10. ACHUNARRAN.—This was a sub-division of Cormeen, and was recognised until about a century ago; it comprised the N.W. portion of the tld. The 1821 Census returns have "Cormeen" and "Aghonarran," as distinct tlds. "Aghanorran" (P.M.).

11. CORNACREENO [Cornavriene].—"Cornacriue" (P.M.).

12. CARNEINE [Carnin].—"Coruine" (P.M.).

13. KILLYQUILLY.—"Kilcholy" (P.M.). "Killycully"—1821 Census.

14. ROSSODEN [Rasuddan].—"Rasodan" (P.M.) Rossuddin—1821 Census.

15. MULLAGHMORE.—"Molomore" (P.M.).

16. CORNAKELLY [Cornakilly].—"Cornakilly" (P.M.). "Cornakill"—1821 Census Returns.

17. DRUMSHEELE AND CORNODIDUFF [Cormaddyduff]. The P.M. has "Dromhil" and "Corouadigoue" marked as separate tlds., both adjoining "Logh Rawre" [Loch Ramor].

18. ENAGH.—"Polinaheny" (P.M.).

19. KILLORAN.—This is no longer in use. It is marked as occupying a position between Crosserule and Carrickavee, and now approximately represented by the tld. of Aghalion. The P.M. has "Kilouran."

20. CARIGEVIE [Carrickavee].—"Carigivey" (P.M.).

21. DERRILURGAN.—In the Parish of Denn.

B. + : 1. CASTLERAHAN.—(This was church property).

B. + : 2. CLOONECACHY AND BRACKLONE [Clonkeiffy and Brackloney]. These were also church lands. "Clonkamhy" (P.M.). The "Dunowen" of the Parish Register (1756 *et seq*) is a sub-denomination of Clonkeiffy. "Dunone"—1821 Census.

K. KILDORAGH (Church land).

The tld. of Kilmore is not entered on the D.S. Map, but the P.M. has "Keilure." Cloggagh, not on the D.S., is "Clogagh" on the P.M. These older parish maps do not differ substantially from the modern Ordnance Survey maps

in the matter of location, although allowance must be made for the peculiarities in spelling. When we remember that the earlier surveyors were strangers who knew no Gaelic, this will be readily understood. The orientation is usually defective—modern scientific methods of carrying out surveys were then unknown—but considering their many difficulties and deficiencies the 17th century surveyors did their work with remarkable accuracy. A comparison of these early maps will furnish the archaeologist with much material for speculation, and will enable the topographer to fix with greater certainty the forms of the tld. names in the early 17th c. Since the destruction of the Record Office these maps have become much more valuable being the only substantial records now extant of our early tld. names.

It will be observed that many of the present day tlds. are not recorded on the earlier maps. The P.M. of Castlerahan has 28 tlds., and the D.S. has 23 ; the O.S. has 29. In Munterconnacht parish the D.S. has 14 and the O.S. the same number of tlds.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT AND THE RESTORATION.

The Revolution of 1641 was at first confined to the Irish of Ulster, but it rapidly spread until almost every part of Ireland was involved. In England civil war between Charles I. and the Puritan Parliament broke out in August, 1642. The effect of the English civil war was to cause reaction and counter-reaction in Ireland. No less than five distinct parties in Ireland—each with its own army—were contending for political supremacy. There were two Irish Catholic parties ; one was in favour of making peace with Charles I., securing their lands, getting rid of the Penal laws, and joining forces with the English King to overthrow the Puritan Parliament. The other party, under the distinguished Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, demanded the continuance of the war in order to secure their religious liberties and lands. The Protestant Royalist party, comprising the majority of the Protestant landowners of Leinster and Connacht, supported the king. On the other hand the Undertakers and Adventurers of Munster, true to their Puritan traditions, gave whole-hearted support to the English Parliament. The Ulster Scots also supported the Parliament. It may be noted that the Marquis of Ormond held Dublin and Drogheda for the King. However, acting on the King's orders Ormond surrendered Dublin and Drogheda to the Parliamentary forces in 1647. The authority of Charles had been fast disappearing in Ireland, and that ungrateful monarch was filled with apprehension lest Dublin and Drogheda should fall into the hands of his "Irish rebels" rather than his "English rebels." Drogheda, during its occupation by the forces of the Royalist Ormond, was the base from which the garrisons sallied

forth to burn and plunder the neighbouring districts. On one of these predatory incursions, in August, 1642, the district of Virginia was visited, and the Castle of Ballaghanea burned.*

With the execution of Charles I. there set in an immediate reaction in Ireland. All parties flocked to the Royalist standard, and, with the exception of Drogheda, Derry and Dublin, the country was united against the Parliamentary forces.

Cromwell landed in Ireland in 1649, and before his departure in 1650 the Irish forces were relentlessly crushed, and schemes were formulated for a system of confiscation on a scale hitherto unattempted. In August, 1652, the Parliament in London passed the *Act for the Settling of Ireland*. The principal clauses of this Act were :—

- I. All persons who, at any time before 10th Nov., 1642, had contrived, advised, counilled, or promoted the rebellion, or who, before that date, aided the rebellion by supplying men, horses, money, etc., were excepted from pardon for life and estate.
- II. The same penalty was pronounced against all priests who took part in, or aided, the rebellion.
- III. One hundred and five persons were specially marked out for the death penalty.

This extraordinary clause condemned to death the Protestant Marquis of Ormond, whose name is placed first on the list. Other Protestant noblemen mentioned were the Earl of Roscommon, Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Baron Inchiquin. Leading Ulster Presbyterians, including Sir George Munroe, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir Robert Steward were also specified. Nearly all the principal Catholic landowners were mentioned, including the Earl of Castlehaven and the Earl of Clanrickard. But the death sentences were never carried out ; whether it was ever intended to carry them out we have no means of knowing. At any rate, some escaped to the Continent and the remainder took advantage of various clauses at the end of the Act which gave an opportunity of evading the course of the law.

- IV. All who, since Oct. 1st, 1641, either as principals or accessories, had committed murder were condemned to death and forfeiture.

Under this clause murder was defined as the killing of any person not publicly entertained and maintained in arms by the English ; furthermore, as murderers were to be held all who had killed any Englishman so entertained and maintained in arms if the killer had himself not been an officer or soldier in the pay of the Irish against the English. Over 200 persons were put to death, but it has been estimated that about one hundred thousand were condemned. Those who suffered belonged mostly to the wealthy classes.

* Vide *Journal*, Vol. 1., p. 301.

Certain classes who were considered to have been comparatively "innocent" were given the option of transplantation to Connacht. All who had served against the Parliament as Colonel or in any higher rank after, *but not before*, 10th November, 1642, were to be banished and their estates confiscated. But their wives and children were to receive lands to the extent of one-third of their former estates in some place which the Parliament would decide. Again, all who had served from the same date against the Parliament, but were not of high rank, such as Colonel, etc., were not to suffer banishment, and were to receive land under the same conditions. It may be observed that these clauses affected Protestant and Presbyterian landowners as much as Catholics. In fact all the Protestant and Presbyterian landowners, as well as the Catholic landowners who refused to recognise the English Republican Parliament, had their estates forfeited.

Another clause specified that all Catholics, unless they could prove "Constant Good Affection" to the Commonwealth, who had lived in Ireland at any time during the period 1641-50 and had not been included in any of the previous clauses were to lose one-third of their estates and to obtain lands elsewhere equal in value to the remaining two-thirds. But the clause specified that they must give proof of having actually rendered service to the Parliament. By this provision, which very few could satisfy, all the Catholic landlords, with the exception of twenty-six, lost their lands. As Mr. Dunlop states:—

Not a single person of whatever nationality he was—Irish, Scottish or English—was exempted from the consequences of participation in the Rebellion, either by having to lose his life or his property, partially or altogether, unless he could prove that he had been constantly faithful to the Interest of England as represented by Parliament, or by subsequent explanations could plead some special act of favour on his behalf. How utterly impossible it was for nearly anyone to comply with this monstrous demand was shortly to appear.*

A time limit—1st May, 1654—was fixed by which time the transplantation was to be completed. Some of the Irish transplanted, others refused and were executed, while great numbers emigrated to the Continent and settled in France and Spain.

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 buoyed up the Irish with high hopes of recovering their lost property. These hopes were at first partially realised. The King ordered the immediate restoration of their estates to a number of dispossessed landowners. The *Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland* was published in November, 1660. According to this document all the Irish who had lost their property by reason of their religion or their loyalty to the King were to be restored, as well as the Protestant Royalist officers who had served the King before 1649. But the Declaration was rendered nugatory—as far as the Irish

* *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Vol. I., c. xxxiii.

were concerned—by another provision that the Cromwellians were to hold on to all they had got. This, accordingly, they did.

The Declaration required an Act of Parliament to give it full authority, and an Irish Parliament was accordingly elected for this purpose. But only one Catholic was returned to the House of Commons and a few Catholic Peers to the House of Lords. Thirty-six Commissioners had already been appointed and began their investigations in March, 1661. But as those Commissioners were themselves already in possession of confiscated lands, the chances of justice for the Irish were very remote. However, as the Acts of the Irish Parliament had to be finally sanctioned by the English Privy Council in London, the Irish hoped that there they might obtain favour. Here again they were disappointed. The Cromwellians who held possession of the lands in Ireland were well armed and threatened resistance. The King was weak, selfish, and vacillating. Bribes were freely distributed, and the great Catholic lords such as Clanrickard gave no help. The Duke of York—afterwards James II.—was openly hostile to Irish claims.

The *Bill for the Settlement of Ireland* was decided by the Privy Council and passed by the Irish Parliament in May, 1662. The Act was very unfavourable to the Irish. Certain people who were specially deserving of the King's favour—*Nominees* as they were called—were to be restored. But the whole scheme was wrecked by a mass of bribery and corruption.

A Court of Claims for the purpose of carrying out the Act was established in 1662, but delayed its sittings until Jan., 1663. A time limit—21st Aug. 1663—was set, and after this date no more claims were to be heard. Elaborate schemes were devised to prevent the majority of Catholic landowners from obtaining restoration as "Innocents." However, by taking advantage of certain legal intricacies, many of the Irish managed to secure their property.

The Restoration settlement completed the ruin of the great majority of Irish landowners. In Ulster only a few of the dispossessed were restored, including Daniel O'Neill, Lord Antrim, and Sir Henry O'Neill. Lord Masserene held on both to the estate of Daniel O'Neill until the latter's death, and to the estate of Sir Henry O'Neill until 1666. He relinquished this estate on receiving compensation elsewhere. In the Barony of Castlerahan as will be shown later he obtained large grants. The great bulk of the native landowners failed to obtain any redress. They gradually became merged into the tenant class or took service on the Continent.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* give the names of the owners and occupiers in 1641, and the details of the Restoration grants. The lists for the parishes of Mullagh, Killinkere and Lurgan have already been given.* As before, the names of the

* *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 130-138 and pp. 304-307.

CASTLERAHAN PARISH.

Proprietors in 1641 are on the left ; the names of the Granteeson the right. The letter C signifies Termon (or Church) land ; B, M, and L, bog, mountain, and lake, respectively. R = Roll ; e.g., R. 7, 927 reads " Roll, folio 7, page 927."

		A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.	
THOS. GOONE, Irish Papist.	1. {	Cornahelt	248 2 16	28 0 0	Faustin Cuppage by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R.2. 156.
		1B. Of the Same ...	20 1 8 Unprofitable	154 0 0	Thos. Coote, Esq., by cert. 10 May, 1667. R. 4. 479.
JOHN O'REILLY, Irish Papist.	2. {	Carnerovan... ..	219 3 8	43 1 32	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R.7. 928.
				21 0 8	Thos. Hamson.
				149 0 0	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.
3. {	Crossergoole ...	86 1 8	54 3 0	Thos. Hamson by cert. 11 Jan., 1666. R. 3. 209.	
	3.M. {	Belonging to the Adjacent Towns	267 1 24 Unprofitable	10 0 0	Thos. Hamson by cert. 11 Jan., 1666. R. 3. 209.
			53 1 8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.	
			23 0 0	Abraham Clements by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1. 737.	

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		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	
EARL OF WESTMEATH	4.	Cloyaghremonan	...		323	3	8	323	3	8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.
	5.	Clodath	...		165	1	8	165	1	8	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 928.
	5B.	Of the same	...	79 2 16 Unprofitable							
JAMES NUGENT, Irish Papist.	6.	Lismahemgan and Cornamucklagh			384	3	24	65	0	0	Faustin Cuppage in Cornamucklagh by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R. 2. 156.
	6B.	In the same	...	34 3 24 Unprofitable				319	0	0	Geo. Burton by cert. 16 Nov. 1666. R. 1. 718.
	7.	Barconey	...		525	1	24	93	1	13	Patrick Macken by cert. 14 Jan. 1666. R. 1. 737.
	7B.	Of the same	...	23 1 8 Unprofitable				191	0	0	Geo. Burton by cert. 16 Nov., 1666. R. 1. 718.
								92	0	0	Faustin Cuppage by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R. 2. 156.
							50	0	0	Jos. Robinson by cert. 10 Apr., 1668. R. 7. 279.	
							27	0	0	Henry Brereton by cert. 12 Oct., 1666. R. 1. 344.	

LAWRENCE
DOWDALL,
Irish
Papist.

						71	2	27	Lord Massarene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 927.			
8.	Garran Rush	...			130	3	32	}	124	0	0	Henry Brereton by cert. 12 Oct., 1666. R. 1. 344.
8B.	Of the same	...	198	0	0	Unprofitable				6	3	32
9.	Cormeene	...			155	1	24	}	155	1	24	Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
10.	Achunarran	...			85	1	8		}	85	1	8
11.	Cornacreene	...			126	2	0	}		47	2	0
11B.	Of the same	...	40	0	0	Unprofitable				78	2	33
12.	Carneine	...			135	2	0	}	135	2	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
13.	Killiquilly...	...			171	0	32		}	124	0	32
										47	0	0

		A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
LAWRENCE DOWDALL, Irish Papist	14	Rossoden		108	0	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. et supra. Robert Booth, by cert. ut supra. Lord Massarene, by cert ut supra. R. 7. 928
	15	Mullaghmore	...			122	2	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
	15B.	Of the same	...	3 3 8 Unp.					
	16	Cornakelly	...			120	0	0	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
	17	Corrindeduffe and Drumsheeale				278	2	32	
	17B.	Of the same	...	114 2 32 Unp.					Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra. Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
	18	Enagh <i>alias</i> Annagh				366	1	24	
LAUNCE									Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra. Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
		19	Killoran	...		85	1	8	
									Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. 6 July, 1668, R. 7. 928.

20	}	Carrigevy	77 0 32	}	77 0 32	Richard Lewis, Esq., by cert. ut supra.
21		Derrylorgan	292 2 16		45 3 31	Robert Booth by cert. 2 Nov., 1666. R. 4. 458.
					159 1 17	Lord Massarene by cert. ut supra.
LORD C. ✠ 1	}	Castleraghan	214 2 8	}		
LAMBERT English 1B. Protestant		Of the same ... 240 2 34 Unp.				
WM. C. ✠ 2	}	Glowneaghy and Brasklone	452 2 16	}		Church Lands.
BEDELL, Bishop of 2B. Killmore.		Of the same ... 135 0 32 Unp.				
K. C. ✠ B.	}	Killderagh	296 3 24	}		
GEO. CREIGHTON, Minister, Scottish Protestant		Of the same ... 27 3 0 Unp.				

Total of this Parish.

Munister Connaught. Part of Castlerahan.

		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	
	89	Eter and Corgagh			467	3	24	} Luke Plunkett, Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Folio 6.
	89B.	Of the same	...	38	0	32	Unp.	
	90	Carrick			275	2	16	
	90B.	Of the same	...	41	0	32	Unp.	
	91	Aghekencronagh			262	3	24	
	92	Munecoghan			136	2	16	
	92B.	Of the same	...	30	2	32	Unp.	
	B.	Of the same	...	7	0	32	Unp.	
LORD	93	Knockantemple and Tineden			91	2	0	
PLUNKETT, Earle of Fingall	93B.	Of the same	...	54	2	32	Unp.	
	94	Achonquilly			41	0	16	
	95	Corranagh			160	1	24	
	96	Knocknegartan			126	0	0	
	96B.	Of the same	...	14	1	32	Unp.	

Chr. Plunkett. Left to law for a
mort. decree. Not in Innocents'
Roll. 17 July, 1663.

97	Aghantegall	...			347	2	16	} Earle of Fingall ut supra 6.
97B.	Of the same	... 26	1	0 Unp.				
98	Ballaghdorragh	...			276	3	24	
98B.	Of the same	...128	2	32 Unp.				
99	Island	...		166 0 32				
99B.	Of the same	... 9	3	24 Unp.	173	1	8	}
A.	Of the same	...		7 0 16				
100	Knocknefea	...			157	3	8	
100B.	Of the same	... 11	3	8 Unp.				} Edward Plunkett in remainder by decree 16 April, 1663 after Lord Dunsany's decease. Not returned in Roll Innocents.
M.M.	Two parcells of the same	... 45	3	24 Unp.				
101	Barnagh	...			271	0	16	} Earle of Fingall ut supra.
101B.	Of the same	...180	0	16 Unp.				
102	Lurganboy Part of Knocknefea				218	2	0	} Edward Plunkett in remainder : by Decree 16 April, 1663.
102B.	Three Parcells of the same	... 33	3	24 Unp.				

Total of this Parish.

In the Catalogue of the Reports and Schedules addressed to the Court of Claims who claimed as, or in right of, soldiers serving in Ireland in the Commonwealth period* we find (*inter alios*) the names of Thomas Cooch, Abraham Clements, Col. Thomas Coote, Thomas Hamson, Patrick Macken, Henry Brereton, Joseph Robinson, Alex. Piggott, John Reade, Charles Davenport, Daniel Clements, Henry Palmer, and John Dalin. That they were amply repaid in grants of confiscated land is shown by the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. Lawrence Dowdall, whose Castle-*rahan* estate was very extensive, was also owner of Athlumney Castle, Co. Meath† He appears in the lists of Innocents and also among those to whom the "Connaught Certificates" of transplantation were issued in 1653-54. As one of the *Forty-nine* officers he was returned among those who served Charles I. in the wars in Ireland before 5th June, 1649. Among the "Nominees" of Charles II, who were restored to their principal seats we find "Sir Lucas Dowdall, Knt., son of Lawrence Dowdall of Athlumney, in the County Meath, Esq." Under the Williamite confiscations of 1702 Sir Luke Dowdall lost his estates. He afterwards went to the Continent and served in the Irish Brigade.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show that the Church lands in Castlerahan Parish were of considerable extent. The *Inquisition* of 1590 found that the Hospital of "Castlerahin" possessed two polls or cartrons of value 2 shillings per annum. The same *Inquisition* found that the Hospital of "Monterconnaught" possessed half a poll valued at sixpence per annum. In the *Inquisitions* of James I. (No. 3) we find that the Rectory of Castlerahan was assigned to "Nicholas O'Gowan alias Smith : the Bishop of Kilmore Patron." In 1669 Rev. Eber Burch was Rector of Castlerahan, Lurgan, and Munterconnacht. Those three parishes appear to have been grouped together for administrative purposes by the Established Church. For example, in the Diocese of Kilmore *Will and Grant Book*‡ there is a record under 1717, of the "Administration of the Goods of Henry Plunkett of Knocknevea, parish of Lurgan. Katherine Reilly, widow and relict of Henry Plunkett of Knocknevea, parish of Lurgan, Co. Cavan, A.D. 1717." Under the same year we find "Administration of the Goods of Edmond Carroll, late of Carrick, parish of Lurgan." In addition to the extensive grants in Lurgan parish allotted to Rev. Geo. Creighton§ it will be seen that Kildorrageh was included. The general effects of the Plantation in the Barony of Castlerahan have already been discussed.||

Although a complete transplantation of the native population

* O'Hart, *Irish Landed Gentry*, p. 411.

† Vide Sir William Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, p. 132.

‡ H.—6-44, 1693-1727, P.R.O., Dublin.

§ *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 308.

|| *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 303.

was at first intended yet it was found impracticable. In the Act of 1652 it was declared that all labourers, ploughmen, and artificers were to be pardoned, provided they were not possessed of property of a greater value than £10 and had not taken part in the rising of 1641. But as the great majority had taken part this section would be of no benefit to them. The English settlers soon, however, discovered that without the native population it would be impossible to cultivate the land. The soldiers were untrained in farm work, and labourers could not be enticed from England.

The case against transplantation was now forcibly presented in a pamphlet entitled *The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed* (London 1655.) The author was Vincent Gookin, son of an English settler in Co. Cork. In this pamphlet Gookin maintained that without the Irish peasantry the English settlers could not possibly hold their estates:—

Few of the peasantry [he writes] but were skilful in husbandry, few of the women but were skilful in dressing hemp and flax and making woollen cloth. In every hundred men there were five or six masons and carpenters at least, and these more handy and ready in building ordinary houses, and much more skilful in supplying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers.

Gookin's policy raised a storm of protest in certain quarters, but it finally prevailed. It was ordered that only landowners, and those who had actually participated in the rebellion, were to be transplanted. The latter clause was never fully insisted upon, and so the great majority of the peasantry were allowed to remain.

But, as Mr. W. F. Butler puts it:—

The Cromwellian settlement meant the sweeping away of all Catholic landlords—old Irish, old English, new English—from all the counties east of the Shannon and from two of the six counties west of that river. But, it did not, as we have seen, involve the sweeping away of the mass of the inhabitants. These remained on, a despised but indispensable race, hewers of wood and drawers of water for their conquerors.*

Archbishop King, with ingenuous candour, complained that the dispossessed Irish landowners did not accommodate themselves in becoming labourers to the new possessors:—

Their sons or nephews (he subjoins) brought up in poverty, and matched with peasant girls, will become the tenants of the English officers and soldiers; and, thence, reduced to labourers, will be found the turf-cutters and potato-diggers of the next generation.†

* *Confiscation in Irish History*, p. 159.

† *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, etc., Dublin: 1730.

In East Breiffne the various Acts did not bring many changes among the native owners of the soil. A glance over the *Hearth Money Rolls (infra)* shows that this was true, at least, in the the Barony of Castlerahan. But during the 18th c.—from about 1700 onwards—the peasants' position grew gradually worse and the picture is, indeed, a gloomy one.* Testimony to the state of the lower orders in Ireland is fully borne out, among others, by such able and competent foreign authorities as Dr. Bonn and Friedrich von Raumer, the German historian. Arthur Young, an Englishman, and an astute observer, in his *Tour in Ireland (1776-1779)* gives many details of the servile state of the people at that period. The Penal Laws removed any fixity of tenure which the native owners might have possessed. The plantation schemes had before then provided that where possible the planters should let their lands on lease rather than on the tenant-at-will system. When fixity of tenure was abolished by a Penal law the mass of the Catholic population was forced under the tenant-at-will system with disastrous results. A great barrier was thus thrown up between the owner and the tiller of the soil.

NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664.

The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 contain the names of the principal householders of the parish in that year. The importance of those lists in locating the chief families of that period, together with the lists for Mullagh, Killinkere, and Lurgan have already been noted (*Journal* Vol. I. p. 146 and p. 311).

PARISH OF CASTLERAHEN AND MOINTERCONAGHT.

LISMACANEGAN.—Thomas Burton, Esq. (three hearths), Phillip Bready, and Ellinor Terrell (widdow).

BARECONY.—Cahir Relly, William Lincy, Phillip Lincy, and John Relly.

CORNEMUCKLAGH.—Phelym Relly, and Hugh Degenan.

BRACKLONY.—Phillip Relly, Edmond Relly, and Thomas Shimon.

GLANKEWHYE.—Thomas Caffry, Hugh Lincy, Daniell Colloone, Brian Brady, Brian Collon, and Rose Boilan (widdow).

CORMEENE.—John Relly, Owen Magawran, Brian Genall, and Una ny Conaght (widdow).

GARROWROSSE.—Paticke Lincy, Denis Daly, and Edmond Nugent.

CORNEKILLE.—Edmond McSymon, Conor Carwill, Thomas Curwill, and John Carwill.

CORMEDDUFF.—John Relly, Tirlagh Ffarrelly, Charles Lincy, and Paticke Clerkan.

ENAGH.—Tirlagh Clerkan, Thomas Clerkan, and John Relly.

AGHULEAN.—Hugh Relly, and Charles Clerkan.

* Vide O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th Century*, *passim*.

ROSODDEN.—Conor Relly, John Relly, Tirlagh Conaght, Edmond Relly, and Katherin Relly (widow).

CROSSCOOLE.—Edmond Relly, and Phillip Relly,

KILCULLY.—Ffarrell Lincy, Charles Relly, William Lincy, and Suan ny Lincy (widow).

CLOGAGH.—Tirlagh Lincy, Phillip Lincy, and John Lincy.

CLADAGH.—Hugh Relly and Joan Relly (widow).

KILDOROGH.—John Brady, James Murrey, James Lincy, and Rose Lincy (widow).

CASTLERAHEN.—Phillip Clery, Brian Clery, and Hugh Clery.

CARNAN.—Daniell Gallagan, Patrick McCale, Morris O'Hery, and Syly Relly (widow).

BALLAGHDOROGH.—Richard Sandome. Gilneese Relly, and Edmond Relly.

AGHENTEGGELL.—David Prier, Tirlagh Relly, Laghlyn Crelly, Phillip Lyncy, and Phillip McClery.

KNOCKNEGARTAN.—Brian Relly, Brian M'Shane Relly, and Patricke Lincy.

KNOCKNEVEA.—Thomas Tippin, and Shane Magawry.

CORONAGH.—Phelym Relly.

BEARNAGH.—Phillip McCullin, and Tirlagh McIlmartin.

MONECHELL.—Tirlagh Lincy and Denis Hargan.

KNOCKETAMPLE.—Phillip Geaghan and James Macaffry.

AGHKINCROCHAN.—Owen Lincy, Brian Relly, and Katherin Geaghan (widow).

EITER AND CARGAGH.—Henry Palmer, Brian Relly, Hugh Relly, Patricke Benit, Cahir Relly, Phillip Relly, and Owen Benett.

CORNEHELT.—Shane McBrien.

LACKAN.—Edmond McCabe, Teige McConin, and James McCabe.

DIRILORGAN AND POTTLENECAPLE.—Richard Relly and Sily ny Relly.

Total.—103 Hearths: £XII.: S.VII.

The list records 31 tlds, in the parish. The last three are now included in the parish of Denn. The list gives about two-thirds of the tlds. in Castlerahan and Munterconnacht. As already mentioned these lists cannot represent more than one-half of the total number of householders. Thomas Burton of Lismacanegean, is returned as paying for three hearths; the remainder paid for only one hearth. The tld. spellings do not differ materially from the Down Survey, except perhaps "Glankewhy" (Clonkeiffy) and "Aghulean" (Aghalion). The latter is not marked on either the D.S. or 1609 P.M.

The family names in the list are recorded in their original Gaelic form, and will easily be recognised. When it is understood that they were written down as they were pronounced their form presents little difficulty. A few names, Burton, Sandome, Palmer, and Tippin, were obviously those of settlers. The lists afford

proof of the fact that despite the confiscations the native Irish as tenants of some sort, remained in possession of the land, or at least occupied it.

In the Commonwealth documents we find some interesting references to the activities of Hugh Rely of Aghulean (Aghalion) whose name occurs in the above lists. It was sought at that time to connect the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly, with imaginary treasonable "conspiracies," and for this purpose sworn informations against him were solicited by the authorities. They were, of course, forthcoming. A document entitled *The Examinacion of Hughe O'Relie of Agholein in the County of Cavan, Gentleman*, is dated 21 July, 1663.* In the course of his statement he asserts that a kinsman of his own, John Relie, secretary to Dr. Owen MacSweeney, Bishop of Kilmore, told him in his own house at Agholein, that the Primate, Edmund O'Relie, had written to the Bishop of Kilmore informing him that he (the Primate) was ready to come to Ireland with 15,000 men. Furthermore, that Phillip Mac Hugh mac Shane Counelly O'Relye was to come from Flanders with 10,000 men. The stated objective was the restoration of all church spiritualities and temporalities and also of the lands of Philip Mac Hugh (O'Reilly.)

Another statement, dated 13 August, 1663, is as follows:—

Hugh O'Relie of Aghellyn, gentleman, adged 20 odd yeares or thereabouts deposed that on the 28 day of June last past Antonie Doghertie guardian of the ffriers in the countie of Tiroun, John mac Phillip mac Shane Bradie, Thomas McKernan, Terlagh O'Gowan, Thomas Murphie and other ffranciscan ffriers to the number of 15 assembled together at Ballebeath in the baronie of Creemourne to contrive a way for the sending of John mac Phillip mac Shane Bradie a ffranciscan frier into Spaine or Rome to Edmund Garrat Reelie there primate in order to a deseign of leavying a warr Here in Ireland. They are raising of considerable sums of money in many counties of this Kingdom being encouraged thereunto by the ffriers who have Indulgences for seaven yeares sent unto them by the Pope. He is creadible informed that they have already in banke above 2,500 li which is kept in the hands of Neale O'Gowen guardian of the ffriers in the Convent of Carrickmermadderie. † He further deposeth

* The statements are printed in full in Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660-1760), p. 2. They were discovered by Father Burke among the Carte MSS., in the Bodleian, Oxford.

† By inference from the context it is obvious that this is Carricknamaddoo, now misnamed Waterloo, at Killinkere. In the Report of the *Inquisition* taken at Cavan, 5th March, 1613, for the purpose of defining the boundaries of the territory of Sliabh Guaire, then in the possession of "Philip O'Rely of Cavan," we find that the boundary line passed through "Cargaghnemadery" (vide *Patent Rolls*, 16 James I). In the townland of Carricknamaddoo is still pointed out the remains of the Friars' house, and close by is the Friars' rock—a Mass rock of the Penal times. Alongside is *Ῥοβερ αν ἰδρῶταρ*, i.e., the Friars' well.

that Primate Reelie hath appoynted fower clergiemen one fer each province in Ireland to be his correspondents, counsellors, intelligencers and advisers. The said Neale O'Gowan was appoynted for the province of Ulster which was told to this Examinat by the said Neal they both being together drinking of a bottle of aqua vitæ under a hill near to Virginia.

The information goes on to allege that Primate O'Reilly was engaged in all sorts of elaborate intrigues. The Primate during this time was actually living on the alms of French and Belgian bishops. All the informations were clumsy tissues of falsehood without any foundation whatever. Neal O'Gowan was arrested by Sir Patrick Hamilton on warrant dated 17 August, 1663, but careful search revealed nothing. The various allegations lacked corroboration and cohesion. But the purposes of the allegations were fulfilled, and the shadow of conspiracy was cast over the leading Irish ecclesiastics.

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

[Read 18th March, 1926.]

In pre-Reformation times the Hospitals of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht served as parish churches. The question of the origin and administration of the Hospitals of Breiffne has already been discussed in these pages.* Prior to the 18th century the parishes of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht were ecclesiastically distinct, but it will be convenient to deal with them together in the present paper, as their history has many points of interest in common. Both of them appear to have been under the patronage of the O'Reilly clan and were richly endowed with termon land, Castlerahan having, as we shall see later, a larger share.

When the Abbey of St. Mary's at Kells—to which these churches belonged—was confiscated by Henry VIII in 1539, its dependent churches soon afterwards suffered the same fate. In 1542 an Inquiry was held regarding the King's "Revenues of Ireland" and specified among the "Parcels of the King's revenues whereof as yet his Grace taketh little profit, for that therein as yet there is no perfect order taken, and be not charged," we find (*inter alia*):

The rectories of Killen [Killann], Knockbride, Castleraghan, Templeporte, and Cardragh, late of the Abbey of Kenlis, in Meath.†

* *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 139 *et seq.*; Vol. II, p. 27 *et seq.*

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland—Carew MSS.—1542*, p. 202, dated by Carew, '34 Henry VIII.'

About forty years later, when English law began to assert its authority in Breiffne, the parishes of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht began to realise the legal effects. The *Fiants* of Eliz. (*loc. cit.*) show that in these districts a large number of leases, pardons, etc., were granted in accordance with English legislation. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth granted to Gerald Fleming, of Cabragh [Kingscourt], in Co. Cavan (*inter alia*) :

The rectories of Killyn, Knockebriide, Castleraghan, Templeporte, and Crodraghe, in Co. Cavan, possessions of the Abbey of Kells, Co. Meath, waste and not leased to any since the suppression. To hold for 21 years. Rent, £13 3s. 4d.*

The conditions under which this lease was granted are detailed as follows :

Provided that he shall not alien, without license under the great seal, to any except they be of the English nation both by father and mother, or born in the English Pale. He shall not levy coyne or livery or other unlawful impositions, or permit any other to do so whereby her Majesty's lands by colour of custom might be chargeable with the same hereafter. The lease to be enrolled in the Auditor-General's office within four months.

The lease expired in 1608, and on 20th April of the same year James I of England accepted from Gerald Fleming the lands detailed in this grant—together with "the houses and lands in Magherendone [Maghera, in Lurgan parish], in Cavan Co., parcel of the Abbey of Kells" in order to make him a regrant of the same. The regrant was effected on the 22nd December of the same year, together with :

All the tithes or other hereditaments spiritual and temporal belonging, in consideration of the true, faithful, loyal, and dutiful services done by him to Queen Elizabeth, and the better to enable him to perform the like to the King ; to hold for 21 years at the rent of £13 13s. 4d.†

The Inquisition held at Cavan, 19 Sept., 1590, to inquire into the value and extent of the Church lands in Cavan, found that :—

The Termon or Hospital of Castlerahin containing two polls or cartrons in the said county, pertain and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen and are worth two shillings per annum.‡

The same Inquisition found that the Termon or Hospital of Monterconnaught contained half a poll valued at six pence per annum. In Archdall's list, obviously extracted from the same source, the figures are the same.§ These figures show that the

* *Fiants*, 14th Jan., XXIX Eliz.: 16th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, Appendix.

† *Patent Rolls*, 6 James I.

‡ *Excheq. Inquis. Eliz.* No. 3, P.R.O. Dublin ; Cf. *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 216, *et seq.*

§ *Mon. Hib.*, 1st ed., 1786, p. 783, Addenda.

church lands of Castlerahan were much more extensive than those of Munterconnacht. The tlds. of Clonkeiffy and Ballylynch [Barconny] were also termon land. The Inquisition just quoted found that the Termon of "Clonkyaghvoy" contained four polls, valued at four shillings. Archdall (*op. cit.*) has a similar entry. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*loc. cit.*) show that the church lands in Castlerahan, then held by Lord Lambery amounted to 214a. 2r. 8p.; the church lands in "Clowneaght, and Brasklone" [Clonkeiffy and Brackloney], then in possession of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, amounted to 452a. 2r. 16p., or approximately double the acreage of Castlerahan. This would be in agreement with the relative proportions deduced from the Report of the 1590 Inquisition. Kildorrigh, which was also church land, contained 296a. 3r. 24p. and was then held by Rev. George Creighton, Rector of Lurgan. It is not mentioned in the Inquisition Report, and was not created until 1626. These church lands are marked on the *Down Survey* Map (with the exception of Ballylynch), already noted, and show that in the Parish of Castlerahan at least 964a 0r. 8p. belonged to the Church.

In 1606 Sir Garrett Moore obtained a large grant, among others, of the termon lands of the Hospitals of Castlerahan, 2 polls, rent, 5 shillings; Mounteyconnoght, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll, rent, 1/3; and Clone-Kraghvoy, 4 polls, rent, 10/-.* The Commission which sat at Cavan on 25th Sept., 1609, to inquire into the status of the Cavan Hospitals assigned these lands to the Prot. Bishop of Kilmore, and James I established the grants in 1626. The Commissioners of 1609 found that the Bishop of Kilmore "is entitled, in right of his See, to the rents issuing out of the several termon lands following in the barony of Castlerahan, viz.:"—†

Castlerahan, 2 polls, 1s. 4d.; Clonchyachuy, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. per annum, and $\frac{1}{2}$ m. visitation; Lurgan, 2 polls, 1s. 11d.; Ranetaven, 2 polls, 33s. 4d.; Rahone, 1 poll, 1s. 4d.; and Killenkerrie, 2 polls, 1s. 8d., which five polls are in the parish of Mollagh—and that in the said barony are the several following parishes: Castlerahan, 2 ballibetaghs; Lurgan, 3 ballibetaghs; and Munterchonaght parish, 3 ballibetaghs; parsonages and vicarages impropriate to the late dissolved Abbey of Kells, the whole of the tithes are paid in kind, and the said Abbey is to maintain curates; Mollagh, containing 5 ballibetaghs and 5 polls, whereof 8 polls, viz., the 3 polls of the termon land of Balliconphillip [Clannaphilip] and the 5 polls of Lissanymore, are in the barony of Loughtie, the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four [Fore], and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, one-third to the vicar, excepting thereout the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan and the 8 polls in the barony of Loughtie, and

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1606, p. 60; Patent Rolls, 3 Jas. I.*

† *Cavan Inquisitions, 1609, Patent Rolls, 7 Jas. I.*

the one-third of the tithe of the said 8 polls are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore as his mensal lands, also two-thirds of the tithes of the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan, and the vicar pays 12 shillings proxies—and that the 8 polls of the lands of Magherondone [Maghera]* in the parish of Lurgan, belonged to the late Abbey of Kells,

It has already been noted (*supra.*) that in 1612 Robert, Bishop of Kilmore, with the consent of the dean and chapter, demised to Sir Oliver Lambert of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and Sir Garrett Moore † of Mellifont, Co. Louth, two polls of the lands of Castlerahan and half a poll of Moynterconnaght.

The Hospital lands of Ballylynch included the present tld. of Barconny, With regard to this Archdall states that:—

A lease of the Hospital of Ballylynch of 21 years was granted by James I to Sir Edward Moore, ancestor of the Earl of Drogheda at the yearly rent of 3d.; revision of same granted him for 60 years together with Hospitals of Drumloman and Mounterconnaughe, April 23rd, 1605.

In 1609, Marie, Baronesse of Delvin, widow, and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, her son, were granted (*inter alia*) two polls of land in "Ballilince alias Barconny" (*supra.*) The *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586, have "Ballylynch" (*supra.*)

The Abbey of Kells, to which these Hospitals were attached, had already been suppressed in 1539, and as indicated above the Hospitals soon began to experience the effects of the suppression. But they were not definitely singled out for suppression until after 1586. This was owing to Breiffne not having been finally subdued until after that period. The churches were abandoned, fell into disuse, and in 1609 were already in ruins, War and confiscation were affecting the downfall of the Hospitals. The 1609 Plantation Map has no record of Castlerahan church, but a castle is marked in the tld. This was the old castle of the O'Reillys, situated on the moat of Castlerahan already described. The same

* In the Commonwealth Grants (1668) the tld. of "Magherendowne" is entered as containing 556a. 1r. 24p. of profitable land and 257a. 3r. 8p. unprofitable. The tld. stretched along Loch Ramor from Ballaghanea to the Blackwater. The Inquiry held in 1542 (*loc. cit.*) found that "four messuages, sixty acres of arable, four of meadow, two of wood, and fourteen of pasture, with the appurtenances, in Maghlendone" belonged to the Abbey of Kells. The 1609 and 1654 maps show that the tld. of Magheradowne included the present tlds. of Burren, Pollintemple, Drumheel, Carrakeelty, Bruse and Stramatt. In pre-Reformation days a church existed on Woodward's Island, adjacent to Pollintemple, and the friars attached to it attended to the needs of the locality. (*Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 36.)

† In 1566 Sir Edward Moore, who then came to Ireland as a military adventurer, was granted by Queen Elizabeth the Abbey of Mellifont, County Louth, together with extensive possessions in Meath and Louth. His son, Sir Garrett Moore—here mentioned—was created first Lord Moore by James I, who bestowed many royal favours on him. The Moore family resided at Mellifont until about 1720 when they removed to Moore Abbey, Monasterevan, Co. Kildare.

map does not include the parish of Munterconnacht, Neither Castlerahan nor Munterconnacht are included in the list of Kilmore churches described by the Inquisition of 1620 as then in use for religious services.*

In 1617, James I granted to Sir Robert Stewart, one of the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber (*inter alia*), "the three rectories of Lorgen, Moibolge, and Mointerconnought."†

The Hospital of Munterconnacht was situated in the tld. of Knockatemple and in a prominent position on an eminence overlooking Loch Ramor. Its termon lands, which were comparatively small—only half a poll or about 25 acres—were in its immediate vicinity. The *Down Survey* map (1654) has no church marked in Castlerahan tld., but marks termon land, whereas the church of Knockatemple is marked but with no termon land attached. The inference is obvious. The church lands in Castlerahan were of large extent and highly valued; these were retained by the Established Church. Munterconnacht not being so valuable, its small share of termon land was not retained as church property, but was passed into the general scheme of confiscation under the *Act of Settlement*.

It will be observed that whereas Castlerahan derives its name from the tld. in which its Hospital was situated, yet, the same does not hold true for Munterconnacht. As has already been explained, Munterconnacht was the name applied to the older tribal division rather than to that of any particular tld. Neither the *Down Survey*, the *Hearth Money Rolls*, nor the *Acts of Settlement*, specify Munterconnacht as the name of a distinct tld., but rather as a parish name. This fact is rather significant, and leads to some interesting topographical deductions. Furthermore, the *Fiants* of Eliz. (*loc. cit.*) under the years 1584, 1586, and 1592 have Munterconnacht—with variations in spelling—recorded among other tlds. in the parish. This furnishes rather clear evidence that a distinct tld. of Munterconnacht was recognised in the 16th cent. The list of *Fiants* for Co. Cavan, as elsewhere, are grouped under their respective tlds., and it is very unlikely that Munterconnacht is an exception. But the 17th cent. maps and records have no mention of it as a tld. If the 1609 map of Castlerahan Barony included the parish of Munterconnacht we would probably be able to decide the question at once. Sir William Petty's *Down Survey* (1654) is the earliest extant map of the parish known, and, strange to say, even the name of the parish is not recorded on it. A division, "Munincoghan" (V. No. 92, D.S. *supra*) is entered west of Knockatemple, and extending to the shore of Loch Ramor. At first sight this might appear to be a corruption of Munterconnacht, but from the forms of the name found on later lists, already referred to, this theory is seen to be untenable. In all the *Inquisitions* the parish church is

* *Patent Rolls*, 17 James I, ct. *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 204. † *Ibid*, 15 James I.

referred to as the Hospital of Munterconnacht, and the tld. of Knockatemple in which it is situated is not mentioned. This is significant, and leads to the conclusion that originally the immediate vicinity of the parish church was called Munterconnacht, and, as occurred in the case of the other Hospitals of Breiffne, the name was, in the course of time, extended to the whole parish. Knockatemple is obviously a later appellation, which was applied after the foundation of the church. The newer title gradually established itself as a tld. name, while the older maintained itself as a parish title. It is an interesting example of the evolution of place nomenclature, and some parallels are existent in Breiffne. It may be noted that the grant to Luke Plunket in 1612 (*supra*) specifies: "the territory, or precinct of land called Moynterchonnagh," and clearly indicates the entire parish; "Gallonknockatemple" is there recorded as a separate tld.

At the lower end of Munterconnacht parish, and adjoining Loch Ramor, is the tld. of Crossafehin (CPOIP FEICM, *i.e.*, St. Fechin's Cross) which suggests some connection with St. Fechin of Fore, Co. Westmeath. In the tld. of Drummoney, in Lurgan parish, a short distance from Crossafehin is an old whitethorn bush locally called TOIP FEICM (*i.e.*, St. Fechin's bush), already referred to.* No local tradition exists which would enable us to identify St. Fechin with either of those places. Still, the existence of CPOIP FEICM and TOIP FEICM in the same neighbourhood cannot be regarded as without significance. From the period of the introduction of Christianity not only were crosses erected in connection with religious foundations, but, as Dr. Reeves remarks, also to mark the spot where some providential visitation took place, as well as to indicate boundaries. Hence the wayside cross was of very frequent occurrence, and has entered very largely into place-names. Few of those wayside crosses have survived the troubles of the Reformation period. A cross which existed in the 6th century at Ballaghanea, in Lurgan parish, has already been mentioned.† It was erected to mark the spot where Colman Beg Mac Diarmaid, King of Meath, was slain in battle, A.D. 572. No doubt a cross existed in Crossafehin; but no trace of it appears to have survived, and even tradition does not remember it. Crossafehin tld. is not marked on the earlier maps, nor is it given in the *Hearth Money Rolls*, nor *Acts of Settlement Grants* (*supra*). However, the Jacobean grants of 1612 (*supra*) have "Crossfeighen." The *Down Survey* makes "Etor and Cargagh" include the present tlds. of Eighter and Crossafehin. In the neighbouring tld. of Eighter is a field called the Caldraph (CEATOPAC) meaning a burial-place, in which bones have been occasionally unearthed and where local tradition tells of a battle having been fought. The 1612 grants above mentioned include "Keallragh" among the divisions of Munterconnacht.

* *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 32.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

CASTLERAHAN'S RUINS.

The old Hospital of Castlerahan is now in ruins, but the walls and gables remain in a fair state of preservation, and are sufficient to enable us to determine the main features of the original church. In general the construction is of the plainest type, devoid of any attempt at ornamentation, and typical of the Cavan Hospitals. The Church is rectangular, and measures 41 feet in length by 18 feet in width. It extends from S.E. to N.W. The accompanying illustration shows the building viewed from the south. The doorway was on the N.W. gable, but it is now much broken and the arch appears to have been pulled down and removed. In the N.E. wall was one window, the lintels and arch of which have disappeared. The S.W. wall contained two windows; the arches and corners are now so broken and dilapidated that the original dimensions cannot now be ascertained. The window in the S.E. gable displays an arch in pointed Gothic, which is the only architectural detail which has survived the restorations, renovations, and final ruin of the past two centuries. It is evident that the other windows were of the same style and design. The base of the S.E. window has been torn away and removed.

This church was used for Protestant services during the 18th century, and was only discontinued for this purpose when the present Protestant church of Ballyjamesduff was erected in 1834. The parish (Prot.) of Ballyjamesduff had already been created in 1831, by disuniting nine tlds. from the parish of Castlerahan, five from that of Denn, two from Lurgan, and four from the parish of Kildrumferton.* The church was erected at a cost of £1,125, of which £900 was a gift from the Board of First Fruits, and the remainder was raised by subscription.† The ruins of the old church of Castlerahan still belong to the Protestant Church Body.

It is evident that having lapsed into disuse for a long period after its confiscation, the church of Castlerahan required extensive repairs before being used again. But the walls are certainly those of the pre-Reformation church. In 1846 the church, already deserted, is described as "a small ancient building, in very indifferent repair."‡ Since that time the roof has entirely disappeared, and portions of the walls have been carried away for building purposes. The population of the parish in 1846, according to Lewis, was 7,589, including the town of Ballyjamesduff, which contained 1,071. According to the same authority, the parish contains 10,315 statute acres, including 102½ in Loch Ramor. The glebe-house, a handsome residence, was rebuilt in 1818, by aid of a gift of £100 and a loan of £1,500 from the

* Lewis's *Topog. Dict.* S.V., "Ballyjamesduff."

† Lewis, *op. cit.*

‡ Lewis, *op. cit.* S.V. "Castlerahan."



CASTLERAHAN RUINED CHURCH IN 1925.

Board of First Fruits; the glebe comprised 350 acres. The tithe-rent charge of Castlerahan was £228 ls. 6d.*

The graveyard of Castlerahan, surrounding the old church, is very extensive, and contains the tombs of many of the old families of the district. The inscriptions are very numerous, and most of them are expressed in the quaint phraseology of the early 18th cent.† We have observed no earlier date than 1716. However, it is obvious that many gravestones are buried under the accumulated debris of centuries. One inscription has: *Jan. 29th, 1734-5*. The meaning of the double date will be readily understood when we consider that the Julian Calendar—originated by Julius Cæsar in 46 B.C.—was amended by Pope Gregory XIII, established in 1582, and legally introduced into England in 1752. When the Gregorian Calendar was adopted in this year another re-adjustment was adopted: the legal year was to begin on 1st Jan. instead of on the 25th March as had hitherto been the case. In early 18th c. documents we often find both dates given. The period from 1st Jan. to 25th March was reckoned according to both “Old Style” and “New Style.” In the inscription just noted, 1734 is the date according to “Old Style,” but 1735 is the “New Style,” according to which our modern chronology is adapted.‡ Another example occurs among the inscriptions in Munterconnacht (*quod vide*). It is evident that the new Calendar was taken into account even before it obtained English legal sanction.

Among the numerous monuments, and near the centre of the graveyard, is a simple upright stone recording the name of Rev. John Reilly, pastor of Castlerahan, who died in 1751. A large horizontal slab, near the S.W. wall of the old church, is inscribed:

**This Monument was Erected by
Thomas Lynch of Cornekill in
Memory of his two Brothers the Rev.
Cornelius Lynch who depd this life
Nov. 2 1775 Aged 50 years
the Rev. John Lynch depd this life
Aug. 5 1800 Aged 48 years.
Requiescant in Pace.**

The stone displays a Host and Chalice in bas-relief. It is probable that either or both of these priests may have been attached to the parish; but we have no documentary evidence. Another horizontal stone, near the centre of the graveyard and alongside the grave of the above Rev. John Reilly, evidently marks the grave of some ecclesiastic. A book, in bas-relief, is displayed,

* *Ibid.*

† A collection of these epitaphs will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*.

‡ *Ct. Journal*, Vol. I, p. 67.

but the inscription is almost obliterated and is now illegible. In and around the ruined church many of the ancient pastors of Castle-
rahan are resting in indistinguishable graves. No monuments
can now be traced in the interior of the old church. The reason
is obvious; whatever monuments may have existed therein have
long since been swept away.

MUNTERCONNACHT: ST. PATRICK'S WELL.

The Hospital of Munterconnacht was situated in a picturesque
position, commanding an extensive panoramic view of Loch
Ramor. It served the purpose of parish church from a very early
period until the early 17th century, when the confiscations of
1605 and 1617—which we have already detailed—finally disposed
both of church and tithes lands. After this time the church fell
into decay, was already deserted before 1612, and by 1654 was
finally in ruins. A graveyard marks the site of this Hospital, but,
of the church itself hardly a trace remains; a small mound would
appear to mark the site of the eastern gable. Every other vestige
has been demolished, and it is now impossible to determine its
original dimensions. It was situated at the centre of the present
graveyard and on the more elevated ground; the foundations
of the walls have occasionally been unearthed. The complete
disappearance of the fabric is accounted for by local tradition
which says that the stones were carried away for building pur-
poses elsewhere. The graveyard bears all the marks of great
antiquity. A collection of the epitaphs—those of which are
decipherable—will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*; no
earlier date than 1725 has been observed. A few horizontal tomb-
stones, deeply sunk in the clay and with inscriptions now illegible,
appear to be very old. One inscription reads: *Feb. 19th, 1743-4*,
recording the “Old Style” and “New Style” already referred
to. A large inscribed horizontal stone, comparatively modern,
marks the tomb of the O'Reilly family of Ballinlough, County
Meath.*

It has already been noted that Dr. Michael MacDonagh, O.P.,
Bishop of Kilmore, who died in 1746, in his will directed that his
body “be inter'd in the church of Munterconachty.” † But fate
decreed otherwise, and he rests, not in the peaceful surroundings
of Munterconnacht but in far-off Lisbon, whence he was forced to
flee, a fugitive from the fury of the Penal Laws. It is probable
that he was a native of this district, or at least may have ministered
in it for some time. His episcopate was an untranquil one and he
had constantly to change his place of residence to evade the law.
For instance, on 9th March, 1744, we find him mentioned in a
Report as exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Kilmore and

* Vide *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I, p. 416 *et seq.*

† *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol I, p. 182; *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 39.

Ardagh, and on 26th March in the same year he is returned in the Sheriff's Report as residing in Dublin. He succeeded in baffling the vigilance of the authorities, and soon afterwards escaped to Lisbon destined never to return.

The church was dedicated to the B.V.M., whose festival was locally kept on 15th August. A short distance away, and in the tld. of Knocknegartan, is a Holy Well dedicated to St. Patrick. It is called *Ṭobair Ṗáobairis*, and is situated in a delightfully picturesque position on a gentle slope near the shore of Loch Ramor. There are two wells, about ten yards apart, but only one of them is called *Ṭobair Ṗáobairis*. A large ash of great antiquity overshadows it. The O.S. map has "Wells," but only the well beside the ash is recognised as *Ṭobair Ṗáobairis*. Mass was celebrated close by in the Penal times.

This Holy Well was noted by O'Donovan who commented on the fact, which he considered as strange, that while the parish was dedicated to the B.V.M. yet, the well was called after St. Patrick.* During the 18th century, and in the early years of the last century, this well was much frequented by pilgrims. A Pattern was held on 17th March, but was discontinued about a century ago.

The Protestant church of Munterconnacht is in the tld. of Knockatemple, and in the older S.D. of Gallonroe. It was erected in 1832 by a gift of £900 from the Board of First Fruits.† The rectory and vicarage forms part of the union of Lurgan. According to Lewis (*op. cit.*) the population of the parish, in 1846, was 3,167. He further states that the parish comprises 7,432 $\frac{3}{4}$ statute acres, of which 5,828 are apportioned under the tithe act; 965 $\frac{1}{2}$ are in Loch Ramor. The tithe rent-charge was then £111.

MASS-ROCKS AND CHURCHES.

After the suppression of the parish churches, and during the Penal Days when public worship was prohibited, Mass was celebrated in secluded glens and in inaccessible places. In the tld. of Cornaddyduff is a small picturesque glen, well known as *Steann an Airíonn*, i.e., the "Mass glen," in which the remains of the Mass-rock is still pointed out. This has already been described.‡ At this Mass-rock the people of Castlerahan attended Mass during the Penal days and down to the last half of the 18th century. Local tradition also asserts that a priest was martyred here. Another very interesting Mass-rock is in the tld. of Knocknegartan, about a quarter of a mile to the S.E. of the old church

* *Cavan Letters*, 1836, p. 66.

† Lewis's *Topog. Dict.* S.V. "Munterconnaught."

‡ *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 34. The local pronunciation is "Glenanéhrin." The aspiration of the *p* in *Airíonn* seems to be a peculiarity of the Oriel dialect which is, of course, the dialect common to East Breifne. The *F* is sounded in West Breifne, e.g., Mullaghanaffrin, near Ballycunnell.

of Munterconnacht, and alongside ΤΟΒΑΡ ΡΑΪΟΡΑΙΣ above mentioned. It is locally known as *Caipneis Crom*, *i.e.*, the sloping or inclining rock, a very apt designation, as the configuration of the rock indicates. This rock is situated on a slight elevation to the west of ΤΟΒΑΡ ΡΑΪΟΡΑΙΣ; a few whitethorns surround it. A temporary altar was erected at the base of the over-hanging rock, and this open-air chapel served the district during the long night of the Penal Code. This romantic situation was admirably adapted for purposes of secrecy and security: in front stretches Loch Ramor guarding the approaches from the north and east, while the higher elevations of Knockatemple and Behernagh provide excellent outlooks from which sentries could easily command an extensive view to the south and west. This Mass-rock is plainly visible from the opposite side of Loch Ramor, and it is probable that the device, resorted to elsewhere in Ireland, of giving some signal of the commencement of Mass may have been occasionally adopted also here.

Mass was also frequently celebrated during the Penal times at a large rock in the tld. of Knockatemple, and on the south side of the field opposite the front door of the present Catholic church. Close by this rock a Holy Well once existed at which many cures are reputed to have been effected. No trace of this Well seems to have survived. Another Mass-rock is pointed out near the summit of Croaghan hill to the S.W. of Knockatemple.

During the latter half of the 18th c.—when the Penal Laws were being relaxed—small chapels were erected at Castlerahan and Munterconnacht. The latter—which was of cruciform shape—was erected in the tld. of Knockatemple, practically on the same site as the present Catholic church. When the foundations of the present belfry were being sunk, portions of the foundations of the older building were unearthed. Tradition tells that the remains of some of the 18th c. pastors of Munterconnacht were buried in this chapel. In the tld. of Castlerahan, and close by the ruins of the Hospital, another small chapel was erected about the same period. The site is now occupied by the National Schools. Traces of the foundations may still be seen on the graveyard side of the schools. This chapel continued in use until the erection of the present handsome church.

Munterconnacht church was erected in 1846-47, during the pastorate of the Rev. Terence O'Reilly. Owing to the scarcity of funds it remained a year without a roof, but the money was secured through the exertions of Father O'Reilly. During the interval between the removal of the older church and the erection of the newer the people attended Mass in the barn of a local farmer named Tully, and as the population was then large, the greater portion of them were obliged to kneel outside on the road where they were often knocked down and trampled upon by some of the arrogant fanatics of the day. Although the original church was

dedicated to the B.V.M.—who is the patroness of the parish—yet the present church is dedicated to St. Bartholomew (24th Aug.) on whose feast day the foundation stone was laid.

The church contains a mural tablet to the memory of the founder, also of his brother, Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, who died 18th March, 1837, in the 28th year of his age and the 5th of his sacred ministry. Another mural tablet commemorates Rev. John O'Reilly, of Island, who died 5th April, 1882, aged 27 years, and in the 4th of his sacred ministry. Local tradition has it that the Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, P.P., who died in 1814, and whose body is said to have rested for many years in the old graveyard close by, is interred in the sanctuary of the church. Another priest, the Rev. Michael Tully, a native of the parish, who died in 1860, is also interred in the church.

The Church of Castlerahan is in the tld. of Cormeen. It was erected in 1834 during the pastorate of the Rev. John O'Reilly, the cost, according to Lewis (*op. cit.*), being £2,000. A handsome mural tablet to the memory of the founder has the following inscription:—

Sacred
to the Memory of the
Rev. John O'Reilly,
Pastor of Castlerahan, and Founder of this Chapel,
where his Remains lie interred.
Having studied in the Colleges
of Antwerp and Maynooth,
He was 47 years on the Mission ;
Zealous in the Discharge of his
Clerical Duties, and distinguished
for his Hospitality and Patriotism,
He departed this life
January the 2nd, 1842.
Aged 73 years.

Mural tablets to the memory of the following priests, natives of the parish, are also in the church : Rev. Thomas Flood, C.C., Kinlough, died 31st August, 1871, aged 27 years ; Rev. James Brady, C.C., Larah, died 1st May, 1886, aged 41 years, and in the 17th of his sacred ministry ; Rev. Michael Brady, P.P. of Larah Upper, died 14th May, 1872, aged 74 years, and in the 48th of his sacred ministry.

In 1839, during the pastorate of the above Rev. John O'Reilly, the present church of Ballyjamesduff was erected, The building had been begun in the previous year, but the work was delayed owing to the havoc wrought by the terrific storm—the " Big Wind"—of 6th Jan., 1839. It partially wrecked the building which had then been ready for roofing. Before this time a small mud-wall chapel existed in a field close by the present Convent of the Poor Clares : this Convent was founded in 1872,

The parishes of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were ecclesiastically distinct until about the middle of the 18th c. It is said locally that the parishes were definitely united in 1826; also that the last Confirmation ceremony for the parish of Munterconnacht was held in the church of Munterconnacht in that year by the Most Rev Farrell O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore. The Examination on that occasion was conducted in the Gaelic tongue, and the sermon preached in Gaelic. However, in the old parish register which commences in 1751, there is no distinction made between the parishes; they are treated as an ecclesiastical unit. This indicates that as early as 1751 both parishes, although perhaps not yet formally ecclesiastically united, were at least in charge of the same pastor.

SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

Of the pastors of Munterconnacht and Castlerahan before and during the Reformation period, we have at present no record; even tradition does not assist in rescuing their names from oblivion. In the year 1704 the Rev. Matthew Sheerin—or Shereene—was P.P. of "Monterconaght," and was registered at Cavan pursuant to the Act of 1703 (2nd Anne, c. 7) before Charles Mortimer, Clerk of the Peace, on the 10th July, 1704.* He was then aged 48, was ordained in 1685 in the Castle of Preau—Frayne, at Athboy—Co. Meath, by the Most Rev Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, and was living at Corneshesker † the year of the registration. His sureties (for £50 each), in accordance with the penal statute, were Nicholas Plunket of Lurganboy, and John Riley of Claddagh. He survived the dread reign of Queen Anne, and in 1715 we find him mentioned as among the number of Cavan priests who had "neglected to come in to take the Oath of Abjuration," and against whom it was ordered that proceedings be instituted. ‡ In this year his sureties were Cornelius Donnellan, of Virginia, and Garret Fitzsimons, of Corneduff. The latter Recognizances had been taken before Charles Mortimer, Sheriff of Co. Cavan, on the 16th April, 1708. The year of Father Sheerin's death, and the name of his immediate successor, have not been discovered.

In 1704 the Rev. Edmund Smith was P.P. of both Lurgan and Castlerahan, was then aged 57, and lived at Gallanamraher, in Lurgan parish.§ The year of his death has not been ascertained, but as his name does not occur in the 1715 list, just referred to, it is very probable that he was dead, or exiled, before that year.

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

† This is evidently Cornashesk in Lurgan Parish.

‡ Rev. W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660—1760), p. 285.

§ *Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 38.

From 1710 until the middle of the century the Penal Laws were enforced with rigour and details of the pastors are necessarily scanty. At this period tradition tells us that Franciscan Friars from Drogheda, travelling in disguise, performed their administrations in the district. Samuel Moore, High Sheriff of Cavan, writing to the Lord Lieutenant and Executive Council in Dublin, in a Report dated 21st March, 1744, enumerates the priests about whose whereabouts he was able to collect information, and among them he notes that: "John McKernan, a frier [friar] lives mostly in the parish of Castlerahan, [but] has no certain place of abode."* It is probable that both Munterconnacht and Castlerahan were administered by Friars during this period.

In 1750 the Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore, furnished to Rome the *Relatio Status* of his Diocese—an interesting document, preserved in the Archive of the Congregation of the Council, Rome, and giving the list of parishes, with their pastors, in that year.† But neither Munterconnacht nor Castlerahan are included in the list. Their omission may be attributed to their having probably been served by Friars or by priests of neighbouring parishes. As we have already noted, both Castlerahan and Lurgan were served by Rev. Edmund Smith in 1704.

The next pastor of Castlerahan of whom we have any record was the Rev. John Reilly who died 20th Jan., 1751, aged 54 years. He rests in the graveyard of Castlerahan, where a simple upright stone has the following inscription‡:—

PRAY [FOR Ye]
SOUL OF [REV. JO]
HN REILLY [PARI]
SH PRIEST OF
CASTLERAHAN
WHO DIED JAN^{ry}
Ye 20TH 1751
AGED 54 YRS.

The name of Father O'Reilly's successor in Castlerahan has not been ascertained.

The old parish register commences in 1751 and ends in 1776. From that time until 1814 the records, if they were ever kept, are lost. The register is divided into three portions, the Baptismal and Matrimonial records and the register of Deaths. The entries are in Latin, are still fairly legible, and seem to have been kept with much care. The names of the tlds. are given, many of which are now obsolete. In the Baptismal portion the record begins in

* Rev. W. P. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

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

‡ Portion of the inscription has been broken away; the obvious restorations are given in brackets.

Feb., 1752, and finishes in Nov., 1776. The entries in the Matrimonial portion commence in Aug., 1751, and conclude in Jan. 1775. The register of Deaths is from Aug., 1751, until March, 1775. Strange to say the name of the pastor who kept the register is not recorded; the fly-leaf of the Baptismal portion, which may have contained his name, is missing. But it is evident that he was the immediate successor to the above Father John O'Reilly. It is worthy of note that the register includes both Munterconacht and Castlerahan, and it is very probable that the amalgamation of the parishes took place after the death of Father O'Reilly in 1751.

The register contains a great amount of interesting details of diocesan history, and preserves the names of many Kilmore pastors of the period. A matrimonial dispensation by Father Masterson is recorded in 1751. This was Father Patrick Masterson who was P.P. and V.G. of Cavan. He is mentioned in the will of Dr. Michael Mac Donagh, O.P., Bishop of Kilmore, already referred to, who died in Lisbon in 1746, as his executor, and he figures in a similar function in the will of Dr. Laurence Richardson, O.P. Bishop of the diocese, who died in 1753. On the death of Dr. Andrew Campbell in 1769, Father Masterson acted as Vicar-Capitular of the diocese till Dr. Denis Maguire, Bishop of Dromore, was translated to Kilmore on March 20th, 1770. On the pages of the register we find occasional notes of his having examined same with his initials attached. In 1752 we find a matrimonial dispensation granted by Father Anthony Smith who was later P.P. and V.G. of Laragh.* In 1755 is recorded the name of Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, pastor of Ballymachugh, and under the years 1774 and 1775 Rev. Eugene Brady, pastor of Crosserlough, is mentioned.

In the Baptismal register there is no entry from June, 1771, till Feb., 1773. A similar omission occurs in the Matrimonial portion. In the register of deaths there is an omission from Sept., 1769, till Feb., 1773. From Feb. 1773 the register is in different handwriting, indicating that there was a change of pastors in this year. The first mention of a pastor's name is on 1st May, 1774, when a Rev. Felix Matthews signs himself as "vice-pastore." An entry in the Matrimonial portion under March, 1773, mentions a Rev. Charles McKiernan who was probably identical with the Rev. Charles McKiernan who was pastor of Kill in 1801. The entries conclude rather abruptly in 1776, and the subsequent entries, which recommence in Nov., 1814, are partly in the same register. From that date the entries are initialled by the pastor Rev. John O'Reilly. In the succeeding years there are many large omissions, and from 1842 to 1854 the records are missing. Some leaves from the register of Kildrumsherdan parish for 1815 are included among the pages of the register of that year.

The old register is an extremely interesting, as well as a rare

* *V. Journal*, Vol. II, p. 86.

historical, record of the period which it covers. The forms of the old names approximate more to the *Down Survey* forms—which are only a century earlier—than to modern renderings. The town of Ballyjamesduff is mentioned in entries as early as 1752. Many important families of the parish, all traces of which have long since been swept away, can be followed over the period of 25 years which is recorded. It will be observed that the register commences earlier than the Lurgan one, which begins in 1755.* The Diocese of Kilmore hardly contains an earlier, or a more detailed ecclesiastical record than that which is preserved in the pages of the old register of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht.

The next pastor of whom we have record is the Rev. Daniel O'Reilly, who was P.P. in 1801. He is mentioned as pastor in a list of the Catholic clergy of the Diocese of Kilmore furnished to Lord Castlereagh in that year.† In 1800 a number of queries were forwarded by Castlereagh to the Most Rev. Dr. Troy to be communicated to the prelates of the provinces. The queries had reference to certain provisions intended by the government of the day for the Catholic clergy, and information was required as to the number of pastors and curates in each diocese, the parishes to which they were attached, whether Regulars or Seculars, and sundry other details. The list for Kilmore contains the names of 52 priests—39 P.P.'s, 11 C.C.'s, and 2 attached to no particular parish. Of these only four are entered as Seculars, viz., Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Moybolge; Rev. Felix McCabe, P.P., Mullagh; Rev. John Smith, P.P., Killinkere; and Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P., Lurgan. The others are Regulars—all Franciscans. From the list we find that Rev. J. Brady was then C.C., of Castlerahan. There is no mention of Munterconnacht in the list of parishes, which shows that both parishes were under the pastoral charge of Father O'Reilly.

In the list of subscribers appended to James Martin's *Poems on Various Subjects*,‡ printed at Cavan in 1816, we find, *inter alios*;

* Vide *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 36.

† *The Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, Vol. IV, p. 118.

‡ *Haliday Pamphlets*, K.I.A., Vol. 1097. James Martin (1783—1860) born at Millbrook, near Oldcastle, lived during the greater part of his life, as he tells us himself, "among the vallies of Breiffine," and had many Breiffine associations. His writings are voluminous, and his poetry is of a very high order. He published a couple of dozen volumes, over various pseudonyms, and was a veritable literary prodigy, his writings covering many subjects, theological, political, and historical as well as philosophical. Although a "self-taught peasant"—as he describes himself—he was well versed in Gaelic and the Classics, was an orator of distinction, and ranks as one of the most formidable controversialists of his time. He was a close personal friend of the well-known Father Tom Maguire. His poems are well remembered in Breiffine. An account of Martin's life is reserved for a later volume.

Rev. Daniel Reilly, P.P., and Rev. Terence O'Reilly, Castlerahan.* The latter was evidently then C.C.

Rev. Daniel O'Reilly died on the 20th October, 1814; his death is recorded in the parish register. It is said locally that his remains were interred in the old graveyard of Munterconnacht and that, on the completion of the present church, his body was exhumed and reinterred in the sanctuary.

The Rev. John O'Reilly succeeded in 1814, and is vividly remembered by local tradition. This great ecclesiastic belonged to a well-known Breifne family—the O'Reillys of Crann—in the parish of Drumgoon, where he was born about the year 1769. At an early age he went abroad, studied for the priesthood in Antwerp, where he pursued a brilliant course of studies, and remained until that city, with its churches and colleges, was devastated by the French Jacobins in 1794. He returned to Ireland in 1795, in which year he was ordained at Maynooth. During his strenuous pastorate he erected the handsome churches of Castlerahan and Ballyjamesduff. He is remembered as an accomplished Gaelic and Classical scholar, a polished pulpit orator, a brilliant controversialist, and an indefatigable worker for the advancement of the people. While the parish church was being erected he kept a detailed account, which is still preserved, of the various expenses incurred and how monies were expended, as well as of the parish collections. He died Jan. 2nd, 1842, at the age of 73, and rests in the church of Castlerahan, where a mural tablet—the inscription on which has already been noted (*supra*)—commemorates him.

The Rev. Thomas O'Reilly was C.C. of Castlerahan about 1840; his name is included in the list of subscribers to a poem by James Martin, published in 1841.†

The next pastor was the Very Rev. Terence O'Reilly, a native of Munterconnacht, who succeeded in 1842. He erected the present church of Munterconnacht, a task of much difficulty owing to the exceptional circumstances which arose during the period of the Famine. His pastorate was a particularly arduous one and he died Sept. 22nd, 1854, aged 68 years and in the 43rd year of his sacred ministry. He was buried in the church of Munterconnacht, where a mural tablet has been erected to his memory. Rev. James O'Reilly was appointed C.C. in 1861, and shortly

* The list includes the names of the following priests: Rev. J. Brady, P.P., Virginia; Rev. P. McCabe, Dynn; Rev. Michael O'Reilly, P.P., Ballymacue; Rev. Phil Reilly, P.P., Bailieboro; Rev. John O'Reilly, Virginia; Rev. P. O'Reilly, Bailieboro; Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, P.P., Crosserlough; Rev. Pat Reilly, Cavan.

† *The Wounded Soldier*, a tale of Waterloo—Kells. Printed by T. K. Henderson. Appendix. The following Cavan priests, *inter alios*, were subscribers to this volume: Rev. John Murray, R.C. Rector, Crosserlough; Rev. Matthew Fullam, P.P., Kilbride; Rev. James Dillon, C.C., Kilbride; Rev. Philip O'Reilly, P.P., Mullaghoran.

afterwards transferred to Cavan. He was P.P. of Knockninny from 1881 till his death in 1902.

Rev. Nicholas Conaty succeeded, and was P.P. until 1863, when he was elevated to the Bishopric of Kilmore. In that year he changed the mensal parish from Crosserlough to Castlerahan, and since then it has remained so.

The first Adm. of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht was the Rev. John Smith, a native of Ballyjamesduff, who was transferred from Crosserlough in 1863.

He was Adm. until 1872 when he was succeeded by Rev. Dominick McBreen. Father McBreen had served as C.C. of Carraigallen (1861-66), Denn (1867), and Castlerahan (1868-72). In 1877 he was transferred to the parish of Kildallan and Tomregan (Ballyconnell) where he was P.P. until 1879. He was P.P., V.F., Ballinamore, from 1879 until his death on Sept., 8th, 1907. Rev. Peter Galligan was Adm. from 1877 to 1879 when he was transferred to Killesher as P.P. He had previously been C.C. Castlerahan (1873-75), and C.C. Cavan (1875-77). From 1883 to 1886 he was P.P. Killinkere.

The next Adm. was Rev. James Brady who succeeded in 1879. In 1883 he was transferred from Castlerahan to Drung where he was P.P. till 1888. He was then appointed P.P., V.F., Drumlane, where he remained until 1918 when he resigned. His death took place in the same year. Rev. Patrick O'Connell succeeded in 1883. He had been C.C. Kinawley from 1879 to 1883. In 1897 he was appointed P.P., V.G., Drumgoon, and died 25th June, 1923. He was interred at Cootehill. Rev. Bernard Gaffney was Adm. from 1897 to 1903 when he was transferred to Lurgan as P.P., V.F. In 1903 Rev. Francis McKiernan, who had been C.C., Lurgan, was appointed Adm., and in 1908 he went to Kildallan and Tomregan as P.P. Rev. James Farrelly was Adm. from 1908 to 1922 when he was appointed P.P., V.F., Kill. Rev. Patrick E. Mallon succeeded in 1922.

LIST OF MUNTERCONNACHT AND CASTLERAHAN PARISH PRIESTS.

MUNTERCONNACHT.

— 1704 — Rev. Matthew Sheerin,

CASTLERAHAN AND LURGAN.

— 1704 — Rev. Edmund Smith.

CASTLERAHAN.

— 1744 — Rev. John McKernan (Friar).

— 1751 1751 Rev. John Reilly.

MUNTERCONNACHT AND CASTLERAHAN.

1774	Rev. Felix Matthews (vice-pastor).
1801	1814 Rev. Daniel O'Reilly.
1814	1842 Rev. John O'Reilly.
1842	1854 Very Rev. Terence O'Reilly.
1854	1863 Rev. Nicholas Conaty.

ADMINISTRATORS.

1863	1872 Rev. John Smith.
1872	1877 Rev. Dominick McBreen.
1877	1879 Rev. Peter Galligan.
1879	1883 Rev. James Brady.
1883	1897 Rev. Patrick O'Connell.
1897	1903 Rev. Bernard Gaffney.
1903	1908 Rev. Francis McKiernan.
1908	1922 Rev. James Farrelly.
1922	Rev. Patrick E. Mallon.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Rev. P. E. Mallon, Adm., and Rev. John Brady, C.C., Castlerahan, for permission to consult the old Parish Register, and for some interesting details of parochial history.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.



DRUMLANE ABBEY—II.

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

(Read 13th November, 1924.)

“The O'Farrellys and MacGaherans were the hereditary Coarbs and Erenachs of the place [Drumlane] and are still numerous in the parish,”* O'Donovan writes, in May, 1836.

From 1025, when we first meet with them in the Annals, the former, for nearly five centuries, continued as Coarbs. Even to-day the caretaker of Drumlane Cemetery bears that honoured name.

Though the MacGaghrens or Magaherans are less conspicuous in early records, their antiquity is, nevertheless, permanently stamped on the face of the country. “Derrygeeraghan, in Cavan,” Joyce informs us, is “Doire-Mhic-Geachrain, oak wood of MacGaghan (metathesis here). How the Mac dropped out, see Mac.”† Derrygeeraghan townland is near Drumlane. It was part of the Abbey lands, laboured and tilled by the canons themselves.

The year 1025 witnessed the death of Dubhinsi O'Farrelly, Abbot of Drumlane. (F.M.)

Another member of the same sept, Conaig O'Farrelly, Erenach of Drumlane and successor of Moedhog in Connaught and Leinster, died in 1059.‡ East Breffni was in Connaught until put into Ulster, and called Cavan, in 1584, by Sir John Perrott. Why the Superior of Drumlane should be called here the successor of Moedhog in *Leinster* it is difficult to explain, since that was a title that went with the Coarb of Moedhog in Ferns.

DRUMLANE BURNED.

F.M. 1246. “Drumlane was burned in this year.”§ Clones Abbey probably shared Drumlane's luck, since there is no record

*Cavan Letters, p. 5.

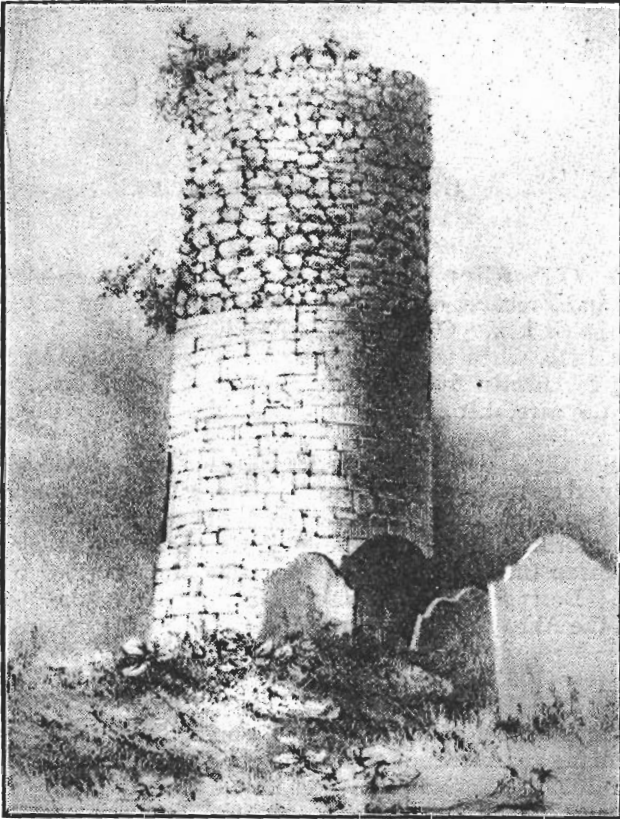
† *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. III, p. 296.

‡ F.M., A.U.

§ Also Lough Cé

that it was burned more than once. Kells was destroyed by fire no less than 21, and Clonmacnoise at least 9 times.

The Annals of Lough Cé register the demise of Muiredach, son of Maelbrighde O'Farrelly, coarb of Maedhog, in 1257.



DRUMLANE ROUND TOWER IN 1844.

BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1261.

F.M. 1261. A depredation was committed by Hugh O'Connor in Breifny, and he advanced to Drumlane, where a part of his army was defeated, and many of the less distinguished of them were slain.

A.U. 1261. A hosting [was made] by Aedh, son of Feidlimidh Ua [Conchobhair] into Breifni, so that he burned many towns and the crops. Complete defeat was given to a force of his routs, so that a great number of them were killed.*

* Also Lough Cé.

This Hugh was the son of Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught. Here, as elsewhere, the Annals give an intelligible but meagre outline of historic persons or events. During the course of this paper, it may be well to add brief, biographical sketches of notable personages as they pass in review before us.

We are now investigating a time of turbulence and unmitigated ferocity in Connaught, discreditable to its Chiefs, whose petty ambitions, greed, and truculence caused many deaths by violence year by year.

Hugh O'Connor's attack on Breifny, we can see, was purely destructive and vindictive, since he *burned* towns and crops.

The relations at this time, between Hugh and the O'Reillys, were as strained as they well could be. A retrospective review will verify this.

THE BATTLE OF MOY-SLECHT, 1256.

The fierce and sanguinary battle of Moy-slecht in 1256 is described in much detail in the Annals of Lough Cé. The fight was between the O'Reillys on the one hand and forces led by Hugh O'Connor and Conor O'Rourke, their kinsmen, and nearly all the clans of Connaught—the O'Haras, O'Kellys, O'Flahertys, etc.—on the other. After meeting with a prolonged and desperate resistance, Hugh and his allies won. Cathal O'Reilly, chief of East Breifny, was slain. Niall Caech (the one-eyed) O'Reilly, after whom Clankee is named, also fell there. The death of Niall at a place so remote from his own headquarters goes to show that there was a full muster of the O'Reillys, since he came with his men from East Breifny's furthest confines.

Two years later Hugh O'Connor, Taig O'Brien, son of the King of Thomond, and Brian O'Neill, King of Tir-Owen, meet in conference at Cael-uisce, near Belleek, on the Erne. This meeting resulted in O'Neill being acknowledged Ard-Ri by O'Connor and O'Brien, Hugh receiving in return the over-lordship of Breifny, for the observance of which "the hostages of the son of Fiedhlimidh [were given] to him (Brian) and the hostages of Muinnter-Raighillaigh [were given] to Aedh Ua Conchobuir and the hostages of all Ui-Briuin from Cenanus to Drumcliabh,"* *i.e.*, from Kells to Drumcliffe.

In the following year Hugh O'Connor blinded the hostages of Ui-Briuin. (A.U.)

It were an easy task for O'Connor to keep the Ui Briuin in subjection and receive his tribute without resistance, so long as he had at his back the powerful support of O'Neill and O'Brien. But both were dead in 1260,† and naturally, now, if not before, the Breifnians, East and West—for Hugh was at war with both—resist Hugh's over-lordship. Signs are not wanting that this was

* Curtis, *Med. His.* Tr., p. 159; A.U.; F.M.

† Curtis, *loc. cit.*

taking place. The F.M. recount the escape from the custody of O'Connor, and subsequent appointment to the Kingship, of Art O'Rourke, in 1261, and the capture of Hugh's fastness at Drumsna, by the men of Breifny in the same year.

With the foregoing facts in mind, it is fair to assume that Hugh's unwelcome visit to Drumlane was an attempt to assert his overlordship, and to punish Muintir-Maelmora for refusing to acknowledge it.

On the death of his father, Felim, in 1265, Hugh became King of Connaught. His greatest achievement was the disastrous defeat he inflicted on the English in 1270, at Ath-na-Chip,* near Carrick-on-Shannon. He died in 1274, "the man most feared and victorious that was in Ireland."†

THE SECOND BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1314.

We again discern another O'Connor invader, who meets with more success at Drumlane than his predecessor. F.M. 1314. "The O'Reillys were defeated at Drumlane by Rory, son of Cathal O'Connor."‡

This Rory was brother to Aedh, the Brefnian. Both were scions of the great Clann-Murtagh O'Connor, so-called because sprung from Murtagh, brother to Rory, the last Ard-Ri. They provided Connaught with Kings from Hugh's death, in 1274, till 1293.§ Of this formidable Clan we shall hear much from 1314 till the end of the century. Rory's brother, Aedh, the Brefnian, became king in 1309, but was slain next year by treachery.||

Rory tried to succeed his brother, but a conflict arose in which many of his adherents were killed, and Felim, a boy of 20, was made king.¶

Rory, for some years after the inauguration of Felim, made some unsuccessful attempts to dislodge him.

On the coming of Edward Bruce to Ireland, Felim joined hands with Richard de Burgo, the "Red Earl." Though Felim afterwards withdrew his support from the "Red Earl," it was done too late to save him from the odium of the other septs of the O'Conors, for, in the first instance, taking arms against Bruce. Quickly proceeding and taking advantage of Felim's unpopularity, Rory assembled the men of Breifny and Connaught and, after burning many towns and houses of the Colonists, had himself appointed king, with great pomp, at Carnfriach. But his reign was destined to be short. Felim, shortly afterwards, met Rory at the

* Curtis *opus. cit.*, p. 165.

† A.U. The Latin version calls him the man who was expected to be the future King of Ireland, on account of his heroic deeds against the English, against whom he incessantly struggled all the days of his life.

‡ Also L.C. and A.U.

§ Curtis, *opus. cit.*, p. 180.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¶ *Ibid.*

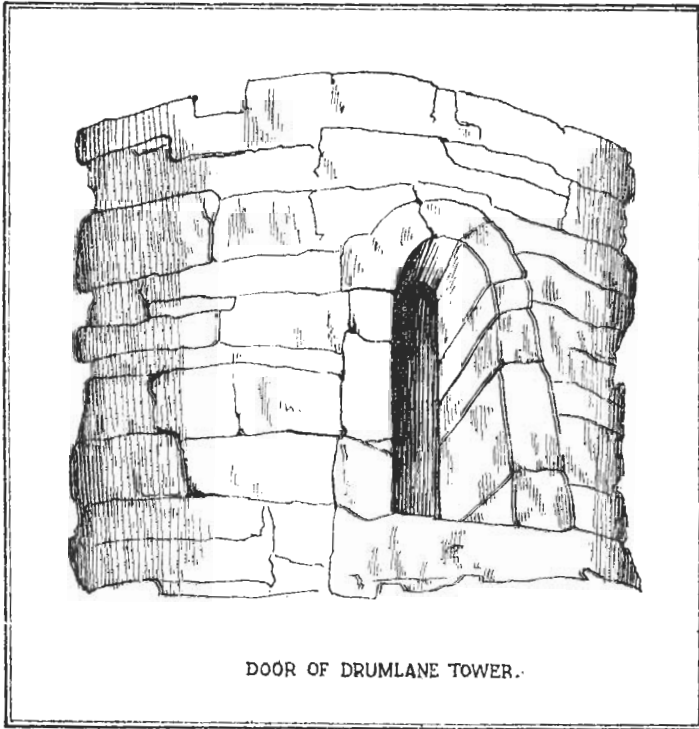
battle of Moin Conway, near Ballymoe. Rory was defeated and killed (March, 1316).*

Rory's attack on Drumlane, in 1314, would seem to have had no other purpose than to equip his army—a no uncommon custom then—at the expense of a neighbouring principality.

THE THIRD BATTLE OF DRUMLANE, 1338.

A.U. 1338. Aedh of the Quill, son of Ruadhri Ua Concho-buir, was (mortally) injured in the rere of a foray in the Bolegan and he died thereof.

This foray was conducted by a son of the Rory who had raided Drumlane 24 years earlier.



DOOR OF DRUMLANE TOWER.

Why have the O'Conors carried the fiery torch of war into Drumlane three times in less than a century? Was it Drumlane's wealth that attracted the aggressors? In the case of the invasion by Hugh O'Conor, he may have been induced to strike Drumlane,

* Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236. O'Conor Don, *The O'Conors of Connaught*, chap. 11.

the venerable sanctuary that all the Breifnians revere, to humiliate and mortify his chiefs.

The "Bolegan" is a variant of Drumlane. Sometimes it is spelled "Bolcan," oftener "Bolgan." The modern townland of "Bulligs" I take to be a survival of the old name, slightly changed; but the "Bolgan" of history, however, included the whole parish. We meet in a 1570 Fiant of Elizabeth, "Bolgan alias Drumlahan," and in the Cavan Inquisition of 1609, "the Vicarage of Bolgan alias Dromlaghan." O'Donovan's note on "the Bolgan" I withhold for a later page.

F.M. 1325. "Nicholas, son of the Coarb of St. Maidoc, died." Nicholas, being a favourite christian name with the O'Farrells, we may assume he was one of them.

In 1340 internal strife convulsed Breifny. Drumlane got a share, when "Matthew, son of Annagh Ua Raighillaigh, was killed by Andrew, son of Brian Ua Raighillaigh, and great forays were made in the Bolegan during that expedition."*

F.M. 1343. "John Mac Duibhne, archdeacon of Drumlane, died." The modern equivalent of this name is Mac Avinne or Mac Evinie.† A Bishop of Kilmore bore this name—Fersithi Mag Uibne. He died November 27th, 1464.

A.U. 1357. "Niafl Ua Fairceallaigh was killed by one shot of an arrow by the Cenel-Luachain. And had he lived, he would have been Superior‡ on the morrow." The Cenel-Luachain were the people occupying the district now known as Oughteragh parish, in Kilmore diocese.

PRIMATE SWETEMAN'S VISITATION, 1366.

We find Masters William O'ferallaich, comarb of St. Medoc, and Adam McTiarnan, dean of Drumleachan, commissioned by Primate Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1366, to assist Masters Peter o'kerbyllan, Chancellor of Armagh, to complete the visitation of Killmore.

In this year also appears a citation from the Primate commanding Bishop Richard O'Reilly to summon all dignitaries, rectors, etc., in the deanery of Kellmore, to appear in the Church of Kellmore on the 1st of December, and those of the deaneries of Dromlechan and Dartra, in the Church of St. Medoc of Drumlechan on (. . . . December).§

Richard O'Reilly died in 1369. (F.M.)

A.U. 1368. The successor of (St.) Moedhoc—and he was the archdeacon of the Breifni likewise—a man full of the grace of the Holy Spirit and of charity and of humanity, died that year, after gaining victory from the world and from demon.

* F.M. and A.U.

† Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, p. 354.

‡ Superior, *i.e.*, Abbot of Drumlane. Note to 1357.

§ Lawlor, *Sweteman's Register*, p. 240.

The subject of this entry is, one is inclined to think, the William O'Farrelly mentioned in Primate Sweteman's commission. His successor—Murray O'Farrelly—died in the same year. (F.M.)

Once more, in 1390, war clouds broke over Breifny. This time O'Rourke and O'Reilly crossed swords. Into the fray entered the people of Anghaile, Muinter-Eolais, the Tellach-Dunchada, and the Clann-Muirchertiagh, all apparently in league with O'Reilly. It should be stated here that the baronies of Tullyhunco and Tullyhaw were then in West Breifny, *i.e.*, under the domination of O'Rourke. The people of the latter barony were loyal subjects, but those of the former were in a chronic state of rebellion, and frequently took up arms as confederates of O'Reilly or Clann-Murtagh against their nominal Chief. In 1370, for instance, in league with Clann-Murtagh they helped to banish Teige O'Rourke, the King of West Breifny, out of his territory. Twenty years later, the same confederation tried to wrest from O'Rourke the area now covered by the barony of Carrigallen.

CROGHAN HILL.

The modern Croghan Hill, beside Killeshandra, was the place whence the O'Rourkes came to inaugurate a new Chief of the Clan. In 1470, O'Rourke and O'Donnell led an army towards Croghan for the purpose of having the former inaugurated.

McKiernan and, at his instigation we may presume, O'Reilly and the English gave them battle at Ballyconnell and effectively barred their further progress. (F.M.)

In the vicinity of Drumlane and Killeshandra, there lived, temporarily at least, that powerful and warlike force, known as the Clann-Murtagh-Muimneach O'Conor, already noticed. They got the nickname "Muimneach" (Munster) from their ancestor, Murtagh, having been fostered in Munster. To some extent, they were migratory, though a "Flying Column" would be a more accurate description of them in view of the lightning velocity with which they struck their adversaries. Of these they had many, particularly the O'Rourkes* and Maguires, and, in a lesser degree, the O'Conors of Sligo, the O'Farrells, the McDermotts, etc. Their Intelligence Department was highly developed.

Early in their career, they included O'Reilly among their enemies, as in 1314 and 1338. But cordial relations seem to have been established later, which continued till the Clann-Murtagh disappeared from history. With the McKiernans they were invariably friendly, perhaps because they got safe harbourage in Tullyhunco. Like the Galloglasses, whose first appearance in Breifny coincided with the middle of the 14th c., one of whose

* The F.M., 1340, record a predatory incursion by the O'Rourkes on members of the Clann-Murtagh Muimneach, who suffered severe casualties, adding that "this was the first rupture between the O'Rourkes and the race of Murtagh Muimneach."

mottoes was "always ready,"* the Clann-Murtagh were professional warriors, and men of invincible courage and daring. In 1342, aided by Mac William Burke and Conor McDermott, they deposed Turlough O'Conor from the throne of Connaught, and made Hugh, son of Hugh Breifnach O'Conor—one of their own clan—king. (F.M. and A.U.)

The next year sees Turlough, aided by O'Rourke and Mac Rannal, recover his throne and drive Clann-Murtagh out of Breifny to Tir-Connail. Here they were well received by Angus O'Donnell. He gave them Tirhugh, the district extending from the town of Donegal to the Erne, and they made a prompt return by helping him to defeat another O'Donnell. (F.M.)

After the expulsion of Teigue O'Rourke by the Clann-Murtagh, in 1370, a yet more powerful alliance, comprising O'Conor, O'Rourke, Maguire, and O'Farrell, banished them and the MacKiernans to Muintir Eolais, whence they withdrew to Mac William Burke, in Mayo.†

Nothing can better illustrate the deadly hostility with which they were regarded than the following two passages relating to an O'Rourke-Maguire pact:—"the people of Fermanagh . . . to annoy *Clann-Murtagh* made peace with the O'Rourkes and forgave them all their past hostilities." : and "peace was made by the Fir-manach with the Muintir-Ruairc and their injuries were mutually forgiven for *ill* to the Clann-Muircertaigh." (F.M., A.U., 1366.)

But, notwithstanding these expulsions, we find Clann-Murtagh back again in Breifny, in battle array, whenever there is impending war.

EAST AND WEST BREIFNY AT WAR, 1390.

The war of 1390 between O'Rourke and O'Reilly was an event of unusual importance. The annals of the Four Masters, Lough Cé, Ulster, and Clonmacnoise describe it in some detail, and three of them call it a *great* war. O'Farrell, MacRannal, McKiernan, and the ubiquitous Clann-Murtagh were all evidently allied with O'Reilly against O'Rourke. Manus O'Rourke, a prisoner of O'Reilly, escaped from Clough Oughter Castle to be pursued and slain, at Lough Scur, by Clann-Murtagh, who had "obtained secret intelligence" of his movements.

Peace had to be purchased by Tiernan Mor O'Rourke, "the bravest and most puissant man that had come of the Hy-Briuin race" (as the F.M. describe him), by promises of large rewards and the concession of hostages to Thomas O'Reilly as pledges for the payment of these rewards.

O'Reilly, on his part, gave an undertaking to banish O'Rourke's

* MacNeill, *Phases of Ir. His.*, p. 343.

† O'Flaherty, quoted by O'Donovan in note to F.M. 1370.

enemies out of his territory, In the harvest of 1390 Thomas O'Reilly died, to be succeeded by John O'Reilly. (F.M. and A.U.)

Clann-Murtagh and McKiernan, no doubt, believing Tiernan to be too enfeebled by the recent war to offer much opposition, invade and occupy a tract of country, co-extensive with the present parishes of Outeragh and the two Drumreillys. But the stout-hearted Tiernan sweeps down from Glangevlin, kills many of their men and cattle, and drives them to the summit of the Breffnian hills.

THE BATTLE OF CREENY, 1391.

F.M. 1391. O'Rourke (Tiernan) with a small body of troops, repaired to Drumlahan to meet O'Reilly (John). When the Clann-Murtough O'Conor heard of this they met him with all their forces at Bealach-an-Chrionaigh; but O'Rourke, with a small body of troops, defeated them and made them retreat before him; having slain with his own hand John, the son of Mahon O'Conor, and Donough, son of Hugh-an-Cleitigh,* exclusive of the number of others whom his forces had slain.

Not only because the description is more exhaustive, but also on account of its quaint English, MacGeoghagan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise re this battle, is worth quoting:—

A.D. 1391. O'Roirck and O'Rely continued in their attonement of peace, O'Roirck with a few of his household menge repayred to the towne of Drumleahan to meet with O'Rely, was Intercepted by 65 persons of Clan Murtagh in his passage, O'Roirck, seeing them to stand in his way, and seeing himself without other remedy, hee took hart anew, gave them the onset valiantly, which Shane More Magmahon thinking to prevent them ofered to O'Roirck a blow of a launce, which O'Roirck accepted and made towards the said Shane with wonderful Courage, whome at first [at once] hee runed through with his launce. This Shane was one of a woman that could weave, which of all trades is of greatest reproach amongst the Irishrye, especially the sons and husbands of such tradeswomen, and therefore, Shane More was nicknamed the weaving woman's sone. O'Roirck gave another blow to Donogh M'Hugh an Cleitty, and presently killed him, made a fortunate escape without loss of any of his people, after killinge four kernes of his enemies.

The Annals of Lough Cé agree with those of Clonmacnoise that O'Rourke's aggressors were 65, adding Thomas O'Gaithin as one of the four killed by O'Rourke's own hand.

The Annals of Ulster describe O'Rourke's retinue as 21, and

* Felim, son of this Hugh, was slain in the Battle of Blenacup in 1369 (see this Journal, Vol. I, p. 250).

Clann-Murtagh's as 25 men; they add that O'Rourke broke through, *i.e.*, went on to Drumlane, and that a grandson, not the son, of Hugh an Cleitty, was slain. This is more likely to be correct, as Hugh an Cleitty was killed in 1338 (A.U.) in a raid on the Bolgan. If John were his son, he would be aged, at the time of the battle of Creeny, 53 years at least. O'Rourke's Castle, at Toomonaghan, on the verge of Ballymagauran lake, was Tiernan's residence. The direct route to it from Drumlane was by the old road or pass, which can still be traced through the townland of Drumlane, across Artonagh and over Creeny. This Creeny, manifestly, takes its name from the old Balach-an-Chrionagh, "the pass of the withered trees or brambles." Thus, we are enabled to know the actual section of the pass on which the battle was fought.

John O'Reilly, "the most hospitable and noble of his name," died* in 1400 of a sudden fit in his Castle at Tullach-Mongain, now known as the "Gallows Hill," over the town of Cavan. Tiernan More O'Rourke survived him 18 years, "a man," say the Annals of Ulster, "who defended his territory against the neighbours, and was best at hospitality and prowess and charity in his time." He lived to a great age and died at Toomonaghan. We know this because under 1418 the F.M. recount the death of his son, Owen the Tanist, by drowning in Lough Finvoy, on his way to see his father in his fatal illness. Tiernan's remains were buried in the Monastery of Sligo. There is some reason for thinking that Tiernan resided at Toomonaghan for the greater part of his reign, since the "neighbours" spoken of above—the Clann-Murtagh and Tullyhunco—were in close proximity, on whose activities Tiernan needed to keep a watchful eye.

F.M. 1407. John, the son of Teige O'Rourke, heir to the lordship of Breifny, died in Moylurg,† and was interred in Drumlane.

Though Colgan credits Drumlane with being a noble burial place of the chief men of both countries, this is the sole record that has been met with of an O'Rourke interment there. This John was son of Teige who was expelled from Breifny by the Clann-Murtagh, in 1370. Accordingly, he was a brother of Tiernan More.

O'REILLYS DROWNED IN LOUGH SHEELIN.

A.U. 1418. Richard, son of Thomas (son of Mathgamain), son of Gilla-Isa Ua Raighilligh, namely, King of Breifni, went in a cot on Loch-Sighlenn to meet Foreigners and was drowned on that occasion along with his young son, that is Eogan, and two Masters of his family. And his wife, namely,

* F.M.; A.U. 1401.

† Moylurg is a territory of the Mac Dermotts, around the town of Boyle (O'Hart, *Ir. Ped.*, Vol. I, p. 846).

the daughter of Mag Raghnaill, that is, Finnguala [was of the party]. And she came safe by virtue of her swimming. F.M. 1418. Richard, the son of Thomas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breifny, was drowned in Loch Silean; and with him were also drowned, his son, Owen O'Reilly, Philip, the son of Gilla-Isa, son of Godfrey [O'Reilly] Dean of Drumlane, and Vicar of Eanach-Garbh, and many other distinguished persons. Finola, however, daughter of Mac Rannal, and wife of O'Reilly, escaped by swimming.

This Richard was the son of the Thomas who was at war with Tiernan O'Rourke in 1390.

What is strange about this disaster on Lough Sheelin is, that the woman alone was able to swim to safety. "Eanach-Garbh" O'Donovan, both in a note to this entry and in page 11 of the Cavan Letters, equates with Annagh; but in translating an extract from the O'Reilly Pedigree, relating to this event, he, on page 71 of the same work, describes Philip as deacon of Drumlane and Vicar of Annagelifie. Owing to its proximity to Drumlane, Annagh is the more likely reading.

Master is a clerical title.* The O'Reilly Pedigree gives the name of Donal O'Keegan,† probably the second of the two Masters, as another of those who were drowned.

THE RECTORY OF KILLESHANDRA.

Let us retrace our steps to the end of the 14th c. In July, 1398, a mandate from Rome is issued to the Bishop of Kilmore, the Prior of Holy Trinity in Lough Oughter, and the Official of Kilmore, commanding them to collate and assign to John McKiernan, clerk, of the same Diocese, the Rectory of Kilinterra [Killeshandra], alias Tellacuntuga [Tullyhunco], value not exceeding twenty marks, void by the death of Augustine MacKiernan; although the Prior and Canons regular of St. Mary's, Drumleachan, in the same Diocese, unlawfully detain it.‡

The Cavan Inquisition of 1609 deals with this debateable question:—"Killeshanrah parish, containing five ballibetags and one pole, the parsonage inappropriate . . . and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, 1/3 part to the Vicar, except the tithes of Marchill, which are paid to the bishop, and 2/3 of the tithe to the late abbey of Dromlahan, and also ½^m proxies."§

DAVID O'FARRELLY.

About the middle of January, 1401, the Bishop of Concordia (*in partibus?*), the Archdeacon of Kilmore, and the Official of Armagh, receive instructions from Rome to remove Maurice O'Farrelly, and to collate and assign to David O'Farrelly, clerk,

* A.U., 1418, note.

† O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, p. 71.

‡ *Papal Registers*, Vol. V., p. 107.

§ *Pat. Rolls*, James I, p. 386.

of the Diocese of Kilmore, the vicarage of Drumlane . . . the vicars of which have been wont to pay a yearly cess to the Augustinian House of St. Mary, Drumlane, whose value does not exceed 7 marks, void by the death of William O'Farrelly.*

Towards the end of the same month another Roman mandate is directed to the Bishop of Telese, the Archdeacon of Kells, and the Official of Armagh, instructing them that if they find that the claim made by David O'Farrelly to the coarb-ship of Drumlane be valid, to remove Maurice and to collate and assign it to the said David.

The case made by David was this :—That in the Church of St. Medoc, Drumlane, there was a certain temporal lordship, or office, called Comarbanship [Coarbship], value not exceeding 20 marks, wont to be held by one of the family of David in a right line ; that although the late Myrianus O'Farrelly, David's grandfather, held it until his death, and that after him his eldest son, the late Nicholas O'Farrelly, David's father, ought to have succeeded, and that consequently, so ought David after the death of Nicholas, nevertheless, the late William, younger son of the late Mirianus O'Farrelly, and after him, Maurice O'Farrelly, priest, of the said diocese, had intruded themselves.†

Although we don't know this Commission's decision, there is internal evidence in a Rescript, directed in the following month to the Bishop of Telese and the Prior of Drumlane, that David did not succeed in securing the dignity of Coarb. This Rescript, after alluding to certain townlands, or churches, as belonging no longer to the Benedictine Prior and Convent of Fore, goes on to enumerate these townlands in the parishes of Drung, Laragh, Lavey, and Knockbride, and adds that "notwithstanding that the Pope had recently ordered provision to him of the said vicarage of Drumlane, value not exceeding 7 marks, and of one, two or three benefices, in the gift of the said Bishop [of Kilmore], he is hereby dispensed to hold for life two incompatible benefices."‡ The whole document is cryptic and difficult to make intelligible. Yet, though the beneficiary is not named, we learn from it that he is the person to whom recently the vicarage of Drumlane was granted. This was David. If David had obtained the Coarbship, this fact would certainly have been mentioned in the above Rescript. Furthermore, David would hardly have obtained these benefices had he been lucky enough to attain to the office of Coarb. In 1409, we find David described at Rimini as Bishop of Kilmore,§ although the legitimate Bishop, Nicholas MacBrady, was then living. This may have arisen through a false report of Nicholas's death having been spread. David, it seems, died soon afterwards in Rome.||

* *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. V, p. 452.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. V, p. 398.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

§ *Ann. Hiberniæ*, p. 256.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 234.

THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

The Regular Canons of St. Augustine were a very numerous body in this country. Alemand says of them that they were so very considerable in *Ireland*, either in the first Ages,* or at the time of the general Suppression of Monasteries, that the number of Houses they are said to have had at both those times seems incredible. . . . [They] were in all respects as great in *Ireland* as the *Benedictines* were in *England*. It was requisite to be a *Regular Canon* in order to be promoted to a Bishoprick in *Ireland*, almost all the Parish Churches and other secular Benefices were possessed by that Order. To which if we add, that they alone did possess, or had been Masters of, as many Houses as all the other Orders together, and that almost all the Chapters of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in *Ireland* were made up of *Regular Canons*, it will be necessary, whatsoever the Reluctancy be, to own, that there was no Order in *Ireland* which could compare with this, especially if we further add, that it had this noble Prerogative of having had two Abbots and eight Priors, that were Spiritual Peers of the Realm, and as such took their places in the House of Lords.†

The Augustinian Priors of Christ Church, Dublin, and of old All Hallows, on the site of which Trinity College is built, were two of those Peers of the Realm.

It should be observed that the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were first established in the Lateran Church, Rome, by Alexander II in 1062.‡ They spread rapidly throughout Europe but did not reach Ireland till at least 1134.§ At the time of the Dissolution the definite number of their Houses, according to D'Alton (quoted in the C. Dictionary), was 223 monasteries and 33 nunneries. To account for this great number it must be remembered that, as Ware tells us, many of the old Irish monasteries—including, we may presume, Drumlane—adopted in later times the rule of the Canons of St. Augustine.

There was indeed [writes Lanigan]|| a certain affinity between the rule of these new Canons, who did not appear till the eleventh century, and the old general system of the Irish, which was bottomed on the monastic regulations introduced by St. Patrick from Tours and Lerins; yet they were not originally the same, and the ancient Irish rules were much stricter than that of St. Augustin Canons.

* This is a mistake. There were no Canons Regular of *St. Augustine* properly so called till the 11th c.

† *Monasticon Hibernicum*, London, 1722, p. 2.

‡ Lanigan, *Eccl. History of Ireland*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

§ Lanigan, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

|| *Do.*, p. 104.

bear this in mind while we examine the revenues of Drumlane in different centuries. According to the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* (1302-1307), p. 213, the income of the Prior of Drumlane at that period was assessed at 3 marks. It is interesting to know that the incomes drawn from their Kilmore benefices by the Abbot of Kells and the Prior of Fore were then 5 and 11 marks respectively. About the middle of the 15th c. Drumlane's income was assessed at 20 to 25 marks. Coming on to the 17th c., the Inquisition assists us to approximate the distribution of its tithes about the time of the Abbey's suppression. "Dromlaghan parish, containing 92 polls, the parsonage is appropriate to the late abbey of Dromlaghan, and the vicarage of Bolgan alias Dromlaghan collative, the tithes are paid in kind, and the tithes of 30 polls of Termon land and 7 polls of abbey land and 2/3 part of the remaining tithes are paid to the abbey, and the remainder to the vicar, who is to pay the Bishop $\frac{1}{2}$."*

CHURCH LANDS.

Here we get a three-fold division of the lands of the parish, viz.:—

- (1). Abbey land, managed and laboured by the Canons themselves.
- (2). Termon land, on which lived tenants who paid rent to the abbey.
- (3). Ordinary land, of which 2/3rds of the tithes went to the abbey and 1/3rd to the vicar or, as we would call him now, the Curate.

ABBEY LANDS.

Fortunately, we are in a position to give the names of the townlands comprising this sub-division.

A 1570 Fiant of Elizabeth, the 1609 Map, and the 1609 Inquisition, define the townlands included in the abbey lands. For convenience they are tabulated as under:—

1570 Fiant.	1609 Map.	1609 Inquisition.	Modern Name of Townland.
Polle Dyrremehill ...		Dirrevehan ...	Derryvehil
" Ardonan ...	Ardouan ...	Ardonny ...	Ardouan†
" Drumlean ...	Dromluhan ...		Drumlane
" Dyrrikyrekhan ...	Derihiregan ...	Dirregeereghan ...	Derrygeeraghan
" Nahowrye ...	Anurah ...	Ouragh ...	Uragh
" Drumghes ...	Brongosca ...	Dromgress ...	Drumghesh
and the 2 Polls called Kyllecranneghe ...	Kilnecranahy Gortugam ...	Gortahagh ...	Kilnacrangh Drumlane South
		The Garriaghs ...	Drumlane North
	Dromheriue ...	Dromheriff ...	Drumherriff

* *Pat. Roll*, Jas. I., pp. 385, 386.

† The townland of Artonagh, in which the mills that fed Drumlane were supposed to have been situated, is more likely to have been Abbey land than Ardonan, which is more remote from Drumlane.

To locate "The Garriaghs" appeared, at first, very puzzling, but the book of the Down Survey filled the gap. From it we ascertain that Gallowne Gairiagh is included in Drumlane. A "gallon," or "gallowne," as it is spelled here, is a Cavan measure of land equal to half a poll. The 1609 Inquisition speaks of "*the poll* of the Garriaghes and Ouragh," *i.e.*, each contained half a poll. As the 1609 map locates Gartugan, which I take to be identical with Gortahagh in the Inquisition, on the South side of Drumlane, the Garriaghes must then be placed on the North side. Furthermore, "Garry" means a garden, and we have still a field in Drumlane townland called "Jackey's Garden."

TERMON LAND.

The Termon land is tinted green in the 1609 map. It, including the abbey land, corresponds approximately to what is known as Upper Drumlane, leaving the non-Termon land to cover Lower Drumlane.

We get an exhaustive account of the origin of Termon Lands, from the Cavan Jurors, in the Cavan Inquisitions of 1609. It has been already quoted in this Journal, vol. II, p. 27, and to it we would refer the reader.

To appraise the extent of land utilised or rented out by the Drumlane Canons it is best to convert the poll into modern land measures. Taking the poll to represent 30 arable acres and 20 mountain,* bog, or pasture, we get 4,600 acres in the parish. Of this acreage Termon land absorbed 1,600, and abbey land, 400 acres, plantation measure. This is an immensely larger endowment than that of any other religious institution in Kilmore.

It should be remembered that out of these Termon Lands, the Canons had to pay rents and duties to the Bishop of Kilmore and the O'Reilly. These obligations are described in 1609 by the Cavan Jurors as follows:—"Dromlahan 30 polls, [pays] 3 mks. and 20 reaping hooks, out of which 30 polls O'Rely, time out of mind receives 30/- per annum." As the mark was equal to $13/4$, the contribution to the Bishop—*independent* of the reaping hooks—amounted to £2 0s. 0d., representing, perhaps, from thirty to forty pounds of our money. Drumlane paid, proportionately, less to the Bishop than its humbler neighbours. Annagh, for instance, having only one poll, paid $3/4$ and three reaping hooks; Clonosey, in the same parish, having two polls, paid one mark and six reaping-hooks.

In three places elsewhere in the Patent Rolls of James I, *viz.*, at pages 83, 107, and 251, Drumlane is credited with possessing 32 polls of Termon Land.

* See Fiant of Elizabeth towards the end of this paper, where 50 acres are allotted to each poll. See also this Journal.

Low-lying and skirting the Erne for 10 miles, and the Woodford river—whose old name, the Graine,* seems forgotten—for five miles, this parish has gained more alluvial soil than any other in the County Cavan, owing to the extensive Erne drainage works carried out during the last century. The writer knows land thus redeemed (from a watery bondage) into which a plough-share never penetrated till this year. Rich, deep, and suitable for permanent pasture or meadow, it needed no tillage to keep it in good form. One need not hesitate to assess an increase of 50 per cent. of arable land in that parish in the past 120 years, before then inaccessible and unavailable.

DRUMLANE VICARAGE RESTORED TO CANONS REGULAR.

In July 1409, we read in the *Papal Registers* of a confirmation of the restoration of the perpetual vicarage of St. Medocius to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary's, Drumlane. The document alleges that although the above Prior and Convent held, from ancient times, the said vicarage, and [that although] afterwards a number of secular priests [were] instituted by the Bishops, nevertheless, Bishop Nicholas has, on its voidance, restored them to the possession of it, its value not exceeding 8 marks. It adds that since their restoration, they have been wont to cause it to be served now by their Canons, now by secular priests.†

The Bishop referred to above was Nicholas Mac Brady, once pastor of Castletara,‡ who was consecrated in Rome in August, 1395. He died in 1421.§

THE SUPPORT OF THE SECULAR CLERGY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

An extract from the *Annals of Ulster* may appropriately find a place here :—

“ With regard to the support of the secular clergy, it is hardly necessary to remark that at this period it was arranged by obligatory tithes. Peasants were obliged to give one-tenth of all agricultural produce ; there were also tithes from butter, cheese, fowl, and cattle. Workers in gold and other artificers as well as medical practitioners were warned

* The 1609 map calls the river, flowing from Ballyconnell towards the Erne, the Graine. It is mentioned by the *Annals of Ulster* in reference to a battle between Maguire and O'Rourke at Ballyconnell in 1457, “ Then Mag Uidhir and Brian Magh Uidhir . . . turned on them and routed the people of Ua Ruairc spiritedly, felicitously on that occasion and inflicted the defeat of Ath-Conaill and of the *Graine*—namely, a river that is between Fir Manach in the Breifne—upon them.”

† Vol. VI, p. 159.

‡ *Ann. Hib.*, p. 255.

§ F.M.

by the Provincial Synod of Cashel (1453) that they also were obliged to give one-tenth of their income. The value of each parochial benefice was computed by the value of the tithes, and the paying of tithes to the clergy was considered at the time to be of divine positive precept. In the extracts taken from the "Inquisitions of Ulster" which appear in the Appendix to Armagh Diocese, we also find that a few acres of glebe land were generally attached to the priest's house as a help to his support, and it may be inferred that this was common all over the country. Two-thirds of the tithes went to the parish priest and one-third to the curate, or, as they are called in the Inquisitions, "parson" and "vicar."*

In 1427 Patrick O'Farrelly is collated in Rome to the perpetual vicarage of the parochial church of St. Felim of Kilmore. He is at this time, or becomes later, perpetual vicar of St. Bridget's of Nurnaid (Urney) as an entry in the *Pap. Reg.* of 1431 assures us, when the Bishop and Dean of Clogher and John Ositigy, canon of the same, are commanded to have him received as a canon of the Augustinian conventual priory of St. Mary, Droimleathan, and to receive his profession. He is in due course to resign the vicarage of Urney. Yet we find him, at Bologna, in Italy, in 1436, where he appeared in person, again appointed prior, by Papal Bull. The Bull reads :—

The conventual priory of St. Mary of Drumlane, a house of Austin Canons in the diocese of Triburnia [Kilmore] being now void by the demise without the Roman Court of Peter Magaumrigan [Magaheran] and reserved to the apostolic see, Pope Eugene IV having heard that Patrick Ofairceallaich [O'Farrelly], at that time perpetual vicar of the parish church of St. Brigid of Nurnaig [Urney] in this diocese, [desired admission into this priory] . . . sent letters commanding the Bishop and Dean of Clogher and John Osithigi, Canon of the same, if said Patrick should be fit and no canonical hindrance bars the way, to have him received there by apostolic authority, provided that said priory is not thereby overburdened, as a canon and brother, to see that the religious habit, shall, as is customary there, be given to him, that he shall be maintained, like the rest of the canons, at the expense of said priory, and be treated with sincere charity in the Lord. Moreover, should he desire to make the religious profession wont to be made by the canons there, to receive and admit it, and when he has been admitted as a canon, has received the habit, and made his profession as above . . . should they find said priory vacant as aforesaid, or in any other way . . . provided no other had a specially acquired right therein, to confer it on and assign it to said Patrick, with all its rights and appurtenances, as is more fully mentioned in the aforesaid letters.†

* *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 13. † *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I, pp. 231, 249.

THADY MCGURRIN.

The following extract from a Bull of Pope Eugene IV speaks for itself:—

Pope Eugene IV understanding that Tycheus [McGurrin], perpetual vicar of St. Tylemey's parish church, Kilmore, wished to enter among the Canons of Drumlane, ordered by Bull, dated . . . 1444, the Ides of March, that he should be received there . . . and also that after he had made his vows he should be appointed Prior there in succession to Patrick Offerkeallaych, deceased.*

Thady has to resign the vicarage of St. Felimy's, Kilmore, but is permitted to hold for life the vicarage of St. Bridget's, at Urney, to which he was collated in 1436, "which Church is not more than three miles of those parts from the said monastery, being nearer thereto than is St. Felimy's." He is described as one who, "by his grandmother on his father's side springs from a noble, even princely stock, and has to keep great hospitality.†"

That the appointment of these two outsiders and seculars was not popular with the residents of the Priory can be inferred from complaints lodged by both about a certain Cormac Magaurkan (Magaheran), who vigorously maintained, without canonical sanction, however, his right to succeed Peter Magamuragan (Magaheran), Patrick's predecessor. Accordingly, a mandate is sped from the Pope to the Archdeacon of Hainault, in Liege, to summon "Cormac," a Canon of the said Priory and "*others concerned.*"‡ Cormac's intractibility cannot have been regarded in any serious light in Rome, since he becomes later the Bishop of Ardagh, and in the appointment to that See, is actually styled "Prior of Drumlane."§ The subjoined mandate, dated Rome, July, 1456, and addressed to the Dean and Archdeacon of Ardagh and Eugenius O'Rodachain records Thady's future, and gives us the name of his successor:—

Mandate to summon the below-named Bishop and other concerned to collate and assign to Peter Magaurughan (Magaheran), a Canon of the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary's, Drumlane, in the diocese of Kilmore, the said Priory, conventual and with care of souls, dependent on the monastery of St. Mary's, without the walls of the town of Kenlys in the diocese of Meath, value not exceeding 20 marks sterling, which became and is still void at the Apostolic See, and is therefore *ipso facto* reserved, by the promotion made by the present Pope (Calixtus III), of Thady Bishop of Kilmore to that Church, and by his consecration, which was administered to him by the Pope's grant at the said See, &c.||

* *Ibid.*, p. 251.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. IX, p. 528.

‡ *Do.* Vol. VIII, p. 585.

§ *Ann. Hib.*, Vol. I., p. 185.

|| *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. X, p. 307.

We find Thady personally paying the Episcopal Taxes in Rome—this being his third visit to Italy—on the 20th of July, 1455 (Lib. oblig., Ann. Ult., p. 257). He succeeded Andrew McBrady and was at the synod of Drogheda in 1460.

Although the F.M. give the death of Fearsithe MacDuibne, Bishop of the two Breifnys, in 1464, this Fearsithe can have been only a coadjutor, because John O'Reilly, Abbot of Kells, is appointed on the 17th of May, 1465, to this See [Kilmore], vacant by the *demise* of Thady. (Reg. Paul 11, quoted in p. 257, Ann. Hib.)

CORMAC, BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

Returning to Cormac Magaurakan, appointed Bishop of Ardagh in 1444, we learn that he exercised episcopal functions there for nearly a quarter of a century, *i.e.*, till his resignation of the See before 1469, probably to re-enter the cloister.*

BUILDING AND RE-CONSTRUCTION AT DRUMLANE.

A period of reconstruction comes in sight in the first and second quarters of the 15th c. Manifestly, churches and monastery needed renovation. In 1413 an appeal is made by the Drumlane Canons for alms for the building of a cloister, refectory, and several other necessary edifices.

December, 1436, brings a further request for the repairs, etc., of the Church of the Augustinian Conventual Priory of Druimyntleathan in the diocese of Kilmore. In the same month we hear of another appeal for the repairs, etc., of the *parish* church of St. Modocius, Druymleathan, in the diocese of Kilmore.†

The last-named church is clearly parochial, not monastic. One would naturally expect to find this in Lr. Drumlane, yet Petty's map, which displays a ruined church in or near the townland of Derrintinny, forces us to accept this as the *parish* church aforesaid.

BISHOP DONAT'S LETTER.

A very interesting letter may be reproduced here from the register‡ of Primate Swayne, of Armagh. It reads:—

To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear this letter Donat, by the Grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Triburnia [Kilmore] eternal health in the Lord.

Be it known unto you all, that whereas by the death of the late Muran O'Farally, of worthy memory, Comurban and principal Herenach of all the lands of the sept of Munter-Farally, the said Comurbanship [Coarbship] and erenachie

* *Ann. Hib.*, Vol I., p. 185.

† *Pap. Reg.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 384, 589.

‡ Quoted in King's *Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 37.

is at present rightfully and actually vacant. We, Bishop Donat, aforesaid, give, grant, and by this our present Charter confirm, that Comurbanship [Coarbship] of the Church of St. Medoc of Drumlane, of our Diocese, and the Erenachie of the said lands, with all the lands, natives upon them, and all other emoluments of right or custom appertaining to the same, to our beloved in Christ Nicholas O'Farally, clerk of said Diocese, and native of said lands, including the arable parts, and the non-arable hill and dale, pastures, meadows, grass, woods, fisheries, mills, and all other their appertenances universally, and with all their limitations, belonging, of right or custom, to the said Comurbanship, and the Erenachie aforesaid; to have and to hold them, from us and our Successors, as largely and liberally as ever his predecessors held, or ought to have held them, for a perpetual possession. He paying thereupon, to us and our Successors, such rents and tributes as are customary, as well as [being responsible for] all other burdens ordinary and extraordinary, and the services which are due and customary. Given at the Cemetery of the House of the Friars Minor of Cavan, of the Diocese aforesaid, the sixth day of the month of Sept., A.D. 1438.

This Bishop Donat was Donatus Ogaband (O'Gowan or Smith), perpetual vicar of Ballintemple before his appointment as Elect of Kilmore in 1421. On his resignation of the See in 1444, he was succeeded by Andrew MacBrady, Rural Dean of Drumlane.*

DEATHS OF CANONS OF DRUMLANE.

F.M. 1484. John O'Farely, a canon of the family of Drumlane, and Brian O'Farrelly, a priest who had commenced building an anchorite's cell at the Great Church of Drumlane, died. The A.U. has the same entry under the same year.

This is the text (to which attention has been drawn earlier in this paper) on which Richardson and Harris based the visionary theory regarding the uses of Round Towers, which O'Donovan and Petrie exploded.

A.U. 1490, record the demise of the Canon Mag-Tighernain of the College of Druim-lethan. "College," taken here in the canonical sense, means a clerical body corporate for the celebration of daily Mass and choral service.

DONNELL BANE O'REILLY.

In order to give coherence to the narrative, attention in a few preceding pages, has been concentrated exclusively on ecclesias-

* *Reg. Martin V*, quoted in *Ann. Hib.*, p. 256; *Pap Reg.*, Vol. VIII, p. 250.

tical matters pertaining to Drumlane. Let us now resume its contemporary secular history.

A.U. 1449. Eogan, son of John Ua Raighilliagh, namely, king of the two Breifni, died this year about the feast of [St.] Patrick; to wit, a man that completely defended his territories against their neighbours. He died with victory of penance and was buried in the monastery of Cavan. Two kings were made in the Breifni against each other this year; to wit (1) Ferghal, son of Thomas Mor Ua Raighilligh, was made king by the Foreigners and by Domnall, son of John Ua Raighilligh, and (2) John, son of (Eogan) Ua Raighilligh, was made king by Ua Neill and by Mag Mathgamna and so on.

F.M. 1449. Owen, the son of John, Lord of the district called Muintir-Maelmora, died; and his son, John O'Reilly, was elected in his place by O'Neill and the sept of John O'Reilly; but Farrell O'Reilly (*i.e.*, the son of Thomas More) being elected by the sept of Mahon O'Reilly and by the English, war and disturbances arose between them [the candidates]. The Lord Justice and the Earl of Ormond came to assist Farrell O'Reilly; but John O'Reilly and his forces suddenly charged the van of their army, and slew or made prisoners of sixty of them, among whom were the son of Turlough and the son of Donnell Bane O'Reilly.

F.M. 1450. A peace was made by John, the son of Owen O'Reilly, and Donnell Bane O'Reilly, with each other; and Farrell, the son of Thomas [O'Reilly], was deposed of his lordship; and [the chieftainship of] all Breifny was conferred upon John, the son of Owen; and Farrell received wages from him.

These dissensions have a peculiar interest for us, since one of the King-makers was Donnell Bane O'Reilly (F.M.), or Domnal the Fair (A.U.) In a note to the F.M. 1340, O'Donovan describes the Bolgan as "a district near Belturbet . . . co-extensive with the parish of Drumlane. In the year 1454, Donnell Bane O'Reilly had the territory of Bolgan, alias Drumlahan, in the neighbourhood of Belturbet, for his appenage."

This name, he described, as being still well known in the country. As an alternative name for the parish, it is forgotten now, but there is still an O'Reilly family in the parish, whose members are called the "Bolegans."

That Donnell exercised considerable influence in the Breifny of his day, may be gathered from the attention paid him and his family by both the annals of the F.M. and the annals of Ulster.

His matrimonial connections, too, indicate the high place he occupied among the heads of neighbouring principalities. We have chronicled in the annals:—the deaths of his son, Owen, in 1452; his daughter, Una, wife of Maguire, in 1487; his

daughter-in-law, Una, daughter of Magauran, and the wife of his son, Failge, in 1505. Further on we shall make the acquaintance of his sons, Edmund and Farrell.

John evidently combined the gifts of strategy and diplomacy; by the former he out-manceuvred and defeated his rival, Farrell, on the battle-field; by the latter, he drew away the support of Donnell from him and had him deposed next year.

But the fortunes of war were to turn against John, whose fame had then spread far beyond Breifny—when he next crossed swords with the English.

A.U. 1460. Great defeat was inflicted on Ua Raighilligh by the Foreigners this year and there were slain in it, on the 3rd of the Nones [3rd] of September, Ua Raighilligh [namely, John] and Aedh Ua Raighilligh and Eogan Blind [eye], son of Mathgamain Mac Caba. And there came not since [the death of] Cathal Red-hand Ua Conchobhair a tale respecting a Connacain that was greater than that tale, namely, [respecting] John, son of Eogan, son of Philip, son of Gilla-Isa Ua Raighilligh the Red. And Ireland all was full of grief for that king of the two Breifni and the [bardic] bands and pilgrims and poor mendicants of Ireland were grieved after him and after his brother, namely, Aedh Ua Raighilligh.

Donnell died in 1454.

CAPTURE OF LOUGH OUGHTER CASTLE.

A.U. 1487. The fortress of Loch-uachtar was taken this year by the sons of Donnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, namely, Ferghal and Edmund. And Ferghal himself died this year, the Saturday before Christmas and was buried in Druim-lethan.

We are not here told who was the custodian of Lough Oughter Castle, from whom the resolute sons of Donnall wrested it. Our suspense, however, is relieved immediately by an incident recorded in the annals of 1488:—

A.U. 1488. Ua Raighilligh, namely, John, son of Toirdelbach, son of John Ua Raighilligh burned the town of Edmund, son of Donnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, this year after November Day.

The "town of Edmund" can be no other than Drumlane. The annals of Clonmacnoise, in 1391, talk of "the towne of Drumleachan"; and constant local traditions associates the place with a town. John O'Reilly, the Chief, came to Drumlane on a punitive expedition, to sack and *burn* the town manifestly to chastise Edmund for his and his brother's seizure of Clough Oughter Castle the year before. It is a fair supposition that John, or his father Turlough, who died in the September of that year, had possession of Clough Oughter in 1487, and that it was

from one of them the Castle was captured by the Drumlane O'Reillys. The fact that these families were at enmity does not lessen the probability of this inference, for John was the grandson of the John whose succession to the chieftainship was contested in the interests of Farrell O'Reilly by Donnell Bane, Edmund's father, in 1449.

John's death is recorded by the F.M. in 1491. He is there described as "a kind, bountiful and truly hospitable young man," who "died in the very beginning of his prosperity, and was interred in the monastery of Cavan." Five years later Edmund also died.

But the feud between these families lived on, as we can observe from the following:—

F.M. 1512. Failghe, the son of Maelmora O'Reilly, was slain at Drumlane by the sons of John, son of Owen, son of Donnell Bane, and James, the son of Turlough, son of Owen (O'Reilly).

Failghe's father, Maelmora, was nephew of the John who died in 1491, while his slayers were grandsons of Owen, brother to Edmund, John's rival.

THE FAMILY OF O'MAELMOCHEIRGHE.

What follows is the last reference in the annals to Drumlane:—

F.M. 1512. "Hugh O'Maelmocheirghe, Coarb of Drumlane, was drowned."

O'Maelmocheirghe—chief of early rising, or, fond of early rising—is a name long associated with Kilmore. Its modern equivalent is Early.*

The death of "Muircheartach Ua Maeilmocherghi, bishop of Ui-Briuin-Breifne" in 1149, is registered in both the *Chronicon Scotorum* and the F.M., the latter styling him a "noble bishop" and a "noble senior." This is the earliest reference in the F.M. to a bishop of Ui-Briuin-Breifne, Tir-Briuin, Triburna, or Kilmore.

The *Papal Registers* of 1414 record the appointment of John O'Mulmochori, of the diocese of Kilmore, who was not in holy orders, as Papal Notary.

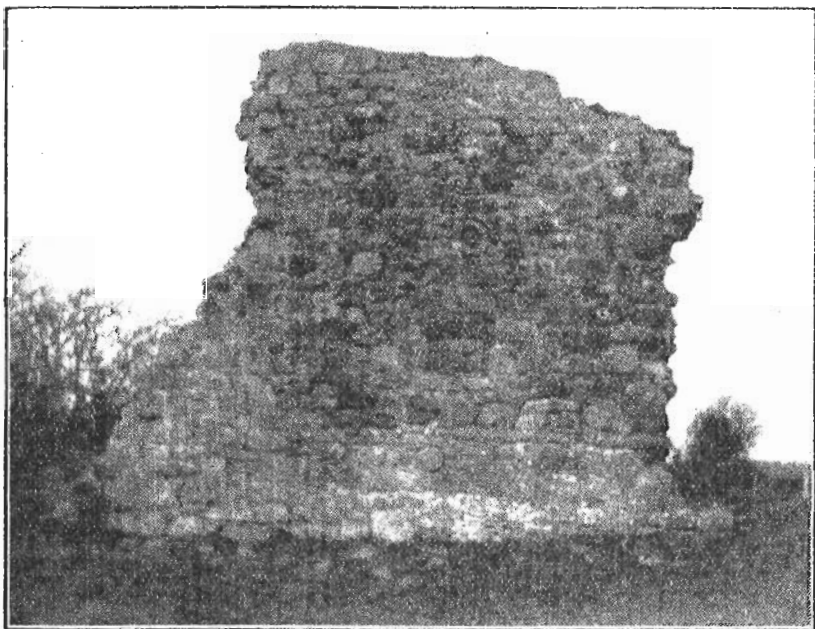
Bearers of this name frequently appear in the Annals of Ulster as rectors or vicars of the parishes of Outeragh and Drumreilly.

In 1512 Pope Julius the II issued a Bull commanding the Bishop of Meath, and the Dean and Archdeacon of Kilmore, to review a decision given at the Synod of Ardee by the Bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh, in favour of Thomas Brady's claim to the See of Kilmore and against that made to the same See by the Prior of Drumlane, Cormac Magauran (F.M.) or Magurrrayn

* O'Donovan, F.M., 1512, note; Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, p 610.

(Reg. Jul. II). If they are satisfied with the justice of this sentence, they are to cause it, by apostolic authority, to be firmly observed, and no appeal to be permitted.*

Thomas Brady died in 1511. The F.M. describe him as "Bishop and Erenagh of the two Breifnys during a period of thirty years; the only dignitary whom the English and Irish obeyed; a paragon of wisdom and piety; a luminous lamp that enlightened the laity and clergy by instruction and preaching; and a faithful shepherd of the Church, etc." He was in his sixty-seventh year and died at Dromahair, whither he had gone to consecrate a church.



ALL THAT NOW REMAINS OF DRUMLANE ABBEY.

The F.M. are very guarded in recording Cormac's death in the same year. "Cormac Magauran, who was called Bishop in Breifny, died before Christmas," they say.

From the proceedings given above, this date can hardly be accepted as the correct year of Cormac's death. News, however, travelled slowly in these days, and it is possible that his death was still unknown at Rome on the 2nd June following, when Julius issued the order above referred to.

* *Reg. Julius II.*, quoted in *Ann. Hib.*, p. 258.

† According to Harris's ed. of Ware's Bishops he succeeded to the Bishopric of Kilmore in 1489. This would leave him but 22 years.

LAST PAPAL REFERENCE TO DRUMLANE.

A mandate to confer the archdeaconry of Kilmore on Andrew MacBrady a Canon of Kilmore, under date July, 1538, is found addressed in the Register of Pope Paul III to the Abbot of Kells and the Prior of Drumlane. This, most probably, is the last published Roman document mentioning the Prior of Drumlane.

HENRY VIII'S CONFISCATIONS.

Events are crowding in rapid succession, for we are now in the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.

George Brown, an Englishman, is appointed Archbishop of Dublin, in 1535, by Henry VIII. Next year, a Parliament is summoned to Dublin. This assembly declares Henry VIII to be the sole and supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland; all appeals to the Court of Rome, in spiritual causes, are prohibited, while any subject who maintains the supremacy of the Pope is to be apprehended and rendered subject to *præmunire*.

A ukase from Henry VIII, dated 7th April, 1539, addressed to John Allen, Chancellor, George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, etc., commands "the confiscation of the monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other places of religious or regulars in Ireland," with an instruction "to take charge for the king's use of the possessions of the said houses."*

This document leaves us in no doubt as to the reason for the long silence of Drumlane.

Yet, East Breifny had not been brought under the English yoke, till after the reign of Henry VIII.

That Breifny East, on the very frontiers of the Pale, should have maintained its independence for 400 years after the Norman invasion, deserves particular notice. It speaks volumes for its leaders, who, now by diplomacy, now by force, kept the hosts of the English at bay.

So, some breathing space was granted the Augustinians, before the final debacle; but it was only the calm before the storm.

Portents foreshadowing evil were not wanting, as when Hugh and Edmund O'Reilly had to sign a humiliating indenture, presented to them by the English, at Lough Sheelin, in November, 1567, in which, among other undertakings, they had to promise to punish "with fire and sword" their own brothers—whom the English regarded as rebels.†

THE CONFISCATION OF DRUMLANE.

Queen Elizabeth writes to her ministers in Ireland, on February 28th, 1568, stating that Hugh O'Reilly, "being notoriously by

* Statutes 27th and 28th, Henry VIII. The Statutes of *Præmunire*, enacted in 1353, forbade "all subjects . . . to plead in a foreign court in matter which the King's Court could decide" (*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. V, p. 322).

† O'Donovan, F.M., 1583, note.

age and sickness unable to repair to court," has surrendered his estates, by the agency of his son, John, at Hampton Court.*

Seeing that Hugh's father was only a few years dead, and that Hugh himself survived this date for 15 years, the "age and sickness" plea cannot be accepted without some reserve. We can easily imagine that Hugh showed no undue anxiety to relinquish the patrimony of his ancestors.

His son, John, desired to placate England, and attain the chieftainship after his father's death. John's uncle, Edmund of Kilnacrott, being Tanist, would succeed Hugh by Brehon Law; but English law, John well knew, would secure him the dignity, as it did later. Hence John's hasty submission at Hampton Court.

This submission had an important bearing on St. Mary's, Drumlane.

Fiant of Elizabeth, dated 1st Feb., 1570, runs as follows:—

Lease under Commission, 26th Sept. to Hugh O'Reyly, of the Brennye, Chief of his nation; of the site of the monastery of the Holy Trinity of Canons in the isle of the Holye Trynytie in Loughoughter in O'Reyly's country called the Breny, 4 parcels of land called Polle Drumore, Polle in Yllane and Dyrre, Polle Snavelagher, Drumore alias Drumorore, and their tithes; the site of Canons of the B.V.M. of Drumlahan in O'Reyly's country in the Breny, 8 polles of land near Drumlahan, viz., Polle Dyrremehill, Polle Ardonan, Polle Drumlean, Dyrkyrekhan, Polle Nahowrye, Polle Drunghes, and the two polles called Kylecranneghe; the rectories of Kylshanra (Killeshandra) alias Tullaghconkhoreighter [Tullyhunco Lower] and Bolgan alias Drumlahan, and the tithes of the eight polles, each poll containing by estimation 30 acres arable and 20 pasture and mountain. To hold for 21 years; rent 56/8 for the monastery of the Trynytie, and £8 14s. 8d. for Drumlahan, maintaining 2 horsemen, not to alien without license except to persons of the English nation and not to charge coyne.

Archdall tells us that by an Inquisition in the 27th year of Elizabeth, or 14 years after the above grant was made to Hugh, it was found that he had paid only one half-year's rent. This is significant, and I think that a comparison of the *Fiant* and the 1584 Inquisition makes it clear, almost certain, that the suppression of Trinity and Drumlane took place at a date not later than 1570.

Let us attempt to reconstruct what probably happened.

From 1568 East Breifny comes under the direct government of Dublin Castle. Elizabeth's agents lose no time in dissolving its monastic institutions. Hugh O'Reilly, the Chief of his clan—

* Calendar of State Papers—Elizabeth.

though the title seems a hollow one now—the most influential potentate in Breifny, rents Trinity, Drumlane, and the rectories listed above, with a view to a continuance there or the return of the Canons, to pursue, under his protection, their usual sacred ministrations.

Having paid one half-year's rent, he ceases to pay any further instalments, because he now recognises that his efforts to save the Augustinians are futile, that *delenda est Carthago* is the sentence.

Hugh Conallagh O'Reilly died in 1583. He was called "Conallagh" because he had been fostered in Tir-Connal. He and some members of his family were great builders. Hugh built Ballinacargy Castle and also Castle Tairbert at Belturbert, which occupied a different site to the castle built there later by the English. His son, Maelmora, built a castle at Kevitt, Crossdoney, and Philip, a son of Maelmora, built, in 1639, a castle at Lismore.*

The disillusioned John, according to the report of a Commission sitting in Cavan in 1606 "departed from his allegiance . . . and traitorously adhered to Hugh, Earl of Tirone and other traitors, and died a rebel at Cavan, 1 June, 38th Eliz." (1595).

Brehon Law came into its own again for a short space, and Edmund, the Tanist, became chief in 1598. He was slain, as the English Commissioners put it, "in rebellion" at Cavan, in 1600.

In these circumstances, it is possible that the work of the Priory may have been re-established and that the survivors of the Canons Regular returned and led there a more or less furtive existence.

Drumlane Parish, not being planted to the same extent as surrounding parishes, its people would shelter and support them.

But if they returned, their stay was not for long.

Thus, the fires of Drumlane were quenched, never to blaze again. The venerable Round Tower, around which flourished industry, hospitality, and piety, in field and fane, now stands sentry over the dead, as silent as the various generations that, from age to age, gave life and activity to Drumlane, sleep their long sleep underneath.

I owe a debt of thanks to the Rev. J. B. Meehan, P.P., Killinkere, for the use of valuable books of reference from his extensive Library; to the Rev. T. J. Bradley, C.C., Drumlane, for photographs of the Round Tower, Church and Abbey; to Messrs. Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., Clonmel; P. J. O'Connor, the National Library, and R. V. Walker, M.A., Clones, for useful quotations.

PATRICK O'REILLY, C.C.

* O'Donovan, *Cavan Letters*, pp. 167, 168.

LOUGH GOWNA.

By THOMAS O'REILLY.

[Read 26th March, 1925.]

Lough Gowna occupies an area of some 5,000 acres among the picturesque valleys bordering the counties of Cavan and Longford. The surrounding scenery is remarkably beautiful and captivating. Its waters wind for many miles in most fantastic loops among the wooded hills, occasionally enclosing islands both of surpassing beauty and of great historic interest.

Carnagh (probably *Cearnach*, invincible or impregnable stronghold), once a place of note, was visited by St. Patrick. Many objects of antiquarian interest have recently been unearthed here.

Innishmore or St. Columbkille's Island in Lough Gowna appears to have been in former times a place of much repute. It contained two religious establishments, one founded by St. Ciaran, the other by St. Columbkille. The latter seems to have been very wealthy, for its stores excited the cupidity of the Danes and induced them to undertake an expedition entailing fearful risks and hardships in the hope of securing the treasures it contained. Its ruins are worthy of antiquarian attention.

This beautiful lake is in reality artificial, not formed as lakes usually are, but as a means suggested by the grim determination of an ancient people to hold at bay the superior forces of a victorious and on-coming invader.

I was led to discover this fact from information given me by the late Bernard Murray, of Portanure, of the existence of a submerged road leading from Portanure to County Longford opposite. On it he found a remarkably heavy bronze spear, which was sold with others to the late Dr. Moran, Head Inspector National Schools. There is a gap in this road near the middle of the lake, through which a river evidently flowed. The spear would be lost during the defence of the bridge at this point. That it had not been removed was owing to sudden inundation of the valley during the progress of the battle.

That the whole district surrounding L. Gowna, and including the lake itself, is the site of one of Ireland's ancient battle-fields* is evident from the copious finds all over it of ancient weapons of the bronze and stone ages, of numerous objects of

* See this *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 340 *infra*,

gold, and from the number of dolmens or ancient tombs still remaining there. Of the latter, two at Loughduff,* surrounded by cists some containing urns, have their openings or doors placed one towards the south, the other towards the north; the former, I take it, the grave of an Ulster, the latter that of an anti-Ulster leader. Others exist two miles farther north, and some on the Longford border.

During the Erne Drainage, in or about 1859, a great find was come upon in the district. It is worth telling about. John Reilly, of The Derries, discovered in the bed of the river, between that townland and Carnagh, 51 bronze battle axes, a thin crown of gold, and a gold chain having three balls of gold, each as large as a marble, attached at intervals. It was the summer time when the water is lowest, and John was one of a half-score workmen engaged in clearing and sinking the river bed. On levelling a little mound right in the centre of the stream his spade struck something which glittered. It was coming on to dinner time. He threw down his spade and put on his coat. "The dinner is ready," he sung out, "I hear her calling us." They all followed. But on reaching the house two fields away he quietly slipped out again by the back door, got an old sack, and returned to the mound. A Mr. Sheridan who lived on the opposite side of the river came down to know what was he at, and seeing the yellow pile asked for some of it. John protested about "parting with his luck," but in the end threw him the gold crown. It was the lightest and, he thought, the least valuable of the objects. The rest he carried off in the sack which he hurriedly left with a reliable neighbour for safe keeping. Then he made tracks back to the mound. But by then the dinner was over and the workmen had returned. Suspecting that they had been tricked and that something of value had been found they plunged their shovels into the bottom of the river and filled the water with mud. John got no more.

Believing his treasure to be bars of gold—in reality they were bronze battle axes—he entrusted the sale of it, including the gold chain, minus one ball, to a cousin of his, a dealer who lived in Granard. The dealer brought them up to Dublin and disposed of them, assuring John on his coming back they were all brass. All John received for them was £8. The third ball which he had detached from the chain John showed to jewellers in both Granard and Cavan. They pronounced it gold, and gold it certainly was. But by then the treasure was sold. John kept the ball in his possession until a short time before his death which happened a few years ago. The writer often saw it, and listened to John's laments.

Some carved bone articles for household use were discovered

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 353.

on the island in Carnagh Lake, a little lower down stream. A bronze pot or cauldron was also found on the Lisney shore of L. Gowna and a gold chain at Sallaghan ford. These were presented to the late Baron Hughes, the landlord of the place.

A bronze spear-head, about two feet in length—a narrow two-edged blade—was found near the railway bridge at Carnagh, about 1900. Dr. Moran, already mentioned, acquired this also. Many stone celts and oaken clubs, formidable heavy weapons, have been found in the Loughduff area.

The name L. Gowna is accounted for by a legend.

THE LOUGH GOWNA LEGEND.

There was an enchanted well at Port-a-wauher (Porth of the road, near Granard) which supplied pure wholesome water to the inhabitants of the fertile district all round. This fountain was covered by a close-fitting flagstone, and it was of the utmost importance that the cover should be secured again in its place immediately after the supply of water had been drawn out. Otherwise an evil spirit would come forth and drown the whole country. At length a giddy young woman came to this well to draw water, who being engrossed in thoughts of her love affairs forgot to replace the flag which covered the well. The evil spirit, in the form of a calf, came forth from the well followed by a torrent of rushing water, and pursued her down the valley. The terrified lady ran hither and thither round the hills, backwards and forwards, in her efforts to escape. But all to no purpose. The calf kept close to her heels. At Rossduff, near Arva, a man who was mowing in a meadow ran meeting her and cut the two legs from under her. Thereupon the calf went down into the earth, but the flood remained. The lake thus formed was named Lough Gowna, *i.e.*, "Lake of the Calf."

In this allegory the fountain of pure water seems to typify Virtue from which all derive inspiration for the ennobling of their lives. It needs to be guarded. The erring female was a queen or great lady whose neglect of the duty of guarding her honour raised the Evil Spirit and caused a war which threatened the destruction of the whole country, but which ended on her death by violence.

Probably the celebrated Queen Maebh was the delinquent. She left her husband Conor for Fergus MacRoy. In the war which followed, the latter was driven out of Ulster. He fled with Maebh to Connaught. Maebh, who possessed great wealth, afterwards married Olioll, king of that country, and by the aid of her new husband's forces made an attack on Conor's dominions in Ulster. At length Olioll was killed by Conall Cearnach and Maebh by Conor's son. The war thus ended was much celebrated in story.

The deaths of Olioll and of Conall are typified in the legend of

THE CATS OF CROGHAN.

The cats of Connaught used to assemble periodically in secret meeting in the Rath of Croghan. The hero Conall determined to learn the purpose of their deliberations, so he concealed himself in the fort during their absence. On their return they set guards around the fort and instituted a strict search all over the place but failed to notice anything amiss. Conall heard the Master Cat allude to himself as a person dangerous to them all and advised them to put him to death. This was agreed to. Conall seizing an opportunity killed the Master Cat and fled towards his home pursued by the vengeful rout. He swam the Shannon and escaped, as cats cannot swim. On reaching his home he was joyfully received by his family; but when he proudly related how he had killed the Master Cat of Croghan an old bedraggled cat called Sheevra Gurtach—Sheegra in some districts—sprang at him from the ash corner of the hearth, and fastening its nails in his throat and in his flesh could not be made let go its hold till it had killed him.

I believe these and most Irish legends are allegories. In figurative language they depict historical tragedies, and were made use of in the schools of ancient Ireland as most effective means for inculcating historical knowledge. Note the legend depicted on the cross of Banagher which typifies a well-known historical fact.

On 23 Dec., 1920, I discovered between the townlands of Enaghan and Rossduff the bed of the old river and the dam by which the inundation of the Gowna valley was effected. Below this dam the level of the old river bed is 24 feet lower than the surface of the lake above. The course of the old river ran down the valley west of Arvagh to the Co. Leitrim border, thence to the Shannon as shown on Ptolemy's map.

The enormous pressure of the impounded waters caused a breach in the Esker near the present Camagh Bridge, through which the waters of the large lake shown on Ptolemy's map and of L. Sheelin passed into the Inny, the former lake shrinking to a pool.

While making investigations for the late W. De V. Kane (who has proved that the "Black' Pig's Race" marks the different boundaries of ancient Ulster) I traced a section of that legendary landmark from Ballinamuck to Rossduff on L. Gowna. I am convinced the line was continued up the Gowna valley to the Duncla rampart near Granard, and that it was the forcing of that line of defence by the Connaught army that suggested the desperate expedient of drowning a whole district.

The original valleys now covered by the waters of L. Gowna could be restored by opening up the bed of the old river for a distance of half a mile, along the townlands of Enaghan and Rossduff.

I believe the Gowna Dam was constructed as early as the birth of Christ, as King Conor died A.D. 33, that the name of the engineer was Dubh Maon, said to have been a son to Conall Cearnach. The lake thus formed would be called Loch-Dhubh-Mhaoin, pronounced L. Gooin.

Dubh Maoin, *i.e.*, Black Maon, who resided at Tullach Mhaoin (Tullyvin, near Cootehill), was ancestor of the Mac Gowan's (Smyth's). Black Maon was probably the Black Pig of the legend under whose supervision the defences of Ulster were constructed. As a teacher of engineering he would be considered a schoolmaster, as the legend designates him. As a strategist few ever excelled him, whilst his fame, passing into the legend of the country, has survived through a period of two thousands years.

THOMAS O'REILLY,
Loughduff.



BAILIEBORO' IN THE DISTANCE.

BREIFNE BEFORE THE UI-BRIUIN.

(PART III.)

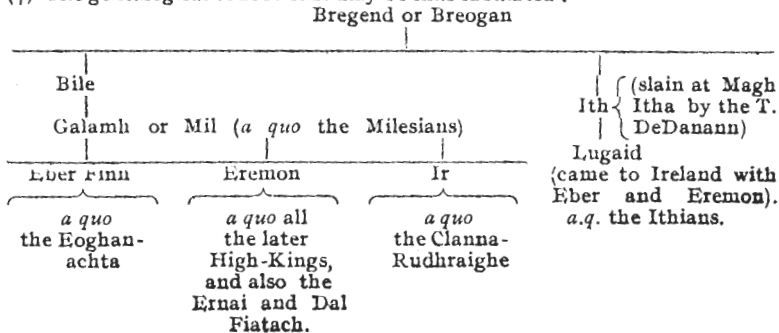
By JOHN P. DALTON, M.R.I.A.

The traditional history of Ireland traces down every royal stock of the Gaels from two eponymous ancestors, and two only, the majestic Mil, or Golamh, and his uncle Ith. According to the orthodox portraiture of our proto-history, Ith was the brother of Bile, both being sons of Bregend—from whose watch-tower near Corúna Ith first espied the island that was destined to be the permanent home of Bregend's seed ; and the posterity of the nephew were naturally distinguished from the posterity of the uncle as Milesians and Ithians respectively. But the Ithians were no less genuine Gaels than the Milesians, for Bregend, the father of Ith and Bile, was a direct descendant, in the eighteenth generation, of Gaedhal Glas, the grandson of Fenius Farsaidh, which Fenius was one of the three chief-directors "who were at the building of Nimrod's tower" (of Babel)*.

The so-called Milesians all issued, in scores of ramifications, from three of Mil's sons, Eber Finn, Eremon and Ir or Hir. In the conventional pedigrees of Keating, O'Flaherty, and MacFirbis (†) the Eoghanachta are traced to Eber Finn, through Duach Dalta Degaidh and Niadh Segamhain, while the Ernai are affiliated with Eremon through Oilill Erann and Ugaine Mor. The Ernai would thus have been a collateral branch of the stocks of Cahirmore—father of Daire Barrach—and of Con Ced-Cathach, whose descendents eventually wrested from all other competitors the paramount dignity of ardrighship.

(*) *L. Gabhala*, p. 192.

(†) The genealogical connections may be thus tabulated :



The Clanna Rudhraighe are traced to Ir, through Rudhraighe Mor, Airgedmar, and Ollamh Fodla. In other words they are assigned a descent which admits them to the order of Milesians, but excludes them from the rank of Eremonians. The Ithian Gaels were neither Eremonians nor Milesians, and they sank into comparative insignificance after the death of Lugaid MacCon, whose three years' tenure of the sceptre of Tara ended about 253 A.D. (*) Of the descendants of Ith who survived in mediæval times the chief families were the Ui-Edersceoil (O'Driscolls) of Ross diocese in Cork, and the Mag Fhlannchadha (MacClanchys) of Dartry, or Rossclougher, in Breifne (†).

Such, in broad outline, is the scheme of Gaelic family origins that has been standardised, not by reason of any provable excellence in the character of its intrinsic reliability, but because it has had the good fortune of being favoured, while the more reputable traditions were neglected, with the widest and most influential circulation in manuscript and print. In the Book of Ballymote (‡) we read: "The Airgialla: Dal Araidi to the east of these, another name for them is Cruithnigh. The Ulaid to the east of these. These Ulaid, Dal Fiatach they are called, of the posterity of Cu Rui son of Daire son of Dedu from Cu Rui's fifth in Munster, thence is their origin, this Dal Fiatach *qui et Ulaid hodie dicuntur.*" (§) If the writer of this record is correct in evolving the Ulaid and Dal Fiatach from the Munster Ernai it will follow that the lineage charts which differentiate the pair of stocks into Eremonians and Irians must be radically at fault. The next sentence of the Ballymote text, which, if not written by the author of the same statement, must have been interpolated by the transcriber as an emendation, tells: "The true Ulaid, however, are Dal Araidi In Conall Cernach they originate." (||)

If the Dal n-Araide sprang from Conall Cernach, and if the appellative Dal n-Araide was synonymous with Cruithnigh, then the Irian chieftain Conall Cernach, father of Irial Glummhar, must have been a Cruithnech, or Briton. (¶) **But the Book of**

(*) *Ogygia*, pp. 327-331. Keating (II, 282) and the P. Masters (*sub. anno* 225 A.D.) extend Lugaid's reign to 30 years.

(†) See the Genealogy of *Corca Laidhe*, ed. by O'Donovan, in *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

(‡) Facsimile, p. 170 (b). I take the English rendering from MacNeill's *Early Irish Population Groups*, p. 96.

(§) *Opus citatum*, p. 96.

(||) MacNeill, *op. cit.* p. 97.

(¶) Being here on the brink of the Cruithnigh, or "Pictish," question—whose bottom has never yet been satisfactorily sounded—I shall at present confine myself to affirming the only proposition we can really be certain of, viz.—that *Cruithnigh* is the Gaelic equivalent of *Britanni*, or *Britanni*. From the extant data little more can be inferred as to the antecedents of our Irish Cruithnigh than that they were immigrant folk-groups who came to Ireland *via* Britain.

Lecan, (*) in a passage which O'Flaherty faithfully reproduces in Latin attire, (†) derives the Dal n-Araidhe from Fiacha Araidhe, a descendant in the thirteenth generation of Irial Glunmhar, and tells that they owed the alternative name Cruithnigh to the fact that Irial's mother, or Conall Cearnach's wife, was a daughter "of Eochaidh Ecbheoil of the Cruithnigh of Alba." On this evidence the Cruithnigh of Dalaradia in Ulster are seen to have issued from Curoi's "fifth," that is from the ranks of the Ernai of Munster; while at the same time the entangled Ernai and Ulaid are convicted of being neither Irians nor Eremonians, but British aliens from Alba.

Again, the Glossary known as O'Mulconry's, (‡) after explaining, "The Eraind, that is the Fir Erainn, for it is they who first appropriated a moiety of Erin," states that they were also known as "the Darfhine, that is the people (or descendants) of Daire Doimthech, son of Ith, son of Bile, son of Bregend"; that they had yet another name, viz., Tuatha Ier; that "of them was Eterscel, of the seed of Ier, and Conaire and Curoi"; and that they supplied kings to Munster before the time of the Eoghacht. The Book of Leinster pedigrees are in partial agreement with this testimony, for they trace (§) the high-king Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, back through Conaire Mor and Eterscel to Iar, son of Ith, son of Bregend. This testimony vindicates for the Ernai their genealogical birthright as Gaels, but depresses them from Eremonians into Ithians.

If O'Curry's commendation of our genealogies as structures of sterling workmanship were merited confusions of the kind with which we are now beset could not possibly arise. These confusions have been imposed on us by a school of builders who looked more to the shapeliness of the architecture than to the security of the foundations.

The authorities which have been cited for making "the race of Conaire" an Ithian stock are not wholly at variance with the professorial pedigrees as retailed by O'Clery, MacFirbis, and Keating; for the names Deag and Daire recur again and again in the line of Ith, while the patronymic of Ith's senior representatives in the south—the O'Driscolls, or Ui-Edersceoil, of Corca Laidhe—reflects the name of Conaire Mor's distinguished father. Our mediæval literature, too, supplies corroborative evidence

(*) Folios 140, 141.

(†) *Ogygia*, p. 190.

(‡) The title of this Glossary, though seemingly suggested by O'Curry, is a misnomer; for John O'Mulconry, the supposed author, lived in the late 16th century, while the grammatical forms used by the compiler of the Glossary have been shown by W. Stokes (*Archiv. fur Celt. Lexic.* 1, p. 232 etc.) to belong to 13th or 14th Century Irish. The O'Mulconry in question was the author of the fine ode to Brian na Murtha O'Rourke which has been published in Hardiman's *Minstrelsy* (Vol. II. pp. 286-304)

(§) Facsimile Copy, p. 324.

of this racial identity. The royal cemetery of the Clann Degaidh was Temair Erann ;(*) and the Dindsenchus poem on Cenn Febrat enumerates among the notabilities whose grave-mounds were to be seen at Temair Erann not alone "Garban, son of keen Dedad," but also Lugaid Laigde, the progenor of the Corca Laigde and of their offshoots the MacClanchys, as well as an unnamed lady who was the wife of Lugaid's father, Daire.(†) A still more helpful witness on the same side is the *Coir Anmann* etymologist who accounts for the folk-names Dairini and Dairfhine ; for in endeavouring to sunder the Clann Degaid and the Ithians he is driven to the shift of manufacturing two separate stocks of Dairini. His explanation is : " Dair-fine, the people of Daire, son of Degad are they. And the children of Daire son of Degad are not more properly called Darfine than the children of Daire Dointhech, for those are another Dairfine."(‡)

We have here an illuminating example of the straits to which Gaelic interpreters of our early history were reduced by the duplication—sometimes repeated again and again—of eponymous symbols like Lugaid, Ir, Daire, and many more that might be specified. Those names were imported into the country by the La Tène invaders, probably not earlier than the first century B.C. When Mil was set up at the head of a genealogical system extending over nulleniums it became necessary to project back in shadow an Eber, an Ir, a Lugaid, a Daire, as well as other ancestors of the immigrant tribes, and to group the likenessness together on the plan of a single, homogeneous family cluster.

The Daire Dointhech of the *Coir Anmann* is the same personage as Daire Sircreachtach of the Corca Laighde historians, who vouch that this terrible depredator and vanquisher " obtained sway over all the west of Europe." " Some of the learned say," they add, " that he won the whole world." (§) The Dartry MacClanchys took their territorial name from a Daire Dart, who stands 20 generations below the ancestral Daire in the Ithian genealogies.(||) Daire Dart, it may be added, was the grandfather of Flannchadh, from whom the MacFlannchadhas, or MacClanchys, derived their family name. Even without troubling to brush aside the spurious " Mil " and his pseudo-sons, we are justified by the contradictions and admissions of the profoundest Gaelic genealogists to recognise in the Ernai, the Ulaid, and the

(*) See *Senchas na Ríle* in Petrie's *Romul Towers*, p. 101.

(†) Todd Lectures, Vol. x, pp. 226 *et. seq.*

(‡) *Irische Texte*, III., 317.

(§) *Genealogy of Corca Laighde*, pp. 4, 5. This individual, who really corresponds to Curoi's father, is called *Daire Prædabundus* (the Plunderer) by O'Flaherty.

(||) See MacFirbis, p. 678. In mediæval times the MacFlannchadha chief ruled from an island fortress in Lake Melvin. The Dartraighe *tuath*, like that of the Calraighe of Lough Gill—who were of the same Ithian stock—got absorbed at an early date into the West-Breifne kingdom of the Ui-Briuin O'Rourke.

so-called Ithians of Corca Laighe, three separate branches of one and the same racial stock ; and, that being so, the association of the Ithian Dartraighe, or MacClanchys, with Breifne during the annalistic period of our history becomes readily intelligible, for the MacClanchys of Rossclogher are thus shown to have been an outlying remnant of Ptolemy's Erdini, whose forefathers evaded the clearances of Colla Da-Crioch.(*). The Ithians of Munster appear in Keating as Dairfhine, and are assigned coequal rights to the provincial kingship with the Dergthine, the fictitious pre-Eoghanacht "Ebherians." These Dairfhine, there can be little doubt, were a southern colony of the Darini, whom Ptolemy locates in the Co. Down, in close juxtaposition with the Voluntii, or Fir-Ulaid.

The Leabhar Gabhala ("Book of Seizures") virtually ignores the golden age of the Ernai and the Ulaid, the age from whose life flowed the inspiration of our earliest literature. But some poetical fragments have come through from pre-Gaelic times, which bespeak for the Ernai a title to honoured remembrance in Erin. The Briinna, or Vision, of Ferchertne, who was the bard of Curoi MacDaire, recites :

"The Eraind seized Erin, numerous were their families,
They seized a province without mishap as far as Usnech in
Meath."(†)

Though uttered in rhapsody, the statement of Ferchertne is most probably true to fact. The oldest of our national documents is undoubtedly the text of the *Senchus Mor*, or Brehon Laws ; and the accompanying commentaries are likewise acknowledged to be of respectable age. Elucidating the Law of Distress the Commentator asks : "For what crime was this distress taken, and who took it, and who pronounced judgment upon it ?" And he begins his answer with the statement : "There were three principal races in Erin, The Feini, the Ulaid, and the Galeoin."(‡)

Again, either he or another expositor inquires :

"What was the crime for which the first distress was taken ; who took it, and who first pronounced sentence respecting it ?"

The reply is, in part : "Sen, son of Aighe, pronounced the first decision respecting this distress at the territorial meeting held by the three races who were then in this island, *i.e.*, the Feini, the Ulaid and the Laighin."(§)

(*). No credit is to be attached to the account of the Breifne Dartraighe given in the late life of St. Molaise of Devenish (See *Silva Gadulica*, II., pp.18-34), which was evidently written by an *alumnus* of St. Molaise's monastery, who had no liking for the Dartraighe. There the Dartraighe are said to have been expelled from Munster, as a body of incorrigible malefactors, by the Eoghanacht kings of Cashel (St. Molaise himself was of this princely line), and to have come north as a nomad gang of banditti, leading a life of vagabondage until they reached their destination.

(†) This poem has been published, with a translation, by Kuno Meyer, in *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* III., pp. 41 *et seq.*

(‡) *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 11.

(§) *Ibidem* p. 79.

The text further affirms :

"Sean, son of Aighe, passed the first judgment respecting distress at a territorial meeting held by the three noble tribes who divided this island ;" and the commentary thereupon explains :

"At a territorial meeting held by the three noble tribes, *i.e.*, to divide it (Erin) into provinces, *i.e.*, at the meeting held between the noble tribes, *i.e.*, the Ulaid, and the Feine of Temhair, and the Ernai-Dedadh ; or they were the Ulaid, and the Galeoin, and the Ernai, *i.e.* in the territory, at the great meeting at Uisnech in Meath."(*)

Here we have, perhaps, the oldest extant lists of the ruling peoples of ancient Ireland ; and among them no "sons of Mil," no Ebherians, no Eremonians, no Gaels, *eo nomine*, are to be seen. The first case of distress is alleged, in the text, to have arisen out of the stealing of three white cows from "Mogh, son of Nuadhat," which Mogh is surmised by a commentator to have been "the steward-bailiff of Conn Ced-Cathach."(†) It will be noted that the three specifications of Erin's royal tribes here set out, though formulated by professorial jurists of a very remote past, do not agree in details, and that one of them is patently conjectural. We are well informed as to the identity of the "Five Bloods" of mediæval Ireland ; but as to who precisely were the three noble breeds of proto-historic Ireland we are left in discomfiting doubt. The legal authorities of pre-Norman Ireland evidently held different opinions on the question ; but it is likewise clear that, while the Ernai may legitimately be reckoned among the ruling stocks of the iron-armed colonisers, the Ebherian and Eremonian orders of nobility cannot have been instituted before, or for some appreciable interval of time after, the revision of the *Senchus Mor* during the reign of King Laogaire.

Ulaid and Clanna Rudhraighe are convertible terms ; and so, too, are Laighin and Gaileoin.(‡) In the *Leabhar Gabhala* the Gaileoin come to view as "the people of Slainghe ;" while *Clanna Rudhraighe* means literally the children, or people, of Rudhraighe. It looks in fact, as if the royal tribes of ancient Ireland were ultimately the associated followers of the five captains who according to the *Leabhar Gabhala*, organised the Fir Bolg invasion, that is, Slainghe, Rudhraighe, Sengann, Gann and Genann. In that document the hosts of Genann and Rudhraighe are collectively named the Fir Domhmann ; "but it is correct," says the writer, "to call them all Fir Bolg in general." (§)

(*) *Ibidem* p. 81.

(†) *Ibidem* p. 65.

(‡) In one Manuscript of the *Senchus Mor Galeoin* is glossed *Laighin* (*Ibid.* p. 70). The Laighin were the later army of Gaileoin whom the historians bring in as the hirelings of Labraid Loingsech.

(§) *L. Gabhala* p. 119.

Thus the Fir Domhnann, or "men of Domnu,"(*) though not mentioned as such, are doubly provided for in the land-charters of commentators on the law tracts. With the Ernai, or Ernai-Dedad, we have already become well acquainted ; but who were the cryptic Feini of Temhair. In a distich of Maelmura's poem the question is thus answered :

"Feni, from Fenius they are called,
Unobscured is their fame :
Gaedhil from Gaedheal Glas they are called,
Scoti from Scota."(†)

The age of the versifier was the ninth century ; but we may infer that long before his day the name *Gael*, like Scoti, had become current as a synonym for Feini.(‡) My immediate business here is with the Ernai ; and I must, therefore, beware of the temptation to turn out the Feini on full parade. But I shall venture, nevertheless, to affirm that of the two names, Fenius and Feini, that loom so large in our old *Senchus*, Feini had the prior existence.

The identity of the Feini may not be free from doubt ; but there can be no uncertainty about the reality of the people so named, or about the political prominence of that people in early Ireland. It was in their language, the Berla Feini, the Brehon Law tracts were indited.(§) To the tribes of the Feini, St. Fiach of Sleibte has testified, St. Patrick preached Christ's Gospel for the space of three score years.(||) In the *Tain Bo Gualnge* Cuchulainn addresses his uncle (or grandfather) Conor MacNessa as *ri Féne*, that is "king of the Feini."(¶) Neither the existence of the Feini, therefore, nor their importance as a constituent factor of the old-Irish nation, can be called in question. But the Latins, or Latini, were not a less real people ; and from the *Latini* Roman antiquaries, eager to build up for their race the reputation of being one of the oldest populations of Italy, evolved an imaginary *Rex Latinus*.(°)

Greek and Roman historians, even when uninfluenced by

(*) *Domnann* is the genitive of the personal name *Domnu*. (See Holder's *Sprachschatz sub. voce*). Mac Firis (p. 48) writes *Tuath Domhnann*.

(†) See Todd's *Irish Nennius*, p. 231. The race-name Scoti, used to denote raiders from Ireland, comes into view for the first time in the fourth century, in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian and St. Jerome.

(‡) Profr. MacNeill suggests (Proc. R.I.A. XXXVI., C. 16, p. 267) that 'Goidil was a byname, which came into use at a relatively late time, and that it was probably adopted from Cymri, as Scotti was adopted from Gallo-Latin.' The difficulty about this view is that neither men, nor nations, are willing to adopt derivative nick-names applied to them by others.

(§) See *Senchus Mor* III., 76.

(||) St. Fiach's Hymn, line 40.

(¶) Windisch's Edition, p. 133.

(°) See *Livy* Book I, Chap. I ; and *Virgil* Book XII.

motives of national pride, were much addicted to the use of verbal etymons as a method of accounting for the origin of peoples. Diodorus Siculus tells us that Heracles, while pursuing Geryon in the west, begot of a Gallic princess a son named Galate, and that from this individual the Galatae, or Celts, were descended. (*) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (†) in like manner, and after him Aethicus, (‡) made the Celtiberians the joint progeny of two brothers, Celtus and Iberus. According to Appian the Celts, the Illyrians and the Galates had for ancestors, respectively, Celtus, Illyrius and Galas, three sons whom Galatea bore to the Cyclops Polyphemus. (§)

After the introduction of Christianity into Ireland Latin literature was diligently studied in Irish Schools. Our native scholars of the sixth and seventh centuries may have only dabbled in Greek and Hebrew ; (||) but they were widely acquainted with the Roman historians and poets. Their well-beloved Virgil had derived the Latins, through Aeneas and Lavinia, from the hospitable king Latinus. Why then should we blame Virgil's imitators and admirers for tracing the Feini back to an eponymous Fenius ? In resorting to such practices our Gaelic *savants* only followed the example set by the most cultured writers of ancient or modern times.

Then, again, it was incumbent on the converted Gaels to establish for their institutions the claim to a Mosaic sanction ; and the claim was made good through the medium of the judge Cai Cainbrethach, who "had learned the law of Moses before he came from the east" (¶) Cai, moreover, was a disciple of Fenius ; and it was Cai's foster-son, Amergin Glungel, who "pronounced the first judgment in Erin." (°) I need hardly explain that Fenius, the progenitor of the old-Irish Feini, was son of Baath, grandson of Magog, and great-grandson of Japhet ; or that the same Fenius, through his son Nel or Niul—that most versatile linguist of antiquity who married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingeres—was grandfather of Gaedhal Glas. (∴)

(*) *Diod. Siculus* V. 24.

(†) Book XIV., chap. 3.

(‡) Commentary on Dionysius Periegesis, line 281.

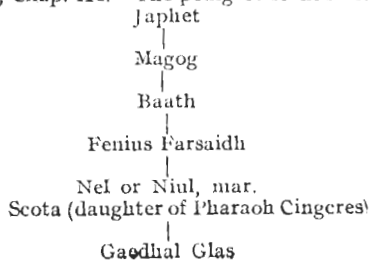
(§) *Illyrica*, chap. 1.

(||) See e.g. *Brehon Laws*, Vol. I, pp. 31. 33.

(¶) *Ibid.* p. 21 ;

(°) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(∴) See *L. Gabhala*, Chap. XI. The pedigree stands thus :



The Feini at the outset may have been a *race* (*) of expert spearmen who succeeded in capturing the lion's share of the war-prize when Ireland's confiscated surface was being apportioned by the victors. It is not unlikely that some of them clung to the hereditary profession of arms, and as Fianna still idolised it in the third century A.D. under the captaincy of Finn Mac-Cumhall. (†) At all events the original Feini were genuine men and women who ranked with the Gaileoin and the Ulaid as one of the three co-equal aristocracies of Ireland in long past times. Fenius, on the other hand, was a product of bardic fancy, as impregnated by the classical and scriptural scholarship of post-Patrician Ireland. But though Fenius is as much a simulacrum as Latinus or Celtus, it is neither impossible nor improbable that among the men who supplanted the Feini there may have been a naval commander whose exploits earned for him the sobriquet of Gaedhal.(‡) The Ernai, if I do not gravely mistake, were congeners of the Fir-Ulaid, or Clanna-Rudhraighe. In the herioc period—the period of Cuchulainn and of Curoi MacDaire—three races, and three only, counted in Ireland. The champions of the earliest epics belonged to the Clanna Rudhraighe, to the Ernai-Dedad, or to the Gamanraighe of the West; and the Gamanraighe were the premier branch of the Fir Domhann.(§)

Our epic literature thus points not less suggestively than the law tracts to the inference that the so-called Gaels came out of the bosom of the Belgæ-Germani colonisers who are grouped together by the Leabhar Gabhala under the collective name Fir Bolg. Of an invasion by the "sons of Mil," as distinct from the concerted expeditions of Slainghe, Rudhraighe, Genann and the two Ganns, no trustworthy mark is to be seen. A commentator on the Introduction to the Senchus Mor, writing presumably from one of the earliest versions of the Leabhar Gabhala, relates:

"Now, when the fleet of the sons of Miledh had come into Germany, *i.e.*, into the eastern part of it, after that thirty-six champions went in ships from their country, such was the fame and renown of that fleet, and united with the sons of Miledh, who

(*) For confirmatory evidence from old texts see *Fianaighect*, ed. by Kuno Meyer; Introd. p. VIII.

(†) See Meyer, *op. cit.*

(‡) The corresponding Cymric name, Gwyddel, is connected by Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, etc., pp. 57, 58) with the Welsh *gwy(n)d* and the Irish *goeth* or *gæth*, both meaning wind. The first Gaedhal might thus have been a "wind-and-weather" man—a viking "sea-dog" who, at the head of his fleet, revelled in the storm and the rolling wave. Certain lines of Claudian show that the Romans first knew our ancestors only as irrepressible sea-rovers: e.g.:

"Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne" (*De Cons. Hon.* 33); and "totam cum Scotus Iernen.

Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys." (*De Laud. Stilich.* II, 251).

(§) See *Ogygia*, pp. 175 and 269. O'Flaherty includes the Gamanraighe among the "Belgarum Reliquiæ."

promised them lands if they should themselves acquire a country. Having afterwards traversed the sea, the Gaedhil landed those champions who had set out from Thracia, by force in the country of the Cruithnigh, so that the Cruithnigh are descended from them."(*)

From this recital we learn that the sons of Mil, when on the look out for a country wherein they might settle, were joined in some part of the Baltic, or of the North Sea, by a little troop of champions from Thrace; that they landed these champions in Britain; and that from the men thus deposited issued the race of the Britons. But Cai—the pupil of Fenius, and the student who had learned the law personally from Moses—was “in the fleet which sailed from Thrace to meet his own people;” and after this “Cai was Brehon to the whole fleet.”(†) Such being the case the “sons of Mil,” or the Gaedhil, must have been contemporaries of Fenius and of Moses. Yet, in the roll of the Leabhar Gabhala, we find thirty generations intervening between Gaedhal Glas and Mil’s sons.(‡)

“The champions who had set out from Thracia” of the foregoing extract will correlate perfectly with the authentic history of the Celts; and “the fleet of the sons of Mil” which conveyed those champions from the shores of “Germany” to Britain will fit with hardly less precision into the legendary history of the Gael. One of the outstanding figures of our regnal lists is Ugaire Mor, an Eremonian high-king of such despotic power that, not alone was he able to divide all Ireland into twenty-five domains as lordships in perpetuity for his twenty-five children, but he likewise exacted an oath from the men of Erin binding themselves and their heirs for ever to acknowledgment of the dynastic succession as being the exclusive prerogative of his own house and seed. This king, we are informed, reigned over “the whole of the west of Europe as far as the Muir Toirrian” (the Mediterranean Sea), as well as over Ireland; (§) and in a qualified sense, perhaps, the statement may be admissible. Ugaire, like Daire Sircreachtach, not improbably typifies some naval Paladin whose barques rode the western main, from the Orkneys to the Straits of Gibraltar, seizing every opportunity to scourge coast lands and to capture trading vessels.

It is further told that Ugaire was “fostered” in the north by the Irian Queen, Macha, and her consort-uncle Cimbaoth. (||) Queen Macha it was who built Emain Macha, the ruling seat of

(*) *Ancient Laws*, I, p. 21.

(†) *Ibidem*, p. 23.

(‡) In Rudolf Thurneysen’s exhaustive analysis of our heroic tales (*Die Irische Helden und Königsage*) there is not a solitary mention of “Mil,” of “maic (mic) Miled,” or of “cland Miled.”

(§) *Four Masters*, A.M. 4606.

(||) *Op. cit.* A.M. 4546.

the Fir-Ulaid ; (*) while Cimbaoth, the grandson of Airgetmar, is the sovereign with whose reign, according to the Annalist Tigernach, opens the earliest chapter of Irish history to which any credit can be attached.(†) Many other examples might be given of Gaelic arch-regents who, like Ugaîne Mor, were reputed to have conquered and "ruled" dominions beyond the sea. Though these recitals cannot be accepted literally, it would be unwise to reject them absolutely, for they embody certain kernels of tradition which were naturally most dear to a sea-faring race. The Gaels came of a stock who loved the ocean wave, and who nowhere felt more at home than on the wild bosom of the deep. The spirit of the sea pulsed in their veins, and invigorated their blood, even in the age of Niall of the Nine Hostages and his nephew Dathi. The original "sons of Mil" were the sailor volunteers of the North Sea borderlands who obligingly placed their ships and their service at the disposal of landless companies of Celts and Germani who, having been forced to abandon Thrace and the Balkans, turned their faces towards Britain and Ireland.

But the Gaels, or rather the roving mariners from whom they sprang, having repeatedly viewed the fine harbours and rich pastures of Erin, conceived the natural desire to share in the ownership of the island. Coming in detached companies they would have been admitted at first, no doubt, by the older colonists as friends ; and in the light of such a probability the "fostering" of Ugaîne Mor by Queen Macha and Cimbaoth becomes specially significant. Although the new-comers would have endeavoured, in the sequel, to gain a footing in the country forcefully as enemies, nevertheless there is no sufficient ground for believing that they ever attempted a concerted invasion on a large scale. "They spread themselves," says Maelmura of Othan, "through Eri." "They made an alliance with the Fir Bolg and with the Clann Nemidh." Though Ugaîne Mor was fostered by Queen Macha the proud dynasty of the house of Airgetmar speedily got submerged in the phenomenal uprising of Ugaîne and his family.

The earliest mention of Eremon in our literary remains will be found in St. Fiach's biographical ode on St. Patrick, (‡) in a stanza which is not complimentary either to the progeny of himself or of his brother Éber. The word Eremon, like Miled, being strictly a genitive, the "meicc Erimon" of St. Fiach is appropriately translated by Stokes as "sons of Erem." Though

(*) Keating II, 154.

(†) "Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta sunt" Tigernach, B.C. 305. The date assigned to this event in O'Connor's edition of Tigernach (*Rev. Script. Hibern.* Vol. II) would bring us into the La Tène period of war weapons.

(‡) See *Tripartite Life*, p. 408.

Erem passes for a son of Mil by a peculiar inversion of their birth records, he takes precedence of his father in the order in which their respective names emerge in literature. Erem, or Eremon, according to the Coir Anmann was also called Gede Ollgothach. (*) The professional historians and genealogists place Gede Ollgothach nineteenth in the succession of Milesian high-kings, commencing with Eremon, and make him a son of the great law-giver, Ollamh Fodla, of the Irian line. Gede "the Shouter," or Gede "of the Stentorian Voice," may possibly have been the original *Gaedhal*, his title to the appellation being given by the trumpet tones in which he habitually roared his orders to the viking crews who, under his piratical captaincy, navigated the seas that girdle Ireland and Britain. (†) The derivation of *Gaedhal* which I have suggested here, on the authority of Zeuss, is no doubt purely speculative; but it has this much at all events in its favour that, if it be right, the name would not have been resented by men whose occupation inured them to the fury of tides and tempests, and whose voices often rang above the din of the storm.

The first laureate of the Gael who chanted the fame of Mil appears to have been Cennfaeladh the Learned, a poet and jurist of the seventh century whose scholarship was acquired at St. Bricin's college of Tuaim Dreacain, (‡) in Breifne. (§) Cennfaeladh calls the hero "Mil of Spain," and also assigns him the alternative name *Golamh* or *Galamh*. (||) The Briton Nennius, who professes to have received his information from "the most learned of the Scoti," apparently knew nothing of Mil; but he was aware that "three sons of a certain Spanish soldier" ("tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniæ") had once come to Ireland, and had there made a stay of just one year. (¶) Though Cennfaeladh wrote more than a century before Nennius, there can hardly be a doubt that his Mil or Miled is a personification of the "miles Hispaniæ" of whose voyage Nennius had heard from some Gaelic antiquaries of his time. °

It is deserving of note that while, according to the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the *Fir Bolg* and the *Fir Domhmann* were "men of the sacks" and "men of the earth-pits," respectively, the *Galleoin* were "men of valour (*gal*)," that is men of the highly honourable profession of arms. One cannot help suspecting that the original framers of the three etymologies knew the Gael to

(*) "Eremon son of Mil, 'tis he was called Gede *Ollgothach*, Gede of the Mighty Voice." *Coir Anmann* ed. by Stokes, p. 325.

(†) It should be remembered that, outside the Roman empire, piracy—far from being deemed punishable or dishonourable—was the chief national industry of most maritime populations.

(‡) See *Breifney Journal*. Vol. I, p. 349.

(||) *L. Gabh*, pp. 238-240.

(§) See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 48, 9. (¶) Nennius III., Sec. 13.

(°) The "Eusebian" Chronicle of the Book of Ballymote would indicate that the "Milesian Conquest" ("gabail Eremon do macaib Miled Esbaine" was invented before the seventh century. (See Todd Lectures III, 280.)

be more closely akin to the Gaileoin, or Germani, than either to the Fir Bolg or to the "men of Domnu." Galam, like Mil, is a class name which was turned into a proper noun; and both *Galam* and *Gaileoin* were manufactured from the theme *gal*. Just as *breithem* (a judge) means a *breith* (or *judgment*) man, and as *ollam* means a *knowledge* man, so *galam* means a *gal* (or *gae-using*) man. The plural of *ollam* being *ollamhain*, and that of *breithem* being *breithemhain*, the plural of *galam* must have been *galamhain* (sounded gal-ou-een), a word whose pronunciation scarcely differs from galeoin. In like manner as *Fenius* was evolved from *Feini*, so possibly may *Galam* have been produced by working back from *Gaileoin*; but, whether the word was forged by a direct or an indirect process, *Galam*—the second name of Mil—is simply the Irish equivalent of *miles*.

The Gaels having been set up as a separate race, of noblest extraction, the pioneer Gaileoin of Slainghe, to whom the fates had proved unkind, were disowned by them, and relegated in company with the Fir Bolg to the rank of base-born serfs. Three distinct waves, or irruptions, of Germani, may be distinguished among our iron-age invaders, namely, the Gaileoin of Slainghe, the Laigni of Labraid Loingsech, (*) and the Gailenga—of whose coming no particulars have been recorded. The Laigni, so called from the "spears having wide green-blue heads of iron" which they brandished, were introduced as mercenaries, to the number of 2,200; (†) and from them Labraid's province took the name Laighin or Leinster. The Book of Lecan makes Luigne an *alias* for Crich Laigni or "the land of Leinster;" (‡) while the *Reim-Righraidhe*, of O'Clery, which all the historians follow, assigns to Eremon's three sons, Muimhne, Luighne and Laighne, the succession to the suzerainty after Eremon's death. Muimhne clearly stands for the "Milesian" Gaels of Munster, that is the Ebherians or Eburones; and Luighne and Laighne represent just as plainly the Germani occupiers of Leinster and Leath Chuinn.

At the head of his battalion of Laigni, Labraid Loingsech burned Slainghe's royal fortress on the Barrow, and slew his own grand-uncle Cobhtach Cael-Breg, the son of Ugaine Mor. From Labraid and Cobhtach, respectively, sprang the Leinster and Connaught lines of Eremonian high-kings; but the pretensions of Leinster to arch-sovereignty were extinguished when Cahirmore, the last high-king of the Leinster Eremonians, fell in battle, leaving his sceptre to the victor Conn Ced-Cathach. While Conn buttressed the foundations of a new regime in Ireland, it was Conn's able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, who completed the structure and consolidated the institutions which ensured its permanence;

(*) The surname of Labraid means "Sailor" or "Navigator."

(†) *Keating*, II., 166.

(‡) See Hogan's *Onomasticon*, p. 508.

and the same Cormac was brought up at Kechcorann, near the Breifne border, by the Gailenga-Luighni of the west. (*) The Gailenga of Corann were Lug-worshipping Germani, distinguishable from the Gaileoin and the Laigni, no doubt, in respect of the date and the determinative causes of their settlement in Ireland, but identifiable with them in racial origin.

Though the Gailenga must be presumed to have been the latest immigrants of the foreign Germani (†) they succeeded in establishing themselves here in territories of wide extent and of superior fertility. The Gailenga Mor, for example, occupied a large portion of Meath—where their name has been retained by the barony of Morgallion—as well as an adjoining tract of Breifne, which stretched away to the town of Cavan. (‡) The Gailenga of Connaught were equally well known as Luighni; and the twin names still survive, one to denote the barony of Leyny in Co. Sligo, and the other to denote the barony of Gallen in Co. Mayo (§) The genealogists have linked the Gailenga with the Ebherians, by presenting them as the subjects of Cormac Gaileng, who was a great-grandson of Oilill Olum, the son of Eoghan Mor; and we are further told that they took the name Luighni from Cormac Gaileng's son Luigne.

The family connections, as given by O'Flaherty, which associated Cormac MacAirt with Cormac Gaileng and two individuals named Luigne throw a most helpful light on the "alliances" and combinations which led to the re-creation of Ireland as a flourishing "Gaelic" commonwealth. Luigne No. 1 was descended from Fiacha Suighde, brother of Conn Ced-Cathach, and the reputed begetter of the Deisi; while Cormac Gaileng was the son of Tadhg, whose grandfather, Oilill Olum, was the son of Eoghan Mor. Cormac Gaileng's sister Trea became the wife of Luigne No. 1, who, in consequence of the union, got to be known as Luigne Firtrea. But Trea was the mother of Cormac the High-King, having borne him to Art, son of Conn. (||)

Cormac, Conn's grandson, was a posthumous child—born after his father, King Art, had been slain at the battle of Magh Muc-reimhe—and his step-father Luighne being his natural guardian, the boy was reared in Corann among Luighne's people. But when Cormac MacAirt reached the throne he gave Corann to his maternal uncle, Cormac Galeng, and from this Cormac the Corann population took the name Gailenga. The same Cormac had a

(*) See *Ogygia* p. 334; *Silva Gadelica* II, pp. 286, 7.

(†) Pokorny vouches for the philological equivalence of *Gaileoin* and *Gailenga* (*Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* XI, p. 173 *et seq.*)

(‡) Sliabh Guaire (Co. Cavan) was in Gailenga (See *Felire of Cengus*, p. 156).

(§) In a moment of extreme inadvertence Father Hogan wrote under *Galenga* (*Onom.* p. 433) "comprised the whole diocese of Ardagh in counties Mayo and Sligo." Achonry should here be substituted for Ardagh.

(||) *Ogygia* III, Cap. I.XIX,

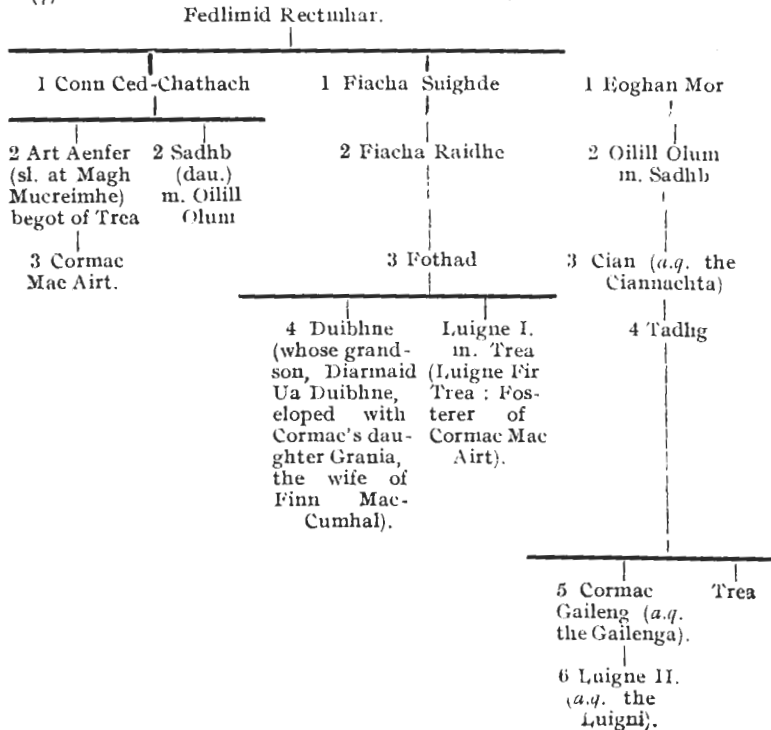
son, Luigne, here to be distinguished as Luigne No. 2, and from him the Gailenga acquired the alternative name Luigni. (*)

If the pedigrees be tabulated it will be seen that, while Cormac MacAirt belonged to the second generation after Conn Ced-Cathach, Cormac's step-father, Luighne Firtrea, belonged to the third generation after Conn's younger brother Fiacha Suighde, and Cormac's maternal uncle, Cormac Gaileng, belonged to the fourth generation after Conn's contemporary, Eoghan Mor. (†)

The Ciannachta and the Dealbhna, who like the Gailenga, were widely distributed through Ireland, and were similarly enfeoffed with rich lordships, are also numbered among the Ebherian decendants of Oilill Olum. It is noteworthy, too, that though these later Germani of Leath Chuinn did not rank in

(*) Keating makes all the Luigni and Gailenga descendants of Cormac Gaileng. Thus: (1) "Some of the race of Eibhear came to Connaught, namely the descendants of Cormac Gaileang, that is, the Gaileanga and the Luigni, of whom are O'Headhra and O'Gadhra in the northern half." (II, 100); and (2) "the following are the territories they (i.e. the Ebherians) acquired (in Leath Chuinn), Gailenga, east and west; Ciannachta, south and north; Luighne, east and west" (II, p. 295). Keating is nearer to the truth than O'Flaherty for the simple reason that he was the less profound genealogist.

(†)



subsequent times among the royal breeds of the Gael, they were never crushed down to helotage like the degraded Fir Bolg. "It is not the tribes here are ignoble," says the Book of Rights, speaking of the Corann Luighni, "but the grass and the land."(*) Of the Dealbhna the same high authority testifies :—

"It is not for ignobility of the men :
Were it not for the grassy land
They would not bring tribute hither."(†)

The estates of these Dealbhna, Gailenga and Luigni were originally granted by the achievers of Gaelic dominance as sword-land rewards for valuable services rendered in overthrowing the *ancien regime*.

The folk-groups just mentioned were, I feel assured, colonies of later Germani ; and they came in at the behest, or under the auspices, of native dynasts who were hatching deep designs. The majority of them having been attached genealogically to Munster we may fairly infer that our country received fresh contingents of Germani during the period which witnessed the influx of the Eburones. The names, Muimhi, Luighni and Laighni, assigned to the three pseudo-sons and heirs of Eremon, are sufficient by themselves to create a suspicion that, while chiefs of the older Laighni may have organised the Milesian usurpation in Ireland, the effective force on which they depended was supplied by insurrectionist bodies of later Germani. Years of convulsion, of deadly strife, and of blood-curdling deeds, ensued ; but there is no sufficient reason to believe that the contests engaged in were fought out on a large scale by the methods of open warfare. The Leabhar Gabhala relates that the sons of Mil overthrew the massed forces of the Tuatha De Danann at the battle of Tailtiu. At Tailtiu stood the chief shrine of the religion of Lug, the great sun-god of the Celts ; and there the elite of the nation met periodically to assist at the most pompous functions of their religious, social and political life. Tailtiu, therefore, would not have been chosen for a battle-field. The so-called "battle of Tailtiu," there can be little doubt, was a clever coup-de-main which made its executive contrivers the pontiffs of Tailtiu's temple and the presidents of Tailtiu's assemblies.

The establishment of a new order of lords and rulers in Ireland, following the overthrow of the Fir Bolg, impressed in the ordinary course a corresponding bias on the national consciousness, and generated an ascendancy spirit of haughty antagonism to the fallen aristocracy. Then was born, for the glorification of the victors, the concept of a racial status which should vindicate for them the right to men's homage that proceeds from an exalted lineage. The detail of a Milesian ancestry traced down from

* *L. na g-Cearth*, p. 105.

† *Ibid*, p. 107.

Noah, and brought into personal contact with Moses, could not have been filled in before the fifth century of our era ; for, until then, Ireland knew nothing of Moses or of Noah. But the germ of the "race" theory had probably taken shape in the brains of court minstrels before the introduction of Latin culture, or of Christianity, among the Feini of Ireland.

While the duplication of eponymous symbols, of which a few illustrative specimens have already been given, was carried to almost irresponsible lengths by the genealogists, events were freely duplicated just as well as personal names. Thus, Eber and Eremon, it is told, partitioned Ireland between them, making the Eiscir Riada the common boundary, then quarrelled about the division, and fought a great battle at Geisiol (Geashill) which resulted in Eber's defeat and death. The legend is plainly a copy of the story of Eoghan Mor's contention with Conn Ced-Cathach. It bears to that saga the relationship of an image behind a mirror to the object in front. Not merely are the causes and the circumstances of the strife similar in both cases, but the sites of the battlefields, Geisiol and Magh Leana, are placed close together.

This instance supplies a clue to the ground-plan of our legendary history. The elongated shadows of the remoter side of the picture are often but distorted reflections of the ill-lighted realities of the nearer. When the tangled web is straightened out, and its design becomes traceable, we can perceive that, in the evolution of name-words, sons took precedence of their fathers, and came into being before the birth of their remotest ancestors. Eremon, for example, is an older word than Mil ; and Mil, as an individual personifying an unnamed "miles Hispaniæ," was probably born long before Gaedhal Glas.

Eremon, as a word, is the genitive of Erem ; and Erem, I am disposed to think, is simply a masculine Eriu, or rather the lady Eriu disguised as a man.* The native chiefs who plotted the anti-Fir-Bolg revolution, and accomplished their design by the cooperation of Germani auxiliaries, were naturally lined up with Eremon or Erem ; but the strength and pride of the Germani had to be placated by making Eber the elder brother of Eremon.

Years before the time of Michael O'Clery and of Keating the "Book of Invasions" had been amplified from the meagre dimensions of a primitive tradition into a bulky racial epic.† By

* Rhys (*The Welsh People*, p. 45), takes Eremon to be the same word as *aireman*, the genitive of *airem*, meaning a ploughman. The haughty Gaels would surely not have accepted a *ploughman* for one of their eponymous ancestors.

† The *Leabhar Gabhala* in its published form consists of a series of "historical poems" by Cennaeladh the Learned. Eochaidh Ua Floinn, Flann of the Monastery, Gilla Caemghin, Tanaidhe Ua Maolconaire, and other versifiers ranging from the 7th to the 14th century, interwoven with diffusive paraphrases and commentaries in prose of later composition.

no process of filtration would it now be possible to wash cleanly out from such a wild romance the few particles of fact that hide in its depths, untransformed as yet by the dissolving power of fable; but we may feel assured, nevertheless, that the personages and incidents of the story have not all been fabricated. It is only by comparing the late with the earliest versions of the saga we may hope to achieve any sure approach to probability in our speculative probings of the saga's contents.*

Nor can it be alleged that misgivings as to the "tradition" of Mil and his sons originated in any modern freak of scepticism. The mediæval compiler of the *Chronicon Scotorum*, who almost certainly belonged to the learned family of the MacFirbisigh,(†) prefaced his summary of the Clann-Miledh legend with the following appeal to his readers:

"You have heard from me, O, Readers, that I like not to have the labour of writing this section imposed on me, wherefore it is that I beseech of you, for the sake of true friendship, not to reproach me for it (if the reason thereof is understood by you), for it is certain that it is not the Clann Firbisigh who are in fault."‡

In grave doubt as to the actuality of the events to be narrated, and wishing particularly to guard against compromising the hereditary reputation of the MacFirbisighs as ollamhs and professors of history, the writer thus sought to disarm criticism, and to escape the censure of his brother antiquaries, by virtually disowning responsibility for the tale.

The royal tribes mentioned by the expounders of the law tracts correspond so closely with the Fir Bolg hosts of later Gaelic historians that we may seriously doubt whether the genuine Fir Bolg were the base churls who are made to personate them in our school and college histories.

The Clanna Rudhraige of Emain Macha, of whom were Conor Mac Nessa and his peerless body-guard of Red-Branch heroes, took their name from Rudhraige Mor, a lineal descendant of Ir and of Airgetmar, who wielded the sceptre of Erin in the first century B.C., and had for immediate successor Iondatmar, son of Niadh Segamhain. One of the five leaders of the Belgæ-Germani invasion was likewise a Rudhraige, and this Rudhraige's *roinn*, or portion of the country, lay coastwise between the Boyne and the Drowse. The question as to which Rudhraige was the other's duplicate is easy to decide, for the iron-armed leader who brought in the eastern moiety of the Fir Domnann—their

* In an article of deep research, published in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. X., pp. 96-197, A. G. Van Hamel has compared all the extant manuscripts of the *Leabhar Gabhala* (*Lebor Gabala*), and traced the development of the story down to its final form in O'Clery's version.

† In O'Curry's opinion (see his *Manuscript Materials*, p. 126) the *Chronicon* was compiled by Duaid MacFirbis himself.

‡ *Chronicon Scotorum* (ed. by W. M. Hennessy) pp. 9 & 11.

western fellows being contemporaneously conveyed by the fleet of Genann*—must have landed here about the era assigned to Rudhraige Mor's ardrighship. In allied flotillas sailed the Gaileoin of Slainghe, formidably accoutred with blue-green spears of iron, and the Bolg or Belgæ, the hereditary nobility of the regions whence had issued the three invading hosts.

In the epic tales the Clanna Rudhraige are more commonly denominated Ulaid, or Fir Ulad; and an ancient authority attests: "At Tailtiu the Ulaid were accustomed to bury, namely, Ollamh Fodhla with his offspring until Conchobar succeeded."† The royal cemetery of the Ulaid stood within the precincts of their religious metropolis in the golden age of that people's power. The great temple of Tailtiu was dedicated to the worship of Lug; ‡ or, in other words, it was an Irish Lugdunum. The Hercynian Celts had a Lugdunum near the river Oder, at the present city of Liegnitz.§ The Rhine-mouth Celts and Celticised Germani had a Lugdunum whose name is similarly retained by the city of Leyden in Holland.||

The founder of the oenach or fair of Tailtiu, according to Bishop Cormac MacCuillenain, was Lugaid MacÉthne, or Lugaid Lamhfada (Lug of the Long Arm); and the Four Masters record that this Lug, having reigned over Ireland for forty years, was slain at Caendruim—that is at Uisnech in Westmeath—in the year of the world 3370, or 1830 years B.C. But Cuan Ua Lochain, the arch-poet who officiated as one of the duunvirs appointed for the government of Ireland after the death of Malachy the Great, reduces this figure by more than 1,500 years in the lines of his Dinnshenchus Ode on Tailtiu which affirm:—

"Three hundred years and three it covers, from the first
Fair at Taltiu to the birth of Christ, hearken!"¶

Cuan Ua Lochain would not willingly have minimised the duration or pageantry of the Gaelic past, for his poetry breathes the true historical spirit of the "race of Mil." But he enjoyed the advantages of having access to older and wider sources of information than the Four Masters, and of belonging to an age when the backward distension of Gaelic origins had not been carried at all points utterly beyond the limits of the credible.

Nations, like individuals, are subject to the sins of pride and

* See *L. Gabhala*, p. 118.

† *Senchas na Relec* ("History of the Cemeteries"), a tract preserved in the *Lebor na h-Uidri*—now our oldest MSS. collection—and printed in Petrie's "Round Towers" (p. 97 *et seq.*).

‡ See Cormac's *Glossary*, p. 99.

§ See Ptolemy II., chap. 11, sec. 28.

|| *Ibid.* II., 9, 4. We learn from Ptolemy, too, that the transrhene Celts had an *Eburodunum* at Brunn in Moravia, and a *Segodunum* at Wurzburg in Bavaria. See D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II., pp. 261, 2.

¶ Todd Lectures, Vol. XI., p. 147.

hate ; and, when swayed by evil passions, nations are no less apt than men to manufacture for one another opprobrious names. It would be historically false to affirm that either the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm or his late subjects are Huns by race ; yet in quite recent years both he and they were categorically denominated "Huns" by thousands of English and French publications. Moved by a kindred feeling of political enmity Gaelic literati vilified the Fir Bolg, and confounded them with the pre-Aryan stratum of Ireland's population. Duaid MacFírbis demonstrates vividly the irrational degree of intensity to which the anti-Fir Bolg spirit attained among the ruling classes in Ireland, when he writes :

"Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible ; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person,

the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people, these are of the descendants of the Firbolg, of the Gailiuns, of the Liogairne, and of the Fir Domhnann in Erin. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolg are the most numerous of all these."*

The Elizabethan and Cromwellian confiscations in Ireland depressed wholesale the children of Gaelic chiefs and of Anglo-Norman lords into the mass of the country's disaffected peasantry. The dispossessed Bolg, Fir-Domhnann and Gaileoin, having been similarly crushed down to the rank of churls, would naturally have made common cause with the older stock of serfs ; and just as surely would later generations of the new aristocracy have confounded them in the aggregate with the despised and discontented substratum of the population, whose elements were mainly derived from the country's pre-Wiro occupiers. The term Fir Bolg thus serves in later Gaelic parlance to denote generically the entire census of Ireland's inhabitants before the date of the apocryphal Milesian conquest.

The *modus operandi* of the revolutionaries who rose to power in Ireland on the ruins of the Bolg hegemony will never be known, for the story of the victims of the usurpation was not permitted to survive. Geoffrey Keating, whose account of the transaction is in general agreement with the tale preserved in the Book of Fermoy,† relates that the Milesian kings and nobles of Erin were invited by certain conspirators of the Aithech Tuatha, or vassal tribes, to a banquet at MacDareo's hostel in Magh Cro of Breifne, and there, in malice prepense, murdered to the last man.‡

* *Book of Genealogies* (Introduction). Similarly the *Book of Glendaloch*—referring to a time when the Eoghanachta were lords of Munster—numbers the Sen Erainn of Luachair Deagaid among "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Miledh." (See O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I., p. 28.)

† An English translation of this document is given in MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland*, pp. 65-69.

‡ Keating, II., pp. 238-240.

The race of Mil would then have been well-nigh extinguished were it not that three queens, all advanced in pregnancy, escaped from the scene of slaughter, and gave birth to three royal babes in Britain. When grown to manhood the exile-princes returned to Ireland to assert their patrimonial rights; and from them were descended the ruling stocks of Milesian or Gaelic Ireland in the historical era, the royal families of Leinster alone excepted.

One of these youths, Tuathal Techtmar, was the grandfather of Conn Ced-Cathach. Another, Dergthine or Corb Olum, was the grandfather of Mogh Niad, whose son and heir was Eoghan Mor. The third, Tipraide Tirech, was of the line Ir. Thus the three stems of the Clann-Miled sprouted again and luxuriated into myriads of branches, the Eremonian stem developing through Tuathal Techtmar and Conn, the Ebherian stem through Corb Olum and Eoghan, and the Irian stem through Tipraide Tirech.

The arch-conspirator of the Magh-Cro plot was Cairbre Cinn Chait, and associated with him were two treacherous chiefs, Monach and Buan. One of Cairbre's accomplices, therefore, may fairly be suspected, from his name, to have been a regulus of the Manapii, that is, of a well-authenticated colony of Irish Belgæ. Cairbre himself, according to the poet Eochaid Ua Floinn, owed his surname to the fact that his head and ears resembled those of a cat. *Cinn Cait*, there can be little doubt, is a distorted abbreviation of *Cenn Cathraige*; and as such the epithet appears in the *Coir Anmann*, where Cairbre is represented as "head of the Caithraige" and "the warrior of the Luaign of Tara."* The word *Cathraige* means "battle-folk"; and the Luaigni, as we know, were a hereditary militia, and, therefore, battlemen by profession.† Though Keating adopts Ua Floinn's malignant etymology of *Cinn Chait*, he dignifies Cairbre with a genealogy which traces him, through a grandfather named Rudhraige, back to a foreign king who came to Ireland with Labraid Loingsech.

The Four Masters charge the Aithech Tuatha with the perpetration of two gigantic massacres, one at the instigation of Cairbre Cinn Chait, and a second whose organisers were the four provincial kings.‡ Breifne, it seems manifest, witnessed some ghastly deeds at the close of the conflicts which shattered the old dynasties, for the scene of the second orgy of assassination mentioned by the Four Masters was Magh Bolg, in the south east of Co. Cavan. It is by no means improbable that the betrayed and tottering Bolg may have rallied their broken forces in Breifne for a last despairing stand, and may have there, by stratagem, effected

* *Coir Anmann*, p. 387.

† These people, whose name still adheres to the barony of Lune in Meath, should not be confounded with the ("Ebherian") Luigni.

‡ *F. Masters sub annis*, 10 A.D. and 56 A.D. Compare this Journal, Vol. II, p. 192.

some memorable feat of reprisal that temporarily balked the design of their enemies.

The high-king who is said to have been murdered at Magh Bolg was Fiacha Finnolaidh,* father of Tuathal Techtmar; and again, it is told that the then unborn Tuathal would have suffered a like fate were it not that his mother fled to Alba bearing him in her womb. The conspiring under-kings were Elim MacConnrach, king of the Ulaid; Sanbh, son of Cet MacMagach, king of Connaught; Foirbre MacFinne, king of Munster; Eochaid Ainchend, king of Leinster. Elim, it is well known, was of the race of Rudhraige Mor; Cet MacMagach was the most stalwart paladin of the Gamanraige, that is, of the premier branch of the Fir Domhnann; Foirbre belonged to the Munster Dairfhine, or Darini; and Eochaid Ainchend came from the Leinster Gaileoin. Thus the reputed slayers of Fiacha Finnolaidh at Magh Bolg represented every section of the federated host which the Leabhar Gabhala identifies with the Fir-Bolg invasion.

Twenty years after the carnage of Magh Bolg Tuathal Teachtmar returned to Ireland, and regained his father's throne. Then was condign punishment meted out to the race that, in self-defence, had striven to thwart the ambitious projects of Tuathal's family. In the gloating language of the Book of Glinn-da-Locha,† as copied into the Book of Ballymote:

"The rent-paying tribes were distributed throughout all Erin, and the bondage rule of the Lords of Erin was established over them after they had distributed them."‡

Tuathal Teachtmar succeeded in enchaining and distributing the blood-stained Aithech-Tuatha only after he had chastised and overwhelmed them in one hundred pitched battles, that is, twenty-five battles in each of the guilty provinces. MacFirbis sets out all these battles *seriatim*, and tells us that they were fought against the Gaileoin, the Feara Bolg and the Tuath Domhnann.§ By Keating,|| the defeated belligerents are comprehensively styled Athach thuath. The Aithech Tuatha, therefore, must have consisted of the three nations that possessed the country before the advent of the Tuatha De Danann, that is, the three nations to whom the Leabhar Gabhala assigns the collective

*He was the successor of Fiatach Finn, founder of the Dal Fiatach, *i.e.*, of the royal branch of the Northern Ernai.

† Otherwise the Book of the O'Duigenans, whose Glendalough was not in Wicklow but on the frontier of Breitne, between Kilonan and Shan-coe.

‡ See Facsimile Copy, pp. 255, 6. The Book of Ballymote tract, as translated by W. K. Sullivan, is printed in the introductory volume to his edition of O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," pp. 27-30. In his book of Genealogies MacFirbis reproduces substantial portions of the same document. The Book of Glendalough has been lost.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 48. The Clann Dega'id Ernai, he says (p. 50), were worn out in seven battles.

|| II., 244.

name Fir Bolg. In asking us to believe that the Fir Bolg were annihilated at Magh Turedh,* and then, some two thousand years later, were able to fight a hundred battles against Tuathal Teachtnar—no information being vouchsafed as to when, where, or how in the meantime the resurrection of the submerged Fir Bolg took place—the professional historians make a rather heavy demand on our credulity.

When crushed to impotence the Aithech Tuatha were located as bondmen throughout the length and breadth of the country in forty-seven different tuaths, all subject to "the base rent." The forty of them to appear in the enumeration are "the Gaileoin in Leinster north of Gabar"†. The Tuath Fer Donnann—as the degraded "Men of Domnu" got styled—were relegated to the baronies of Carra and Tirawley in Mayo and to Tireragh and Carbury in Sligo. Among "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Miledh," in Munster are numbered the "Tuath Sen Erann in Ciarraighe Luachra and in Luachair Deagaid."‡ So far the catalogue reveals no sign of a transplantation, or redistribution, of the "Aithech Tuatha;" nor can any such mark be detected in its communications from beginning to end. It would have been a formidable undertaking to transport forty-seven tribal communities, many of whom were of considerable size, to new habitats, covering in the aggregate nearly the entire face of the country; and a still more impossible task would have been entailed in the effort to police such a large total of folk-groups, all exasperated by displacement from their traditional seats.

Not thus was the revolution effected; nor did it eventuate in dislodging the old occupiers to any appreciable extent. The Gaileoin, the Fir Donnann and the Munster Ernai, for example, when they got branded as "the seed of the slaves of the sons of Mil," still dwelt in their ancestral lands. But their royal seats and demesnes having been subsequently appropriated by the new lords of Erin, they were then restricted to smaller areas;§ and even these reduced territories they were allowed to hold, not by free tenure as of yore, but as disfranchised rent-payers and villeins. The name Luachair Deagaid existed before the era of the Magh Cro episode, which is stated to have led to the transplanting of the Aithech Tuatha as its punitive sequel. Luachair Deagaid was so called from the Clann Deagaid; and the Clann Deagaid—or the offspring of the Degad, *alias* Deag, who had for son Daire, and for grandson the champion Curoi—were the dynastic

* Four Masters, A.M. 3303.

† O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I, 27.

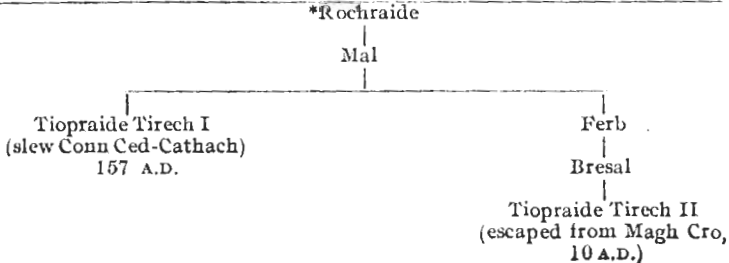
‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

§ Thus the race of Conaire were deprived of Clu Mail Mic Uggaine, which includes the richest side of the Golden Vale of Munster, and that fine region was erected into a lordship for Cormac Cas, Oikill Olum's son. But this confiscation was not effected until after the battle of Cenn Febrat.

family of the Munster Ernai. The enslaved Sen Erann of Luachair Degaid were not either an *old* or a *new* stock of Ernai in the sense of being racially different from the Ernai of Curoi and of Conaire Mor. They were the same genuine breed of Ernai—the descendants of Oilill Aronn whom Deag, the fosterer of Duach, had brought from the Erne to Munster—but to them had been affixed, when fallen and declassed politically, an adjective intended by their masters to serve as a stigma of inferiority. It is not an uncommon experience to hear the term *old* (*sen*) applied in this connection to some luckless individual or family whom adverse fortune has depressed from affluence or social rank to the level of the toiling proletariat.

So far, at all events, as the Ernai are concerned the account of the Aithech Tuatha which has come to us through the Book of Glinn da Locha conflicts seriously with chronology, for the Munster Ernai supplied an over-king to Ireland more than a century and a half after Tuathal Techtmar's death. In 157 A.D., according to the Four Masters, Conn Ced Cathach was slain by Tiopraide Tirech, son of Mal and king of Ulster; and Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, hereditary chief of the Clan Degaid, ascended the throne of Tara as his successor. Either the Ernai were at that date still lords of Luachair Degaid, or else Gaelic Ireland had to endure the humiliation of being ruled by a suzerain begotten of a degraded *gens*. Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, moreover, was a son-in-law of Conn Ced-Cathach; and Conn would surely not have allied himself and his family with a fallen house. No matter what test we may apply, the theory which would either make the Sen Erann a different breed from the royal Ernai, or which would plant the Sen Erann in Luachair Degaid before the disfranchisement of the Clann Degaid—and the theory of our Gaelic authorities involves both of these postulates—will lead to a glaring *reductio ad absurdum*.

Again we are told that Tiopraide Tirech was one of the three unborn princes whose miraculous escape from the assassins of Magh Cro saved the Gaels of Leath Chuinn and of Munster from extinction. Two Ulster princes named Tiopraide Tirech appear above the historical horizon, one a son of the high-king Mal, and the other a son of Bresal, who was a grandson of Mal.* Tiopraide



No. II. it was whose mother brought him forth in Alba in the same year which witnessed the birth of Tuathal Techtmar and of Corb Olum.* Yet Tiopraide No. I it was—the granduncle of Tiopraide No. II—who slew Conn Ced Cathach the grandson of Tuathal Techtmar.†

The Aithech Tuatha were not reduced to bondage during the span of Tuathal Techtmar's life, nor was the usurpation which effected their downfall consummated before the middle of the third century A.D. The inauguration of Gaelic ascendancy initiated a change of orientation in the political and social outlook of the professional fraternities; and courtier-bards soon vied with one another in ministering to the vanity of the new dynasts with tributes of sycophantic verse. In course of time the dominant families, knit picturesquely together into a compact tissue of kinships, were chanted in banqueting halls and in state assemblies as a distinct, uncontaminated race, of noblest genesis and of remotest antiquity. But age had not yet dimmed the splendour of the Feini, and by no art of minstrelsy or of legendary creation could its lustre be eclipsed or overshadowed. It became necessary, therefore, to unify the Feini‡ and the Gael; and the unification was accomplished by the simple device of making Gaedhal Glas the grandson of Fenius Farsaidh.

Among the most precious heirlooms that had been transmitted down from the pre-Gaelic past was the glowing reputation of Curoi MacDaire and of Conaire Mor, and the esteem in which their memories were held forbade all thought of thrusting the Ernai, or "race of Conaire," into the background. But could the Gaels be expected to acknowledge consanguinity with the Ernai who had been reduced to serfdom in Luachair Deagaid? The self-respect of the ennobled "sons of Mil" necessitated that the Ernai should be sundered into two or more unrelated breeds, one an offshoot of the royal stem of Eremon, and another an ignoble family-group of Fir Bolg. Duaid MacFirbis authoritatively assures us that, while the Clann Degaid—who were of the seed of Oilill Aronn—have a prescriptive title to the name

* See Keating II., 238-240.

† Keating II., 261: Four Masters, 157 A.D. According to the F. M. Tiopraide II. was born in 10 A.D. (the first year of Cairbre Cinn Chait's reign): his grand-uncle Tiopraide I., must, therefore, have been some 200 years old when he slew the redoubtable Conn.

‡ The word Feini, like most other class-names of our early history, bore different meanings in the changing conditions of the country brought about by time. Primarily the military appellation of a people whose customs shaped our national jurisprudence *Feini* came to signify the franchise-possessing inhabitants of the country of lower social status than the *Nemed*. Their lands being held by free tenure they corresponded exactly, in the constitutional system, to the Gaels of later date. (See *Brehon Laws*, V., 342, and *Revue Celtique*, Vol. VIII., p. 298.)

Érna (Ernai), there were also Érna of the Fir Bolg and Érna of other stocks.*

In some of the handbooks of Irish history which have latterly issued from the press in rapid succession the Ernai have affixed to their persons the racial stamp that was patterned by MacFírbis's mould.† For this gross injustice, however, the vagaries of modern scholarship are much more to blame than the genealogical teaching of MacFírbis and his school. In a philological thesis which was published in 1903‡ Sir John Rhys arrived at the remarkable conclusions that the Ernai, north and south, the Ithians, the Ebherians, and the Fir Ulaid, were all members of one and the same race, and had sprung, each and all, from the aboriginal population of our island. The Ernai, he held, were the IOVERNIOI of Ptolemy, the Iverni or Hibernii of the Romans, and were identical in type, as well as virtually in name, with the early Iberi or Iberes of the Spanish peninsula. The term Cruitech, again, he would have understood as synonymous with Pict; and the Picts were to be classed with the black-haired, dark-visaged Iberians. Hence the Ernai, being indistinguishable from the Picts, were true representatives of the pre-Wiro inhabitants of the country. The appellative Ernai, or Erainn, it is furthermore suggested, indicates that the people so called must have been, in power and dignity if not in numbers, the foremost branch of our Irish Iberians; for does not the island's name, Eriu, genitive Erend or Erenn, pass declensionally into Eraind or Erainn on proceeding from singular to plural?

Assuming the archetypal sound of Eriu to be represented phonetically by Iveriio, Rhys made this conceptual vocable the foundation stone of his argument; and he built up the superstructure largely with hypothetical material of an equally unverifiable description. Though Rhys's ethnographical theories are no longer in favour§ they affected so profoundly the views of his own generation that, for years to come, the exposition of early Irish history through the medium of popular manuals must inevitably be vitiated by

* *L. Genealach*, p. 50.

† See, for example, Stephen Gwynn's "*History of Ireland*," p. 16; Robert Dunlop's "*Short History of Ireland*," p. 9; and Mrs. A. S. Green's "*History of the Irish State*," p. 28.

‡ *Proc. of the British Academy*, Vol. I., pp. 21-80.

§ The destructive criticism to which Rhys's hypothesis was subjected by Julius Pokorny, in Vol. XII. of *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (1918), should have sufficed to shield the Ernai from the indignity of being treated as Iberians; but ethnological heresies are hard to kill. Pokorny rejects Rhys's ground-form *Iveruo*, traces Eriu to an Aryan (or Wiro) *Everijo*, and Erainn to the absolutely unrelated form *Akroni* (the *akr* of which is replaceable by *ekr*, *egr*, *igr*, or *ikr*), rules out the suggested affinity of *Iverni* with either *Erainn* or *Eriu*, disallows the conventional distinction made between Fir Bolg Erainn and Eremonian Erainn, reunites all the Erainn in one homogeneous stock that was neither Iberian nor "Milesian," and identifies them in the aggregate with Ptolemy's Darini,

his influence. The truth of the picture wherein MacFirbis painted our non-Gaelic populations of olden time having been authenticated by a foremost representative of modern research, it is but natural that Irish school-boys should generally be taught to look for the Fir Bolg, and by consequence, for the impoverished Ernai, among the plebeian multitude of dark-skinned, raven-haired tattlers and peace-disturbers who discontentedly toiled for the offspring of Mil. Yet our ancient literature embodies anthropological evidence of the plainest and most specific kind which would more than suffice to make this doctrine untenable.

Next to Curoi MacDaire the most illustrious personage whom the Ernai-Dedad produced was the high-king Conaire Mor, son of Ederscel. In one of the oldest of our heroic tales a description is given of Conaire's personal appearance, as well as of the appearance of four of his children—winsome lads, happy in the innocence of early boyhood—who perished with him in the conflagration of Da Derga's hostel; and among the particulars enumerated appear the following: "The colour of his (Conaire's) hair was like the sheen of smelted gold;" "a high, stately prince"; "two blue-bright cheeks;" "his yellow-curly hair"; "there is no defect in that man, whether in form or shape, . . . whether in eye or hair or brightness".* Of three of Conaire's boys, all "tender striplings," we read, "three golden-yellow manes were on them, . . . as curly as a ram's head."†

The nine musicians of Conaire, "all equally beautiful," had "hair fair and yellow."‡ "Fair yellow manes" likewise distinguished his six cupbearers.§ Of the hosteler, Da Derga, we are told: "Red hair on the warrior, and red eyebrows. Two ruddy cheeks he had, and an eye very blue and beautiful."|| Conaire's nine guardsmen "had fair yellow manes upon them."¶ Of his twelve rearguards, it is told, "Light yellow hair was upon them."° Further citations to the same effect might be produced; but those given are sufficient to prove that Conaire and the most intimate of his personal attendants wore their hair exactly in the style of the Belgæ whose effigies adorn the monumnet of Jovinus at Reims. In other words, the kings and nobles of the Ernai-Dedad maintained in Ireland the traditional fashion of loose-flowing locks that had earned for the country of their ancestors the title *Gallia Comata*. =

Very markedly different was the physical appearance of the

* *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Ed. by W. Stokes), pp. 91, 95, 99.

† *Ibid.*, p. 80.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

° *Ibid.*, p. 101.

∴ These effigies are figured in Beddoe's *Races of Britain* (Frontispiece).

= See Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IV., 17.

but that their breed had not yet been sensibly hybridised by Wiro blood. It is evident, of course, that the degree of racial modification which resulted from the earlier bronze-sword invasion could not at the most have been very considerable.

The heroic tales demonstrate that the same distinction of types as between rulers and ruled—between “The Few” and “The Many”—which existed among the Ernai, and throughout the Achæan commonwealths in the time of Homer, pervaded the anthropological composition of all the Irish provinces. In our epic literature the grandees and nobles invariably dazzle every beholder by the golden lustre of their locks; but whenever an individual of the lower orders is vouchsafed a word or two of description he just as infallibly proves to be clumsy in shape, and swart and uncomely in aspect.* It is most likely—rather, I should say, it is certain—that the O’Clery compilers of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, when rehearsing the conventional romance of the *Fir Bolg*, had before their minds an exact image of the ill-disposed caste, or rabble, whom *MacFirbis* holds up to contempt.

If we would get behind the tableaux of Keating, *MacFirbis* and the O’Clerys, it will behove us to test and retest the validity of the meaning which every racial term of our historical inheritance has acquired from Gaelic usage. The import of name-words in ethnology and in geography is liable to wide fluctuations. In the days of King Priam Asia included only some meadow lands near Ilium, through which meandered the storied stream of Cayster. Asia to-day, is the largest continent of our globe. At the date of the first Punic War Africa—then a dependency of Carthage—was but a narrow strip of territory looking north towards Sicily from the opposite side of the Mediterranean. Africa now stretches away beyond the tropic of Capricorn to the distant Cape of Good Hope.

A set of names which bear precise and long-established significations among the people of one nationality may, at any given time, convey entirely different meanings to the people of another. The Romans at an early stage of their expansion came in contact with a tribelet of Hellenes whose particular designation was *Græci*. Therefore the Hellenes and Hellas appeared in Latin speech, not as they had been featured by the mother tongue, but unalterably masked as *Græci* and *Græcia* respectively. The Roman Empire decayed and disappeared; but the language of Rome retained its supremacy in the learned world. Not until the eighteenth century did the historians and geographers of Western Christendom secede from the universal practice which had made Latin the language of the lecture hall, and the recognised vehicle

* For an exhaustive list of textual references see Macalister's “Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times,” pp. 42-7. W. K. Sullivan was, I believe, the first writer who examined scientifically the ethnological testimony of our ancient literature. See his Introduction to O’Curry's “Manners and Customs,” p. 72 *et seq.*

of expression for all who wished to disseminate their knowledge by means of the printing-press.

Bound up with the speech which European scholarship inherited from the Romans was a loose-fitting, but serviceable, equipment of Latin terminology; and though the use of Latin has been discontinued the terminology which it transmitted still moulds our ideas of the ancient world. Not more than a trifling proportion of the Hellenes were Græci, and not more than an infinitesimal proportion of the people whom we call "Germans" can have a single drop of genuine Germani blood in their veins. Yet, being under the spell of illusive name-words, we habitually think and reason about the geographical entities, Greece and Germany, as if they were, in a real ethnographical sense, the present-day representatives or analogues, respectively, of Hellas and Germania.

While operating within a narrower sphere of influence than Latin, the Gaelic language has often strayed into similar misapplications of both folk and regional names. If we had only Gaelic annals and records to guide us we could hardly avoid believing that England was ruled as late as the seventeenth century of our era by the Saxon descendants of Cerdic and Cynric. Thus Lugaidh O'Clery writes that the Earls of Clanrickarde and of Thomond, eager to entice an English fleet to Lough Foyle with the object of destroying their powerful enemy, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, sent certain information "to the Saxon Queen and Council" in London in 1601.*

The English sovereign who ruined the young life of Anne Boleyn appears in the Annals of Ulster, 1536 A.D.,† not under his regnal title of Henry VIII., but as *righ Saxan* (king of the Saxons). The same Annals relate, among the events of the following year, (1537), "Saxanaigh (The Saxons, *i.e.*, the English of the Pale) went into Breifne O'Reilly on a raid, and slew many of the inhabitants, including The O'Reilly's son, namely Brian an Dubhthari" (Brian of the Sterness).‡ Recording the departure of the Earl of Essex from Ireland in 1599 the Four Masters tell "do dheachaidh go Saxaibh" (he went to Saxon-land), after a vice-royalty of more ostentatious magnificence than "ro thaispein *Saxanach* riamh in Erin" (any Englishman had ever displayed in Ireland.) Neither Lugaidh O'Clery nor the Annalists can be suspected of having consciously falsified history. They called the non-Briton English Saxons simply because their forefathers had invariably done so since the time when Gaels and Saxons together assailed Roman Britain, sometimes as rivals in aggression, but often too as friendly allies. Could we, even independently

* "Ro brath don mBainrioghain agus do chomhairle Saxan" (*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Domhnaill*, ed. by Rev. D. Murphy, S.J. p. 236.)

† Vol. III., p. 608.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 616,

of other considerations, feel confident that the historians who misnamed the mediæval people of England as "Saxons" are to be relied on as to the racial identity of the Fir Bolg, of the Ernai, or of the "offspring of Mil"? The ethnic vocabularies of every nationality need to be carefully scrutinised; but in no circumstances is this obligation more binding on an inquirer than where the communications emanate from a vainglorious people and relate to a dependent or to a hostile community.

Neither MacFirbis nor O'Curry would have intentionally borne false witness against a fellow mortal, or against a race that had conflicted with the Gaels. But notwithstanding—or rather, perhaps, because of—their encyclopædic knowledge of the sources of our early history, these distinguished men did not sufficiently realise that the interpretation of documents must always and everywhere be governed by the canons of historical evidence, for the reason that against those canons no statute of limitations can be pleaded either in respect of time or of nationality. The ideas by which men regulate their political and social behaviour change from age to age, sometimes, indeed, with spasmodic rapidity from generation to generation. But the modes and processes of thought of human beings have not altered since the time of Homer, or even of Adam. Were it otherwise the rational study of history would be well-nigh impossible; for the records of the past, while at best being but vaguely intelligible, would often unroll to our view whole pages of inexplicable events.

Among the myriads of battles which helped to elevate the house of Eremon the Four Masters record a victory gained by Siorna Saoglach, son of Dian, over the Martini and the Ernai, at Moin Foichnigh in Ui-Failghe, some ten or eleven hundred years B.C.* Duaid MacFirbis, evidently referring to the same contest, tells that Siorna, son of Dian, and over-king of Ireland, "broke the battle of Moin Foichnidh against the descendants of Cairbre Cinn Chait or Caith-Chenn, king of Ireland of the Athach thuathaith."† Piecing the two statements together we reach the curious result that the Ernai and Martini were sprung from a Cairbre Cinn Chait of the Aithech Tuaithe, who ruled over Ireland as ardrigh. The only known ardrigh of the name was the Cairbre who lives in history as the instigator of the Magh Cro massacre; but the reign of this Cairbre is separated from the era of Siorna MacDein by more than a thousand years.

Among the various accounts of Cairbre Cinn Chait's family connections which reached, and apparently puzzled, MacFirbis was one that identifies him with the breed of Cimbaoth, son of Fintan and grandson of Airgetmar.‡ On this showing the re-

* *F. M. sub. anno* 4169. A.M.

† *L. Geneal.* p. 47.

‡ "Thri mec brathar iad-sin do Morann mac Maoin mic Cairbre Cinn Chaid do Chloinn Chimbaoith mic Fiontann doibh," Mac Firbis, p. 47.

probated Cairbre would have issued from the stock of the Ulaid or Clanna Rudhraighe. Furthermore, Keating schedules among the chief notabilities of the Tuatha De Danann a certain Beigreo "son of Cairbre Caith Chinn, son of Tabharn." Thus the Protean Cairbre figures among the Aithech Tuaithe, among the Fir Bolg, among the Tuatha De Danann, among the Fir Ulaid, and, as progenitor of the host whom Siorna MacDein vanquished at Moin Foichnidh, holds an ancestral rank among the Ernai and Martini.

The true story of the Magh Cro and Magh Bolg catastrophes was hushed up by the Gaels, and of Cairbre Cinn Chait we can never hope to know much more than that, either by fair means or foul, he earned the undying execration of Gaelic historians. But we may feel assured that the people who pursued Cairbre's memory with such unappeasable bitterness would on no account have paid him an unmerited compliment, even when advertng incidentally to his origin and breeding. Yet the venom which invested him with a cat's head and ears did not succeed in expunging from Gaelic records all vestiges of his title to a place among the lordly stocks of pre-Gaelic Erin.

On the question of Cairbre's extraction MacFirbis, while citing diverse testimonies, refrains from venturing a definite opinion, and thus acknowledges that the question transcended the utmost range of his genealogical lore. Neither did O'Flaherty—who, like MacFirbis, was doubtless conversant with all the extant sources of information—hazard a personal judgment. Having related that the usurper, "Carbreus Feliceps," was raised to ardrigh-ship by the secession of the Cathraige of Connacht, and the insolence of the lower orders ("plebeiorum insolentia"), he sums up the discordant traditions as to Cairbre's lineage in a single sentence thus: "His father, who according to various statements of writers descended from the Fir Bolg, or from the Fir Domnann, or from the Tuatha De Danann, or from the Luaigni of Temair, or from some foreign stock, having been driven hither with Labraid Loingsech, bore the name Dubthach."*

For the theories advanced in this essay it may, at all events, be claimed that no readjustments of them will be needed to meet the contradictory accounts of Cairbre Cinn Chait's extraction. The association of his name, and of his alleged crime, with Breifne would suggest that he presided over the destinies of the northern Ernai, that is over the descendants of Oilill Aronn who, under the secondary title of Dal-Fiatach, got fused politically with the Clanna Rudhraighe. The references which link him separately with the Fir-Bolg, with the Ernai, and with the Fir Ulaid will harmonise, pair by pair, and will dovetail readily into the allegory

* *Ogygia*, p. 300. "Dubthaco patri nomen erat; qui e Belgis, Damnoniis; Danannis, vel Luagnis Temoriae, aut ex alienigenis cum Lauradio Navali rege appulsus secundum varias authorum sententias originem traxit."

of the Leabhar Gabhala if the terminological rectifications that are needed to make its message consist with archæology and would-history be borne in mind.

But we must not overlook the fact that Geoffrey Keating instals a Cairbre Cinn Chait in the most exalted grade of the Tuatha De Danann. No chapter of our proto-history offers a more attractive, and withal a more elusive, field for exploration than that wherein we are introduced to those mysterious beings known as Tuatha De Danann, or "people of the divinity Danu." But Danu's problematical people could not be disposed of in a few sentences, or in a few pages; for the popular mythology of Christian Ireland segregated them from the human species, clothed them in motley disguises, endowed them with natures partaking both of an ethereal and of a terrene composition, and relegated them to under-ground abodes. The historians of the Gael, on the other hand, not alone parade the Tuatha De Danann as a people constituted of ordinary flesh and blood, but present them as a distinct "race" of conquerors, and bespeak for them the credit of having overthrown the Fir Bolg in fair, open combat.

Anu, or Danu, was venerated by our country's iron-age invaders as "the mother of the gods."* Relying mainly on this well-certified fact the most influential representatives of modern Gaelic scholarship have propounded the thesis, and have advanced that thesis almost to the authorative position of a dogma, that the Tuatha De Danann collectively and singly were all gods.† Anu was, no doubt, in popular belief the mother of many gods; but this belief by no means implied that everybody who claimed Anu for ancestress must necessarily have belonged to an exclusive community of gods. The Celtic nobility of Gaul believed themselves to be universally the descendants of a great primal deity whom Caesar styles Dispater‡; yet they did not individually pretend to be gods. The Homeric heroes, when traced back one by one for a few generations, are seen to have sprung from some god or goddess who was numbered among the multitudinous progeny of Zeus. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the genealogies of Hengist and Horsa, of Cerdic and Cynric, of Ida, of Ælla, and of other founders on British soil of the state-groups that subsequently coalesced through the Heptarchy into Angel-land, or England, go back to Woden,§ the supreme divinity of Asgard. The royal families of the Goths, in like manner, as well as of the Burgundians, of the Franks, and of the Lombards, were all children of Woden in the sense that Woden was attested to be

* "Ana, *i.e.*, *mater deorum hibernensium*. It was well she nursed *deos*, *i.e.*, the gods." Cormac's Glossary, p. 4.

† See e.g. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Irish Mythol. Cycle*, Chaps. VI. & VII.; and Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 89, 120.

‡ *Caesar*, VI, 18. "Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt." The *Dis* of *Dispater* = *dies*, or *Zeus*.

§ See Chadwick's "Origin of the English Nation," p. 59.

their heavenly progenitor by a common article of the national creeds.

The mythologists who classify the Tuatha De Danann, or people of the goddess Anu, indiscriminately as deities, on the strength of the pagan-Irish tenet that Anu was the mother of the gods, betray an imprudent disregard of the information derivable from a study of Aryan cosmogony. One does not need a profound acquaintance with comparative mythology to discover that the Wiro aristocracies of Europe differentiated themselves everywhere, in virtue of the fundamental birthrights attaching to genesis and origin, from the subject peoples whom they ruled. The Wiros believed, on the authority of their religious teachers, that they were children of the gods or, in other words, a superior species of human beings whose seed had come from the heavens; and the doctrine constituted for them a divine and, therefore, an indefeasible charter to govern. The old non-Wiro races, on the other hand, they branded as autochthones—that is, base products of creation whose ancestors had sprung from the earth—born for the obvious purpose of ministering to the wants of Wiro lords, and consequently destined by nature for serfdom.

Zeus, the “all father” of Olympus—Woden, the “all-father” of Asgard—Dispater, the “all-father” of the Celtic pantheon, whose identity is unhappily disguised by an exotic name—begot, each and all, gods and men promiscuously; and, that being so, an attested descent from one or other of these primatial divinities would not, by itself, suffice to determine whether the descendant in question was to be assigned to the human or to the immortal scale of existence.

Nor will the sweeping generalisation which converts Danu's people in the aggregate into an assemblage of national deities help us much to reconcile, or to account for, the varieties of allusion to the Tuatha De that pervade our older literature. Just as both the gods and the heroes of Achæan Greece were linked up by paternity with Zeus, as the gods and the nobles of Gaul shared the distinction of being sprung from Dispater, as the kings equally with the gods of the Anglo-Saxon universe were associated by lineage with Woden, so did the chiefs who planned and executed the iron-age invasions of our country enjoy pre-eminence both at home and in Ireland in right of kinship with their tutelary gods. Thus while Cuchulainn, the nephew of Conchobar MacNessa, appears in the heroic tales as the child of Sualtain, in one recension of the *Tain Bo Cualgne* he is said to be the son of the god Lug*. Conchobar himself was surnamed MacNessa, because his mother was Nessa, a princess or goddess of the Tuatha De Danann. The epics relate that Conchobar's father was Cathbad, the Druid; but an alternative

* See Windisch's *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 342; and compare the old Tale *Compert Conchulaind* (*Irische Texte*, I, p. 139).

account of his parentage tells that he too was the son of Lug.* The apparent contradiction becomes intelligible in both cases if we interpret "son of Lug" as descendant of Lug. The same Lug was the Lugaid Lamhfada (Long—Armed) of the Tuatha De Danann, the sun-god of the La Tène invaders, whose chief temple stood at Tailtiu in Meath. Near that temple lay the cemetery in which the kings of Emain Macha were interred until a usurping dynasty wrested Meath from the Fir Ulaid.

Temhair Erainn, like Tailtiu, was a religious metropolis in the heroic age of our country; and there, too, the rites practised were those prescribed by the worship of Danu and her companion gods and goddesses. In the *Diunsenchus* of Cend Febrat we read:

" Since the Tuatha De seized
the soil of Fotla, noble in beauty,
above the ranks of the noble druids in general
is the branch at Cend Febrat."†

To no other district of Ireland have legends of the Tuatha De Danann adhered more tenaciously than to the environs of Cend Febrat and Temair Luachra. There, in Clu Mair of Ur-Luachair, or Eastern Luachair, the graceful outlines of the "two paps of Anu" (*Da Chich Danann*) still adorn the landscape;‡ and one of them Cnoch-Aine, or Knockainey hill near Bruff, retains the name of the venerable *mater deorum Hibernensium*.

There is, to my mind, but one hypothesis that will explain the saga of the Tuatha De Danann, and it is that, while gods figure conspicuously among them, the rank and file consisted of a hierarchical order of men who corresponded in status and privileges with the Druids of Gaul.§ The Druids, as we know from Cæsar, constituted socially and in public affairs the most influential class in Gaul, a class that in the capacity of judges controlled the legal system of the Celts. There is no improbability whatever in the legend that at the outset of the iron-age colonisation Ireland was much harried by the depredations of piratical gangs who were akin by race to the colonisers. In the native tradition these marauders were remembered as Fomoraigh, or Fomoire; and a foreign people who correspond to them in all essential particulars come prominently into view in the pages of classical writers.

The reality of these Fomoire, and of their destructive activities in Ireland, cannot safely be doubted; for the operations attributed to them were just such as many maritime regions of the Roman Empire had to endure from time to time at the hands of

* See Macculloch's *Celtic Religion*, p. 128. † Todd Lectures III., 231.

‡ See *L. Gabhala*, p. 152; *Keating*, I, 214.

§ Some of our oldest Tales, e.g., *De Shil Chonairi Moir*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *Serglige Conchulaind*, and *Baile an Scaill*, suggest strongly that pontiff-kings, or kings exercising sacerdotal functions, were associated with Tara in pre-Gaelic times. The argument cannot be unfolded here; but see *Eriu*, VIII., p. 102, *et seq.*

spoilers from the sea. The locality around the rivers Duff and Drowse, near Bundoran, where the Fomoiré are said to have collected the tribute levied by them on inland populations, preserved the name *Magh Cetne na Fomoraigh* down to the seventeenth century.* The territory of the Conmaicne west of the Shannon was similarly known as *Magh Rein na Fomoraigh*. It is likely enough that when the safety of the Belgæ-Germani settlements was imperilled by the assaults and exactions of those raiders of the deep the hierarchical fraternity of the country may have used their influence to organise a national resistance which succeeded in ridding Ireland of the Fomoiré.

By rescuing the nation from impending ruin the "people of Danu" would have vastly enhanced their own prestige. What is more natural than that, in such favourable circumstances, they may have arrogated to themselves the governmental headship of the country? The battle in which the "sons of Mil" ended the regime of the Tuatha De Danann, it is told, was fought at Tailtiu. The term "battle" may here be interpreted as a figure of speech symbolising the deposition of Tailtiu's hierarchs, and the assumption of political supremacy over the Lug-worshipping populations of Ireland, by a newly-risen combination of native chiefs and of late refugees from the Rhinelands.

Reasons have already been adduced for believing that the expression "Milesian conquest" is but a magniloquent phrase by whose glamour a revolutionary episode of our proto-history has been transformed into a military achievement of superlative daring—a heroic enterprise which, having been executed by a high-born family of warriors, was crowned with the most rewarding of triumphs, the lasting possession of the country. When closely inspected in all its bearings the legendary version of the Tuatha De Danann occupation will prove, I think, to be a pageant of the same kind. The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain took nearly a century and a half to accomplish; and the invaders crossed the north-sea not in a single overwhelming host, but in a succession of independent hordes, which, in striving for settlements in the doomed country, contended both with the natives and with one another. The Anglo-Saxon Chroniclers and the Venerable Bede were able to piece together the more striking incidents and results of that series of adventures, for the reason that the art of writing had become generally diffused at the period to which the matter of their narratives relates. But the earlier colonisations of Britain, as pictured by Geoffrey of Monmouth, belong to the entirely different species of history that was cultivated by the compilers and redactors of our own *Leabhar Gabhala*.

Insurrections, convulsions, governmental cataclysms, have

* L. O'Clery's *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, p. 264.

troubled the repose of mankind ever since human beings first organised themselves into political societies, and will continue to do so to the end of time. Traditions of such happenings assuredly survived in Ireland at the era when our Irish schoolmen, under the impulse of the passion for universal knowledge that followed the introduction of classical learning, first turned their attention to antiquarian investigations. In Ireland, as in every other country, the scholars of early mediæval times habitually conceived the political transformations of the past in terms of an invasion-and-conquest formula. It is easy to understand why they should have been addicted to this failing, for the traditions which supplied the material of their historical reconstructions were preserved only in popular tales; and the oral history of an unlettered people, being by its very nature dedicated to the glorification of the heroic in men and deeds, inevitably magnifies the episodes and characters of its recitals into epic proportions.

The establishment of Gaelic supremacy in Ireland marked the close of a period of internecine strife and welter which, beginning with the first disembarkation of iron-armed intruders on our shores, lasted until the periodical inundations of Belgæ-Germani fugitives from the continent had finally subsided. It is probable that the full term of continuance of these incursions exceeded by, perhaps, half a century the duration of the subsequent Anglo-Saxon migrations to Britain. The La Tene invaders of Ireland completed the subjugation of the country, but the Anglo-Saxons never succeeded in extending their dominion to the western coast of England. The consolidation of Gaelic hegemony dates, not from the era of an imaginary Eber and Eremon, but from a generation still later than that with which the Four Masters associate the name of Tuathal Teachtmair.

Some of our popular histories relate that Cairbre Cinn Chait's son, Morann, relinquished the crown and, having been installed by its rightful heir in the high office of chief brehon of the kingdom, earned the encomiums of posterity by the equity and wisdom of his judgments. Morann was, doubtless, a historical personage—a man pre-eminent among the brehons of pagan Ireland, whose decisions built up the *Senchus Mor*, or corpus of the common law; but it is far from certain that this Morann was the son of Cairbre Cinn Chait. O'Flaherty explains that he was called Morann MacMaoin because his mother, the royal spouse of Cairbre, was Maon, a daughter of the Fir-Ulaid king.* The Four Masters, following the *Leabhar Gabhala*, make Morann the son of Cairbre, but at the same time imply that his father's name was

* *Ogygia loc. cit.*

Maon.* In one of the early documents which Duaid MacFírbis had at hand Maon, the parent of Morann, appeared to view, not as Cairbre's wife, not even as a woman, but as Cairbre's son ; † while in another Cairbre came into the pedigree in the capacity of *athair-sidhe*, or fairy-father, of Morann MacMaoin. ‡

We see here another instance of those genealogical perplexities, inscrutable to the most learned antiquaries whom our nation has produced, that have resulted from the artificial multiplication of "races" by bardic historiographers, to the utter mystification of Ireland's ethnological origins. In modern Irish dictionaries *sidh* is explained as the name applied to a preternatural order of beings, an order comprehending goblins, sprites, elves, fairies et *hoc genus omne*. But the primary meaning of *sidh* was not a sprite or a fairy. The word *sidh*, there can be little doubt, comes from the same ultimate root as the Latin *situs* and *sedeo*. The same root re-appears in the English *seat* and *site*. The Aryan or Wiro root-word most probably denoted at first a residential seat, and by an easy and obvious transition acquired secondarily the signification *mound* or elevated position. At all events *sidh* is clearly seen in our oldest literature to stand for a tumulus, or burial mound. When Fraech of the *Tain Bo Cualgne* was slain by Cuchulainn his body was borne by women in green garments into a *sid*. § As to the parentage of Fraech himself we are informed "Fraech, son of Idath (more commonly written Fidach) of the men of Connacht, a son he to Befind from the *Side*" (i.e., the Tuatha De Danann). || In the *Tain Bo Fraich* the same champion is brought by thrice fifty women with crimson tunics to the *sid* of Cruachan. ¶ In the *Agallamh na Senorach*, again, we meet the expressions *Fuaramar Blathnait 'san tsidh* (We found Blathnait in the *sid*), and *in fer thainic co dorus in t-shida* (the man who came to the door of the *sid*). °

As druids of the Bolg or Belgæ "the people of Danu" were the custodians not alone of the national ritual, but also of the nation's learning, sacred and profane. The Leabhar Gabhala credits them with an unrivalled knowledge of "wizardry and many various

* "Son to this Cairbre was the very learned Morann usually called Morann macMaoin," *F. Masters*, 14 A.D. "Morann mac Cairpre" MS. *L. Gabhala*, R.I.A., p. 153.

† "Do Morann mac Maoin nuic Cairbre Cinncaid"—i.e., "To Morann son of Maon (who was) son of Cairbre Cinnchait," MacFírbis, p. 47.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "Sid-Fraich ainm int side sin iarom"—"Sid-Fraich was the name of that *sid* (mound) afterwards." (See Hennessy's Introduction to *Mesca Ulad*, p. 7.)

|| *Tain Bo Fraich*, translated by A. H. Leahy, in "Heroic Romances of Ireland," Vol. II., p. 6. The name *Befind* (i.e., Ben-Find, or Fair-Haired Lady) shows that the dames who graced the courts of Heroic Ireland were in appearance of the standard Wiro type.

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 42, 4.

° *Irische Texte*, IV., pp. 19 & 192.

arts and every sort of accomplishment in general," and adds that "they were knowing, learned and very clever in the branches thereof."* Being great dignitaries they were naturally buried in tumuli, or in mounds hollow within and provided with doors for the introduction of the corpses to be entombed. When the Tuatha De Danann were overthrown politically popular imagination would naturally have associated the memory of them that came down from the era of their ascendancy with these sepulchral hillocks. At the later period when Ireland was regenerated by St. Patrick's miraculous preaching the Tuatha De were remembered by the populace chiefly as wizards of transcendent power. Hence the tumuli, well known to have been the burial-sites of men possessing knowledge that was believed to exceed the range of human faculty, came to be regarded as the abodes of beings who, though not actual divinities, ranked in nature above the human species. The *side-fir* or "men of the mounds," as they were called, became among the people at large fairies or earth-demons; and the title *side*,—the plural of *sid*, and therefore originally the equivalent of artificial knolls—was set apart for them as a class-name.

As denoting a fairy *sid* is, in fact, an abbreviation of *sid-fer*, the Irish for "mound-man." The *side-fir* were a people skilled in necromancy, whom the common folk of their own age looked up to with awesome reverence because of their reputed profundity in the knowledge of occult sciences, and whom succeeding generations looked back upon as emissaries from the spirit world.

Maon, the begetter of Morann, may have been of the male or the female sex. On the evidence we may, at choice, accept Maon for the wife, for the daughter, or for the son, of Cairbre Cinn Chait. But as to the historical reality of the man Morann, and the nature of the duties which he discharged, we are on surer ground, for all the authorities agree in distinguishing him as a brehon, or law-expounder, of vast erudition and of a transcendent reputation for justice. The rectitude and impartiality of Morann in the judgment seat made his name proverbial for all time in Ireland.†

In Gaul the judicial office was one of the prerogatives of the Druids; and there can be little doubt that, after the transference of Celtic institutions to Ireland, the Druids here enjoyed the same privileges as their continental brethren. Under the Gaels the sacred and the civil functions of the Druids were segregated, and there arose a new professional order of men, named brehons,

* *L. Gabhala*, p. 143.

† The *Sin Morainn*, or famous "Collar of Morann" which tightened on the neck of a deliverer of false judgments, is said in the Irish Ordeals (W. Stokes's edition, p. 190) to have concealed an epistle given to Morann by St. Paul the Apostle. He is there styled *Morand mac Cairpri Cind-chait*.

who were not Druids. Morann, it may be, belonged to the age when the Druids, while retaining in full degree their sacerdotal status, were shorn of the added dignity which they had derived from the exercise of judicial functions; and if the appellative Tuatha De Danann stands, as I suggest, for a working theocracy that emerged during the throes of ancient Eriinn's political evolution—for an order who ruled in the name, and under the assumed authority, of the national gods—the differentiation of faculty as between druids and brehons would naturally have synchronised with the elevation to power of the men who cast down “the people of Danu.”

In the Book of Ballymote account of the uprising of the Aithech Tuatha* Morand is named as one of the three chief counsellors of the rent-payers of Erin, the others being Buan and Cairbre Cinn Chait; “but Cairbre Cinn Chait was the head of them all; and they advised the Aithech Tuatha to kill their lords.”† This testimony would degrade Morann socially to the plebeian level, would even deprive him of such title to nobility or gentility as might be pleaded for the child of a *de facto* king and queen, in the event of the child's birth having taken place during the reign of the parents. Yet it is absolutely certain that if Morann had sprung from the villein orders he could never have risen to eminence as a brehon or jurist; for no opportunity of acquiring a recondite knowledge of the nation's laws would have been within his reach.

The unfree classes had no franchises, no rights of citizenship, no place in the moulding or the administration of the country's laws. The training of a brehon entailed a preparatory period of study continued for a long term of years, and conducted in a collegiate institution by duly qualified professors. To such institutions no bondman would have been admitted. Morann's family must have been of free status—in other words, must have ranked among the governing gentry of the country—in the days when the chief toparchs of Ireland swayed from the royal courts of Emain Macha. Temair Luachra and Cruachan. The joint offices of brehon and druid had probably been hereditary in Morann's family for many generations before his own time. At all events he left a son, Nera, who also rose to high distinction as a learned judge, and whose reputation for integrity and impartiality ensured him an honourable place in the legal history of the Gaels. ‡

* Quoted in Sullivan's Introd. to O'Curry's, “Manners and Customs,” p. 32.

† In this connection it is not without significance that the names Morann and Cairbre Min Manand (Cairbre the Smooth of Man) were among the sureties offered by Medbh to Ferdiad for the performance of her pledges, when sending him to fight Cuchulainn. (See *Tain Bo Cualgne*, translated by Joseph Dunn, p. 221).

‡ See O'Curry's “Manners and Customs,” II., 324.

The theory that "the people of Danu" in the gross were of the divine, or unreal, order seems to me to be far-fetched, and unwarranted by the data of our ancient literature. Neither are our historians justified in dissociating Danu's people by race from the Bolg. The human offspring of Danu were evidently a privileged class, deeply versed in the knowledge of their time, and believed by the commonalty to enjoy a close intercourse with the spirit world. This is tantamount to saying that they were primarily Priest-Druids; but they were Druids of the exalted and influential type which Cæsar describes, not mere wizards and diviners like the Druids pictured in the Lives of St. Patrick. As Druids the Tuatha De were exempt from military service; and being unpractised in arms they must of necessity have relied on mercenary troops for the purpose of maintaining themselves in power. Very probably they experienced the fate that has so often befallen rulers and states whose defence was entrusted to hired auxiliaries—the fate, namely, of being deserted in their hour of sorest need.

The Tuatha De themselves would necessarily have been a peace-loving people. They appear to have cultivated the industrial arts, to have promoted improvements in husbandry, and to have encouraged the breeding of dairy cattle. Stray legends like the story of Goibniu's marvellous cow, and of the twelve white-eared cows out of the *Side* that were given by Befind to her son Fraech,* suggest that milk and its products were abundant near the mansions and workshops of the Tuatha De Danann. Just as the mythical battle of Geisioll images the historical event which supplied bardic romancists with the theme of the extravagantly decorated tale, *Cath Mhuighe Leana*, so, I think, does the invented overthrow of the Tuatha De Danann at Tailltiu shadow at long range in anterior time an actual incident of the period of strife and of deep-laid plots with which Gaelic historians mix up the personality of Cairbre Cinn Chait.

If Cairbre and Morann were trained jurists they could not have been brought up among an Aithech Tuatha community. They must, at least, have belonged by birth to the freemen, or gentry, of Erin in the pre-Gaelic era, or in other words they must have inherited the blood of the Ulaid and the Ernai, that is of the Fir Domnann branch of the Bolg. It seems very probable that Cairbre was himself a Druid, the last of the regent stock of the Tuatha De Danann; nor is it at all unlikely that some earth-mound or cave-enclosing hillock near Tailltiu, or in the region of Breifne that looks south towards Tailltiu, may conceal the remains of that remarkable man—the father, or the "fairy-father," of Morann—whose memory has been consigned by our historians to everlasting obloquy.

For the place-name Urney Dr. Joyce supplies but one derivation,

* *Tain Bo Fraich*, *loc. cit.*

believing it, as he did, to be everywhere and always a modernised form of the loan-word *ornaidhe*, or *urnaidhe*, which signifies "primarily a prayer, but in a secondary sense . . . a prayer-house."* Surely the "civitas Ernaidhe" spoken of in the *Leabhar Breac* copy of the Felire of Oengus was neither a prayer nor an oratory. The containing sentence reads, "et Ernaide nomen civitatis ejus hi sleib guaire;" and Whitley Stokes most correctly translates it, "and Ernaide was the name of her town in Sliabh Guairi"†. Most probably that *civitas*, or governmental seat, of the Ernai stood at or near Tullymongan, where the Uibriuin afterwards had an important fortress; but whether this was so or not it is certain that the Urney which stands for the name of Cavan parish in civil records is a true derivative of (*civitas*) Ernaide.

Nor is Cavan parish the only quarter of Leath-Chuinn to which the old Ernai have bequeathed their name. They were evidently a wide-spreading people; for, before the wholesale eviction enforced by Colla-da-Crioch, they stretched up over Tyrone to East Donegal.‡ Farther on, in Inishowen, in Kilmacrenan and in Tory Island—the Toirinis of the *Leabhar Gabála*—were seated Ptolemy's Vennicnii, a people who, I have good reason for thinking, had been continental allies of the Menapii, and who as the indubitable Fomoiré were execrated in Ireland. But under present conditions this view cannot be further developed here.

East of the Erdini, or Ernai, abode Ptolemy's Voluntii, occupying seemingly the area now represented by the counties Louth, Armagh, North Meath and, perhaps, the larger portion of Monaghan. These Voluntii have been philologically equated by scholars with the Ulaid (Uluti), or Fir-Ulaid.§ Fir-Ulaid does not mean the people of Uladh, but the Ulaid people, Ulaid being a noun in apposition with Fir.|| The analogy of this and other like compounds shows that the Bolg of Fir-Bolg is similarly a substantive folk-name agreeing with Fir in number and case.

The Metrical Dinnsenchus of Loch N'Erne¶ gives two legendary accounts of the Erne's origin which—though neither, I fear, would be accepted by the geologists—should not here be entirely ignored. It was "on a radiant evening in harvest," according to the poem, the Erne first sprang into existence, in a manner which foreboded a life of turbulence for its infant

* Joyce's *Names of Places*, Vol. I., p. 321.

† The *Calendar of Oengus* (Ed. by Stokes), p. 156.

‡ See Father Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 401.

§ See e.g. Rhys's *Studies in Early Irish History*, p. 49.

|| Nom. *Ulaid*, gen. *Ulad*, dat. *Ulltaib*, acc. *Ulltu* (Whitley Stokes in *Irische Texte*, III, p. 435). Comp. O'Mulconry's *Fir Erainn* (*supra*, p. 167).

¶ Edited by Profr. E. Gwynn in Todd Lecture Series, Vol. X., pp. 460-7.

waters. Fiachu Labraind, son of Smirgoll, and great-grandson of the Tigernmas who, about a century earlier, had miraculously perished near Crom Cruaich's shrine in Magh Sleacht, was then high king of Ireland. This Fiachu, we all know, was a very early monarch of the Eremonian line; for the ill-fated Tigernmas was a great-great-grandson of Eremon, through Eremon's son, Irial the Prophet.

The victories that blazoned Fiachu's escutcheon were many; but his crowning trophies were won at four monster battles, the last and fiercest of which was fought against the Ernai. Chieftain after chieftain of towering fame went down before him in these titanic contests; and, most remarkably, we are told that the King of Bearra (*ri Beirre*) it was who set the four chieftains "in array." The encounter with the Ernai does not rest merely on the doubtful authority of an anonymous poet. The Four Masters, from whom we have a right to expect trustworthy history, record under date *Anno Mundi* 3751, the winning by Fiacha Labhrainne of "a battle against the Ernai *d' Feraibh Bolg* on the plain where Loch Erne now is;" and they go on to explain "after the battle was gained from them (*i.e.*, from the Firbolg Ernai) the lake flowed over them, so that it was from them the lake is named, 'a lake over the Ernai.'"*

Fiachu fell at length by Eochu Mumho, at the battle of Belgadan; and Eochu succeeded him in the high-kingship.† Eochu Mumho stands five generations down from Ebher Finn in the Milesian genealogies; and the old Gaelic etymologists felt assured that it was from him Munster received its name.‡ When stripped of their extravagances the legends, I think, reveal some vague memories of actual happenings; but those happenings relate to a period much closer to us in time than 1449 B.C.—to the period, in fact, when the new-risen star of the "Sons of Mil" was ascending in the firmament. The *ri Beirre* who organised opposition to Fiachu might well have been the king of *Crich Berre*—the *Crich*, or land, to which the three "Red-Dogs" of the Martini took Conall Cearnach's head, in revenge for the slaying of Curoi MacDaire.§

The remarkable stone Clochavarra, standing near the site of Temair Luachra, is now the sole surviving witness in tangible shape to the situation of the same *Crich Berre*. In near proximity was Belgadan—now Bulgaden—the scene of Fiachu Labraind's defeat and death at the hands of Eochu Mumho. Geography lends some measure of *vraisemblance* to the historical content of the communication; but the incidents, such as they were, must be ascribed to the age when the Ernai were being effaced politically by the "sons of Mil."

* Cf. Article on Lough Gowna, p. 339. (Editor).

† *F. Masters*, A.M. 3751.

‡ "From him *Mumu* is named" (*Coir Anmann*, Art. 1).

§ *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Ed. by E. Gwynn), pt. III., pp. 397-9.

The Dinnsenchus author does not differ from the Four Masters as to the circumstances under which the Erne came into being, but he decks the event in more poetic colours. Having informed us that the Ernai were almost annihilated by Fiachu's valour, he adds :

“ Then the lake burst forth
under the array, till it quaked with cold,
in the country, with its pure bright portion,
where dwelt the red-armed Ernai.”

A rival, and a more picturesque, explanation of the Erne's genesis was also retailed by the professional *Seanachies* ; and the impartial Dinnsenchus-maker gives it due recognition. According to this tradition Queen Medbh of Cruachan had among her maids of honour, a damsel of noble rank and of rarest beauty, whose name was Erne.* One luckless day a wight of gigantic bulk and of ferocious aspect entered the royal household of Cruachan, and shook his savage mane and beard at the inmates. The queen's maidens were so affrighted by the spectre that they rushed out of the rath, and sped in different directions through the country. The gentle

“ Erne fled, with a troop of women,
under Loch Erne, that is never dull,
and over them poured its flood northward
and drowned them all together.”

Thus did lake (and river) win an imperishable title, “ even the name of noble Loch Erne.” †

The Dinnsenchus poet was a man of commendable piety ; and I cannot close this paper more fitly than by joining in the supplication with which his verses end :

“ a sure welcome to comfort me !
may I find it in glorious Heaven,
O Thou that dost exalt Loch Erne ! ” ‡

* In the Rennes Dinnsenchus (printed in *Revue Celtique*, XV., p. 483) she is described as the daughter of Burc Buiredaig. Hence Lughaidh O'Clery's expression, “ Otha Loch Eirne inghine Buirg ” (Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, p. 148).

† Conjointly these stories imply that the name Samair outlasted the regime of the Ernai, and that the originators of the new name were of the race of Cruachan, that is, of the race of Eochaidh Muighmedhoin and Brian. Lughaidh O'Clery, Keating, and O'Flaherty, in the seventeenth century, while naming the lake Eirne, or Ernai, still called the river Saimmer or Sameir : e.g., “ in Samario Ernai lacus fluvio ” (*Ogygia*, p. 258).

‡ The tradition of the *gamhain* (calt) that, startled by the jets of Tobar Gowna, fled across Breinne to the Western Sea, and was pursued all the way by the indignant water—which flowed ever after as the river Erne—is related by O'Donovan (1) in a note to the Four Masters, under date 1584 A.D., and (2)—in a variant form—in the Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Longford, pp. 3 and 4. (For a local version of the story, see *antea*, p. 341.—Ed.)

EXHIBITS AT THE ELEVENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[26th March, 1925.]

1. Stone Celt found at Ballymacinroe this year. It is a large-sized, perfectly polished instrument, of a light slate-coloured stone.

Shown by Mr. W. Reid.

2. Bronze Celt.—It was found in the spring of 1923 in a potato field alongside the road from Cavan to Bailieboro', within about three miles of the latter. The labourer who chanced to pick it up presented it as a curiosity to a Marist Brother of the Bailieboro' Novitiate who happened to be driving past. It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, looped and socketed, with a nail or rivet hole on the top surface. It is unornamented, but a perfect specimen of the latest made Bronze Celts.

Shown by D. J. Ryan.

3. Copper Halbert.—In May, 1923, Mr. Cox, of Curlurgan, Bailieboro', discovered in his bog, a mile from Bailieboro', this copper halbert head. It was 20 feet below the surface. It is 12 inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in width at its broadest part, weighs 14 ounces and has three rivets. The use of copper preceded that of bronze. Not unlikely the object is 4,000 years old. It is now in the National Museum, Dublin. A note in the *Journal of the R.S.A.I.* (June, 1926, p. 56) describes it.

A well-known antiquary, Rev. Patrick Power, of Cork University, declares that exact records, as to time, place, and circumstances of such finds as are mentioned above "are of first-rate value to the archæologist, being to him what deeds and charters are to the historian" (Do., p. 58). Under the auspices of the British Association an effort is being made at a complete census of all the bronze celts, swords, and daggers that have been discovered.

Shown by Mr. D. J. Ryan.

**LISTS OF PAROCHIAL CLERGY OF THE LATE
ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE
OF KILMORE.**

By the late REV. W. A. REYNELL.

Contributed by the REV. CANON SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Read 19th November, 1925.]

I am fortunate enough to possess the lists of incumbents of the parishes in the diocese of Kilmore, compiled by the well-known antiquary, the late Rev. W. A. Reynell, from materials in the Public Record Office, now destroyed.

Some day I hope the Rev. Canon Leslie may publish these, with his wonderful annotations, but life is short, and it is important, while we can, to put into print as much original information as possible, since the documents from which it was derived have perished.

I am tempted to annotate the names fully, but I think the wisest course will be to print Mr. Reynell's material as it was written, merely adding occasional short notes of my own in square brackets. Anything in round brackets is to be understood as Mr. Reynell's. Possibly at the end of the series I may be able to add some further notes on the various names.

H. B. SWANZY.

ANNAGH ALS. BELTURBET, R.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1622 (in). | WILLIAM ANDREWS. |
| 1635, 22 Oct. | JAMES MARGETSON.
Archbishop of Armagh, 1663; died 28 Aug., 1678. |
| 1637, 10 Oct. | GODFREY RHODES,
Brother-in-law to the Earl of Strafford, Ld. Lt. of Ireland. On 6 Dec., 1638, he had a Patent for the Treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.
(Mr. Claxton). |
| 1640, 31 March. | JOHN HODSON.
Dean of Clogher, 1661; Bishop of Elphin. 1667; died 18th Feb., 1685-6. Belturbet Church burnt, Palm Sunday, 1642. |

- 1661, 8 Nov. WILLIAM HODSON.
 [Name erased and changed to John, apparently in error.] Advowson of Belturbet R. granted to Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, and his heirs, 17th Dec., 1664. In 1661 the Crown presented "plus jure" —M.S. P.R.O. "Livings in various dioceses in Ireland." Wm. Hodson, ord. by Bishop of Ardfert, 29 Sept., 1658, admitted R., 8 Nov., 1661. Wm Hodson, Curate at Visitation R., 8 Nov., on Royal Presentation.
- 1673, 16 Aug. ROBERT ROBISON.
 He died in 1690.
- 1690, ——— ?
- 1709, 17 Sept. JOHN RICHARDSON.
 Dean of Kilmacduagh, 1730-47; died 9 Sept., 1747. See *London Magazine* for Sept., 1747. [J.P., Co. Cavan in list of 30 Nov., 1714, friend of Dean Swift, published an Irish Grammar, and the Book of Common Prayer in Irish. The date of his death was 7 Sept., and he was in his 78th year.] "1744, Belturbet, 25 July. The Lord Bishop of Kilmore confirmed a few days since in the church 335 people, and above 40 came after it was over." (*Dublin Courant*.)
- 1747-8, 15 Feb. } HENRY MAXWELL.
 (First Fruits, 8 March) }
- 1765, 22 May. CHARLES AGAR.
 Eventually Archbishop of Dublin and Earl of Normanton.
- 1768, 25 May. THOMAS WEBB.
 Dean of Kilmore, 1768-97.
- 1797, 3 June. HENRY MAXWELL.
 Resigned 19 Jan., 1811.
- 1811, 11 Feb. RICHARD WYNNE.
 Presented 11 Feb., by John, Earl of Farnham, inducted 6 April by Joseph Druitt, read assent 8 April, 1811; died 15 July, 1835, aged 72.
- 1835, 21 Oct. ANDREW MCCREIGHT.
 Died 7 May, 1868, aged 74.
- 1868, 2 June. THOMAS JAMES JACKSON.
 Resigned May, 1880; died 16 Sept., 1881.
- 1880, May JAMES MCCREIGHT JACKSON.
 Archdeacon.

CARRIGALLON, V.

1622. JOHN EVATT.
 1634, 14 July. ROBERT VAUX.
 Died, 1639.
 1639, 29 March. WALTER FRASER.
 1661, 21 April. JOSIAS HOLLINGTON.
 Ord. priest 9 May, 1661; inducted 19
 May, 1661.
 1664, 21 July. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.
 Ord. priest 17 June, 1664, by Bishop of
 Kilmore. Again appointed 21 July, 1673,
 with Outeragh (First Fruits).
 ? 1682. CHARLES ROSSELL.
 1698, 1 July. ARTHUR HARRIS.
 1705, 14 Nov. PETER LOMBARD.
 1752, 1 Feb. JOSEPH STORY.
 Ord. deacon, 28 Aug., 1743, at Kilmore;
 priest 4 Sept., 1743. Archdeacon. Had
 a faculty 28 Feb., 1754, to hold the parish
 with Urney and Annegeliff; also a faculty,
 14 March, 1754, to hold it with Killesher-
 diney. Died, 17 Dec., 1767.
 1768, 20 April. GEORGE KNOX.
 Died at Greenville, Co. Cavan, 8 Aug., 1769.
 1769, 28 Oct. HENRY WHYTE.
 1774, 10 Jan. JAMES COTTINGHAM.
 Also held Urney Union. Died, 26 March,
 1804.
 1804, 5 May. CHARLES COBBE BERESFORD.
 Also held Killesher, faculty 7 Feb., 1805.
 1809, 4 Nov. JAMES AGAR.
 Archdeacon. Died 6 Sept., 1866, aged 85.
 Buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin,
 full choral service.
 1866, 5 Dec. JAMES GODLEY.
 Ord. deacon, 18 May, 1845; priest, 21
 Dec., 1845 (Diocesan Roll). P.C. Ashfield,
 12 Dec., 1848.
 CASTLE-RAHIN, R.V.
 1622 (in). NICHOLAS SMITH, junior.
 With Kildrumfertin.
 1628, 3 Oct. GEORGE CREIGHTON.
 With Lurgan and Munterconnaught.
 1673, 20 Aug. JOHN AUNGIER.
 With Lurgan.
 1692, 29 July. WILLIAM HANSARD.
 With Lurgan.

- 1700, 18 Nov. LUKE STERLING.
Also held Lurgan Union, faculty, 14 Nov.,
1700. Tax, £8. [J.P., Co. Cavan, 25 Feb.,
1712-13.]
- 1737-8, 15 March. STEPHEN CADDY.
On resignation of Luke Sterling.
- 1740, 20 June. WILLIAM SMITH.
- 1777, 18 April. JOHN CAULFIELD.
Archdeacon.
- 1781, 2 June. JOSEPH STORY.
Resigned, 1794.
- 1794, 29 Dec. GEORGE COX.
- 1797, 12 Dec. HENRY MAHON.
Resigned, 1802.
- 1802, 19 April. HENRY MAXWELL.
- 1813, 4 Oct. HENRY VESEY FITZGERALD.
Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, Dean. He
held both by faculty, dated 15 March,
1825; died, 30 March, 1860, aged 74;
buried at St. Ann's, Dublin.
1860. ANDREW HOGG, LL.D.
Died 4 July, 1871.
- CASTLE TERRA, R.V.
- 1622 (in) FRANCIS PARKES.
- 1625, 21 May. THOMAS GROVES.
- 1625[-6], 13 March FAITHFUL TEATE.
- 1635, 28 Jan.
(3 Feb., F.F.) FAITHFUL TEATE. Again collated; with Drung
and Larah. B.A., Dub., 1621, M.A., 1624; B.
and D.D. Preb. Cross Patrick, Ferns, 1618.
Chaplain to Lord Blaney, 1623. Vice-
Rector T.C.D., 1640. Rector of Drumgoon.
He would seem to have been beneficed
at Salisbury, Wilts.
- 1661, 26 April. ALEXANDER MARTIN.
With Tomregan and Drumlane; ordained
priest, 11 Sept., 1660, by Bishop of Kilmore.
Was Archdeacon, also V. Urney and Anna-
geliff.
- 1662, 1 June. DAVID STRATTON.
- 1663, 29 June. AMBROSE BARCROFT.
(Archdeacon); with Drung and Larah.
Inducted 2 Sept. Faculty to hold Urney
and Annageliffe at Archdeaconry with
Castleterra, 8 Dec., 1669.
- 1678, 30 Oct. ROBERT WILSON.
Also V. Urney and Anageliffe.

- 1684, 27 Nov. ISAAC COLLIER.
 (With Urney.) Buried in Armagh Cathedral.
 [Son of Isaac; born in London; educated
 by Mr. Price; entered T.C.D., 3 Jan.,
 1667-8, aged 15, as sizar; B.A., 1671;
 Scholar, 1672; M.A., 1675; Master of
 Armagh School, 1674; Rector of Clon-
 leigh (Derry), 1690—1701; Rector of
 Donaghmore (Derry), 1701—20; married
 Margaret, daughter of Walter Dawson, of
 Armagh, ancestor of the Earls of Dartrey.
 He died, May, 1720; will dated, 26th
 March; proved prerogative, 14 May.]
- 1690, 11 March. MATTHEW HANDCOCK.
 (Archdeacon.) With Urney, etc. Buried at
 St. Patrick's, Dublin, 21 Jan. 1740.
- 1740, 31 March. WETTENHALL SNEYD.
 Resigned same year; died, Sept., 1745.
 (Archdeacon.)
- 1740, 10 June. PATRICK MOORE.
 Died, 1741.
- 1741, 28 April. JAMES COOKSEY.
 [Named John by Reynell in error; son
 of John, Esq.; born Kilkenny; educated
 there by Mr. Lewis; entered T.C.D., 16
 June, 1726, aged 16; B.A., 1730; married,
 settlements dated 6 March, 1743-4, Susanna,
 sister of George Moore.—Reg. of Deeds,
 Book 120, page 274.]
- 1774, 10 Sept. JOHN COOKSEY.
 [Son of Rev. James Cooksey, Rector of
 Castleterra, by Susanna Moore; educated
 by Mr. Cottingham; entered T.C.D.,
 1 Nov., 1763; Scholar, 1766; B.A., 1768;
 ordained deacon at Kilmore, 25 July, 1770;
 priest, 25 July, 1771; curate of Kinawley,
 7 July, 1773; curate of Knocktopher
 (Ossory), 1780; married, Ossory marriage
 licence dated 5 Sept., 1780, Deborah,
 second daughter of the Rev. Samuel
 Madden, LL.D., Incumbent of Kells and
 Fiddown, Co. Kilkenny.]
- 1780, 4 Nov. JOHN BROUGHAM, D.D.
 Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Held
 Moybologue by faculty with this parish,
 dated 31 Oct., 1780. Died 22 May, 1811,
 aged 52. [Uncle of the 1st Lord Brougham
 and son of Henry Brougham, of Brougham,
 Westmorland.]

- 1809, 21 March Honble. GEORGE GORE.
Inducted by Joseph Druitt, 30 March, 1809; read assent, 9 April; Rector of Ardnagihy, Cork, 1814—17; Dean of Killala, 1817—44; Rector of Raheny, Dublin. [Son of Arthur, 2nd Earl of Arran. Died, 27 August, 1844; buried at Killala.]
- 1821, 3 May. FRANCIS FOX.
Ordained deacon, 8 Nov., 1812; priest, 14 Feb., 1813, both at Kilmore; inducted 25 May, 1821, by G. B. Moffett. He was of Fox Hall, Co. Longford. Died, 1834, aged 46.
- 1835, 6 Nov. ARTHUR KNOX.
Born, 22 Nov., 1793; inducted by Andrew McCreight, Rector of Anna, 7 Nov., 1835; read assent, 8 Nov.; resigned, 1873; died at Hastings, Sussex, 27 Nov., 1874, aged 81. (Andrew McCreight may have been nominated to Castleterra, but not collated, after the death of Gore.)
- CLONCARE, V., CLONLOHER, V., AND KILLASNET, V.
1622, in. JOHN HOLLIWELL.
(Clonlogher and Killargue.)
- 1626, 5 Aug. WILLIAM BOLTON.
(Clonlogher and Killargue.)
- 1632, 24 Sept. HENRY HATHERSHALL.
(Clonlogher.)
- 1635, July. CORMOCK O'HOGHY.
(Clonlogher.) (First Fruits.)
- 1635, 24 Sept. MATTHEW MOORE.
[Reynell gives this date as 1625, but states that Moore was ordained deacon and priest by the Archbishop of Cashel, 19 Dec., 1633.]
- 1637, 2 Aug. JOHN CONINGHAM.
(Clonclare.)
- 1661, 24 April. ROBERT WASSE.
(Clonclare, Clonlogher, Killasnet, Rossinver, and Innismagra.) [No doubt the Robert Wasse who matriculated as sizar from Trinity College, Cambridge, 1641-2; B.A., 1641-2.—Venn's *Alumn. Cant.*]
- 1681, 6 Feb. THOMAS HARDCASTLE.
- 1685, 28 March JOHN TWIGGE.
- 1698, 15 June. JOHN SMITH.
He died, 1721.

- 1721, 3 May. CAULFEILD CUFF.
 (On death of John Smith.) [Son of Thomas, military officer ; born, Co. Galway ; entered T.C.D. as sizar, 25 March, 1703-4, aged 18 ; Scholar, 1707 ; B.A., 1708 ; Rector of Innismacsaint, diocese of Clogher, 1739.]
- 1742, 31 Oct. THOMAS CUFF
 Died, 1775. [Son of the Rev. Caulfeild Cuff, above-mentioned ; born, Co. Roscommon ; entered T.C.D., 2 May, 1731, aged 17 ; B.A., 1735.]
- 1775, 2 Feb. JOHN CAULFEILD.
 Presented by Crown during vacancy of the See ; fiant dated 24 Jan., 1775, vice Thos. Cuff, deceased.
- 1781, 12 May HUGH MONTGOMERY
 [Perhaps Hugh, son of William Montgomery, Esq ; born, Co Down ; educated by Dr. Benson ; entered T.C.D., 2 Nov., 1769, aged 17 ; B.A., 1774 ; ordained priest (Down), 10 Nov., 1776, of Grey Abbey, Co. Down ; married, 1782, the Hon. Emilia Ward, daughter of the 1st Viscount Bangor.]
- 1792, 24 Aug. CAIRNCROSS CULLEN.
- 1807, 1 Aug. WILLIAM BUSHE.
- 1810, 11 July. JOHN LEAHY.
 Inducted by William Johnston, 14 Aug.
- 1823, 13 Nov. ABRAHAM HAMILTON.
 Resigned ; also Rector of Kinneagh, Cork. Died, 16 Dec., 1861, aged 88. [Son of John, Gentleman, born Co. Donegal, educated by Dr. Norris ; entered T.C.D. as Fellow Commoner, 9 Nov., 1789, aged 16 ; B.A., 1794 ; M.A., 1810 ; Vicar of Clonmany, Derry, 1801—1815 ; Vicar of Donegal, 1796.]
- 1842, 8 March. JOHN HAMILTON.
- 1856, 31 July. JOHN HAMILTON.
- 1868, 2 June. RICHARD NASH STANDISH.
 Resigned, and died at 10 Breffni Terrace, Sandymount, 4 Jan., 1900, aged 79. His wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Cox, of Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim, died later on the same day.

DENN, V.

- 1622 (in). ROBERT WHISKINS.
With Annegeliffe; died, 1634. [Son of William Whiskins, of Milton, Cambridge-shire; admitted pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, 2 June, 1589, aged 16; Scholar, 1589—95; B.A., 1592—3; Curate of Rampton, Cambridge, and Schoolmaster, 1606.]
- 1634, 14 Feb. WILLIAM BAYLY.
Again, 10 Aug., 1635.
- 1637, 12 Nov. ALEXANDER CLOGY.
Resigned, 12 May, 1640.
- 1640, 10 Aug. WILLIAM WALLACE.
- 1664, 6 April. EDWARD DIXIE.
(Dean). Appeared, 1679, Visitation Book.
- 1700, 21 May. RICHARD READER.
(Dean). Held Deanery, Rectory of Kilmore and Vicarages of Kildrumferton and Denn, by faculty, 21 May, 1700.
- 1702, 24 April. SAMUEL COLBY.
[Son of John, Schoolmaster, of Dublin; born in Yorkshire; educated by Mr. Torway, Dublin; entered T.C.D., 5 Oct., 1685, aged 17; Scholar, 1688; Sizar, St. John's College, Cambridge, 8 Oct., 1689; Curate, St. Michan's, Dublin, in 1701.]
- 1709, 9 April. JOHN BENNETT.
- 1726, 14 March. JOHN CHARLTON.
By resignation of John Bennett. Resigned, 1740, for Kildrumferton.
- 1740, 10 June. ARTHUR MOORE.
Resigned, 1774. [Archdeacon.] Vicar-General, 8 Feb., 1768. [J.P., Co. Cavan, 22 June, 1764.]
- 1776, 10 Sept. WILLIAM FOX.
Joint Vicar-General, 3 Nov., 1772. [Son of Michael, gentleman; born in Co. Leitrim; educated by the Rev. Mr. Hynes; entered T.C.D., 23 May, 1758, aged 16, as Sizar; Scholar, 1760; B.A., 1762; LL.B., 1769; Curate of Kilmore, 1769—73; married, October, 1768, Elizabeth Sophia, eldest daughter of Arthur Moore, Archdeacon of Kilmore and Vicar of Denn.]

1780, 4 May.

ALBERT NESBITT.

Also Preb. Ballysonnon, Kildare, faculty, 19 May, 1795. Held that Prebend., 1792—1801; resigned Denn, 1 May, 1812; died 30 Jan., 1822. [Son of Cosby Nesbitt, of Lismore, M.P. for Cavan, 1750—67, by Anne, daughter of John Enery, of Bawnboy; bapt., at Kilmore, 4 March, 1754; educated by Mr. Carr; entered T.C.D., 20 April, 1771, aged 17, as Fellow Commoner; B.A., 1774; Chaplain to the Prince Regent; J.P., Co. Cavan, 23 May, 1794.]

1812, 10 Oct.

JOSIAH ERSKINE.

Resigned, 1813, for Knockbride, which see.

1813, 23 April.

JOSEPH DRUITT.

Prebendary of Tipperkevin, St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1817—20; died, 15 Sept., 1835, aged 60; buried at Ballyhaise. [Son of Edward, merchant; born Dublin; educated by Mr. Fenton; entered T.C.D., 21 May, 1790, aged 15; B.A., 1796; M.A., 1809; married twice; his second wife, whom he married at Newpark, 21 March, 1822, was Bridget, widow of Peter Tyndall, of Dublin, and daughter of the Rev. William Garrett.]

1835, 25 Nov.

JAMES COLLINS.

Dean of Killala, 1844; died, 19 June, 1868. [Son of Francis, merchant; born Drogheda; entered T.C.D., 5 Feb., 1821, aged 20; B.A., 1825; M.A., 1832; B.D. and D.D., 1842; married at St. Mary's Church, Newry, 26 March, 1828, Elizabeth, second daughter of the Rev. Josiah Erskine, Rector of Knockbride, and formerly Vicar of Denn. Dean Collins, who was Chaplain to Lord Heytesbury, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was author of several pamphlets, and was stated by Primate Marcus Gervais Beresford to have been one of the best preachers he ever heard.]

1846 (? 1845)

EDMOND NUGENT.

12 March

Died at Charleville, Dalkey, 4 March, 1874.

1854, 7 Nov.

HENRY PERCEVAL.

1859, 19 Dec.

HENRY O'BRIEN.

1860, 7 Feb.

SAMUEL ROBERTS.

(On resignation of O'Brien); died, 25 Aug., 1877; aged 77.

DRUMGOON, R.

The Crown presented to the Rectory of Drumgoon in 1681. It was recovered by a Verdict in 1683 to Francis Lucas, Esq. (M.S., Public Record Office, Dublin.)

- 1612 (in). HUGH MCCONIE, or MCCOMYN.
Still Rector, 1626.
- 1625-6, 13 MARCH. FAITHFUL TEATE.
[See Castleterra.]
- 1627, 10 Oct. JAMES MORSHEAD.
- 1629, 23 Jan. THOMAS FFRASAR.
- 1633, 8 March. WILLIAM ALDRICH.
- 1661, 26 April WILLIAM ALDRICH.
He had a faculty to hold Drumgoon and Killesherdiney, 26 April, 1670.
- 1681, 27 May. MICHAEL ARNOTT, M.A.
- 1683, 26 May. JOHN ARCHDALL.
Had faculty to hold Drumgoon with Lusk and Donabate (Dublin), 25 May, 1683. [Died, 1689 or 1690. Archdale's "Memoirs of the Archdales," p. 66, note 1.]
- ? 1690. — ?
- 1718, 1 April. JOHN SINGLETON.
Presented by Rowland Singleton, of Termonfechan, Co. Louth—Diocesan Roll. Inducted, 16 April, 1718, by John Bennett, Vicar of Denn, *on death of Michael Arnott*. Was Arnott re-collated on death of John Archdall?
1754. PETER RICHARDSON.
Died, 14 Sept., 1763. (*Pue's Occurrences*.) [Scholar, T.C.D., 1716; B.A., 1717; M.A., 1720. No matriculation entry. His wife, Elizabeth, was evidently a member of the Ennis family, for there was in the Public Record Office an Exchequer Bill, dated 29 April, 1748, Edward and Francis Lucas, executors of Francis Lucas, versus Francis Ennis, Mary Ennis, Peter Richardson, Elizabeth, his wife; Rachel Reynett, Robert Cooper, Lucy, his wife; Jane Ennis, Michael Ennis, Robert Ennis, etc. Michael Ennis had married Jane, daughter of Francis Lucas, of Castleshane, Co. Monaghan, High Sheriff of that Co., 1673; the patron of the living in 1683. See above.]

- 1763, 30 Sept. FRANCIS LUCAS.
[Brother of Edward, of Castleshane, M.P.
He died, 1770.]
- 1770, 31 Aug. HOWARD ST. GEORGE.
Held Drumgoon with Magheraculmony
(Clogher) by faculty, 21 Aug., 1770.
- 1792, 9 Jan. EDWARD LUCAS.
Died, May, 1814; buried, 14 May, in the
Clement's vault, Drung. [Son of Edward,
of Castleshane, M.P. He was ancestor of
Lucas-Clements family.]
- 1815, 15 Aug. JAMES HAMILTON.
Presented by Dacre Hamilton, 14 Aug.,
inducted 15 Aug., by Crinus Irwin, Vicar of
Killesherdiney. Resigned, 1826. [Son of
Sir James Hamilton, of Cornacassa, Co.
Monaghan, by Catherine Hamilton, his
wife. Married Margaret, widow of Colonel
Samuel Black, H.E.I.C.S., and daughter
of Major Jerome Noble, 28th Regt., by
Elizabeth, elder daughter of the Rev. John
Crawford, Vicar of Errigal Trough, Co.
Monaghan.]
- 1826, 4 March. ROBERT THOMPSON.
- 1832, 8 March. ARCHIBALD E. DOUGLAS.
- 1855, 11 April. JOHN RICHARD DARLEY.
Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore.
- 1866, 5 Dec. HUGH MURRAY.
Died at Rathmines, Dublin, 13 April, 1870,
aged 65.
- 1870, 4 May. THOMAS MOORE.
- H. B. SWANZY.

(To be continued.)

CATHAL BUIDHE MHAC GHIOLLA GUNNA (c. 1670-1750).

By REV. LAURENCE MURRAY, Dundalk.

[Read 19th November, 1925.]

Most fascinating is the task of helping to rescue from oblivion the works of the Gaelic poets of the 17th and 18th centuries, not alone on account of the intrinsic beauty of many of the pieces recovered, but also, because even the poems that possess small merit as literature often let in a flood of light on the obscure history of the Penal Days, and help us to clear up some of the hitherto unsolved philological or archæological problems. In this respect Munster has been more fortunate than Ulster. While the best of Munster's Gaelic literature has been brought out in excellent redactions three or four small volumes contain all that is available of the works of the great Oriel school of poetry. We have suffered, too, from the ignorance of those who have attempted to write books on the History of Irish Literature. Miss Hull devotes whole pages to almost every one of the Munster poets, but can spare scarcely ten lines to give the names of four of the Ulster poets. Dr. Hyde also shows a bias against Northern writers. The most recent attempt at writing the History of Irish Literature, Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*, contains the following sneer :—

This study has not often glanced outside the south-west corner of Munster. The reason of this is, of course, that there the Gaelic world was more self-contained and more intact ; still possessed in it more of the light of the brain and of the impulse of the heart. The only other part of the country that, in its schools of poetry and poetical contentions, resembled Munster, was South Ulster and Leinster. But, as in Connaught, so, here too, in South Ulster, in spite

of this literary activity, the break with the past is noticeable. **Anonymous singers in Munster wrote a more refined type of lyric than the most famous of the poets of this school.**

The heavy print is ours. It is a great pity that Corkery marred his epoch-making book by attempting to treat of a subject of which he knew absolutely nothing. Some day, a full and impartial account will be written, and it will then be admitted that the great Ulster quartet, MacCuarta, Cathal Buidhe, MacCooley, and O'Doirnin, rank at least as high as any that Munster has produced, while it is doubtful if Munster will be able to lay claim to a line of scholars to compare with Nial O'Murchaidh, Pádraig MacAlindon, Pádraig O'Heighir, Patrick Pronty, Aodh MagOirechtaidh, Edmund O'Reilly, Dr. James Woods, Art Mór O'Murchaidh, and Nicholas Kearney. The Courts of Poetry lasted throughout Oriel down to the Famine Year. In Cavan there was a famous school at Mullagh which produced the two Farrellys (Sean and Fardy) and Matt Monaghan. The names of the minor poets of Cavan are still remembered in the traditions of the old people—Philip the Minister, Father Thomas Clery, of Killann; Fiachra Mhac Brady, the Bard of Stradone; Cathaoir MacCaba, the boon companion of O'Carolan, and at least a score of others. But Cavan's crowning glory was Cathal Buidhe Mhac Ghiolla Gunna, whose name is, even still, a household word wherever Irish is spoken in the northern half of Ireland.

I do not know if there is any tradition of Cathal left in the county of his birth, but the tradition of places as far apart as Tírchonaiill, Omeath, and North Connaught, agree that he was a Cavan man. A manuscript in the R.I.A. calls him Cathal Gunn of Tullyhaw, Co. Cavan; while in some of the versions of his most famous poem, the *Bunán Buidhe*, reference is made to a lake in the neighbourhood of his habitation—Loch MacNean—which is in extreme north-west of County Cavan. He was probably born between the years 1670 and 1680. The Omeath tradition, that he was sent to Rome to be educated for the priesthood, but that, when he came home to be ordained, he fell in love with a young lady named Katie Tyrrell and abandoned his original intention, is borne out by references in a number of his songs. The *Beatha Chathail Bhuidhe* has the following verse:—

Óráir mé ari fórtún míte cáilín
 'Smé aḡ toul le n-eapraíó ḡo loc ḡcál,
 'Snae truaig' don té ruair fógluim rásairt
 ḡur cáil a éreóeam mar ḡeall air mnáib.

Ten colleens' full fortunes I squandered
 To Loughgall with my packs as I wandered.
 Alas! spite of logic and all
 Not for pride but through Venus to fall.

Again, the *Aithreachas* [Repentance] has these lines :—

Nuair a béinn 'ra Róim im' easlairead ós, faraor!
Sul rá tceadair mé air reóir, 'r mé cóirys-irce m
aibio na sciar.

When I was a young cleric in Rome
Ere dressed in monk's habit I went arambling.

Hardiman says that there were at least three songs written for this same Katie Tyrrell, one of which is usually ascribed to O'Carolan. They became very popular, but I am afraid that the different versions got mixed up. Two versions, with music, one from Tirconnaill and the other from Omeath, were printed in a recent number of the *Ultach* (I. 11). The Omeath version is called *Caitti na gCiabh*, and is invariably ascribed by the old people to Cathal Buidhe. It is a very plaintive and touching song, and some of the verses support the tradition that he had been educated for the priesthood in Rome :—

'Sé mo léan-ghéar go b'faca mé an t'ub nó an t'omh,
Sé mó léan-ghéar go b'faca mé b'ruac na t'omh,
Sé mo léan-ghéar go b'faca mé Caitti 'ra clann
'Sgair cáill mé mo chreideam mar gheall air an bean.

Ó ! mo millead go b'ruair mire léigeann i rcoil
Ar go n'oeanfar r'asair go r'pár t'iom san moill ;
Sol má t'ócraó an ceapróg a dá láim ór mo cíonn.
Dórfamh-ré Caitti rá b'ruac na t'omh.

My bitter woe, my eyes saw the black on the brown,
My bitter woe they saw the Shrubbery Brow—
My bitter woe that I saw Katie and her family,
And that for any woman's sake I lost my faith.

My destruction that ever I got well educated,
And that near I was to priesthood ;
But sooner than Bishop's hands should be raised o'er
my head,
Katie I would marry by the Shrubbery Brow.

All the traditions agree that after he gave up the idea of becoming a priest he commenced to lead a bad life. He adopted the trade of pedlar, and roamed over all Ulster, North Connaught, and North Leinster. He tells us that he even used to visit Dublin. He was frequently in Omeath, and was probably one of the *Beirt o'n Éirne* mentioned in MacCuarta's *Lament for Niall Óg*.

Owing to a number of indiscretions on his part his advent was always dreaded by the local clergy. In this connection a very humorous story is told by the old people of Omeath. One time that the parish priest of Omeath heard that Cathal Buidhe was coming on a visit, he ascended the altar and left his seven curses on anyone who would give a night's lodging to the poet. That evening, around twilight, a poor woman knocked at the priest's door, and begged a night's lodging, *air ghradh De* (for the love of God). The priest ordered his servant to make a shake-down for the *old woman* in the corner of the kitchen. Next morning when the priest entered the kitchen, he found this verse scratched on the wall:—

D'rág tú reáct malláct, a fásairt a éiríde,
 Díri an té beairt ceatrama do cátaí Buidhe;
 Tú féin a tug ceatrama do cátaí Buidhe
 Agus tuit na reáct malláct anuas díri do toig.

Seven curses you left, O sagart a chree
 On him who'd let in the bad Cathal Buidhe.
 Yourself you gave lodgings to bad Cathal Buidhe,
 And heavy the seven fell on your own roof-tree.

And the Seanchaidhe added:—

Nuasir a d'amarc an fásairt éirí, cómpuis ré uair reáct
 rudaí .i. a bata 'ra fuir, a capall 'ra márad, a cóta mór 'ra
 nata áro, agus an cailín aimiríe.

When the priest looked around he missed seven things—his walking stick, his riding whip, his horse, his dog, his overcoat, his tall hat, and his housekeeper.

The tradition of Cathal's evil life is borne out by admissions that he makes in his poems. His *Beatha* has the following extraordinary litany of crimes:—

Níor tiobar mo lám in don éar ó orfáir;
 Tórfamh troid agus beairtinn bhuirgean,
 D'imreodamh cártáí, cámpinn, rcoirfamh;
 Sin agus oibre túr mo fadógaí.

Ir meannnoc, rúgáct, lúcthar, clice
 A doirtinn-re fuirgíó ríor im' reóig
 D'ait liom fúrgáct, úrgáct meirge
 Agus tabairt mo éiríde do mnaoi an óil.

Ἦρ βεας εἰαῖα, ἡδῆρῶα, φαίη νό πορραῖο
 Δριαῖη ἄ ριννε μέ γε η-αοῖβ ;
 Ἦρ βεας οῖρη ἐρῶαῖο, ἐρῶε νό παοῖρη,
 ἢ ἀμῆρη ἐπορκαῖο Ἦρ μῶ ἡνῖη ἐραορ.

Ἦι ἐπειρορῖνν ὄη ἐλείη ἡυῖβ Ἐίρεαετ πῆακαῖο
 Μῆα ἢα βρεαρ ἄ ἐλαοῖδεαῖο ἰε ρῶῖς ;
 Δετ ἀνοῖρ, φαῖαορ ! τα μο φαοῖατ-ρα καῖτε,
 'Σῖρ μιαν ἰομ ῖταῖο ἀῖυρ ἰεῖῖεαν ὄοῖβ
 etc., etc.

From evil ne'er I withheld my hand,
 I'd start a fight and bickerings fanned,
 Cards I'd play, revile, and scold,
 This the work of my days of old.

Bravely, cheerily, speedily, skilfully,
 Whiskey I drained down my throat,
 Carousing my joy, the drunken awakening,
 And love-making to the hostess of the ale house.

'Tis few the fences, gardens, hedges, or the harrowing
 With gusto that I ever did ;
 Piety, prayers, or prayer time I never minded,
 On fast days I fasted least.

From no cleric I'd take it as sin or shame
 To win other's wives with kisses—
 But now, alas ! my life is gone,
 I'll stop it all from this time on.

He makes a similar admission in the *Aithreachas* :—

Βέμν ἀμ ἀῖυρ φαῖητοεἰμν ἢ βυῖο βεαρ,
 ἀῖυρ βέμν ἀμ ἀῖυρ φαῖητοεἰμν ἢ ἀρη ἰεῖ ;
 Ὀῖ μῖρε ὀρῖρηεἰμῆαι, ἡδῆρηἰμῆαι, φαρηῖαε, ἀ' ῖ βυῖο μῶορ
 μο ἰεῖρῖ
 Δετ, ἄ ῖ ἢ ἢα ἢῖρηῖα, ἀμ ὀ' φαρηῖ ἢα ταβαῖρη ὄο βρεῖτ.

Anything that was pretty I coveted,
 At times I coveted something particular,
 I was adulterous, obscene, given to anger, and mighty
 was my sloth,
 But, O King of Graces, in Your anger give not Your
 judgment,

When his wife upbraided him with never having earned a sixpence that he did not spend on drink, he answers :—

'Sclum tú mé, a bean uo a éanaí na briaíra beoít,
 Nit mo éioide foillám 'rír leannán uam coiróce an tairt,
 Nuair atáim na slómí 'rna rairéir i bpað uaim irteac,
 Sé deir mo múmeál buirde, " Ír cmeálta d'óirpam
 beoc."

O, listen, my lady, who psalmest the truth,
 My heart is ne'er voidless since my curly youth ;
 For spying the glasses and cellars so full,
 My yellow neck whispers, " Me, me, a wee pull."

He could not help it—the poison was in his system. His yellow neck demanded the whiskey, and soaked it in as a sponge soaks water. And although the poor woman had only the price of a half-one left, and the children crying for food, yet she bought the drink for him. The answer was so human and pathetic that there was no gainsaying it.

Of course such self-accusations were conventional with the Irish poets—but in Cathal's case we cannot overlook the unanimous tradition concerning him; not only throughout Ulster, but in North Connaught and in North Leinster also. The following description of him is given in one of Nicholas O'Kearney's manuscripts :—

Cahal or Charles Buidhe Gunn, the author of the *Bunán Buidhe* and other humorous pieces, was a celebrated character, the counterpart of the *Mangaire Sugach*, who frequented the north-eastern counties of Ulster, in the character of a pedlar or dealer in soft goods. He was a wild rover that stopped at nothing.

In spite of the poet's evil life he lived to a good old age. The story of his death is told, with slight variations, throughout all the Irish-speaking districts of Ulster. He continued to "tramp the roads" even after he had passed his eightieth year. Feeling weaker than usual, one winter's day, he took refuge in a deserted farmhouse, and with some sticks and turf mould he managed to light a little fire in the grate. He felt that death was approaching and recalling all that he had learned in his youth, he commenced to think over his evil life and to excite himself to repentance. With the burnt end of a rod he wrote on the lime-washed wall his final "Repentance" or "Aithreachas," a long poem of about twenty verses, containing most sublime and beautiful thoughts on Christ's Passion, man's base ingratitude, and God's love and mercy towards sinners. Meanwhile, a strange woman called at the priest's house a few miles away, and told him that an old man was dying at a certain place and that no time was to be lost.

The priest arrived just in time to administer the last sacraments to the dying poet. Cathal's salvation is usually attributed to the beautiful prayers and meditations contained in the *Aithreachas*. No trace could be found of the strange woman who had come with the sick call, and everybody concluded that Cathal's benefactor was the Blessed Virgin herself, whom he had so tenderly invoked in the *Aithreachas* :—

Α ΜΑΙΓΩΕΑΝ ΒΕΑΝΝΙΣΤΕ, Α ΒΑΡΙΠΙΟΣΑΝ ΠΛΑΙΤΕΑΜΝΑΡ ΘΕ
 ΝΑC ΜΕΑΝΑΡ ΤΟΝ ΡΕΑCΑC Α ΖΗΝΙΟΡ CΑΙΡΩΕΑΡ ΛΕΤΙ ;
 ΞΕΘΔΑΙΟ ΜΕ Ο'ΡΑΙΛΤΕ ΔΙΗ ΒΑΛΛ ΤΕ CΥΡΩΙΞΑΘ ΜΗC ΘΕ
 'ΣΑΙΡ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΡ-ΛΑΙΜ ΒΑΜ ΒΕΙΟ Μ'ΑΙΤΙΣ ΛΕΟ' ΙΜΠΙΘΕ ΡΕΜ.

ΤΑ ΜΟ ΛΕΑC-ΡΑ CΑΙΤΤΕ, ΙΡ ΘΕΙΜΗΝ ΝΑC ΡΑΘΑ ΜΟ ΡΑΟΣΑΙ
 ΝΑC ΤΡΥΑΙΣ ΜΕ Α'Ρ ΜΟ ΙΟCΤΑΙ ΡΕΡΠΙΘΕCΑ ΔΙΗ ΕΛΑΡ Μ'ΑΞΑΙΘΕ,
 ΔΟC ΖΥΡΩΙΜ ΤΥ, Α ΜΗΥΡΕ, Α ΘΥΙΜΕ, 'ΡΑ ΜΑCΑΙΡ ΜΗC ΘΕ
 ΞΟ Ν-ΙΟCΡΑΙΟ ΜΟ ΕΟΡΡ Μ ΖΑC ΟΙC ΘΑ ΟCΕΑΡΝΑ ΜΕ.

“O, Blessed Virgin! O Queen of God's Kingdom!
 How happy for the sinner who makes friends with her:
 I will have your welcome soon, with the help of the
 Son of God,
 And on your white right hand I will take my place,
 on your own asking.

My lease is out, my life here is short:
 And woe is me, and my faults printed across my face.
 But I beseech you, O Mary, O nurse, O Mother of the
 Son of God!

That my body may pay for all the evil I ever committed.

Cathal Buidhe was a contemporary of MacCuarta and of MacAlindon. He lived in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and through the first half of the eighteenth. Yet he is more modern than some of the poets who lived a century later, and it is probable that he would be better understood by the present generation than by his own contemporaries.

A large number of his poems have already appeared in print. Six pieces are given in Henry Morris' *Ceud de Ceoltabh Uladh*:—*An Bunan Buidhe, Abhran Chathail Bhuidhe, Mailigh Mhodhmar, Ceathtuigh Bhan* and the *Aithreachas*. Two more have been published by Seosamh Lloyd in *Duanaire na Midhe*:—*Beatha Chathail Bhuidhe* and *Tuireadh Philib Mhic Ghiolla Ghumna*. The following pieces attributed to him are to be found in the manuscripts :—

- I. ΔΞ bun na ccúis zcrann (οαραβ τύρ—“ ΔΞ bun na ccúis zcrann pé rmeío mé oipci anunn.)
- II. Saorpuzáo mholi mhic na buirde (οαραβ τύρ—“ Οαιρ εοζαó an dá ζαλλ α εοιρíz zo mall.”)
- III. Sorcúzáo ná Saorpuzáo Shile Tip Eozam (οαραβ τύρ. “ Δειρ beannaét uaim ríor zo Tip Conaill mar bfuil Δοó.”)

IV. A poem on Whiskey of which the first two lines are :

Ír í mo cneac bean ceannuige na feite
Ír a meirge Mhuirneac mo shrad rém tú.

- I. "At the foot of the five trees," beginning—"At the foot of the five trees I saluted her."
 II. "The Freeing of Molly McEvoy," beginning—"By the war of the two Galls."
 III. "The Vindication of Shiela of Tyrone," beginning—"Bring my blessing down to Tirconnail, where dwelleth Hugh."
 IV. A poem on Whiskey:—
 "My destruction is the wife of the merchant of generosity,
 And O sweet tippler my love art thou.

It is probable that many of his poems are lost. Poems like his, full of human interest and intimacy, were not the kind that the contemporary academic scribes, trained in the Bardic Schools or in the Courts of Poetry, liked to copy and preserve. He was different from all the other poets of his age—one who broke away from all the bondage and shackles of the schools, and hacked out a road for himself. One could almost believe that he never came into contact with either the Bardic Schools or the Courts of Poetry. It is easy to fix his place among the poets of Ulster. Inferior to MacCuarta, he easily excels all the others—O'Doirnin, McCooey, MacAlindon and O'Carolan. One great proof of his excellence is that at least four of his poems:—*An Bunán Buidhe*, *Beatha*, *Aithreachas*, and *Abhran Chathail Bhuidhe*—became immediately popular throughout the whole North of Ireland, and have retained their popularity to the present day.

His two best-known poems are the *Aithreachas* and the *Bunán Buidhe*. The latter gives us a very striking and original presentation of the gospel of enjoyment popularised by Omar Khayyam. One hard winter, when all the lakes had been frozen for weeks, the Yellow Bittern died for want of water, and its dead body was found by Cathal, lying on the ice. The bird's death put him in mind of his own sad condition. He had promised his wife that he would drink no more, and, as a result, a dreadful thirst burned the inside of his yellow throat. He had always felt a sympathy with this particular bird—it had never, he thought, much happiness in life—like himself, it was yellow—and in the midst of his lonely nocturnal wanderings he used to feel companionship in the bird's weird cry. And now he finds it dead—killed by that very same thirst from which he himself was suffering so dreadfully.

It is said that the best test of true literature is the test of translation, for true literature concerns itself with thoughts rather than with the dress in which the thoughts are clothed. Judged by this test, the *Bunán Buidhe* ranks high. It has always

been a great favourite with translators. Thomas MacDonough's attempt pleases most, for not only is it an almost literal rendering but it retains some of the internal rhyme which makes Gaelic poetry so pleasing to the ear. It is worth our while to compare a verse of the original with its translation, and to notice the manner in which MacDonough tries to preserve the characteristics of the Gaelic metre:—

Δ Ουνάμ buíde, ré mo léan 'do luíge
 Ír 'do cnaíma rínite aip leacaib lom',
 Ír can earbaró bíó áct 'óioḡbáil 'óige
 Δ 'ó'fás m 'do luíge tú aip cúl 'do émm.
 Óioḡ ré ḡo ríoppaíóe áḡ ól na 'óige,
 Δ'í 'veipceap ḡo mbim-ḡa map ḡm real,
 Can fuit a'n 'deop 'dá ḡfuiḡmm nac leigfmm ríop
 Aip eáḡla ḡo ḡfuiḡmm-ré báḡ 'oen carc.

Here is MacDonough's translation:—

The Yellow Bittern, that never broke out
 In a drunken *bout*, might as well have drunk,
 His bones are thrown on a naked stone,
 Where he lived alone like a hermit monk.
 Oh, Yellow Bittern, I pity your lot,
 For it seems that a *sol* like myself is accursed,
 I was sober awhile, but I'll drink and be wise,
 For fear I might die in the end of thirst.

The circumstances in which the *Aithreachas* was composed have already been related—of the poem itself it is difficult to speak. One shrinks from submitting it to criticism, it is so full of bitter pain and of true sorrow. Many of the verses have become incorporated in the common prayers of the Irish-speaking peasantry. I know an old Omeath woman whose night prayers always include the two verses:—

Δ Rí na ḡ'feapc, ḡo n-acturó Tú mo époíde,
 Δḡ ḡo 'otabpaíó Tú m'anam ḡo páḡḡceap na Naom;
 Átoigim 'óuit mo loctai e'ḡap cam áḡur claon
 ḡo ḡfuit mé paí ḡlapai áige 'oabail an tpaḡḡail.

Δ 'úḡeapma ḡo ḡcaoiliró Tú m'feapc á'í m'fuaí,
 Áḡur 'oibip na ḡmuamcí malluigce ḡeo uaim
 ḡo n'ooḡcaíó an Spioḡaḡo Naom Δ m'óḡ-ḡḡáḡca 'nuap
 Δ élaíóḡfeap an époíde 'ta 'na éapḡais le émuap.

“ O King of the Powers! may You soften my heart,
 And may You bring my soul to the Paradise of the
 saints;

I admit to You my faults, my weakness and yielding,
 And that I am in the chains of the demon of the world.

O Lord cast from me my anger and my hatred.
 Drive away my evil thoughts.
 May the Holy Spirit pour down His graces
 That will soften the heart that is as a rock for hardness."

If the *Bunán Buidhe* brings Omar Khayyam to our minds, the *Aithreachas* is reminiscent of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. It would be difficult to find a truer and more sublime expression of sorrow than is contained in the following verses:—

 Sé mo leun-geur, faraoir ! nar ruḡaḍ mé uall, boḍar
 baib, san céill, san aon teanḡaíḍ 'mo éionn
 Sutrá oteadaíḍ mé 'oṡear, mar ceitearnaḍ coilleaḍ
 le feall,
 Sé mo reiuṡrúil ḡo h-éaḡ nac 'oṡearn mé aon
 aiteadaḍ m am.

 A Ri na nḡnarta, ir uána uam aṡaie oṡe ruar,
 'S nac bfuil oíḍce nḡ lá nac oṡarramḡim fuil ar ḡo
 ḡruaíḍ
 U' fulaḡaḡ Tú an páir aḡ ḡo námaíḍ o'ar ḡceannaḍ ḡo
 cruaíḍ
 A'mur leaṡṡar ḡo lám, mo éráḍ, ḡur imṡiḡ mé uait.

" My bitter woe, alas ! that I wasn't born blind,
 Deaf, dumb, without sense, without a tongue in my head,
 Before I went into rebellion, and became an outlaw.
 'Tis my scourging to death, that I did not repent in time.
 O King of graces, it is bold of me to look towards You.
 And there is no night or day I draw not blood from Your
 face.
 You suffered Your Passion at the hands of Your enemies
 to buy us dearly,
 Unless You stay Your hand, my torment that I ever
 left You.

One hopes fervently that the poor penitent was granted his request:—

 Tabair féim uam beir 'focúamṡ ḡo éreáca ḡo buan,
 'Sa beir léiḡeaḍ uo céime ḡaḍ tráḍ san ruan ;
 A Ri na ḡréme, nac leiḡeanṡ uo cáirṡe uait
 m'anam réir-ḡeaḍ, beir féim leaḍ, ḡo párrṡar ruar.

Grant that I may see Your Wounds forever,
 To follow Your steps forever, without rest,
 O King of Glory, that lets not Your friend go from You,
 Bring my soul up with You up to Paradise.

 LORCÁN p. O MUIREÁḌÓAḡḡ, SAḡARṡ.

P.S.—The translations from the Irish, mostly free ones, are by Mr. O'Kelly, Irish teacher, Bailieboro'.

EXHIBITS AT THE TWELFTH GENERAL MEETING.

[18th November, 1925.]

1. **Cannon Ball** from Ballinacargy Castle, Co. Cavan. It is of solid stone, and is about 6 inches in diameter. There are several instances of the use of cannon in the 14th c., notably by Edward III at the battle of Crecy, and at the siege of Calais (1346). The missiles were at first made of stone. About 1450 they gave way to metal. But stone was always at hand as a projectile and was never wholly superseded. The ballister, a military siege weapon in use before the invention of gunpowder, the predecessor of cannon, also hurled stone. Early chroniclers tell of some of them that threw a stone 360 lbs in weight.

Ballinacargy Castle was near Bunnoe. It was built about the 14th century. During the war between the Royalists and Parliamentarians it was the strongest place in Cavan. On the 2nd Aug., 1651, the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, wrote from Belfast to Sir Henry Vane:—

All the forces now in Ulster consist of 4,303 foot and 521 horse. All the horse and 1,300 foot are drawn into the field by Col. Venables, with intention to take in the strong fort of Ballinacargy, in Cavan, as also to settle some garrisons there in the bowels of the enemy, as Belturbet and some others . . . *

On the succeeding 22nd Sept., the same Commissioners wrote to the Council of State that Venables "having spent two days in the battery of that castle [Ballinacargy], hath sent for more powder and ammunition to Dublin."† Not unlikely the cannon ball exhibited was fired off in the two days' "battery."

Venables failed to take the castle, and the Commissioners, in a letter to the Parliament, dated 8 Oct., 1651, give several reasons why he had to raise the siege and retreat to Dundalk—the place attacked was considerable, he had no ammunition or provisions, "the enemy had 400 in that fort and within two miles another great body of 2,300 foot and about six or seven hundred horse."‡

* *Ireland under the Commonwealth* ; by Dunlop, p. 22.

† *Do.*, p. 55.

‡ *Do.*, p. 63.

Clogh Oughter castle could not hold a garrison of 400 or anything near it. Of O'Reilly's castle at Ballinacargy all that remains is the site.

Shown by Mr. P. J. Brady, C.E., Broomfield House.

2. Pair of **Red Deer Horns** and Skull of **Irish Elk**.—Lent by Mr. H. Gibson, V.S., Cavan.

3. **An Oil-painting** of Robert Emmet.—This painting has a long history in connection with Co. Cavan. In later times for seventy years it has been in the possession of the Smith family, mainly at Kevit Castle, Crossdoney. As well as can be traced out it is probably the identical portrait executed by the elder Petrie for Sarah Curran after Emmet's execution, the first sight of which on its easel affected her with such passionate grief. George Petrie, then a little boy, happened to be present in the studio unknown to her and remained unnoticed. The scene haunted his memory through life. (See Stokes's *Life of Petrie*, p 389) The popular portrait of Emmet in green, cut-away uniform, white breeches, and top boots, has little or no authority.

Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L.

Cavan and Leitrim Items in 18th Century Periodicals.—I.

Annotated by REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN.

[Read 18th March, 1926.]

I.—An Art Collector in Co. Cavan in the early 18th century.

On Monday, the 15th of this instant June, 1752, will be sold by Auction at Geminiani's Great Room in Spring-Gardens, Dame-street [Dublin], the Library, Paintings, Prints, and Medals of Mervyn Pratt of Cabra, Esq., deceased, being the most curious and valuable Collection that have been exposed to Sale for these many years past. There are many very curious Prints carefully collected and properly adapted interspersed in the Books, and as Mr. Pratt's Judgment and Taste in Painting was so well known and approved among the curious, it is hoped this will be a sufficient Recommendation, with this Assurance to the Gentlemen that not the least Article will be admitted into this Sale but the genuine Goods of Mr. Pratt. There is a curious Camera obscura, with a complete set of Prospects, and a Reflecting Telescope. Catalogues of the Books to be had on Monday next at Dick's and Lucas's Coffee-Houses, and Robert Dunlop's, Upholsterer, in Molesworth-street, also Catalogues of the Paintings, &c., to be had at the above places on Thursday next. The sale to begin at eleven o'clock each Day and continue till all are sold.

—*Pue's Occurrences*, June 6th, 1752.

[The Sale, however, did not begin on the date advertised ; it was re-advertised for the 18th ; as now selling on the 20th ; to begin on the 23rd, and as now selling on the 30th June.]

II.—Court-House and Jail to be built at Carrick-on-Shannon, 1752.

Whereas there is a Session-House & Goal to be built at Carrick-on-Shannon in the County of Leitrim, any Persons inclined to Treat for the Building of the same may by Proposals in Writing or otherwise apply to William Gore or Martin Armstrong, Esqrs.,

BREIFFNE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FIRST ANNUAL EXCURSION : KELLS, 22nd JULY, 1926.



Members at Hill of Lloyd, Kells.

BACK Row (standing), left to right : MR. H. MAGUIRE (Hon. Treasurer) ; MR. MEEHAN, U.S.A. ; MR. E. J. SMYTH ; MR. W. M. REID, M.B.E. (Hon. Secretary) ; MASTER MYLES SMITH ; MR. P. O'CONNELL, M.Sc. ; DR. F. P. SMITH, M.D., D.J., and MR. S. DEMPSEY.

FRONT Row (Seated). — MRS. MEEHAN, U.S.A. ; MRS. W. M. REID ; MISS SHEE, U.S.A. ; REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN, P.P., M.R.I.A. ; THE MISSES SMITH, and REV. T. SMALL, P.P.



At St. Mary's Abbey, Kells : Examining the Stone Crosses.

at the next Assizes to be held at Carrick for the said County, and afterwards at the said William Gore's House at Woodford in the said County, who are impowered to Treat for the same.

Pue's Occurrences, March 7th, 1752.

III.—Ballinamore Iron Works to be Sett.

From the first Day of December next, the Iron Works of Ballinamore in the County of Leitrim, viz., the Furnace, Forge, and Slitting Mill, with all Conveniences of Mine Yards, Coal Yards, Store Houses, and Houses for Workmen; as also a House, Garden, and Farm for any Person who may take the Works to dwell in; and to be sold a large quantity of Sow Iron, Mine and Coals and other Materials fit for Iron Works. Proposals to be received by William Gore, Esq., at Woodford, or at his house in Mary's-street, and by Mr. Lewis Meares in Caple-street, Dublin. Dated this 25th Day of August, 1747.

Dublin Courant, Aug. 29—Sept. 1, 1747.

[NOTE.—Captain William Slack (or Slacke) came over from England "to live in Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim" about the year 1693. There is evidence that he was very wealthy. He purchased the Bellsarro estate in the Barony of Mohill, and the property remained for some time in the possession of the Slackes. He erected an iron foundry at Ballinamore and other iron works at Drumod. When the owner of Bellsarro on acquiring Kiltubride went there to reside he brought with him a piece of cast iron about 23 inches by 18. This slab built into a wall remains at Kiltubride to the present day. It is the sole product of the Ballinamore Iron Works now known to exist. On it is engraved the date 1699. Kiltubride was later called Annadale, and in more recent years Lauderdale. There are some indications that it was once a House for Religious, but nothing is said about it by either Alemand or Archdall. It lies quite close to Fenagh Abbey, and Fenagh "was celebrated, in former ages for its divinity school, and was the general resort of students from every part of Europe." (Archdall.)

In 1901 or 1902 Miss Helen A. Crofton printed for private circulation her *Records of the Slacke Family in Ireland*. In old Chancery Bills she discovered that "in Feb., 1695, Wm. Slacke, John Skerret, and Joseph Hall, entered into an agreement concerning the erection of certain Iron Works in Leitrim," that this was renewed from time to time; and that the works mentioned were at Drumod and Ballinamore (p. 69). She considers that the works were finally relinquished "in 1713 or a little later" (do.). The advertisement above quoted gives them a longer life. It indicates that most probably they continued on to close on Sep. 1747. If then the incised figures 1699 on the metal slab at Lauderdale give the date of their actual erection, the Ballinamore Iron Works lasted almost fifty years.

No evidence has been reached of the existence of an iron industry at Ballinamore before the time of the Slackes. In his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, written in 1672, Sir W. Petty states: "There are not in Ireland ten Iron Furnaces, but above 20 Forges and Bloomeries, . . ." * But he locates none of them. Gerard Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, published in 1652, contains a list of fourteen iron mines. Among them are enumerated one "In the County of Roscomen, by the side of Lough Allen"; another "In the County of Leitrim, on the East side of the same Lough"; and another,

* Petty's *Political Survey of Ireland*, 2nd ed., 1719, p. 100.

also in Breifny, " In the County of Cavan, in a place called Douballie, in a drie mountain " ; which last, we know, was worked by Coote in and before 1641. But Ballinamore is not in Boate's list.

In pre-Norman times iron, of course, was plentifully manufactured by the native Irish. *The Book of Rights* frequently records shields, swords, and coats of mail, as tributes due by a subordinate chief to his overlord. Even raw iron is mentioned as a due. The yearly " high tribute of Corca without severity," for instance, consisted of " seven score cows, no light award, seven times fifty masses of iron, seven times fifty hoys of great battle They shall give to the king of Connacht." (p. 105.)

Leabhar na g-Ceart or *The Book of Rights* is one of the oldest of old books. In the 10th c. it was ancient. It is not improbable, according to O'Donovan, that portions of it were compiled and perhaps put into metre by St. Benean, St. Patrick's disciple. Towards the beginning of the 10th c. it was altered and enlarged and brought up to date by Cormac Mac Cuileannain, the king-bishop of Cashel, who was slain in the year 907 or 908. (Introduction, p. VIII.) It was published with translation and annotations by O'Donovan in 1847.

IV.—Horse-Stealing in Co. Cavan.

Thursday last [21 April, 1748] ended the Assizes held at Naas for the County of Kildare, when Thomas Mason was found guilty of Horse-Stealing, and is to be executed next Thursday.—This Mason has been a notorious offender, as appeared by several examinations against him for Horse-Stealing out of the County of Cavan.
—*Dublin Courant*, 23 April, 1748.

An earlier issue of the same newspaper, 19 March, contained the following advertisement :—

Whereas Thomas Mason of Clonsass in the King's County has been apprehended for Horse-Stealing, and Information given against him of several Horses stole from the County of Clare : This is to advertise the Public that there is in the Neighbourhood of the said Mason, which he sold and swopt, and is supposed to be stolen by the said Mason and his Confederates, several Horses and Mares, particularly one Bay Mare with a mealy Mouth, one little Black Horse, one Bay Filly rising five year old, one young Black Horse with a Star and one White Foot, one Sorrel Mare with a Star and Snip, and several others. Whoever has lost any of the said Horses are desired to apply to Mr. Edward Medlicott of Moortown near Kildare.

V.—An Escape at Carrigallen.

Whereas Patrick ——, about five Foot ten Inches high, 28 years old or thereabouts, well built, fair haired, red thin grown beard, a cut on his cheek, wears a Wigg, is or has been lately sick of an Ague, on the 12th Instant made his Escape from the Constable of the Parish of Carrigallen in the County of Leitrim, and sometime past carried on the Jockey Trade between the County of Leitrim and about Newcastle in the County of Dublin, and of late advertised to have left a Horse in the Hands of Edward

Byrne of Newcastle aforesaid by the Name of ——— ; whoever secures the said ——— otherwise ——— and delivers him into any of his Majesty's Goals in this Kingdom shall be paid ten Pounds by Humphry Galbraith of Carrigallen in the County of Leitrim aforesaid, Esq., or by Mr. George Nicolls, Attorney, at his House in Stafford-street, Dublin.

Dublin Courant, 20-23 June, 1747.

Whereas a Man who called himself ——— some time about the latter end of March last came to the House of Edmond Byrne of Newcastle in the County of Dublin, Innkeeper, and went in score with said Byrne ; and then left a small dark Bay Horse, short dockt, about five years old, and said in a few Days he would return for his Horse and pay him which he neglected, therefore said Byrne apprehends he may be a stolen Horse. If anyone can prove a property in said Horse and pay the Expences, they may have the Horse by applying to said Byrne.

May the 16th 1747.

Dublin Courant, 16-19 May, 1747.

VI.—Kildrumshardin Tithes.

To be let for such Term as shall be agreed upon to commence from the first of November last, the Part of the Tythes of the Rectory of Kildrumshardin in the County of Cavan which belong to the Right Hon. Lord Athenry and Andrew Nugent, Esq., being four-ninths of the Tythe great and small of said Rectory, payable by Composition or otherwise, except of the two Poles of Kill. Proposals to be received, etc.

Faulkner's Dublin Journal, Sept. 10th, 1757.

VII.—Races at Belturbet, 1758 : 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th May.

On Whitsun Monday will be run for on the Course of Belturbet a Match between 3 Horses for 20*l.*—On Tuesday, 20*l.* to be run for by Irish-bred Horses, &c., 4 Years old carrying 8 stone ; 5 Years old 8 Stone 10 Pounds ; 6 Years old, 9 Stone 6 Pounds ; aged Horses, &c., 10 Stone 8 Pounds, 14 Pounds to the Stone.—On Wednesday, 20*l.* to be run for by Irish-bred Horses, &c., carrying 12 Stone. All Horses to be entered six Days before the respective Days of running with Mr. James Cochran, Clerk of the Course, and to pay one Guinea Entrances and no Horse to start for more than one Prize ; and no less then 3 Horses, &c., to start ; the winning Horse to pay half a Guinea for Scales and Straw.—On Thursday will be run for the 3 Days Collection of Sweepstakes. All Riders to ride fair without crossing or jostling ; and all Disputes to be left to the Judges of the Course.—N.B. Hunting, and Balls for the Ladies.

Faulkner's Dublin Journal, April 15, 1758.

VIII.—Auction at Quilca—No. 1.

To be sold by public Cant at Quilca in the County of Cavan on Friday the 5th Day of May next [1758] all the Household Furniture belonging to Thomas Sheridan, Esq., consisting of fine Feather Beds and Bedding, Four-post, Settee and Field Beds with Haratteen and Linen Curtains, and Window Curtains of the same, Press and Settle Beds, Mohogany and Oak Card and Tea Tables, Chests of Drawers, Desks, Chairs, Sconces and other Glasses, some Coins, Flint Ware and Glasses, one fine Landscape in a handsome Frame, some Kitchen Furniture, Utensils for the Dairy and Brewing, a large Binn for Oats, and Chests, a good Bombcart, a large Crane and Weights, Carrs and Carts, Ploughs, Harrows, and Drafts, with other Implements of Husbandry too tedious to mention. As also Milch Cows, Heifers in Calf, some three year old Bullocks, and some high-bred Young Mares got by Mogul, Scar and Bashaw. The Sale to begin at 11 o'clock and continue till all are sold. Dated the 24th day of April, 1758. The House of Quilca with the Demesne and any Number of Acres not exceeding 170 will be let from the 1st of October next for any Term of Years. Proposals will be received by Mr. Knowles at his Office at the Theatre. Letters post-paid.

Faulkner's Dublin Journal, April 25th, 1758.

[NOTE.—Quilca (or Cuilcagh) is in the parish of Mullagh. It is a small estate three miles from the town of Virginia, in the south east of Co. Cavan. In the north west of the same county, its northern slope actually in Fermanagh, there is a mountain which bears the same name. It is the highest mountain in Cavan, 2,188 feet above the sea level. For a stranger there is some danger of contounding them, or at least of assuming that Quilca House is near Quilca mountain. It is not so. Despite identity of name they are about forty miles apart, and have no connection whatever with one another.

Sheridan is an old Cavan name. Sheridans 1,000 years ago were Erenachs of Granard (Terhan) and may have moved from Longford to Cavan. For those of the name we are here concerned with, Moybolge was the family burying ground for many generations. (See *Journal*, 1924, p. 207.) This implies that their home when living was scarcely further away from it than eight or ten miles. Quilca, about five miles from Moybolge, is said to have belonged to the Sheridans before the 18th century. But they lost it. Dr. Thomas Sheridan (1687—1738) got back the ancestral property. "By a marriage with Elizabeth, heiress of Charles McFadden," states the *Encyclo. Brit.*, last ed., "he restored to the Sheridan family Quilcagh House which they had forfeited by the Jacobite principles." The marriage took place before 1710. The date of the marriage gives the date of the Rev. Thomas's advent to Quilca. Charles McFadden, his father-in-law, was living in Quilca in 1708; in that year he became surety in £50 each for both Rev. John Gargan of Moybolge and Rev. Th. Clery of Killan.* This shows that he was a man of substance as well as one of generous principles; and that like the Burrowes, Fosters, Humphrys, Hamiltons, and Johnsons, and indeed like most of the educated Cavan men of the day, he had small sympathy with the rigours of the Penal Code. He lived at least till 1715, as can be inferred from the same

* *Burke's Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 286.

reference. In that year his generosity was on the verge of getting him into serious trouble.

Dr. Sheridan's son, Thomas, is often, for distinction sake, called Thomas the Actor (1719—1788). It was he that held the auction. On his marriage in 1747 to Frances Chamberlaine Thomas launched out in the true family fashion; he purchased the family estate in Quilca from his elder brother, Richard, divided his time between it and Dublin, and entertained lavishly. In Quilca his talented wife had her happiest hours. Her *Life*, written by her grand-daughter, Mrs. Le Fanu, assures us of this. The famous actress, Peg Woffington, also spent some time at Quilca. So did a host of other celebrities. The Sheridans were never over-anxious to pay their debts, sometimes could not. But that was no bar to their hospitality, which was always on a princely scale.

At the time of the auction Thomas Sheridan's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. A mob had wrecked his theatre in Dublin and he was penniless. He was offered a pension of £300 a year by the Duke of Dorset; but, notwithstanding his straits, he declined it, alleging that such a favour from the Government would confirm all the unjust reports to his disadvantage. The auction was a necessity. Immediately after it he betook himself to England and lectured on elocution with great success in Oxford and Cambridge.

According to Gates* the Thomas just mentioned was born in Quilca. Other authorities say in Dublin, in the Old Mint, 27 Capel St. It is doubtful if the point can ever be finally settled. With Quilca, at all events, his name is inseparably connected. Carricknacraw, a mound or moat beside it on which he used to train his company and rehearse his plays for the Dublin stage, and in front of the house the course, which bears some slight resemblance to an amphitheatre, where he attempted a revival of the Roman chariot race, are still pointed out. He died in Margate, 14th Aug., 1788. His sister Elizabeth, his senior by nine years, was a firm believer in a family banshee. On the eve of his death she declared that it was heard wailing under the windows of Quilca.

The most brilliant of the Sheridans was Richard Brinsley (1751—1816), Thomas the Actor's son. The exact date of his birth has not been preserved. According to Fitzgerald (*Lives of the Sheridans*, London, Bentley & Son, 1886, Vol. I, p. 27) "It has been often repeated that Richard was born at Quilca, in Cavan." A strong argument against this is that the register of St. Mary's parish, Dublin, contains a record of his baptism on Nov. 4th, 1751. This is strong, but it is not quite decretorial, especially as the careless unconventional Sheridans are concerned. The Dublin house that claims his birth is in Dorset Street. It is just beside the Dominican Priory and opposite the Fire Station. It is now a narrow, tall, red brick tenement house. A stone slab placed over the door by the Dublin Corporation bears the following inscription:—

IN THIS HOUSE WAS BORN

1751

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Whether born in Quilca or not, Richard Brinsley spent there much of his childhood. Just before the auction, for instance, he and his younger sister Alicia—subsequently Mrs. Le Fanu—were there. He was at the time seven years of age. Then, presumably after the furniture was sold and taken away, they were brought back to the Town House in Dorset Street, and began to attend Sam Whyte's celebrated school in Grafton Street.

Quilca would be famous if only for Switt's caricature of it. "The Blunders

* *Dict. of Gen. Biography*, Longmans & Co., 1875.

GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN,
OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.



(1830-1888.)

BORN AT BEAGH, IN KILLINKERE PARISH.

Deficiencies, Distresses, and Mistortunes of Quilca," is the magniloquent title of the Brobdingnagian work that he felt needed to do the subject justice, and it was "Proposed to contain one-and-twenty volumes in quarto." The mock-heroic prose Epic was begun in Quilca on April 20, 1724, and was "To be continued weekly, it due encouragement be given." It collapsed with the next week's instalment. Among the scores of Deficiencies he records:—

The Dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

But one chair in the house fit for sitting on, and that in a very ill state of health.

Not one utensil for a fire except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the house, and is likewise employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a flesh tork.

It is manifest that the Epic is not to be taken too seriously. In 1725 Switt again describes Quilca, this time in verse:—

Let me thy properties explain:
A rotten cabin dropping rain,
Chimneys with scorn rejecting smoke;
Stools, tables, chairs, and bedsteads broke.
Here elements have lost their uses,
Air ripens not, nor earth produces.
In vain we make poor Sheelah toil,
Fire will not roast, nor water boil,
Etc., etc.

During most of those years, 1724 & 5, and on till the spring of 1726 the Dean, as well as Stella and her attendant, Mrs. Dingley, was residing in Quilca, the guest of Dr. Sheridan. There he was hard at work finishing and preparing for the press *Gulliver's Travels*. On a previous visit to Quilca the radical idea of the Brobdingnagians and Lilliputians is said to have occurred to him on meeting a local gentleman of giant frame the name of Doughty. In the neighbourhood are still told wonderful stories about exploits of this genial giant. Quilca, "far from the madding crowd," doubtless recommended itself to the Dean at this period for the leisure it afforded him. When the last touches had been given his *magnum opus* he set out from Quilca straight for London with the MS. This was in the first months of 1726. By August of the same year he was back again in Dublin. He had left behind him the MS., mysteriously deposited in the hands of Motto, the London bookseller. In Oct. (*Ency. Brit.*) of the same year it appeared. It is hardly an exaggeration to say there is no purely literary work that has had more readers. We claim the honour for Quilca that this world classic may have been begun but was certainly there completed.

The house whose furniture was put up for auction in 1758, and which manifestly was a well-furnished mansion is not the one in which *Gulliver's Travels* was finished. The latter was a long thatched house of one storey. In 1724 a new house was in course of erection. Switt, since he did not dwell in it, has nothing worse to say of it than that "it was going to ruin before it is finished," and he stops at that. Both houses have disappeared. All that remains intact of them is the lower courses of a sidewall and perhaps part of a kitchen. The present house is modern. It and the demesne of 170 acres are now owned by Mr. P. E. O'Farrelly, a brother of one of our Life Members, Miss A. W. O'Farrelly, M.A. In Raffony House, beside Quilca, there is preserved a painted panel which once lined the hall of the old house. It is a landscape painted on wood. It is the sole relic of it that is now known about. Not improbably, it changed hands at the Quilca auction more than 150 years ago.

Dr. Thomas Sheridan was son of Patrick, of Kilmore and Togher. He was no kinsman of General Philip Henry Sheridan of American fame, who was

also born in Cavan. But he was most probably a near relative of the two brothers, William Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and Patrick Sheridan, bishop of Cloyne. The latter is said to have borne his expenses in T.C.D. He was the best classical teacher in Ireland; indeed the best instructor of youth in the three kingdoms. About the year 1730 he exchanged a living in the south of Ireland for the Headmastership of the Royal School, Cavan. The latter was then worth £80 a year. Here he could have lived well, but he threw it up. "The air about Cavan," complains Switt, "was too moist and unwholesome" (a reason which is available for the condemnation of any locality in Ireland and which has the great merit of being irrefutable), "and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood" (a subtle consideration equally untestable and of equally general application). The genuine cause seems to have been that Dublin appealed to him and he wanted to get back to its opportunities for display. Hence it creates no surprise that immediately after giving up Cavan School he declined an offer of the Royal School, Armagh, which his unwearied friend Switt had obtained for him. He died at Rathfarnham 10th Oct., 1738, almost in destitution.

Dr. Thomas may be taken as the founder of this branch of the Cavan Sheridans. His descendants consorted with princes and prime ministers, and intermarried with Baronets, Dukes and Earls. Strenuous efforts have been exerted to make out his forbears of chieftain rank, even to class them with the O'Reillys and O'Rourke. No convincing proof of this is forthcoming. The evidence reached seems rather to show they can merely claim the sufficiently high honour of belonging to the rank and file of the Cavan peasantry. The Quilca Sheridans were all unselfish, hospitable to a fault, intellectually and socially brilliant, but generally erratic.

IX.—Manor Hamilton.

Pursuant to an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament in this Kingdom [of Ireland] whereby it is enacted that the Manor, Town and Lands of Manor-Hamilton; the Towns, Villages, Hamletts, and Lands of Clunine otherwise Clonine; Laughty-verdane, Lisnabreck, Corroghfore otherwise Corrogfore, Skreeny, Tannyfokill, Meenlaughtmore, Foghry, Brecktenovagh, Brecknymore, Menickingoan, Breekny, otherwise Breekney, Killeenagh, Coole Ruske otherwise Cool Rusk, Drumskibele, Cartrontemple otherwise Cartrantemple, lower Donaghmore otherwise lower Donnoghmore, higher Donnaghmore, Tullyskerny, Ramoone, Classigarne, Fannymanus otherwise Tannimanus, Gortnaleek otherwise Knoxhill, Ross, Carrick, Leitrim, Cornystack, Drum-maghan and Duffrin, situate in the County of Leitrim, Part of the Estate of Sir Ralph Gore St. George, Bart., should be sold by Henry Sandford, Frederick Gore, and James Daly, Esqrs., Trustees in the said Act named, in order to purchase other Lands. Notice is hereby given that the said Trustees will receive Proposals for the Purchase of said Lands either in the whole or in Parcels. The Rent-Roll of the said Lands may be viewed in the Hands of the said Frederick Gore at his House in Sackville-street [Dublin], or with Mr. James Glascock on Usher's-island at any time before the Sale.

Faulkner's Dublin Journal, June 3rd, 1758.

forth to burn and plunder the neighbouring districts. On one of these predatory incursions, in August, 1642, the district of Virginia was visited, and the Castle of Ballaghanea burned.*

With the execution of Charles I. there set in an immediate reaction in Ireland. All parties flocked to the Royalist standard, and, with the exception of Drogheda, Derry and Dublin, the country was united against the Parliamentary forces.

Cromwell landed in Ireland in 1649, and before his departure in 1650 the Irish forces were relentlessly crushed, and schemes were formulated for a system of confiscation on a scale hitherto unattempted. In August, 1652, the Parliament in London passed the *Act for the Settling of Ireland*. The principal clauses of this Act were :—

- I. All persons who, at any time before 10th Nov., 1642, had contrived, advised, councilled, or promoted the rebellion, or who, before that date, aided the rebellion by supplying men, horses, money, etc., were excepted from pardon for life and estate.
- II. The same penalty was pronounced against all priests who took part in, or aided, the rebellion.
- III. One hundred and five persons were specially marked out for the death penalty.

This extraordinary clause condemned to death the Protestant Marquis of Ormond, whose name is placed first on the list. Other Protestant noblemen mentioned were the Earl of Roscommon, Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Baron Inchiquin. Leading Ulster Presbyterians, including Sir George Munroe, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir Robert Steward were also specified. Nearly all the principal Catholic landowners were mentioned, including the Earl of Castlehaven and the Earl of Clanrickard. But the death sentences were never carried out ; whether it was ever intended to carry them out we have no means of knowing. At any rate, some escaped to the Continent and the remainder took advantage of various clauses at the end of the Act which gave an opportunity of evading the course of the law.

- IV. All who, since Oct. 1st, 1641, either as principals or accessories, had committed murder were condemned to death and forfeiture.

Under this clause murder was defined as the killing of any person not publicly entertained and maintained in arms by the English ; furthermore, as murderers were to be held all who had killed any Englishman so entertained and maintained in arms if the killer had himself not been an officer or soldier in the pay of the Irish against the English. Over 200 persons were put to death, but it has been estimated that about one hundred thousand were condemned. Those who suffered belonged mostly to the wealthy classes.

* Vide *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 301.

Pre-Historic Rock-markings at Ballydorrageh, Munterconnacht, Co. Cavan.

In the course of his elaborate geological investigations, in the summer of 1864, George V. Du Noyer, of the Geological Survey of Ireland, made the very interesting discovery in the tld. of Ballydorrageh of an elaborate system of rock-markings—*petroglyphs*—on a natural rock surface, quite unique in the East of Ireland. They are to be found on the glacialised surface of an inclined bed of lower Silurian grit near the summit of the hill of, ΔCΑΘ ΔΝ τSεαSαll, or Ryefield, in the tld. of Ballydorrageh at the southern extremity of Munterconnacht parish, and close to the Meath border.*

A lithograph copied from his original sketch of these markings, and drawn to a scale of half an inch to the foot, is given by Du Noyer and gives an excellent configuration of them. This lithograph, to the same scale, is reproduced in the accompanying illustration.

The markings [he writes] are all produced by simple scraping with a saw-like motion ; and some of them, if not all, must have been formed by a metal implement. The figures most commonly represented are detached straight-armed crosses ; but not unfrequently these are so grouped or clustered together as to form a network of lines crossing in every direction ; in two instances these crosses are inclosed in four lines, or rather an oblong rectangular figure is crossed from angle to angle ; sometimes a single line is crossed by two smaller lines near each other, and again one arm of the cross is terminated by a short blunt line, or an arrow-headed depression ; all these markings, from the mode of their construction, are deeper at the central portion of the lines than at the extremities, which fine off.

Some of the crosses had a fresh look, as if but recently scraped ; but the majority of them were either partially or totally concealed by a thick coating of lichen, the growth of many centuries, and they had to be carefully cleaned before their forms could be determined.

*Vide *Remarks on a Carved Rock at Ryefield, County of Cavan.* By Geo. V. Du Noyer, M.R.I.A. *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, Vol. V., p. 379 *et seq.*, 1865.

In addition to these scrapings there are some small rectangular, as well as arrow-headed, notches produced by chiselling, and quite sharp in their outlines and depressed angles.



(Scale : $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch = 1 foot.)

BRONZE AGE ROCK MARKINGS AT BALLYDORRAGH.
MUNTERCONNACHT PARISH.

The only local information I could gain [continues Du Noyer] regarding these singular sculpturings was the belief that they were the work of the fairies, or "good people," on "state

nights" such as St. John's Eve; and when I asked if the children of the place frequented this stone as a playground, and scored these crosses for their amusement, my suggestion was gravely refuted, though it was admitted that the sloping surface of the rock was occasionally used as a stone slide (a "Montaigne Russe") by the young people, the marks of which I could distinctly trace. The farmer on whose ground this rock crops up assured me that he had frequently bared the entire of its surface, and that the group of lines given in the lithograph are all that are on it.

The surface area of the rock over which these surface markings occur measures about eleven feet by nine feet; the total surface area is, however, much greater. These markings are still quite distinct, but had again become covered with lichen since Du Noyer made his examination of them in 1864. It should be mentioned that Du Noyer was assisted in the work by the late E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A. of Trim—Inspector of National Schools—an indefatigable student of Archæology.

The rock-surface is not less interesting for its Bronze Age markings than for its glacial striations. The rock dips at an angle of 35 degrees to the North; the glacial striae on it bearing 40 degrees West of North, and East of South; and consequently up the inclined plane. This enables us to determine the direction of the ice-drift in this district during the glacial epoch. When the surface was cleared and examined by the present writer, in the summer of 1925, the glacial striae could be very distinctly observed. Without entering here into the realms of geological theories and speculations it may be of interest to the non-scientific reader to know that in the past geological ages—in the period known as the Post-Pliocene—the climate of Ireland was intensely cold, and glaciers, *i.e.*, ice rivers, and ice-sheets, spread over the greater part of Britain and Ireland. This period in geological time is known as the *Glacial Epoch* or *Great Ice Age*.* The immense snow fields became gradually melted into ice, owing principally to the pressure of the overlying snow, and from the edges of the snow-masses glaciers were projected into the valleys. In cold regions glaciers fulfil the same functions as rivers in warmer regions. Those glaciers were not stationary, but moved, although at a very slow rate across the country, and usually in

*The ice-sheet was by no means permanent; there were many advances and recessions—each centuries in duration—with mild intervals between them. The last phase—before the land finally emerged from its frigid ice-cap—has been calculated to have passed over this country at least ten thousand years ago; but the evidence cannot be discussed here. Those who wish to pursue the study of the remarkable climatic changes which have taken place during the Tertiary Epoch should refer to a geological treatise *e.g.*, Sir A. Geikie's *Textbook of Geology*, or Prof. James Geikie's *The Great Ice Age*. In the field of Irish geology it is scarcely necessary to refer to the researches of the late Prof. Grenville A. J. Cole, M.R.I.A. Readers who have heard his delightfully lucid lectures will require no introduction to his *Open-air Geology, Ireland the Land and the Landscape*, and *The Changeful Earth*.

the direction of its general slope. Visitors to Alpine countries, who enjoy the thrills of crossing the great Swiss glaciers, will observe similar conditions to those which existed in Ireland in past ages.

The snow fell heavily, and at a very remote period in geological time—calculated to be at least 30,000 B.C.—the ice-sheet covered the land to a height of over 1,000 feet. The Great Central Snow Field, over which the ice accumulated to great depths, extended from Loch Erne to Loch Neagh, and covered West Cavan, Leitrim and Fermanagh. Over this region the ice and snow collected to a depth of several thousand feet, and from this immense Snow Field the glaciers moved over the country, radiating in every direction, finally reaching the sea and breaking off as huge icebergs. In southern Ireland the general direction of ice flow from the Great Central Snow Field was to the south or south-east; in Cavan and Meath it was to the south-east, as we would infer from geological deductions, and which is confirmed by observation of the striations.*

As the glacier moves on it collects on its upper surface a mass of *detritus*—stone and gravel—which fall through fissures in the glacier, reach the bottom, are frozen into the ice, and are ground with all the weight of the ice against the rock-bed of the glacier. In this manner the glacier scratches, and polishes, the rocks over which it moves. These scores or grooves are generally called *striations*, and their direction is the same as that in which the ice-sheet has moved. The transported stones are also polished and striated, their edges and rough surfaces being ground into fine sand or mud. Further evidence of the action of ice may be deduced from the great number of isolated stone boulders, many of them of great size, which are to be found scattered all over the country.

When the *detritus* are ground under the ice great masses of boulder-clay are formed, and are found to contain striated stones. In many parts of Cavan curious egg shaped mounds of boulder-clay, and containing clay and striated stones, are to be seen; to these mounds geologists have given the title *Drumlins*. Some of these Drumlins are around Loch Ramor. The direction of the ice-flow which formed them is parallel to the major axis of the Drumlin. The present writer has observed that the situations of the East Breiffne Drumlins, at least, are in conformity with this general law, and agree with the direction of the ice-motion as indicated by the striations on the Ballydorrhagh rock. Loch Ramor is very probably of glacial origin; its configuration and position indicate a glaciated valley. When the glaciers melted an immense volume of water resulted, and this collected in the hollows in the boulder-clay. The mounds of clay heaped up during the transport of drift soils by the glaciers retained the post-glacial waters and formed the lakes of the Central Plain.

* Cf. *The Historical Geography of Early Ireland*, by Walter Fitzgerald, M.A., of the University of Manchester (George Philip & Son, 1925). W. B. Wright, *Quaternary Ice Age*.

The geological record revealed by the striations of the Ballydorrigh rock-surface is therefore a very interesting one. Taking a glance down the corridors of time, we can visualise a period when this country was held in the grip of an Ice Age, with great masses of ice moving over the landscape and smoothing the surfaces of the rocks. The advent of man succeeded the passing of the ice, and the people of the Bronze Age carved their mysterious hieroglyphics on the ice-prepared rock surfaces. This crossing of straight lines is the very earliest form of decoration practised by the people of the Bronze Age. It is the form most easily produced on account of its obvious simplicity, and is to be found very generally among the decorations of our Pagan megalithic chambers. The simple scraped cross inclosed in a rectangular figure, which is displayed on the Ballydorrigh stone, is also found among the ornate carvings in the sepulchral chambers of the cairns of *SLIAB NA CAILLIGE* which have been sketched with such meticulous care by the late E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A.

In recent years archæologists have succeeded, at least approximately, in solving the intricate problem of Bronze Age chronology, and in fixing the approximate period of these remarkable petroglyphs. The foremost modern authority—Montelius of Stockholm in his memoir published in 1908—places the commencement of Britain's Bronze Age at from 2,500 to 2000 B.C*. The duration of Ireland's Bronze Age, as deduced by the late George Coffey and now generally accepted, may be fixed at from about 2000 to 350 B.C.† The characteristics of the Ballydorrigh petroglyphs would indicate that they belong to an earlier, rather than a later, period of the Bronze Age.

Writing was unknown in Ireland during the Bronze Age, hence it must be clearly understood that these petroglyphs were either decorative or symbolical. Similar devices have been discovered in England, Scotland, Spain, Scandinavia and many other parts of Western Europe. The handled cross—*crux ansata*—is, in fact, an Egyptian symbol. How far these devices and designs were religious, totemic, or merely decorative, is a mystery—a secret the key to which has been lost. But, as Prof. Macalister remarks, it is possible that devices which to us seem merely decorative were at one time capable of a more recondite explanation. And, as in the case of the Ballydorrigh petroglyphs, where the decorations consist of repetitions of a limited number of signs—based on some definite geometrical system—dispersed at random over the surface of the rock, the inference which is very obvious is this: that these petroglyphic patterns represent some well-defined system of symbolism, the interpretation of which is numbered among the most select secrets of the Bronze Age.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

* "On British Bronze Age Chronology," *Archæologia*, Vol. LXI., p. 97.

† *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, Dublin, 1913, p. 5; Prof. L'Abbe Breuil in *Proc R.I.A.*, Aug., 1921; Macalister *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, Dublin, 1921.

EXHIBITS AT THE THIRTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

[18th March, 1926.]

1. Inkstand of 1637.—The object is of light stone. It is brick-shaped, about 3 ins. long, 2 wide, and 2 deep. Two round wells are hollowed out for the ink, or possibly for holding two small ink bottles. On the ledge in front of them is a crease or shallow trough for holding pens. The date 1637 is graven on one end, and the letters R. S., most likely the initials of the owner's name (possibly Robert Southwell) on the other. It is a rare article.

Ink bottles are presumably as old as ink itself. In Herculaneum one was discovered* and Herculaneum had been overwhelmed by the lava in A.D. 79. The Roman examples extant are round or hexagonal pots with lids. They are usually made of lead or horn. Generally, too, as in the Castle Hamilton instance, they are double, as if intended for both red and black ink. The Byzantine emperors used an ink-stand studded with gems and a special officer, known as the *caniclinus* was in charge of it.† In the Middle Ages when a Secretary of State was appointed he was initiated into his office by a pen and ink-stand being delivered into his hands by a bishop, with the formula: "Receive the power of preparing public documents according to the laws and good manners."‡ Scribes went about carrying their writing materials suspended from their girdles. A passage in Shakespeare alludes to this custom. Jack Cade's summary sentence on the Clerk of Chatham is: "Away with him, I say! hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck."§

Before the Deluge the children of Seth, the virtuous son of Cain, erected, according to Josephus, two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and on these they inscribed their discoveries relating to the heavenly bodies for the benefit of their posterity. "Now this," Josephus says, *i.e.*, the pillar of stone, "remains

* Fosbroke, *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 413.

† Duçange: *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Lantinitatis*, Tom. 2, p. 87.

‡ Do., p. 19.

§ Second Part of King Henry VI, Act 4, scene II.

in the land of Siriad to this day." * Josephus died A.D. 95. Accepting his testimony, these inscriptions were the most ancient pieces of writing in the world. The earliest distinct reference to ink is to be found in *Jeremias* XXXVI-18 †; but 800 years before the prophet's time, *i.e.*, about 1451 B.C., Moses is taken to make allusion to it (*Numb.* V-23), and it was then "well known and common." ‡ Once, indeed, that the custom of writing on papyrus, linen, the skins of animals, etc., was introduced some such substance could not be done without.

The ink on Egyptian papyrus rolls is the oldest of which we have any extant example. The earliest literary papyrus is known as the Presse papyrus. It is preserved in Paris. It is computed to be of the age of upwards of 2,500 B.C.; § in other words, if the computation be correct, it was written more than 4,400 years ago. Egyptian ink in the earliest papyrus rolls is of a deep glossy blackness. Roman ink was also of intense blackness. It was made, according to Pliny, of soot with burnt pitch or resin. Pine wood soot was considered the best, and furnaces were expressly constructed which did not allow the smoke to escape. Pliny also gives another method for the manufacture of ink. || Vinegar was added as a mordant to make it hold, and wormwood to preserve the MS. from mice. A dark fluid obtained from cuttle fish was also in high esteem.

Theophilus, a monk of the 11th c., makes known a very elaborate prescription for ink making. ¶ From the 14th c. less care was taken in the manufacture and it began to deteriorate. As a general rule, the older the ink the better.

About 50 years ago in these counties oak nuts were used for making ink. Economic schoolmasters held the prescription and turned out a serviceable article. Like dyeing from lichens, it is now a lost art.

Red ink, the commonest of coloured inks, is also very ancient. In the Egyptian papyrus rolls it is often employed for initial letters. Ovid mentions vermilion—*minium*—as used for the titles of books,^o and early printing often followed the practice. Natural red ink or blood is not unknown. Draco's laws are said to have been written in blood, but most likely the expression is metaphorical, meant to bring out their extreme severity. Our folk-lore tales occasionally contain a thrilling incident of a compact with Satan *a la Faust*. The bargain is always signed in the blood of the contracting party. Genuine historical instances are not wanting. In 1649, for instance, Cardinal de Ritz promised the Duchess de Bouillon to assist her husband in his quarrels with the French Parliament. The promise he had to sign in his blood.**

* *The Works of Josephus*, translated by Whiston-Halifax, 1862, p. 27.

† Cf. Dixon: *Introduction to the S. Scriptures*, 2nd ed., p. 39.

‡ Jahn: *Biblical Antiquities* by Upham—London, Ward & Co., p. 45.

§ *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., sub. "Papyrus."

|| *Historia Naturalis*, lib. 27, c. 7, and lib. 35, c. 6.

¶ *De Diversis Artibus*—London, 1847, p. 50.

^o Smith: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 170.

** Michelet: *Origines du Droit Francais*—Paris, 1839, p. 201.

Papyrus as a writing material never found its way to England or Ireland. All our MSS. older than the 14th c. are either of parchment (sheep skin) or of vellum (calf skin and a much finer material) more commonly of the latter. Not until the second half of the 14th c. was the use of paper well established throughout western Europe. Though used in England in the 14th it cannot be shown that it was manufactured in that kingdom before the 16th c. As to Ireland, according to Dr. Reeves, the oldest record on paper now existing in this country is perhaps a bond between Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, and the Abbot of Lonley. A copy is inserted in the Register of Archbishop Sweteman, Fitzralph's successor as Primate. The bond is dated 30th March, 1356.* This does not necessarily imply that paper was then used for the first time in Ireland. But it cannot have been long in use.

Blotting paper is mentioned as early as 1465. Fine sand served the same purpose up to that, and it is remarkable that it was not displaced by the new invention until well on in the 19th c.† In one of the countless books on Napoleon I it is related that when he was at Toulon in 1796 he called one day for a volunteer to come forward and write a dispatch to his dictation. A soldier stepped out of the ranks. Just as the latter had penned the last word a cannon ball came from the English and ploughed up the ground sprinkling earth over the paper. "Now," said the writer, "I shall have no need for the sand." His coolness attracted Napoleon's attention and made the soldier's fortune.‡ The volunteer was Junot, afterwards created the Duke of Abrantes. In many countries sand is still employed as an ink absorbent. Leitrim and Cavan men of a generation or two ago used it, and some of them would have nothing else.

Shown by Major Hamilton, Castle Hamilton.

2. A Medal.—Found, December, 1925, in Garrymore beside Ballinagh. It is something larger than a five-shilling piece. It was submitted by the Hon. Secretary to the Curator of the National Museum, who kindly sent back the following explanation:—

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND,
KILDARE ST.,
DUBLIN,
18th January, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

The medal sent up for identification, and now returned, is a school prize medal of the Martinere Schools founded by one Major-General Claude Martin of Calcutta, Lucknow, and other towns in India towards the end of the 18th century.

* *Eccl. Antiquities of Down*, etc., p. 362.

† *Ency. Brit.*, sub. "Paper."

‡ *Las Cases: Journal de la Vie Privée Napoleon*—Londres, 1823. Tome I, p. 166.

The bust on the obverse is a portrait of Martin. Motto: "Labore et constantia." On the reverse is an inscription in Persian characters and a date (circa 1796).

Yours faithfully,

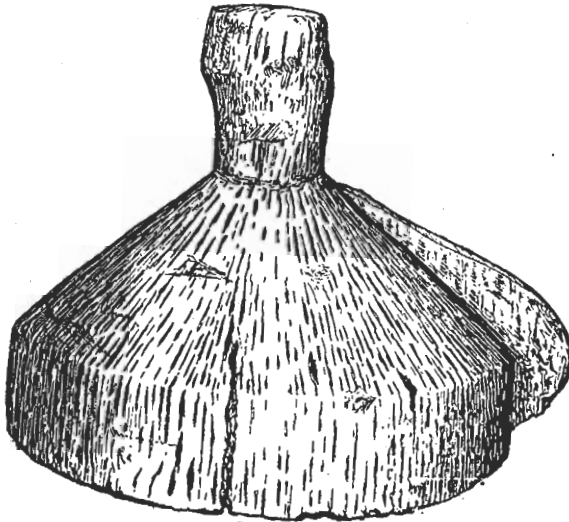
J. J. BUCKLEY,
Acting Director.

W. Reid, Esq.,
Solicitor,
Cavan.

3. Iron Candlesticks of the 17th and 18th century.—Each used for rush-lights, resin, and tallow candles.

Shown by Dr. F. P. Smith.

4. Wooden Object.—It was found in June, 1925, eight feet below the surface, in Drumbo bog, near Killeshandra, Co. Cavan. It is of solid wood, apparently oak, and measures at its widest part $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 10 inches in height.



Wooden Object found near Killeshandra.
(Scale 1/4.)

The finder sent it to Mr. O'Hanlon, editor, *Anglo-Celt*, one of our members. Through Mr. O'Hanlon it was transmitted for exhibition to the R.S.A.I., Dublin. In the succeeding number of that Society's Journal—that for December, 1925, p. 136—along with the above drawing there is a note about it which ends, "It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of this object, which is unlike anything hitherto reported.

The printing block the Society has kindly lent us.

Shown by Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon.

Epitaphs in Castlerahan Graveyard.

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

HERE LYETH
THE BODY OF
JAMES BARTLY
WHO DEPART^d
THIS LIFE JUNE Y^e
24TH 1746 AGE^d 43.

PRAY FOR Y^e SO
UL OF CATHERINE
GEGAN WHO DIED
JAN^{ry} 29th 1734-5
AGED 58.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOUL
OF BRYAN BRADY
WHO DEPARTE^d THIS
LIFE IN APRIL 1759
AGED 50 ALSO FOR
MARGART LYNCH WH^o
DIED AN^o 1724 AGED 29.

PRAY FOR Y^e
SOUL OF THOM^s
BRADY WHO DE
PART^d THIS LIFE
FEBRUARY 29
1763 AGE^d 30.

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF DANIE
L BRADY DIED an^o
1716 AGED 67 ALSO
DANIEL BRADY
JUNIOR DIED AN^o
1755.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOUL
OF HENERY SCAL
LY WHO DIED JAN
UARY 24th 1740
AGED 30.

Pray for ye Soul of
 Mary Cabe who
 died March ye 18th 1744
 in ye 25th year of her age.

HERE LYETH Y^o BODYE
 OF BRYAN LYNCH WH
 O DIED AVGUST 1718
 THIS MONVMENT WAS
 ERECTED BY MATTHE
 W LYNCH ANNO 1745.

PRAY FOR Y^o
 SOUL OF PAT
 RICK DUFFY
 WHO DEPART^d
 THIS LIFE APR
 IL 24th 1771
 AGE^d 64.

PRAY FOR
 Y^o SOVL OF MA
 RY MURRY WH^o
 DIED X^{ber} 23rd
 1749. AG^d 50.

PRAY FOR Y^o SOVL
 OF EDW^d HOE WH
 O DIED 8^r Y^o 15 1745
 AGE^d 66.

PRAY FOR Y^o SOVL
 OF MARY HOE
 WHO DIED MAY
 Y^o 6th 1731 AGE^d 29
 Mors ultima linea rerum.*

PRAY FOR THE
 SOUL OF EDM^d
 GORM^{ly} WHO
 DIED X^{ber} 12
 1738 AGE^d 52.

* Note the frequent substitution of V for U in early 18th century inscriptions.

THE LORD
HAVE MERCY
ON Y^e SOUL
OF MABEL
REILLY WHO
DIED MARC
H Y^e 3rd 1764
AGED 69.

PRAY FOR Y^e
SOUL OF O
NER REILLY
ALIAS LEA
WHO DIED
AUGUST 21
1763 AGE 51
ERECT^d BY
OWEN REILLY

PRAY FOR Y^e S
OUL OF OWEN
REILLY WHO DI
ED 10^{ber} Y^e 21st
1746 AGE^d 47.

PRAY FOR Y^e
SOVL OF MIELS REI
LLY DIED JULY Y^e 25
1743 AGE 55.

Pray for the Soul
of Hugh Reilly who depart
ed this life Mar ye 2nd 1779
ag^d. 52 yrs. erect^d by his
wife Mary Reilly.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOU
L OF CATHERINE
MVRPHY WHO DIE
D AUGUST 1737
AGE^d 17.

The Lord have
Mercy on the Soul
of Lau^t. Reilly died
April 1 1801 ag^d. 60 yr
& on his wife Marg^t
Reilly alias Duige
nan died May 9
1804 ag^d. 64 yr
Amen.

PRAY FOR Y^e SO
 VL OF MICHAEL
 HOY WHO DIED
 8^{ber} Y^e 29 1745
 AGE^d 60
 MICHAEL HOY JUNIOR
 died 10^{ber} 17th 1758
 AGED 32.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOVL
 OF EDMOND
 REILLY WHO
 DIED APRIL Y^E
 3rd 1739 AGE
 28 YEARS.

PRAY FOR Y^e
 SOUL OF PHILIP
 DEGINAN WHO DI
 ED APRIL Y^e 21st
 1744 AGE 67

Pray for the
 Soul of Charl
 es Monechan
 died March the
 25th 1742 Age 66.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOU
 L OF PATRICK SHERI
 DAN WHO DIED JUNE
 Y^e 17TH 1735 AGE^d 47 ALSO
 FOR GEORGE SHERI
 DAN.

This Stone was Erected
 By Edward Sheridan in
 Memory of his Father Daniel
 Sheridan who Died March
 the 16th 1772 in the 64th year
 of his Age.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOVL
 OF EVELIN CAHEL WI
 FE TO PATRICK MAN
 AVGHAN DIED APRIL
 THE 15th 1741 AGE 49.

PRAY FOR [Y^e SO]
 UL OF PATRICK
 SHERDN WHO DIED
 MAR Y^e 17TH 1733
 AGE^d 57
 Order^d by J^o Sherdⁿ.

PRAY FOR Y^e
 SOVL OF BRYAN SHERID
 AN WHO DIED
 MAY Y^e 12TH 1728
 AGE^d 40.

PRAY FOR
 Y^e SOVL OF
 JOHN SHE
 RIDAN WH
 O DIED JVLV
 Y^e 15TH 1741
 AGE^d 21.

PRAY FOR THE
 SOVL OF WALTER
 BRADY WHO DIED
 MARCH THE 27
 DAY IN THE 23
 YEAR OF HIS
 AGE 1732.

HERE LIES THE
 BODY OF PATRI
 CK LYNCH WHO
 DIED MAY THE
 8 DAY 1738
 AGE 66 YE.

JOHN WHEELER
 DIED MARCH 1745.
 ORDER^d BY HIS
 FATHER BARTLV
 WHEELER.

Pray for ye Soul
 of John Brady
 who died July ye
 24th 1766 aged
 30 years.

PRAY FOR Y^e
SOUL OF NELLY
NUGENT ALIAS
REILLY WHO DIED
10^{br} 17th 1754 AGED 43

THE LORD HAVE
MERCY ON Y^e SOUL
OF JOHN SHERIDⁿ
WHO DEPART^d THIS
LIFE 7^{ber} Y^e 1st 1752
AGED 56. ERECT^d
BY CATHERINE
SHERIDⁿ.

PRAY FOR THE
SOVL OF EDMOND
REILLY WHO DEPA
RTED THIS LIFE APRIL
Y^e 2^d 1756 AGED 26 Y^{rs}.

PRAY FOR Y^e SOUL
OF MARY REILLY WH
O DIED X^{ber} Y^e 29th
1749 AGE^d 76.

The Lord have mercy on
The Soul of Philip Smyth
who Died Oct^r ye 1st
ag^d 56 years 1724.

PRAY FOR
Y^e SOVL OF PA
TRICK GARGAN
WHO DIED MARCH
Y^e 15th 1723 AGE^d 19.

PRAY FOR Y^e
SOUL OF RO
SE REILLY W
HO DIED 7^{br}
Y^e 22^d 1755
AGED 27
ALSO FOR
ANN REILLY
DIED 1752

Pray for the
Soul of Nelly
Fitzimons who
departed this life
March 19. 1772 aged 75.

**HERE LIES THE BO
DY OF JOHN FITZI
MONS WHO DIE
D AVGVST THE
19. 1741 AGED 41.**

PHILIP O'CONNELL.



Rev. Joseph B. Michon.

In Memoriam.

REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN, P.P., M.R.I.A.

Go forth out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I will show thee.

(Gen. XII. 1.)

The words that the Lord addressed to Abraham were spoken on Oct., 18th, 1926, to a distinguished priest of Kilmore diocese, a priceless member of the Breiffne Antiquarian Society, and one whose memory the readers of this *Journal* should not willingly let fade.

On the eve of the publication of the *Journal* we cannot give more than a very brief survey of the life of the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, P.P., M.R.I.A., Killinkere.

The several literary specialities, produced by his fertile and graceful pen, shall have ample recognition in the next issue of the *Journal*.

Under the Southern Cross ; by the Great Lakes ; on the shores of the Pacific ; among London's teeming millions ; in the quiet homes of Ireland, there are students of St. Patrick's who imbibed knowledge from his refined and scholarly lectures—men who will heave a sigh when they learn of the demise of Father "Joe," whose valued advice was ever readily accessible, and whose untiring interest in their welfare bespoke his unselfish and noble character.

From Killargue to Mullagh, the parishioners to whom he ministered during his missionary career will whisper a fervent prayer for the genial *Σαζαρτ* who shrank from no sacrifice, and who spared no pains to bring consolation and sunshine into their lives. "Their welfare pleased him and their cares distressed." Not less intense will be the grief of the wide circle of friends which his charming and magnetic personality established far and wide.

Of another Irish ecclesiastic and historian—the late Canon O'Hanlon—it was said that he worked so hard in the discharge of his pastoral duties that men wondered how he could find time to write anything, and who wrote so much that men wondered how he could have done any missionary work.

With equal truth these remarks apply to the late Father Meehan.

While working zealously in the Ministry, he found time to study, with critical sagacity and in minute detail, questions—economic, social and industrial—relating to the Fatherland. All the intricate problems relative to these topics his logical mind grasped so completely that he could appear before Government Commissions (e.g. the Railway Commission, and the Congested Districts' Commission) and occupy several days giving evidence of a character so comprehensive, analytical and constructive as to arouse the wonder and excite the admiration of the Commissions and of the Irish Press. His evidence before the Railway Commission of twenty years ago was so lengthy and detailed that the report necessitated the issue of a special edition of the leading Dublin newspapers of the day.

All his literary work evinced qualities of a very high order. His English was vigorous, lucid, lively, forceful, and chastened with excellent taste. He had no room for, and showed no mercy to, uncouthness of expression or unrelieved monotony. His fidelity to his authorities was not the least of his gifts. He marshalled his facts, presented his arguments, and fortified them by an array of references that challenged contradiction.

His energies in later years were concentrated on historical research, with special solicitude for his own beloved Breiffne. It is no reflection on the valuable publications bestowed by other writers to this Society to proclaim that he was its *central figure*—its nucleus—that this *Journal* is his *magnum opus*, and the enduring *monument*—the crown of his literary career—that will surest and longest keep his memory green.

Father Meehan possessed in a remarkable degree the peculiar adaptability of the Indian tracker for pursuing to their sources and unearthing incidents connected with Breiffne (e.g. the records of Margaret of New Orleans) that would baffle an O'Donovan or an O'Curry.

Returning home from holidays in the autumn Father Meehan carried with him a scroll which hung in his study. It contained only one sentence—attributed to Stephen Grellet.

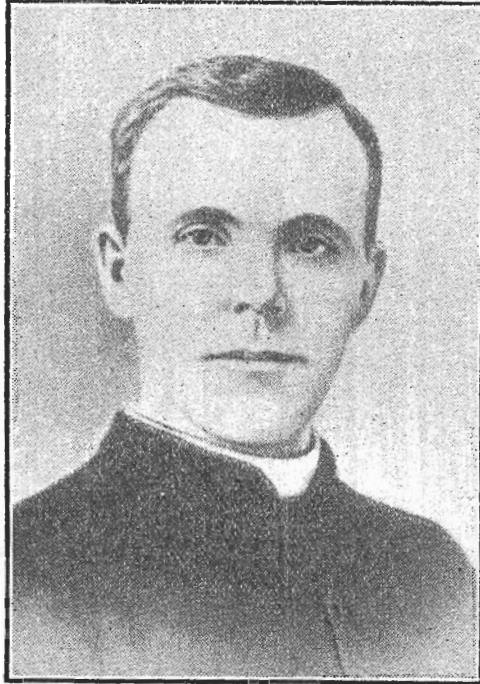
That single sentence sums up Father Meehan's dispositions towards his fellow-men. It implies, too, that he anticipated an early death. It reads:—

I shall pass through this world but once, if, therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me not defer it nor neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

His loss we deeply deplore, and we respectfully tender to his relatives, to his brother priests of Kilmore diocese, and to the people of Killinkere, whom he loved so well, our sincere condolence.

Obituary Notices.

Rev. James F. Flood, M.A., of both Fordham and Emmitsburg, Pastor of St. Matthew's, Chicago, died on June 23rd, 1924. Born on March 9th, 1847, in the parish of Drung, he was fourth son of Francis Flood and Honor Brady. In the old Flood homestead, Drumbilla House, Cornagarrow, he was



reared to manhood. His education he received mainly in the U.S., spending five years in Fordham University, N.Y., and four at Emmitsburg, Md. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Feehan in the Cathedral of Chicago, on 20th July, 1885. After nine years' work in the city, in May, 1894, he was appointed Pastor of St. Matthew's. There he continued to labour till his death.

His interest in his native parish and diocese never abated. In the years after his ordination he crossed the seas several times

to visit Drung. To it he presented, among other things, the altar that now adorns the old Church; nor did he neglect to make later a liberal donation towards the building funds of the new Cathedral.

Like his brother, Edward J., who occupies a responsible position in the Supreme Court, Albany, N.Y., he was always keen on information about his native county's past. "When I was on a visit to Cavan town some forty-five years ago," writes this brother, "I tried to obtain some local historical pictures or post-cards to bring back with me; but I could get nothing except along the line of ridiculous caricatures, such as Paddy and his pig." The era of the picture post-card had not then arrived. The neglect has since been well supplied, and Paddy and his pig has walked the plank after the stage Irishman. To-day he could not fail to obtain very beautiful post-cards of Cavan historical ruins, Cavan historical personages, and Cavan beauty spots in almost any stationer's shop in the county.

In Father Flood's demise the Society has to regret the loss of a Life Member. To his brother in Albany and his relatives in Drung it begs to offer its sympathy.

Mrs. Rose Burke, a lady who took a large share in the social life of Cavan, passed away on Sunday, 27th July, 1924. In its succeeding issue the local paper, *The Anglo-Celt*, testified: "No death has occurred in Cavan for many years which occasioned more heart-felt sorrow than that of Mrs. Rose Burke, who was associated for a considerable time with her family's old-established pharmacy, O'Connor's Medical Hall. Mrs. Burke . . . took a ready and active part in every movement for the welfare of the town. To the poor she was a free dispenser in their times of sickness, and her purse was ever open to the wants of the needy." Her words were always cheery and encouraging, and her very manner spoke efficiency.

One of the original members of our Society, she continuously manifested an interest in its doings. The Society recognises the loss sustained by the poor of Cavan in the death of one of its most charitable ladies; and it wishes to associate itself both with the universal sentiments of regret, and with the sympathy, equally wide-spread, felt for her husband, sister, and relatives in their deep sorrow.

In the person of **Dr. Alfred John Smith**, F.R.C.S.I., M.A.O. (R.U.I.), M.B., M.Ch., early in the year, the Breifny Society lost one of its most distinguished members. He died at his residence, 30, Merrion Sq., Dublin. Dr. Alfred was the eldest son of Philip Smith, J.P., Kevit Castle, Crossdoney. After a preliminary education in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, he studied in Dublin, Leipzig, and Vienna. He specialised in Gynæcology and Mid-

wifery. He was past President Obst. Sect. of R. Academy of Medicine; past Vice-Pres. British Gynæ. Society; and past Ex-Assistant Master Rotunda Hospital. At his death he was Professor Midw. and Gynæ. N. Univ., Dublin; Fellow of R. Soc. Medicine, London, and R. Academy Medicine, Dublin; and Gynæcol. St. Vincent's Hosp., Dublin. His paper on a hundred cases of Laparotomy without a death, in the last mentioned Hosp., created at the time a great sensation throughout the United Kingdom, and its influence on medical practice continues undiminished. On that and kindred subjects he was an extensive contributor to the medical journals. Interested in the welfare of the Dublin Hospitals he was also a frequent speaker at their annual meetings.

In our Society Dr. Smith from the start took a lively interest, as he did in every forward movement of his native Cavan. The Society begs to offer his relatives their sincere sympathy.

On the 10th Aug., 1925, Very Rev. **Canon Michael Corcoran**, P.P., Scrabby and Columbkille E., and V.F., ended his fruitful career. Canon Corcoran was an ideal priest, humble, pious, and charitable, a gentleman and a scholar. Forty-nine out of the fifty years he laboured on the Mission were given to the parish in which he died, and in which his remains rest. Everything that was to be done in it he did, and did well. He built Gowna church, one of the most graceful and well-equipped churches in Cavan, two fine parochial houses, and five schools with a teacher's residence attached to each. Though often enticed to change to what was considered a more important parish, he declined, preferring to live and die amongst the people he saw growing up around him as children; and they on their part deeply appreciated and fully reciprocated his affection for them. To their temporal as well as to their spiritual interests he devoted himself intelligently and whole-heartedly.

The Society feels the passing away of one of its staunchest friends; one who always saw, but was ever ready to condone, its shortcomings.

[NOTE.—*It is pathetic to have to add that these OBITUARY NOTICES was the last article written by the late Father Meehan for this JOURNAL. Before it appeared in print he, himself, had passed away.*]