

The Breifny
Antiquarian Society.



The Loughduff Dolmen.

JOURNAL FOR 1922.

VOL. I. No III

PRICE 7/-

THE
BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S
JOURNAL, 1922.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

(Let no one have the presumption to express falsehood, or the poltroonery to suppress truth.)

Cicero.

"Dallan, bring with you my blessing fifty times over to the dwellers in Breifne, noble and lowly."

—From St. Mogue's Will (see p. 344).

VOL I. No. III.

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

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Margaret's Monument, New Orleans.



Said to be the First Statue raised to a Woman in America.

See p. 339.

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REPORT OF MEETINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1922.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Society took place in the Town Hall, Cavan, on 9th March, 1922. The Chairman, Rev. J. B. Meehan, presided, and the others present were:—

Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., Cavan (Vice-Chairman); Rev. Dr. Comey, Cavan; Rev. P. V. Rudden, President St. Patrick's College; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballinagh; Mrs. T. R. Blackley, Drumbar House; Lieut-Col. Story, D.L., Bingfield; Dr. T. P. Smith, D.L., Kevitt Castle; Messrs. R. A. McCay, W. H. Halpin, Aidan McCabe, W. Reid, P. J. Smith, and B. Whelan, Cavan; Messrs. P. J. Brady, C.E., Ballyhaise; Th. O'Reilly, Loughduff; Peter Martin, Carrigan; H. O'Reilly, do.; and R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones.

Letters of apology were received from Rev. W. P. Lowe, M.A., Bailieborough, Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon, Editor *Anglo-Celt*, and Mr. Ph. O'Connell, M.Sc., Clonmel.

Mr. Wm. Reid acted as Secretary.

Regrets were expressed at the death since the last General Meeting of two of the original members of the Society, Miss Martha Lough and The Right Hon. Thomas Lough, P.C., H.M.L., the former of whom passed away at Drom Mullac, Killeshandra, towards the end of 1921, and the latter in London, on 11th January, 1922.

On the motion of Mr. P. J. Brady, C.E., seconded by Mr. Walker, B.A., a resolution was passed expressing regret and tendering sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.

A brief obituary notice of Miss M. Lough appeared in the 1921 Journal, and one of her brother, The Rt. Hon. Thomas Lough, is given in this.

The business of the Annual Meeting, as laid down in the Rules, was gone through.

The Chairman read the Committee's Report on the work during the twelve months just passed. It showed satisfactory progress, and in it tribute was paid to the untiring labour of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Cole, M.A., National School Inspector

A communication from Mr. Cole was read resigning the secretaryship, owing to transference to the Belfast district. The resignation was regretfully accepted, and the following resolution, proposed by Rev. J. B. Meehan, and seconded by Lieut.-Col. Story, was unanimously adopted :—

“The Breifny Antiquarian Society desires to express its recognition of the great loss it sustains in the unavoidable retirement of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Cole, M.A.

“The Members also wish to put on record their gratefulness for all he has done for the Society from the very beginning. He it was that took up energetically a suggestion that had been several times mooted before, and urged the formation of such a local Society for Kilmore. He bestowed immense trouble in bringing it into being and giving it a fair start.

“Since its establishment, two years ago, he has laboured earnestly and most efficiently for its progress. Any future measure of success to which it may happen to attain will be largely due to his thoughtful and unobtrusive guidance both in laying down its course, and in conducting it through the first and, we believe, the most difficult years of its work.

“Personally he was highly esteemed by every individual Member. We are extremely sorry for his departure from amongst us, and we wish him every blessing in his new sphere of duties.”

The accounts of the Society were laid before the Meeting. As audited they will be found at page 229 of the Journal.

Mr. J. P. Gannon was unanimously renamed auditor for 1922.

The presiding Chairman retired in accordance with Rule 15c.

Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., was, by an unanimous vote, appointed to the office.

Rev. Dr. Comey was elected Vice-Chairman, Mr. W. Reid, Secretary, and on the motion of Mr. Halpin, seconded by Mr. McCabe, the old Committee were re-elected with the addition of Dr. Smith and Mr. Walker to fill vacancies. The resulting list of the officers for 1922 is given on page 233.

There was a discussion on the advisability of printing a larger number of Journals and reducing the price, the price at present being about exactly what it costs the Society. Some suggestions were also made as to the Annual Excursion.

The following new Members were elected :—

LIFE MEMBERS :

Right Rev. Monsignor Richard Brady, Loretto Heights Academy, Colorado ;

Rev. Francis J. Brady, Calhan, Colorado ;

Very Rev. James J. Flood, Chicago, Illinois ; and

Right Rev. Francis Gilfillan, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.

MEMBERS :

E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A., Dublin ;
 Rev. P. J. Manly, Rathowen-Edward, Westmeath ;
 Dr. Raymund Magauran, Cavan ;
 Rev. J. B. McGovern, Manchester ;
 P. T. McGovern, St. Louis, Mo., and
 Miss B. E. Smith, Castletara.

FIFTH GENERAL MEETING.

On the conclusion of the business of the Annual Meeting a General Meeting was held. The Rev. E. D. Crowe, Chairman, presided, and the same persons were present. Two papers were read and discussed. They will be found in the succeeding pages. A number of exhibits were shown. Their description is printed after the papers.

SIXTH GENERAL MEETING.

The Meeting was held in the usual place on the 26th October, 1922. Rev. Dr. Comey, C.C., Vice-Chairman, presided. The same members as on the last occasion were present, together with Mrs. Smith and Miss Smith, Kevitt Castle ; Mr. W. J. O'Callaghan, Cavan, and a few visitors.

Letters of apology were read from Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., Chairman of the Society, Very Rev. M. J. Flynn, Liverpool, and Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon, Cavan.

The following were elected to the Society :—Mrs. T. Lough, Drom Mullac, Killeshandra (Honorary), and Very Rev. H. P. Smith, Evanston, Illinois, Life Members ; Very Rev. P. O'Reilly, P.P., V.F., Derrylin ; Messrs. Pádraic Colum, Dublin, and Peter Cooney, Manorhamilton, Members.

The Rev. Chairman mentioned the presentation to the Society for the use of the members of a valuable Irish Library and collection of antiquarian objects by Mrs. Lough, Killeshandra, wife of the late Rt. Hon. Thomas Lough. These, the Committee, on behalf of the Society, had gratefully accepted. A list of the books will be found in the last pages of this number of the Journal. With a view to their housing and the commencement of a Museum, he also referred to his interview, as one of a deputation from the Committee, with the Technical Instruction Committee for Co. Cavan as to the use of a room in the Technical School. The application was favourably received, and referred to the local Sub-Committee for arrangement.

The papers read will be found in later pages, and a description of the exhibits follows them. On each of the papers there was an animated discussion.

KILLYKEEN AND CLOGH OUGHTER.

By WILLIAM REID.

[Read 9th March, 1922.]

KILLYKEEN is within half-a-dozen miles of the town of Cavan. Not many places in the county can vie with it either in scenic beauty or in richness of historic associations.

Killykeen—Coill chaoin, the "Beautiful Wood"—lies in the valley of the River Erne, and forms portion of the second of the four steps the river takes in its descent to the sea. After flowing into Lough Oughter (the upper lake), above Trinity Island, the river forms a series of expansions before again contracting, on the north side of Innishmore Island, into a river in the true sense. This wonderful labyrinth of winding lakes, separated by mounds and banks of clay, is probably due to the irregular distribution of boulder clay and gravel accumulated by the great ice stream which moved northwards along the valley of the Erne from the central snowfield. Another theory is that the lakes are mainly due to the solubility of limestone in presence of water containing carbonic acid gas. These lakes have been described as "if regular hollows dissolved out of the limestone floor and filled with water."* Many water-worn stones are to be seen along the shores of bays and islands in the district. But whether formed by the savage strength of the slowly-moving icefield or gradually by the imperceptible, but persistent, action of water, we have in our midst one of the most charming spots to be found in the great central plain of Ireland.

From earliest times rivers formed the great highways for the slow movements of primitive man—invaders cautiously felt their way along them into the interior of the country. It requires no great flight of imagination to picture what the Erne Valley must have been even at a comparatively late date in the world's history—lake, swamp, bog, and impenetrable forest, rivers choked with fallen trees, stagnant pools: the country was almost impassable. Many ages had passed since, according to the more generally accepted theory, the ice so inconveniently removed our coal fields into the Atlantic. Nature had been silently at work gradually getting the country fit for man—who was to come. Through the tangled wood and shaking quagmires roamed

* Hughes: *Geol. Notes of Ireland*, 4th ed.. 1882.

the wolf and the Irish elk, and at last came man, silently, fearfully, and, as it were, step by step—all nature against him—waging war with strange roughly-hewn stone weapons, but ever advancing, ever conquering—slaying and being slain—shaggy, wild, uncouth. Wave after wave of invaders came moving across Europe, always moving westwards, one tribe overwhelming another, and ever with more deadly weapons, stone, bronze, iron. Man had to protect himself in the Erne Valley as he had in the Swiss lakes. Noting and taking advantage of the shallowness of the lakes, early man formed the plan of living in comparative safety by constructing, on half-submerged islands and shallows, strongholds called crannoges, or crannogs. (Celtic, crann, a tree.) The Celtic name is used universally owing to the fact that it was in this country the crannoge was first discovered, or rather first recognised for what it is. This happened in 1839, not quite a century ago. It is of special interest to us to know that one of the first of them thoroughly explored was at Tonymore, within a mile of us. Exactly sixty years ago this was done by our townsman, Dr. Malcomson. His minute description of Tonymore (or Cloneygonnell) crannoge, fully illustrated, together with a list of the objects of interest discovered in it are contained in the *Proceedings R.I.A.*, Vol. VIII. They may be found also in Wood-Martin's *Lake Dwellings of Ireland*,* pp. 197-9. Dr. Malcomson's careful labours formed a model for subsequent investigators.

That such artificial islands were inhabited even in prehistoric times admits of no doubt. Quantities of ancient pottery have been come upon in excavating them; numerous implements of flint, stone, bone, and bronze are constantly found in the crannoges themselves, or are fished up from the lake bottom around their margin. That, too, they were not mere places of temporary refuge but permanent dwellings is not open to question: the kitchen-middens or refuse heaps prove it. Cavan has such a number of small lakes eminently adapted for their construction that crannoges are particularly abundant in the county. Indeed, a well-known antiquary, the late Mr. Seaton F. Milligan, declared that O'Reilly's country "might be appropriately called the crannoge country."† Occasionally, it is believed, it was the lake and not the islet that was artificial.

* It is of interest to note that the typical crannoge described and illustrated in *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, 1874 ed., is that in Drumaleague lake near Keshcarrigan in S. Leitrim. Wood Martin's work reproduces the drawing and description.

† *Journal of R. Hist and Arch. Association of Ireland*, 1885, p. 148.

Wood-Martin (op. cit., p. 250) gives a Map of Ireland "showing approximate distribution of all known lacustrine sites." Cavan has 21, Leitrim 24, Fermanagh 39, and these are the highest. But it is to be recollected that the eminent antiquary Mr Wakeman resided in Enniskillen and left little of County Fermanagh unexplored.

These lake dwellings are often composed of layers of logs and brushwood piled on the shallows and consolidated with gravel and stones. In rare instances the body of the work is entirely composed of stones. A very fine specimen of the latter is to be found at the western end of the expansion between Eonish Island and Gortinanowl. (Gort n-an abhall, the "field of the apples.") Thousands of tons of stones were used in its construction, and, so far as one can judge, it has never been interfered with. Not so with the piles around it. The gentleman just mentioned, who visited Killykeen in 1885, saw a ring of stakes, but some of them were pulled up and lay drying on the surface previous to their removal. The superstitious feeling which shielded rath and dolmen never extended to the crannoge—possibly because it was unrecognised until so recently for what it is. This crannoge can be seen from a distance as it is crowned with a clump of trees. They are all of recent growth, forty years ago none of them were there. The stones composing it are loosely thrown together, but there is an accumulation of gravel and of decayed vegetable matter on the top which may have formed the binding or floor of the dwelling house.

Killykeen Cottage, a beautiful structure in rustic work, was put up on the shore of the lake about 1885 by the late Lady Farnham. Another crannoge is passed on the sail from it to Clogh Oughter Castle. As it lies in the fairway and is more exposed than the one just mentioned it is rather badly knocked about; yet forty years ago it was almost perfect. The Belfast visitor of 1885, already quoted from, writes of it:—

Starting at Killykeen, we sailed for a few hundred yards to one of the most perfect crannogs I had ever seen; it stands boldly up from the lake, with its concentric rows of stakes placed round it at equal distances, as perfect as if it had been constructed yesterday. There appeared to be firm strand around it, but one of our party who attempted to leap out found himself up to the waste in the treacherous soil, from which we had some difficulty in extricating him. We did not attempt further to land, but pulled round the crannog admiring its regular rows of stakes and its beautifully wooded surface. (Loc. cit. p. 151.)

The rows of stakes are no longer there to be admired. But they are not all gone. At low water the remains of a few sticking in the mud bottom are still clearly visible. Very often piles driven down through from 6 or 8 to 14 ft. of water, and joined together by horizontal beams, formed the framework of a crannoge. But outside stockades, such as these, would serve as a break-water. That they were here needed is shown by the injury to the island in the short interval since their removal. They were useful besides as a defence. As in similar instances the stakes had originally risen several feet above the water, and it may be sup-

posed that they were interlaced with stout branches placed horizontally, so forming a screen or breastwork. In the *Ulster Inquisitions* of 1605 Stockaded Islands—a term found in Irish Records—are constantly designated *insulæ fortificatæ*. The Tonymore crannoge was surrounded, and we may assume protected, by two concentric stockades 15 ft. apart.

O'Reilly's may be rightly called the crannoge country, but in the vicinity of Killykeen, Cavan's Lake District, they are probably more numerous than anywhere else in Breifny. A fine one lies on the right as you sail through "The Fox Hole" on the way towards Killeshandra, another is built in Trinity lake. In Drumlane lake quite close to the Abbey ruins is one about 100 feet in diameter; another somewhat smaller is at the opposite side of the water. Derrabrick townland, once an island itself, but since the lowering of the Erne about 1859 a peninsula, rises up between Drumlane lake and Tully lake. The latter contains three crannoges. Two of them lie closely together. They were reached by a causeway of stones 6 ft. wide. About 16 ft. from one of them the causeway stops. When the island was inhabited this chasm could be bridged at will by removable logs. The more distant crannoge was approached by a similar structure which ran beneath the surface of the water. Not this alone, but two breaks, one in the very centre of the lake the other near the island itself, made it impossible for an enemy to use it. An island in Lough Ramor beside Virginia is protected, I am informed, in a further ingenious fashion. Besides not being quite as high as the summer level of the water and having several gaps, its causeway runs zig-zag. It may be supposed that certain marked features of the surrounding shore or landscape supplied the key and indicated to the initiated the spots at which to turn.

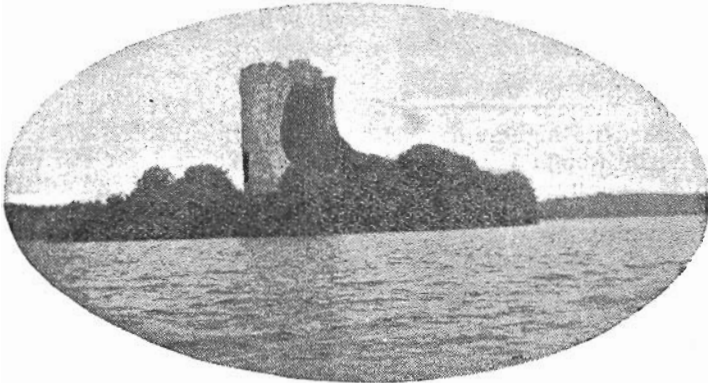
The crannoge is a type of stronghold peculiar to Celtic countries. It reached its highest development in early historic times, and survived through the Middle Ages. In Ireland Sir W. Wilde limited their range to the period between the 9th and 16th c.* But long ago his restriction broke down at both ends. It has been demonstrated that many of them are prehistoric; not improbably, as I have already suggested (see second page of this essay), a few of them date as far back as the time of the earliest settlers who made their way from the coasts inland. On the other hand, they are of many ages, and they were in use even as late as the 17th c. Fortified islands, not castles, were the favourite strongholds of the Irish and many of the islands were, it is now recognised, wholly artificial. The Rev. Mr. Walker, one of our members, informed us of one in Garadice lake which was a fortress of Myles the Slasher. Parts of its loop-holed strong surrounding walls, a comparatively modern substitute for stockades, are still there. As late as 1653 Sir Phelim O'Neill was captured on a fortified island.

* *Encycl. Britannica.*

CLOGH OUGHTER CASTLE.

Cavan may be the crannoge county, and Killykeen, its Lake District, may be the richest in crannoges, but that Clogh Oughter is historically the most important crannoge in this Lake District, or indeed in all the many expansions of the Erne, is a certainty. When the island was first constructed cannot even be conjectured, but it figures in history from the tenth till towards the latter half of the seventeenth century.

As it stands at present it is oval-shaped, 190 ft. from north to south and 140 ft. from east to west. Its highest point is about 10 ft. above the summer level of the lake. That it is a genuine crannoge, that is partially or wholly of artificial formation in which timber was liberally used, admits of no reasonable doubt. When the water is low its character is manifest. Mr. Kirker, C.E., the county Hon. Sec. of the R.S.A.I., examined it most carefully. From him I have taken the above and later dimensions.* He testifies that on approaching it from the south or south-west, when the water is at the summer level, it is seen to be constructed of loose stones covered with brushwood and small beams or trees 9 to 14 ins. in diameter. At that time (1890) stakes or piles, from 4 to 6 ins. in diameter, were visible all around its margin. I have sailed round it in recent years scores of times, but could never see the piles. But then, piles are useful and 30 years bring changes, especially when there is no protection.



Clogh Oughter Castle.

The Castle itself stands in the centre of the island. It is circular in shape and, as the illustration shows, it looks like a low Round Tower. It is about 55 ft. high. This is higher, indeed, by 15 ft.

* Journal R.S.A.I., 1890, pp. 294-297

than what remains of Drumlane, but lower than Devenish by 21 ft.; and the latter is of medium height for a Round Tower.* But its breadth is many times greater than Round Towers. Their average internal diameter is from 7 to 9 ft.* Drumlane is $10\frac{1}{2}$ but it is exceptional; whereas Clogh Oughter Castle is 35 ft. The thickness of the outer wall, measured at about a man's height, is also double that of a Round Tower; the Castle's being 7 ft., Round Towers averaging $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4—Drumlane is $3\frac{1}{2}$. Round Towers, besides, diminish in depth towards the top. Not so this. It is uniform throughout.

The apertures for the joists show that it was divided into four stories. The height of the two first stories can be easily measured, the floors were $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. apart. The distance between the 3rd and 4th floor and between the latter and the roof appear to have been the same. The roof was probably flat and it was surrounded by a battlement 6 ft. high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad. The principal entrance was on the north, and, like most Round Towers, was 15 ft. above the ground. An opening in the parapet right above it and some stones standing out from the wall at intervals below the opening suggest a corbelled projection for the protection of the entrance. Such a projection with its slit is a common feature in old castles. It may be seen at Carrickfergus, for instance. Through the slit molten lead could be poured down on the heads of too venture-some assailants. However, the projection might have been intended for suspending a portcullis. This could have been lowered to protect the door, and raised above it when not wanted.

No internal walls exist, nor are there traces of any except in what may be called the basement. Here there are remains of a wall running through the centre of the building, and on one side at least of this there appears to have been a compartment. A large section of the tower proper (amounting to about one-fourth) has fallen. As the solid masonry has been thrown outwards, the destruction is clearly not the work of decay. Everything points to the fact that the building was mined at the side nearest the land for the evident purpose of rendering the fortress indefensible. The tower, or what of it remains standing, is of rubble work. The building stones are rough. The island itself must have been considerably enlarged by the fallen masonry, as in the middle of the 17th century it seems to have been possible to bring a boat right up to the walls. The lake at that time was much higher, especially in winter, as modern drainage works have lowered the level of the water considerably.

WHEN ERECTED ?

In Irish Records Lough Oughter Castle is designated Cloch Locha hUachtair, *i.e.*, The Rock of the Upper Lake. The name

* Cf. *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Marg. Stokes, London, 1887. Part II., p. 51.

justifies a suspicion that the islet was founded around a great rock (cloch), perhaps a rock projecting above the water. When, or by whom, the castle was built, or the earliest one built, it is impossible to state positively. Almost 1,000 years ago the lake itself was invaded, as appears from the *A. of U.* It states :—

954—An expedition by Domnall, son of Muirchertach, with ships [probably light cots capable of being transported on men's shoulders] from Tuagh Inbher [the estuary of the Bann] upon Loch-nEchach [Neagh], on the Dabhall [the northern Blackwater], across the Airghialla [Oriel, *i.e.*, across Monaghan and Fermanagh] upon Loch-Érne, afterwards [by their boats ?] on Loch-Uachtair [Lough Oughter], when he devastated the Breifne, and took O'Ruairc's pledges.

But there is here no mention of either a castle or of a fortified island. There is no further reference to the Lough by any of the Annalists, as far as I can find out, for almost 300 years. But at last under 1220 in the *Annals of Lough Cé* the crannoge figures. The entry is as follows :—

1220.—Walter de Laci came to Erinn, and performed a great hosting to the crannog of O'Raighilligh.*

A note, appended to this by Hennessy, tells us that this crannoge "appears to be situated in Lough Oughter, County Cavan, where the old castle of Cloch-Uachtair . . . now stands. In a letter from Guy de Chatillon to Henry III., dated July, 1224, Grennoch Oraely (as the name is therein written) is stated to have been captured from William de Lacy by Oraely, Walter de Riddelsford, and Richard Tuit, on the same day on which the castle of Kilmore (County Cavan) was taken, from which it appears to have been in the neighbourhood."* This shows that "Grennoch Oraely," *i.e.*, Crannoge O'Reilly, was in 1234 again in the possession of the O'Reillys. It was a fortified island, but there is no mention of a castle. Neither is there in the next extract, which is from the *F. M.*, dated a few years later :—

A.D. 1231.—Donall O'Donnell, Lord of Tirconnell, and Angus Mac Gillefinen, of Fermanagh, marched their forces into the territory of Cathal O'Reilly; conveyed their vessels to Lough Uachtair, plundered Eo Inis, and carried away all the provisions and treasure of the entire town.

This is copied from Connellan's ed. The annotators say that Eo Inis, or the Holy Island, plundered was probably Trinity Island where there was an Abbey; "or perhaps it may have been Urney, where there was an Abbey and small town, near Lough Oughter." But Trinity Abbey was not founded till at least 1237, six years later, and this is the date the *F. M.* themselves give. Besides Eo Inis is still Eo-Innis, and is quite a different island from Trinity. As to Urney, it is about five miles from Clogh Oughter and is unknown as an Abbey to either Archdall or Alemand, our

* Quoted from Wood-Martin, *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

best authorities. Nothing is here said either in the text or by the annotators about "Crannoge O'Reilly". It is unlikely that it was not attacked, and, if taken, spared. Possibly, it was so well fortified that to the plunderers it was sour grapes and they passed it by. Under the some year the *Annals of Kilronan* have a similar entry.

In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under 1241 and 1261, and in the *Annals of Boyle*, under 1248 (D'Alton) or 1251 (O'Curry *MSS. Materials*, p. 108) Lough Oughter is again mentioned, but solely in connection with the founding of Trinity Abbey and the death of its founder, Clarus O'Mulconry—Clarus MacMailin he is called by the *F. M.*—Archdeacon of Elphin.

The lake was soon again invaded.

A.D. 1272.—O'Donnell (Donal Oge) collected his vessels and boats on Lough Erne, with which he proceeded to Loch Uachtar, and seized on the property of the adjoining places (namely, on the islands of the lake), which he carried away, plundered the people, and reduced them in all the neighbouring parts under his sway and subjection.—*F. M.*, C's. ed.

The Latin MS. of the *A. of U.*, preserved in the British Museum, gives the same particulars, but ascribes them to 1275.* But it, too, has nothing to say about a castle.

Half a century later the castle is mentioned for the first time. In the *F. M.* we find:—

A.D. 1327.—A war broke out between the O'Rourkes and the O'Reillys, and the *castle* of Lough Uachtar was burned by Cathal O'Rourke, who abandoned it for a ransom of cattle.—C's. ed.

O'D.'s version also translates it castle, and has it that the ransom was 20 cows.

Mr. Kirker (l.c.) finds it stated in the Pedigree of Count O'Reilly that "The Castle of Loch Uachtair was erected by the Red Earl." This was Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who died at Lough Laeghaire, County Tyrone in 1323 (*F. M.*) or 1326 (*A. of U.*) Presuming that this was not a re-erection, should the Pedigree reference hold good then it could not have been long up when Cathal O'Rourke took it and burned it. At all events, it is plain it was there in 1327.

In tracing its history we have now three fairly firm spots on which to place our feet: the lake was of note as far back as 954, the crannoge—Crannoge O'Reilly—was there in 1220, and the castle—Loch Uachtair Castle—was there in 1327. It is, therefore, at least 600 years old.

But there are grounds for holding that it is centuries still older.

First, both in appearance and construction it bears a close resemblance to fortresses that are known to belong to the 11th and 12th centuries. The Hag's Castle in Lough Mask, for instance,

* See *A. of U.*, Vol. II., p. 350, n. 3.

is also a low (30 ft.) cylindrical tower; its walls are somewhat deeper (8 ft. at top) and it, too, is built on what is partially or wholly an artificial island. This stone-and-mortar castle is, according to Joyce,* one of the earliest erected in Ireland before the Norman invasion. It is noticed in the Irish Annals at the year 1195.† The Cavan castle has also its counterpart both in Reginald's Tower in Waterford, which was built in 1003 by Reginald the Dane,‡ and in the keep of Dundrum Castle, Co. Down, which was erected by John de Courcy in 1177 (*F. M.*) O'Donovan visited Clogh Oughter Castle in May, 1836, and was struck by its resemblance to both the last mentioned as well as to the Tower of Hook in Wexford.§

Then it is so like the Round Towers, differing from them almost solely in the greater depth of its walls and the greater diameter of its interior, that it suggests the same builders. Now, a good authority, Miss Stokes, assigns from 1170 till 1238 as the last period for the erection of Round Towers.|| It would not be unreasonable to claim for our castle an antiquity equal to some of the latest of them.

Lastly in his *Essay on Antient Irish Military Architecture* Petrie is quite positive that this is one of the round castles which the Irish had built before the arrival amongst them of the Anglo-Normans. This great antiquary is occasionally rather inclined to ante-date, still no better authority can be adduced. In his careful study of the question Mr. Kirker (from whom I quote Petrie's opinion) after rejecting many impossible dates eventually arrives at the conclusion that "the most probable supposition is that it was built in the 11th century by one of the O'Reillys."°

More safely shielded by Petrie's great name it could be said that it belongs to not later than the 12th century. This would assign to the structure the venerable age of 800 years.

THE CASTLE'S HISTORIC IMPORTANCE.

Whether we hesitate to attribute to Clogh Oughter Castle this hoary age or not, whether we regard it as 800 or merely 600 years old, there can be no doubt but for centuries it was the main O'Reilly stronghold. Just as the castle in Lough Mask was the great fortress of the Western province so was the castle in Lough

* *Soc. Hist.*, II, 67.

† The *F. M.* say it was "destroyed," the *A. of U.* that it was "razed." and the *A. of Cl.* that it was "fallen down," by Felim O'Connor in 1233, But in 1586 it was again there "the stronghold of the Province of Connaught" (*F. M.*) Sir R. Bingham in that year "destroyed" it, yet its ruins are still there. That they are the ruins of the 1195 building is, I confess, not clear.

‡ Petrie ("P.") in *D. Penny Journal*, 1832, p. 189.

§ Duffy's *Hib. Magazine*, Jan. 1861, p. 38, n. The island "is said to have been formed," he states "by dropping stones into the lake."

|| *Early Chr. Art in Ireland*, Part II., p. 62.

° *I. loc. cit.*

Oughter the great fortress of East Breifny Down to the middle of the 17th century it figures prominently in its history This a few further extracts from our most reliable sources of information will establish.

In 1327, as we have seen above, the castle was taken by the O'Rorkes, but given back again for twenty cows Soon again it fell into their hands. O'Rorke placed his warders in it, MacKiernan and MacGauran assisting them. Fergal O'Reilly re-captured it by a wily stratagem. He marched against it but kept his men *perdus* on the shores around it until some of the underlings came out on the mainland to cut firewood These he slew and stripped. Disguising his soldiers in the dresses taken from the dead underlings (habits of skin) they entered the castle and slew the garrison before they had time to seize their arms "By this manœuvre," continues the *O'Reilly Pedigree*, "Fergal obtained the best territory in Breifny, namely, the tract extending from Lough Oughter to Mullagh."*

The MS. gives no clue as to the date Most likely both the re-taking of Clogh Oughter by O'Rorke and the recovery of it by Fergal O'Reilly occurred after 1327 and the transaction about 20 cows. The extract plainly shows that the fortress was regarded as the key of the country.

THE BATTLE OF BLENACUP, JULY 11TH, 1369.

East Breifny was a little kingdom in itself—in the *Annals of Ulster* its chieftains are termed kings. The year 1369 was for it a year of revolutions, and Clogh Oughter Castle figures in the centre of events, in its own way something like the Tower of London in the time of Prince John or the Bastille during the reign of Louis XIV.

On his brother, Connor, resigning in 1365 to become a Friar, Philip O'Reilly succeeded to the kingship.† Four years later, *i.e.*, in 1369, he was deposed and thrown with ignominy into Clogh Oughter prison. Whereupon the loyalist O'Reillys gathered an army, and aided by the MacMahons of Oriel they marched to Lough Oughter to release him. The new king or chieftain O'Reilly, Manus, on his part summoned his followers "to defend their country"; which, if not strictly true, was a good war-cry. He placed his forces across Blenacup hill between two lakes to stop the invaders. The combatants met there and Manus was utterly defeated.

Though the prisoner in Clogh Oughter may have witnessed the fight from the top stories of the castle, so near was it, the victory

* For a literal translation of the passage from the MS. in T.C.D., by Mr. O'Connell, see this Journal, pp. 119 and 120. Compare also Kirker's article p. 296., *loc. cit.*

† This Journal, p. 121.

of his loyal friends did not bring about his release. The castle was a strong fortress out in the water and remained uncaptured. So later in the year his son-in-law and ally, Maguire, "king of Fermanagh, along with the young sons of kings [of Fermanagh]" —*A of U.*—came with a fleet of boats, took "the Rock of the Loch," and set free the captive chieftain. Next year, 1370, the tables were completely turned on the usurper. Manus was caught and in his turn forthwith sent to the self-same prison to which he had committed Philip, Clogh Oughter. His subsequent fate is not known.

As it is more satisfactory to read about these big events in the authoritative records, I accordingly now proceed to give the extracts from the Annalists:—

A.D. 1369.—Philip O'Reilly was taken prisoner by his own kinsmen, and was sent to be imprisoned in the castle of Lough Uachtar, closely bound and fettered.

Manus O'Reilly assumed the lordship then [*the A. of U.* say the kingship] and a war and commotion arose in Brefny, on account of that imprisonment; Annadh, the son of Richard O'Reilly, collected a great force, and Mac Mahon and the chiefs of Orgiall (Monaghan), came to assist him to compel Manus to release Philip O'Reilly; Manus and his kinsmen with all their forces united together to defend their own country, and a battle ensued in which, however, Manus was defeated at BLEN CHUPA; and the three sons of Cormac O'Ferrall, namely, Seoinin, Malachy, and Fergus; Felim, son of Hugh Anchleitigh (of the plume), O'Connor; the two sons of Flaherty More Mac Conruba, namely, Donogh and Brien; Sitrick-na-srona Masterson, and many others, were slain in that engagement.—*F. M., C.'s ed.*

The account in the *A. of U.* is substantially the same, but it gives a few more particulars. The battle it calls "the Defeat of the Strand at the Island of the Trinity." It was fought "twenty nights before Lammas" (1st August), *i.e.*, on July 11th, 1369. The O'Connor who fell was son of Aedh of the Quill, "a son of a king without lack of nobleness or generosity." Flaherty's son who was also among the slain—it mentions only one, Donn Mac Canrubha—it lauds as "the unique youth of the Fifth of Connacht in joyance and in brilliant prowess and in noble hospitality." Of Sitric Masterson "of the nose" whom like the *F. M.* it mentions last, it informs us that he "kept a general guest-house."

The editor of the last three volumes of the *A. of U.*, MacCarthy, in a note to this entry maintains it as more probable that Manus's disastrous defeat took place, not at "Blencup," four miles west of Cavan town, but opposite Trinity Island in Lough Cé, County Roscommon. There can hardly be any doubt but he is mistaken. For first, the *A. of Lough Cé* as well as the *F. M.* give Blen Chupa.

I am unable to say if there be a townland of that name also opposite the Trinity Island of Roscommon. (Cf. this Journal, p. 192). If not, it would be decisive against MacCarthy's opinion. But the annotators to the *F. M.* (C.'s ed.) expressly state that the battle was fought in "Blencup in the parish of Kilmore, County of Cavan." Secondly, MacMahon and the rest of them were on their way to release Philip from Clogh Oughtter, and at Blenacup they had reached within a mile or two of it. Manus was across their path "to defend his own country"—certainly not Roscommon. Lastly, the high hill of Blenacup, with its level top some hundreds of yards wide, rising precipitately from Lough Ahain on the one side, and on the other sloping down to the *strand* of Lough Oughtter under Killnawallah hill and *opposite* Trinity Island, was an ideal position for Manus's defending force. It fully satisfies, moreover, all the notes of location given by the Annalists. O'Donovan unhesitatingly declares for it.

But though Manus was routed and fled, the "Rock of the Loch" was not captured nor was its prisoner released. Accordingly, later in the same year:—

1369.—Philip MacGuire, lord of Fermanagh, sailed with a fleet, on Lough Oughtter . . . and having taken the castle of Cloch Oughtter, liberated Philip O'Reilly, lord of Brefney, who re-assumed his lordship.—*F. M.* (C.'s ed.) So too the *A. of U.*

Knowing the Erne we can see that "the king of Fir-Manach" (*A. of U.*) had no difficulty in sailing up from Enniskillen. His wife Ducola, daughter of Philip O'Reilly, whom he restored to "his kingship" (*A. of U.*) died the next year, 1370. Before the year was out the usurper Manus, who had imprisoned Philip, became himself a prisoner and in the same prison. He was captured by the sons of Thomas O'Reilly. They delivered him up to Philip who promptly clapped him into the Castle or Rock of Lough Oughtter. (*F. M.* and *A. of U.*)

CLOGH OUGHTER IN THE GREAT WAR OF 1390.

Twenty years later Clogh Oughtter again appears as a prison. To appreciate the entry better it may be premised that the O'Rorkes were overlords of all Breifny, East and West, but for some hundreds of years the O'Reillys were independent of them.* Naturally, there was no love lost between them. The antagonism was intensified in 1380. The O'Rorkes and their neighbours, the O'Connors of Sligo, were, since the bitter war between them of 1340, renewed in 1370, on much the same terms

* "O'Rourke was lord of all the county of Leitrim, which was called West Breifne; and of the now County of Cavan, called East Breifne; but for some centuries O'Reilly, lord of the Eastern Breifne, was independent of O'Rourke." *Leabhar na g-Ceart or Book of Rights*. Dublin, 1847, p. 251, note by O'Donovan.

as the French and the Germans of the present day. In 1380 the O'Connors "again attempted to expel the O'Rourke and obtain the lordship of Breifny (Leitrim) for themselves." (*A. of U.* note, sub. 1390.) Philip O'Reilly, who had been deposed, imprisoned, set free and reinstated in 1369—he died in 1384—joined the O'Connors. The allies invaded West Breifny. But they were signally defeated by O'Rorke and forced to retire, and "horses and men were destroyed around them on that expedition." (*A. of U.*) It becomes, accordingly, plain why Manus O'Rorke on his escape from Clogh Oughter was pursued and killed by the O'Connors, as mentioned below.

A.D. 1390.—Great war this year between Tigernan Ua Ruairc [Tiernan O'Rorke], namely, king of Breifni, and Thomas, son of Mathgamain Ua Raighillaigh [Thomas McMahon O'Reilly], namely, king of Muintir—Mailmordha [Breifny O'Reilly]. And Maghnus Ua Ruairc was at that time in custody with Ua Raghallaigh in the Rock of Loch-Uachtair. The Rock was pierced through and he escaped thereout and went to the castle of Loch-in-scur and the clan of Muircertaigh Ua Concobuir [Murtagh O'Connor] followed him and he was killed by them in leaving the Loch.—*A. of U.*

Both the *F. M.* and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* also tell of the war and the escape under the same year. Both, moreover, state that Manus was betrayed to the O'Connors and that he was slain as he was leaving the boat (*F. M.*) or Coytt (*A. of Cl.*); the latter authority shows, besides, that he had reached Lough Scur. This lake is near the village of Keshcarrigan in S. Leitrim and about twenty miles almost due west of Lough Oughter. On it was a MacRannall castle famous also for its donjon. The MacRannalls (Reynolds) were sub-chiefs of O'Rorke, but Manus was killed just as he was on the point of getting under their protection. The narrative makes it more probable that he bored his way out himself—a great achievement as the walls were 7ft. thick and while working he had to avoid detection. Dundrum keep, almost a duplicate of Clogh Oughter and perfect yet, has its basement storey cut out of the solid rock, and its walls are a foot. thicker.* In Dundrum the feat would have been an impossibility.

The Tiernan O'Rorke mentioned above seems to have been almost as great a warrior and diplomat as his more famous ancestor and namesake Tiernan the One-eyed, husband of Devorgilla. In the great war of 1390, as the Annalists term it, he was faced by the old combination of the O'Reillys and O'Connors in which, besides, a third ally had rebelliously joined in, the Mac Ternans, chiefs of Tullyhunco. So he concluded "a firm peace" with the O'Reillys and loaded them with presents. But the two others "proceeded to take by force" certain portions of Leitrim

* *Ulster*, edited by Fletcher, F.G.S., etc.—Cambridge, 1921, p. 134.

(*F. M.*). Tiernan was in Glangevlin* when he heard of the invasion of his territory. Forthwith, "he marched his light forces" to meet them, "attacked and defeated them, and continued pursuing and slaying them and their people from Beal-Atha-Derry-Dubhain, as far as the Hills of Brefney." (*F. M.*) The site of the battle is unknown and these places cannot now be identified. The *A. of U.* have it that he pursued them to Slieve Carbry, which is Longford; and the *A. of U.* that he "held on his course of killing them from Belagh Derg to the top of the place called Tullagh Brefnagh." These names are also obsolete and unidentifiable. Anyway, it is plain it was a total rout, and equally plain that Tiernan did not neglect to follow up his victory. In the next year (1391), in an ambush, he showed his personal bravery. Thomas McMahon O'Reilly had died in the previous harvest, but "o'Roirck & o'Relly continued in their atonement of peace. o'Roirck with a few of his household men repayed to the town of Drumleahan [Drumlane] to meet [in a friendly way] with o'Relly, was intercepted by 65" of the Clan O'Connor (*A. of Cl.*), in his passage. Tiernan faced and routed them slaying the leaders of the ambushade with his own hand.

CLOGH OUGHTER IN 1487.

The year 1487 was brimful of events. On February 24th there was a great wind which unroofed houses and churches and destroyed trees and gardens. The summer following was like a "Winter of inclemency"; and with the constant rains the crops were ruined throughout the country. Teige Maguire, Vicar of Killesher, and Dennis MacGillcoisgly, Vicar of Derrybrusk, also in Fermanagh, both died; and so did, on 1st September, Torlogh O'Reilly "of a sudden fit in his own castle" of "Tullymongan over the town of Cavan." Wars raged in Leitrim, Cavan, and Roscommon, as well as in many other districts with which we are not concerned. But perhaps the most notable thing about this *annus mirabilis* is that it first witnessed the use of firearms in Ireland. Brefny has the doubtful honour of being the soil on which their first victim fell, and the victim was an O'Rorke—Bryan O'Rorke. Bryan O'Rorke, son of Cathal, son of Tiernan, was defending Castle Car. This was a well-known O'Rorke fortress whose ruins may still be seen in the parish of Kilasnet, County Leitrim, near Lurganboy. Bryan was struck down and killed "with shot of gun" according to the *A. of U.*, or, as the *F. M.* word it, "by the shot of a ball," by Geoffrey O'Donnell; and the castle was taken. This is the earliest record of the use

* *F. M.* The *A. of Cl.* says in ffe Gaiule; but their editor, Dr. Murphy, S.J., identifies ffe Gaiule with Glangevlin in Tullyhaw. As the place was uninhabited till about 200 years ago it is not unlikely that he was there on a hunting expedition. Both Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco formed part of West Brefny, and Tiernan was on his own territory.

of fire-arms in this country. That Geoffrey (or Godfrey's) father was styled Aedh the Foreign, suggests the arms were imported.

A note, based on apparent authority and appended to this entry in the same *F. M.* (C.'s ed.), has it that the first muskets or fire-arms seen in Ireland were brought from Germany to Dublin in 1489, and presented to the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, who put them in the hands of the sentinels who stood guard before his residence in Thomas Street. This note rather contradicts than illustrates the text, and cannot be accepted as accurate. Manifestly they were used at Castle Car* in Leitrim in 1487, two years before that. Both the *F. M.* and the *A. of U.* attest this. No better authorities can be named. Neither the *A. of Boyle* nor the *A. of Cl.* come down as far as 1487. Accordingly this year was for this country the first of a new era in warfare, and Breifny saw its dawn.

Amidst the wars and wars of this year it is not to be expected that Clogh Oughter would enjoy an uninterrupted peace. Nor did it, as the following excerpt from the *A. of U.* (p. 325) shows:—

A.D. 1487.—The fortress of Loch-uachtar was taken this year by the sons of Domnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, namely, Ferghal and Edmund. And Ferghal himself died this year, the Saturday before Christmas [December 22nd] and was buried in Druimlethan [Drumlane].

This is the last distinct reference by any of the Annalists to Clogh Oughter. In the *A. of U.* is recorded, it is true, that in 1496 Florence O'Corcraín, "an eminent harper . . . and a very good vocalist and instrumentalist [lit. sweet of hand and mouth]" died in the castle of O'Reilly. But whether this was Clogh Oughter or Tullymongan or some other, I am unable to determine.

CLOGH OUGHTER IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

The writer must now skip a considerable period in the castle's history. Coming down to the beginning of the 17th century he finds a reference in Bagwell's "Ireland under the Stuarts." In 1607 the castle was owned by Richard Nugent, 10th Baron of Delvin, then aged 23. He became involved in intrigues with Lord Howth, which led to the flight of Tyrone and the Plantation of Ulster. He confessed that he "put buzzes into the Earl of Tyrone's head." Having been imprisoned in Dublin Castle, he escaped and fled to Clough Oughter on a lake in Cavan. From there Delvin wrote to Chichester pleading youth. He was pardoned on condition of his surrendering within five days. Pressed

* The crannoge of Glencar lake is in Leitrim about five miles Sligowards from this Castle. There is a persistent local tradition, I am informed by a member, that the first iron sword made in Ireland was manufactured on this crannoge. It was a fortified one, and figures conspicuously in the Leitrim romance, *The Knight of Glencar*.

by troops he stole out of Clough Oughter, with two companions, leaving his infant son to be captured and taken to Dublin. Delvin was "enforced as a woodkern in mantle and trousers to shift for himself in the mountains" for four months; surrendered, was sent to England and pardoned. Some time after this date Sir Hugh Cullum, captain in Tyrone's wars, had the castle of Clough Oughter committed to his trust, as "Constable of the King's Castle of Clough Oughter." The tower must have been considered of great military importance, for a large grant of lands was given to Sir Hugh in consideration of his holding the place. The castle does not seem to have been regularly inhabited for a period of 40 years prior to 1641. In that year Sir Hugh's son, Mr. Arthur Collum, seems to have taken up his quarters in the castle on the outbreak of the war, but he had so neglected his trust that the fortress did not contain a "pound of powder nor one fixt musquet for its defence."

We have now come to an intensely interesting period in the castle's history, and indeed in the history of our country. The period from 1641 to 1653 is one of continuous fighting in Ireland, and the interest centres round the well-known figures of Bishop William Bedell and Owen Roe O'Neill, the Churchman and the soldier, both of whom are intimately associated with Lough Oughter Castle. The incidents of the war are well known, and I will confine myself as closely as possible to those connected with Killykeen. When the war broke out Bishop Bedell was in Kilmore. The O'Reillys were the leading family in the County Cavan. Indeed, Bagwell states they were supreme. Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, member for Cavan, was chosen as local leader. Edmund O'Reilly was chief of the clan, and his son, Miles O'Reilly, was High Sheriff. He sacked Farnham Castle, took possession of Clough Oughter Castle, his friend, Arthur Culme, or Collum, as we have seen, being then the governor. Cavan surrendered on the 29th of October, 1641; Bellanagh, being indefensible, surrendered to Philip MacMulmore O'Reilly, uncle to the sheriff. Pynnar states that "Mulmory Oge O'Reilly had 3,000 acres in Cavan, lived in an old castle with a bawn of sods, and hath made no catahs (leases) to any of his tenants, and they do all plough by the tail." The Scots in County Cavan got together at the very beginning of the war under command of Sir James Craig and Sir Francis Hamilton, in the castles of Tecrohen and Keilach—the respective homes of these leaders. Luke Dillon of Trinity Island was M.P. for Cavan County in 1634. These were some of the notables who took part in the events I will now shortly trace—Owen Roe O'Neill has not yet entered on the stage.

On the 17th day of December, 1641, Bishop Bedell was arrested by Edmund O'Reilly, and on the following morning Edmund

O'Reilly, with very much verbal kindness and civility, informed the Bishop that it was resolved to secure him in Lough Oughter Castle. Having furnished horses and a small guard, the bishop, his two sons, and his biographer, Rev. Alexander Clogy, the bishop's son-in-law, set out. They took the road which reached the lake in the townland of Corraneavy, still known as "Cromwell Caussie," and on reaching the shore, opposite the castle, they were ferried over in a colt (cot) or trough, made of a single piece of timber. Alexander Clogy thus describes the castle—"The only place of strength in the whole county, called Cloch water. There was of old a little island about it, but it was worn all away to the bare stone walls, and not one foot of ground was to be seen only a tall, round tower, like a pidgeon-house, standing in the midst of the waters, and above a musquet-shot from it to each shore." It being winter time, the water must then have been right up to the foundation of the tower, and poor Alexander had ample time to observe the waters till the seventh of January, 1642, when the bishop, his two sons, and Clogy were released. The castle seems to have been very badly in need of repair, as there does not seem to have been door or window of glass or wood, to keep out the snow or rain, and the boards of the floors were so rotten and broken with rain that it seemed not very safe to walk upon them. The Scots having sallied out of Croghan and Keilach, captured four principal leaders of the O'Roruicks, whom they exchanged for the four prisoners. Arthur Cullum and another prisoner, a Mr. Richard Castledine, were not released till the 15th of June, when they joined the Scots of Croghan and Keilach, who had surrendered their forts; being allowed to march out with the honours of war. The remaining days of Bishop Bedell I need not touch upon.

The old grey tower parted with the old-time prelate, with whom it will be for ever associated. The Churchman goes on his way from his grim shelter, and now the tower awaits the advent of the other celebrated guest. Before parting with the six prisoners I think the following, culled from a note in Clogy's "Life of Bedell," is of great local interest. Mr. Richard Castledine was imprisoned in the castle with the bishop. He had at one time been a carpenter, "but being one of the wealthiest men in those parts," was not ashamed to return to his own trade, and effected repairs to the extent of making shutters for the large windows of the castle to keep the rain and wind from himself and his fellow-prisoners. The following is Clogy's note:—

"This Richard Castledyne was brought over into Ireland (with his carpenter's tools on his back) by Sir Richard Waldron, who had a large plantation in the parish of Cavan, where he began to build a castle, called Fernham Castle, from the name of his place in England. All the carpenter's worke was contrived and performed by this Richard Castle-

dyne, that by his diligence and sobriety in the feare (sic) of the Lord had gott a considerable estate under his master ; who, playing the ill-husband and being corrupted by the Irish commessations, never finished his begun woorke, but gave way to this his servant to purchase his master's castle and all the lands belonging to it in less space than thirty yeares ; and withall being exceedingly discouraged by the death of esquire Waldron, his eldest son, whom sadly overcome with drink, Major Trafford (that commanded the Welsh company at Belturbet) slew for speaking some rash words (as was pretended), he left Ireland and returned to England long before the rebellion. This industrious and thriving carpenter had no sonne, only two daughters, the one of which he had married to his master's, Sir Richard Waldron, youngest sonne, with a full intention to leave him all his father's lands that he had purchased of him if the rebellion had not interposed."

Thrifty Richard Castledine we leave on the dusty road to Drogheda on the 15th day of June, 1642, plodding along with the retreating Scots—evidently a worthy character ; now, as he goes along turning over many things in his mind against his arrival amongst friends—a man of resource, not unmindful of his imprisonment, as we read in his deposition made after his release, in which he deposes "that he wel knoweth the Castle of Clow watr (sic) and that it is a very strong hold hardly to be wonn, but that they have noe wood for fireing nerer than a muskett shott from the castle at the least, but the staires and flores and that the chaine that maketh fast the twoo grates goeth through a piece of timber that lyeth in the wall, which may be burned by building a strong boate and a frame carried in this boate roofed over with ribbed iron to defend the men from stones which they may throw down from the topp of the Castle." Richard wants to get even with his late captors and have back a little of his own, but eleven long years will come and go before the grim tower finally surrenders. Farewell, Richard, you have given us a very interesting peep into the past.*

Bedell died on the 7th of February and was buried in Kilmore on the 9th. On the 13th of July a Spanish Colonel of Foot landed at Castle Doe, Donegal, to take over command of the Irish troops in Ulster. This officer was the celebrated Owen Roe

* Soon after Castledine leaving it Clogh Oughter seems to have been again made quite habitable. In July 1646, Monsignor Massari, Dean of Fermo, on his coming to Cavan, had for some time his quarters in it. The account of his experiences in Ireland, which he wrote on his return to Italy, is still extant and has been translated into English. He has much to tell us, of those whom he entertained in the Castle, and of his visits to the islands, to Cavan Monastery and even to Cavan Fair. But it would be a pity to spoil those contemporary local descriptions by quoting them in scraps, and they are too long to give here otherwise. Later it is hoped to give them in full.

O'Neill, who for seven eventful years was to sustain the fortunes of his side with varying success. Carlyle speaks of him as a man of real ability ; surely no able man or son of order ever sank in a more dismal welter of confusions unconquerable by him. Owen Roe O'Neill was the son of Art MacBaron, the great Tyrone's brother, and was often called Owen Mac Art—known in Spanish service as Don Eugenio O'Neill. He was captain in Henry O'Neill's Irish regiment as early as 1607, colonel of the regiment about 1633, commanded the garrison of Arras during the siege of that fortress in 1640, and marched his men out with the honours of war on the 9th of August. He was in communication with the Irish leaders before the outbreak and knew what was on foot. On getting leave to go to Ireland he circulated the report that he had deserted in order to cover his tracks ; sailed from Dunkirk round Scotland and landed in Donegal. On the voyage he captured two prizes, and despatched one small vessel to Wexford with arms, which were successfully landed. Owen brought to Ulster ammunition, arms, and a few officers and men of his own regiment. Sir Phelim O'Neill sent 1,500 men to join him, and he marched by Ballyshannon to Charlemont without meeting any of the enemy. In October, 1642, he was appointed General Commander by the Assembly at Kilkenny, but there seems to have been continual bickerings about this command. When Levin, the Scotch General, was leaving Ireland he wrote to Monro, his successor, that Owen O'Neill would be too much for him, Monro, if he (Owen) got an army together. After-events proved the truth of this. Arms were scarce, but recruits plenty, and in May, 1643, Owen, against his will, crossed swords with Monro at Clones and was beaten. However, on the 5th of June, 1646, he had his revenge, and overwhelmed Monro in the Battle of Benburb—the greatest defeat the English ever suffered in Ireland. After the battle Lord Ardes and Lord Montgomery, who were among those captured, were sent in custody from Benburb to Clogh Oughter. The latter at least was still there a month later as is seen from the Massari memoirs. This is the last time the Castle was used as a prison.

I shall pass over the remaining history of this gallant soldier as it is hard to follow him in his fruitless struggle. In October, 1649, we find him lying sick in Lough Oughter Castle, still planning for the freedom of Ireland. But his fight was over, and the gallant soldier passed away on the 6th day of November, 1649. He lies amongst us in Cavan old churchyard, a few paces from where we are now met. Owen Roe O'Neill left behind him an untarnished reputation as a good general and generous foe. In an age of cruelty and savagery he never acted otherwise than as a straight, clean fighter—a patient, waiting man—biding his time and then striking his foes with a lightning stroke. It had been well for Ireland if she had placed her sole reliance on him. He was one of her greatest soldiers.

Gradually Ireland was reconquered, slowly but surely. In the spring of 1653 Lough Oughter Castle still holds out—the last post in Ulster. Flying columns commanded by Cromwellian officers march against the remnants of the hard-pressed Irish forces. And the result of one of these expeditions was the capitulation, on the 27th day of April, 1653, of the Ulster forces under the command of Philip O'Reilly, on terms called the "Articles of Cloughoughter."* They read as follows:—

Articles of Agreement between Col. Theophilus Jones and Col. Philip Reilly in the behalf of himself and his party, and the Lord of Enniskillen, Col. Miles Reilly, Col. MacMahon, Col. Hugh Maguire, Col. Con O'Neill, Col. Dan O'Cahan, and such others of the Ulster party, as shall accept thereof by the 18th of May next or before, ensuing the date hereof.

1. Pardon for life and indemnity for all things done by his party, except murder and robbery at the beginning, or any robbery since and violation of protection.

2. Liberty of transportation, and the benefit of any agreement which they can make with the Spanish Agent, or any other in amity with the State, and protection to such as desire to remain in the nation.

3. Leave to make sale of their goods before their departure, and the enjoyment of their personal estates by such of them as desire to live in the nation.

4. Satisfaction for their horses at reasonable prices.

5. Priests, or any other in Popish orders, to go away within one month; provided during their stay they exercise not their function and had no hand in murders, massacres, and robberies.

6. Such as are transported to have 14 days free quarters, after their laying down arms, and thoroughfare to the water side.

7. That Col. Reilly, with the party now with him on the west side of Loughern (Lough Erne), lay down their arms and deliver such forts in the islands, with all the ammunition and provision therein that is in his power, at or before 18th May next at Croghan, and Col. Hugh Maguire's regiment to lay down their arms the 18th of May next at Belcome (? Belcoo) Fort, in the County of Fermanagh, and all others of his party included in these Articles are to lay down their arms in the several counties where their quarters are, in such places as the governors of the several counties shall appoint.

8. That such Colonels of Col. Reilly's party, as shall at any time before the day of their laying down arms, declare to the governors of the respective counties or garrisons there, (their) being included in these Articles, by giving in an hostage for each of their performance to the said governors, that then the said

* Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 336.

governors are to give to the respective Colonels and their companies passes to secure them from the violence of the soldiers until the day of their laying down arms, they acting nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth of England, to their armies or garrisons.

9. That the respective officers have liberty to dispose of their horses for their best advantage to any of the Parliament's party, as likewise liberty to wear their travelling arms.

10. That Major Charles Reilly remain as hostage at the garrison of Lismore for the performance of the laying down arms of Col. Philip Reilly's regiments both of horse and foot at the time and place aforesaid, as also for the delivering of all such forts in islands, with all the ammunition, provision and other utensils of war in any of the said forts that is now under his command : (by provision is meant that which is laid in for the public store).

11. That in case the Lord General Fleetwood and Commissioners of Parliament assent not to the confirmation of the above Articles at or before Wednesday next, being the 4th day of May, that then these Articles are to be void and of none effect, and Major Charles Reilly is thereupon to be returned safe unto Col. Philip Reilly, who is likewise to be freed from any engagement by the above said Articles. In witness of all which, we have hereunto interchangeably set our hands and seals this 27th April, 1653. Philip Reilly.

I do hereby engage and promise, that upon notice given unto me by Col. Jones of the Lord General Fleetwood's and Commissioners of Parliament's confirmation of the Articles concluded between the said Col. Jones and myself bearing date this day, to deliver the Castle of Cloughwater with all the arms, ammunition, provision, goods, and whatsoever else there is in the said castle to Col. Jones, or to whom he shall appoint for the use of the Commonwealth of England. Witness my hand this 27th April, 1653. Philip Reilly.

The explanation of the Article concerning murder given to Col. Philip Reilly himself is as follows:—He is not esteemed guilty of murder except he had actually a hand in a particular murder or did command the same, or except he was present and had command when a particular murder was committed by persons under his command by his order, provided he had no knowledge thereof before it was done; nor is it thereby intended that any killed in fight in the open field at any time since the beginning of the Rebellion be decreed and adjudged murder. Date, 27th April, Theo. Jones, Articles of Capitulation, ff. 110-112.

Two other references in Dunlop are of interest—“O'Reilly's Castle of Ballinacargy (now Carrigan), also called the Castle of Lough Oughter (Uachtar, *i.e.*, the upper lake), stands on an artificial island at the north end of the lough, half way between Killeshandra and Belturbet. It was there that Bishop Bedell

was imprisoned and Owen Roe O'Neill died.*" Dunlop is mistaken and confuses Ballinacargy Castle, near Drung, on the Annalee, with Lough Oughter Castle at Killykeen. The other reference is connected with Trinity Island, and occurs in vol. ii., page 323. Letter No. 351, Commissioners to the Council of State, dated 4th Feb., 1653 :—"It hath also pleased the Lord to assist another party of your forces under Colonel Barrow against a party of the rebels, who, in hope of safety and for the better annoyance of the country, had betook themselves into certain islands and bogs; and to deliver into your hands Trinity Island, lying in the County of Cavan, which was a considerable fastness of the enemy's, and able to receive about 1,500 men in it."

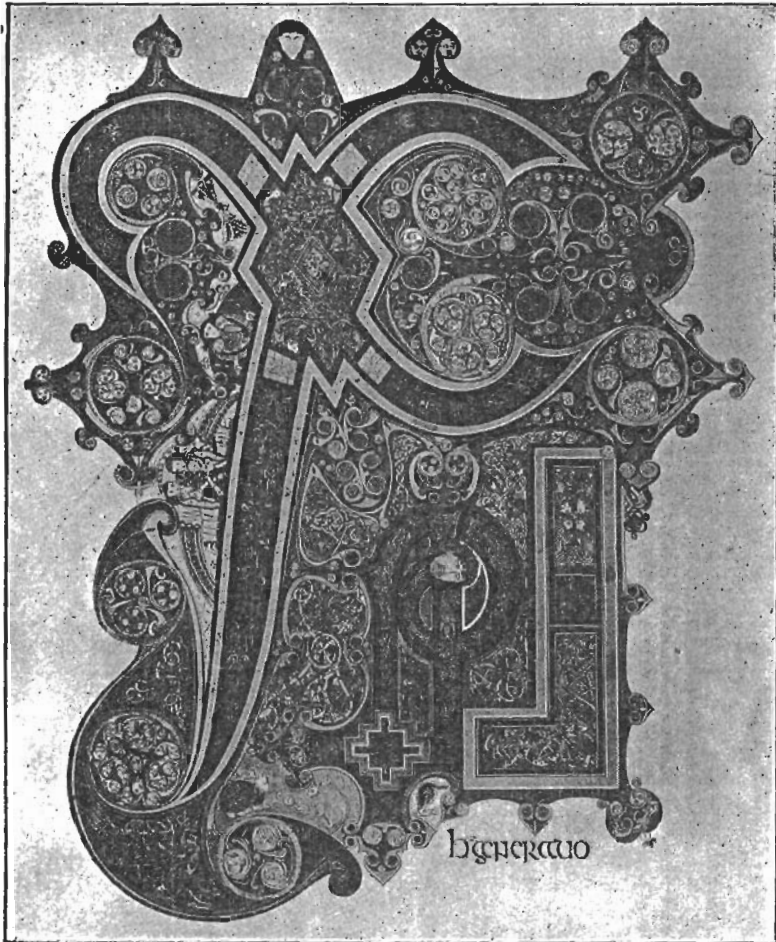
The final scene in the drama is to be played. Some time after the capitulation the castle was evidently mined and blown up. Large portions of masonry falling outwards rendered the castle useless for defence, or abode of man.

The inhabitants are now changed, and innumerable birds find it a secure home, building their nests in its shattered tower. The scene of many a striking incident in the history of our country, it will ever be connected with the memories of two great men—William Bedell and Owen Roe O'Neill, two friends of Ireland.

I must pass over many other places of interest in the neighbourhood of Killykeen. Slanore Abbey has already been fully dealt with. But what of Trinity, and, more interesting still, Drumlane Abbey, the ancient earthworks at Kilmore, and numerous other places of antiquarian interest near Killykeen? Every year as it passes makes the work of compiling more difficult. I have endeavoured to follow the course of the events relating to my subject, rejecting any facts not well authenticated. I am sure much interesting matter connected with it has been overlooked and much more will reward the patient worker in as yet unexplored avenues. Personally, I have derived great pleasure in reading up the few books on the subject I have had access to through the kindness of friends, one of whom supplied me with some valuable references. Killykeen will repay a visit by the members of our Society, and perhaps we may look forward to that pleasure at an early date.

WILLIAM REID.

Monogram Page from the Book of Kells.



The Book of Kells is a vellum MS. of the Four Gospels in Latin. The original is in T.C.D. library. As to its date, "it is ascribed, according to the best authorities, to the close of the 7th c." (Hyde). It is the most beautifully written book in the world. Professor Westwood of Oxford, who says so, also states that for hours together he had examined it, using a magnifying glass, without once detecting a false line or an irregular interlacing. "Every examination of it," declares another expert in MSS., "only increases our wonder at the glory of its ornamentation, its exquisite tracery, and the perfect harmony of its colouring" A photograph, such as the above, which fails to reproduce the brilliant colouring, gives but a faint idea of its marvellous perfection; a perfection which prompted Cambrensis in the 12th c. to credit a legend that such a MS. is the work not of human but of angelic skill.

The page illustrated above Westwood refers to as "the most elaborate specimen of calligraphy which was, perhaps, ever executed."

FIRST PRINTING IN THE COUNTY LEITRIM.

By E. R. McC. DIX, M.R.I.A.

[Read 9th March, 1922.]

So far I have only found printing in 3 towns in this County—two prior to 1850 and one starting in 1851. I subjoin a list of each separately. Questions arise as to dates. Perhaps Members of the Society can assist in tracing the dates or the printers themselves. Further research may discover more items of printing in these towns.

BALLINAMORE.

Let us consider now these short lists separately, taking "Ballinamore" first. You will see the first item is undated but is conjecturally assigned to "1839." This is arrived at by first adding 14 to 1824 (= 1838), and then allowing one year for the return and publication. Perhaps Bernard Reilly returned before the 14 years expired. The Census Return of 1841 does not contain the name of "John Connolly"; so I fear that the conjectural date "1839" is too early and must be changed to "1842" at least, if not later. It is strange to find in the Census Return a lad of 16 returned as a Printer!

The first certain date is that of Slater's Directory in 1846. If some reader or Member of the Society knows, or is connected with, Ballinamore, he (or she) can say if there is a "*Church Street*" still there, and if any tradition of "*John Connolly*" still survives. It would be interesting to know when and why he, a Galway man, came to Ballinamore. Perhaps it was his mother's native place. One would also like to know when he left it, or died. His business must have been commercial chiefly. Sometimes a pamphlet has a false imprint, being really printed elsewhere privately. I always regret the omission of a date on a title page, but it may be possible to date it from a careful study of the contents; so in the present list a person, well acquainted with past events happening in Ballinamore, might be able to date approximately the undated items in this list. I hope this may be the case.

There is one source of information about printers that often helps us, *i.e.*, the Census Returns of 1821 and later years. The early ones might be examined and perhaps would throw light on the subject of the Printers here.

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

The first item of printing here is undated and very doubtful. It refers to some event which, I think, must be on record somewhere in the history of the County. Also the Author can doubtless be identified, and so the date arrived at. It is only conjecturally dated, and I fear is far too early. The 2nd item must have some local origin or reference. Can anything more be traced of the printer, Patrick Joseph Brennan? Is his address in 1846 still existing in the Town? When did he come, and when did he die or leave? These are questions that can best be answered locally, I believe.

The newspaper printed here, in 1850. is the first Journal apparently published in the County.

MOHILL.

In this list you will at once notice that printing, so far as at present known, was late in appearing at Mohill; but then a Magazine appeared there soon, and three newspapers were printed. Has a complete file of any of them been preserved anywhere? The neglect to keep our local Journals for past years is a matter of very much regret.

It may be noted that the first item in the list is a "2nd Edn." It is a controversial Tract by a Protestant.

BALLINAMORE.

1841. Peter Curran (16) Printer. Native of Co. Leitrim. (*Vide* Census Return).

(? 1839), ? 1846. A True History of *Bernard Reilly*, a Returned Convict, who was Transported *In the Year 1824* For Fourteen years. And has lately returned from Exile with an Account of his Sufferings, etc., etc. *Written by himself.* (J Connolly, Church Lane), 16mo, 8 pp., verse.

(University Library, Cambridge :
National Library, Dublin.—Dix
Collection.)

(? 1843. ? 1846. Address to the Sons of Erin (on the Repeal of the Union). A Slip. 8 verses. Single Sheet. Connolly, Printer. (British Museum. 1835. m. 1.)
(24) .)

1846. (John Conolly, Printer and Bookbinder.)
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for this year.)

1851. John Conolly, Printer and Binder. Native of Galway (and his wife).

(*Vide* Census Return.)

1856. John Conolly (Printer and Bookbinder).
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for 1856.)

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

1817. A Simple Narrative solely interesting to Three Hundred Poor Families, Occupiers of a certain District in the County Leitrim, the reputed Estate of the Earl of Bessborough.* The Rev. Dominick Fanning, P.P. 4to.
(Brit. Mus.—807, f. 36/24.)
1841. Patrick Joseph Brennan, Printer (Native of Dublin), 87 Main Street, aged 28, not married.
Michael Cahill (21), and Bernard Rafferty (18), Journey-men Printers (Natives of Co. Cavan).
(*Vide* Census Return.)
1841. Report on the State and Progress of Public Buildings, Bridges, Roads, etc., in the Co. of Leitrim. Thos. D. Hall, C.E. 8°, 16 pp. (last blank) + folding sheet. (*P. J. Brennan*, County Printer, Leitrim.)
(R. I. A., /H.P., vol. 2101 17.)
1841. (Ed. Beirne, Jr., Printer), 93 Main Street.
(*Vide* Census Return.)
1846. (Patrick J. Brennan, St. George's Place).
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)
- 1850, Oct. 17th to Dec. 26th. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser, Nos. 1-11. Weekly on Thursdays. 5 cols. to a page. Price 5d.—Some Nos. wanting. (*John Nevin Trimble*, Carrick on Shannon.)
(Brit. Mus.—Newspapers.)
1851. (1) Michael Curley (19). Printer, 2 Leitrim Street. Native of Co. Leitrim.
(2) Patrick Joseph Brennan, (38), Letterpress Printer, 1 Jail Street (Wife and child).
(3) Edward Johnston (20), 25 Main Street, Letterpress Printer.
(*Vide* Census Return.)
1851. John N. Trimble (24), Bridge Street, Native of Enniskillen, Proprietor of Leitrim Journal.
Wm. Gibson (24), Editor, Native of Enniskillen.
Jas. Wilson (16), Printer, Native of Enniskillen, Co. Fer-
managh. (*Vide* Census Return.)

* In the book there is an insertion of 16 pages, smaller leaf, dated from Drumshambo, 1st January, 1817. It is an appeal to Lord Bessborough's friends on behalf of his "Broken-hearted and Pennyless Peasants. His English agents are overcharging exorbitant rents, etc." The appeal is signed by Fr. Fanning and 22 tenants. Mention is made of an agreement made at Murhaun chapel. There is no printer's name or place given, but the printing is so well done that I don't think this insertion was done locally.

—V. Memo from Dr. Crone.

Murhaun chapel, from which the parish takes its name, was an old thatched one. Its walls can just be made out in Murhaun graveyard, within a few hundred yards of the present Drumshambo C. Church. A very old man, Andrew McManus, of Blackrock, Mahanagh, who died a few years ago, often attended Mass in it.—Ed.

- 1851-1859. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser.
(British Mus.—Newspapers.)
1860. Same. Jan. 19th to Mar. 15th. N.B.—3 issues are wanting. (*John Nevin Trimble.*)
(British Mus.—Newspapers.)
- 1861 to 1872. Same. Do. do.
1864. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser. No. III. 2nd Series. 2nd Jan., 1864. Price 2d. 4 pages. 5 cols. Carrick-on-Shannon. Printed and Published every Saturday by the Proprietor Wm. Trimble (afterwards and at same time, of the Fermanagh Reporter). (Authority, Dr. J. S. Crone, London.)
- (? 1869). A Roll of all Gentlemen who filled the offices of High Sheriff, etc., etc., for the Co. of Leitrim from 1600 to 1868.* Compiled by A. Harrison (*Brennan*), 4to.
(*Vide* late Mr. M. Darey's Library Catalogue, also Journal R.S.A.I., 1908, p. 382.)
1870. The Leitrim Journal. (*Wm. Trimble.*)
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for 1870.)
1870. Patrick J. Brennan, Bookseller, Stationer and Printer, St. George's Terrace.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)

MOHILL.

1851. Robert Turner (28) Printer, 5 Hyde Street. Marianne Turner, his wife (Married 1848), Printer.
(*Vide* Census Return.)
1852. The Portrait of Mary in Heaven, from the French of Napoleon Roussel, etc. Preface, Letter to Rev. J. W. Evers, P.P., etc.. Mr. John White. Printed at the Connaught Publishing Office. (*R. Turner*). 2nd Edition. 12mo. 40 pp. Last page blank.
(National Library, Dix Collection.)
1853. The Christian Intelligencer and Literary Magazine. Monthly. (*R. Turner*).
(*Vide* Advertisement at back of next item.)

* This Roll was reprinted for private circulation in 1909 by Js. Ormsby Lawder, of Lawderdale, who was H. Sheriff of Leitrim in that year. Mr. Lawder also continued it from 1868 till 1909. It contains the lists of the M.P.'s for Co. Leitrim from 1613 till 1909, and also for the Boroughs of Carrick-on-Shannon (or Carrickdrumruske) and of Jamestown from their establishment in 1613 till their dissolution in 1800. It also gives 21 Grand Jury lists from 1778 till 1868 and several other lists.—Editor.

1853. Language, its History and Use: A Lecture, etc. The Rev. Jno. Graham (R. Turner). 8vo. 24 pp. and cover.
(Nat. Liby., Dix. Collection; and R.I.A./H.P., vol. 2136/4.)
1856. Robert Turner, Stationer and Printer, Hyde Street.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)
- 1856, June. The Leitrim Advertiser. (Weekly—Thursdays).
(*Vide*, Layton's "Handy Newspaper List," and next item.)
N.B. See next item, probably the same.
- 1858, Jan. 2nd to Dec. 25th. The Leitrim Gazette and County Advertiser. 4 pp. Vol. III. Nos. 8 to 134. 7 cols. to a page up to Sept. 18th, and 6 cols. to a page afterwards. Weekly, Saturdays. (Robert Turner, Main Street.)
(British Museum—N.)
- 1859 to 1867. Same.
(British Museum.—N.)
- 1867, Oct. 10th to Dec. The Leitrim and Longford Advertiser (*Successor* to the Leitrim Gazette.) Vol. I. Nos 1-12. 4 pp. 6 cols. to a page. Price 2d. Weekly. Thursdays. (Robert Turner, Main Street, Mohill.)
(British Mus.—N.)
- 1868 to 1900. Same.
(British Museum.—N.)
(N.B.—Imperfect set.)
1870. (Robert Turner, Main Street, Printer, Stationer, etc.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory)

E. R. Mc. DIX.

EXHIBITS AT THE FIFTH MEETING:

[8th March, 1922.]

1. **Mould of a Kelto-Maltese Cross.**—This object is owned by one of our members, Mr. Berry. It was found a few years ago in Milltown Bog, Parish of Drumlane, by Mr. Thos. Smith. The stone mould seems perfect, but a close examination reveals that one or two little flakes have come away. In outline it exactly resembles the Victoria Cross designed after the Crimean campaign



The Milltown Cross Mould. (Exact size).

Drawn by MASTER JOHN O'REILLY, Carrigan, N.S., Ballintemple.

of 1856. The Milltown Cross, which is not quite perfectly symmetrical, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and, including the solid ring at the top, a little over 2 inches high. Its ornamentation is very tasteful.

The object looks like a mould for badges, possibly of Knights Hospitallers. An authority suggests that it may have been used for adorning the fore-plate of reliquaries, of which there are some examples in the Dublin Museum. It is likely to have been used for long and long before it was lost, and is said to have been found at the great depth of fifteen feet. As to its exact date, it would afford considerable assistance in determining it could it be said what is the average rate of the growth of bogs. No very reliable information on that point is yet available.

2. Flint Arrow Head.—Mr. Berry also sent in a flint arrow head. It is of the barbed and stemmed variety. It was picked up a year or two ago by Mr. Francis O'Reilly, of Roskeeragh, Belturbet, in one of the fields as he was harrowing. Numberless such objects have been found in Cavan and Leitrim. Popularly they were supposed to belong to the fairies; and they were, of course, proof positive of their existence. In both counties a sudden and strange disease used to affect cattle. They were said to be "elf-shot." Milch cows, especially milch cows grazing near the sacred precincts of a fort, were much subject to it. A score of years ago in Leitrim these little pointed articles were occasionally shown by the specialists who had "the cure" as the identical darts that had been hurled at the beasts by "the good people" to drive them away, so causing the mysterious illness. It is gratifying to be able to say that the disease is no longer rampant in either county. In Leitrim it died out with the last generation; in Cavan so long ago that very few can be found who remember it or even heard of it. Though no value was set on them and most of them were lost again, in reality these prepared flints are most interesting, were it only for their almost incredible age. They properly belong to the Late Stone period, and the best authorities assign about the year 2,000 B.C. as the date of its ending for this country. "Worked flints," writes Wakeman, "which had served the purposes of knives, scrapers, skinners, arrow-, javelin-, or spear-heads . . . have been found in enormous quantities in Ireland, and particularly in Ulster." Once they were to be had for a song, and were exported by the hundred to England, Europe and America. Antrim, in which this kind of stone is abundant, was the centre of the trade. The supply soon became exhausted, but the trade continued. Counterfeits were produced by clever natives, who came to be known as "Flint Jacks," and were eagerly purchased by unsuspecting strangers, American tourists, according to Wakeman, being, strange to say, the most gullible. Similarly, at Waterloo, more than 100 years after the great event, the trade in relics, "picked up on the battlefield," you will be assured, is still brisk. When a flint arrow-head or flint chisel is accidentally come across, as in the case of the Roskeeragh find, there can be little doubt or suspicion as to its genuineness.

3. A Pillion.—Everyone knows what a pillion was, though very few have seen one. It is a lady's saddle which was strapped on behind the main saddle, the horse thus carrying double. They were as carefully made as saddles, and as carefully girt on, and were besides much more comfortable. They were often elaborately decorated, and were much like easy-chairs. Many of them, like the Crosserlough one, had a back, but more commonly they had sides and no back. The frame, slender but strong, was of iron, the seat and flap of leather or of some heavy cloth, well padded. The lady sat sideways, facing left, away from the whip hand. There were two rests for her feet, corresponding to stirrups, hanging by cords or leather straps from the frame beneath the flap. When riding in one, to wear a long woollen over-mantle was the correct thing. These cloaks were usually grey and were called jocks. They were never put on except for such occasions. They went with the pillion. As hardly one can now be met with that saw the pillion in actual use in either Cavan or Leitrim, they must have gone out of fashion over 70 or 80 years ago. Further west, at Belmullet and Mullaranny, for instance, they are still in vogue. There is a pillion in the Belfast Museum. Mr. Bigger informs us it came from the County Down.

During the latter days of their use in this diocese marriage ceremonies were frequently performed in the priest's house. On the happy pair leaving it, it was as much the custom for the bride to go in a pillion behind the groom as it is nowadays for both to drive away together from the church in a motor car. Then, too, it was no wedding unless there was a race for the bride's bottle from the chapel or minister's house to her parents' home, where, as now, the wedding festivities were held. When important people were concerned many steeds carrying double would be present. The contest would be left to them and the race would be most exciting.

Near the door beside many old farmsteads there may still be observed a **mounting stone**. Beside Stradone there is a particularly good specimen, with steps cut in its sides. These stones were for the accommodation of women. A man getting on horseback needed, of course, only the stirrup. In Harper O'Neill's account of his travels in the last half of the eighteenth century, he boasts of Toby Peyton of S. Leitrim, the harpers' great patron, declaring that at a hunt at the age of 100 Toby could mount his horse "as dexterous as a man of 20," and be in first at the death.

4. Charter for Four Fairs in Ballyconnell.—These Letters Patent are dated 19th January, 1767, and, as the endorsements show, they were duly enrolled both in the High Court of Chancery, Ireland, and in the Auditor-General's Office four days afterwards. By them George III. conveyed to George Montgomery the right of holding four fairs at Ballyconnell and a "Court of Pye Powder." There is also granted him and his heirs and assigns for ever all

the "Tolls, Customs, Privileges and Immunities whatsoever" arising out of the fairs and Court, the consideration being the sum of thirteen and four pence sterling, to be paid yearly for ever to His Majesty or his heirs. The document is rather long to be given in full. The parchment is very tastefully ornamented, and the wording clearly engrossed and easily read. The seal, in green wax, is still attached to it, but is somewhat damaged. The charter was discovered last year in a book-shop along the quays in Dublin by a gentleman connected with the "Irish Farmer's Gazette," and he has very kindly lent it, as well as the printing block made from a photograph of it, to the Society. There can be no doubt but it is the original Charter.

A few particulars may add to its interest. This George Montgomery was a man of some importance in his day. He was defeated at the election of 1761, but succeeded at the next, and was Knight of the Shire of Cavan from 1769 till his death in 1787 (see p. 104). He was connected by marriage with the Earl of Ross, Baron Conyngham and Lord Massey. His wife, sister of the first Lord Leitrim, pre-deceased him at Bath in 1786. In 1611 Captain Culme and Walter Talbot received 1,500 acres at Ballyconnell, and on it by 1619 they had raised a strong castle, three stories high, surrounded by a strong bawne 100 feet square and 12 feet high, and having two flanking towers. This castle was totally burned down by an accidental fire some time before 1764, and in that year Mr. Montgomery erected on its site Ballyconnell House. His family do not seem to have continued there, for in 1837 the residence was occupied by Mr. J. Enery. (*Lewis's Top. Dict.*) This may have been the Jn. Enery, jr., who was High Sheriff in 1796. The Enerys' names are found in the County records for over a century. In 1727 a John was Captain in the Hon. Th. Coote's Regiment of Foot of the Cavan Militia (*Rev. Swanzy's List*). In 1843 a Wm. H. was High Sheriff. One branch of the family lived at Bawnboy, another at Ballyconnell. The four fairs granted were to be held on 17th March, 24th June, 29th September, and 3rd December. By 1801 the town had four additional fairs in other months, and by 1837 it had a fair in every month except November. Later, November got its fair, so that at present there is one every month. The people seem to have taken the matter into their own hands and never minded charters. The irregularity of the dates of the first fairs was kept up in those created later.

The Court of *Pye Powder* needs explanation. In reality the words stand for Old or Norman French *Pie Poudreux*, and mean "Dusty Foot." The Court was an ancient one incident to fairs and markets in corporate towns, and deriving its authority from the town charter, as in the case of Cavan. It administered justice in a rough and ready way to all comers, but principally to pedlars and wanderers. This Court has long been obsolete; it would

be difficult to find a later instance of its creation than the Ballyconnell one of 1767. Its jurisdiction was merged in the Court of Petty Sessions. An interesting relic of its ancient functions survived in Section 17 of the Summary Jurisdiction Act and in Section 9 of the Petty Sessions Act (14 and 15 Vic., caps. 92 and 93). These sections gave power to any justice of the peace in Ireland to hear and determine out of Court any dispute between buyer and seller at fairs and markets relating to any article, matter, or thing, not above £5 in value, as also cases of drunkenness and vagrancy. Whenever a "Pied Poudre" or "Dusty Foot" Court was granted, as here, to a non-corporate town the steward of whoever had or owned the tolls and customs was the judge. In the "Dusty Foot" Court for the borough of Cavan the Sovereign or Mayor and at least two of the Burgesses (Aldermen) "or any other person named or authorised with him or them," acted as judges. Under the 1611 Charter there existed in Cavan Borough a much more important Court held every three weeks, at which the Sovereign and the Burgesses adjudicated. It had the power to determine all manner of actions, "soe as," the charter lays down, "the same doe not exceed in debt and damages the sum of twenty pound ster."

—Shown by REV. J. B. MEEHAN.

6. MS. Poll Book of the Cavan Election of 1761 for two Knights of the Shire. The polling lasted from Monday, the 4th, till Saturday, the 23rd May, both inclusive. The candidates were:—

THE RIGHT HON. BRINSLEY BUTLER, Esq.	}	In conjunction.
commonly called Lord Newtown		
THE HON. BARRY MAXWELL, Esq.		
And		
CHARLES COOTE, Esq.	}	In conjunction.
GEORGE LESLIE MONTGOMERY.		

Lord Newtown and Coote succeeded; but on the 19th May Maxwell retired, contending that as the writ should be returned on that day the election should there and then close. Between him and Coote it was the closest of contests, and he was just one vote ahead of Coote on that and the two preceding days. From the start Newtown topped the poll, and Montgomery was last; 1157 voted and the final results were:—

Newtown.	Coote.	Montgomery.
612	600	549

The election was conducted in a very formal and most orderly fashion.

—Shown by MR. WM. READ.

NOTE.—In reference to the little sun-dial shown at last meeting (see p. 194, No. 4, a), Dr. F. P. Smith, a member of our Committee, received the following interesting letter :—

CULLABOY,
GRANARD,
21st Nov., 1921.

DEAR DOCTOR,

In the report of the exhibits at the last meeting of the Antiquarian Society mention is made of a metal ring which was used as a sun dial, "but how it served the purpose remained a puzzle." I wish to write to you about it.

As I am the person who handed Mr. Haughton the dial, I am sending you directions herewith which will enable you to see that the puzzle is very simple.

It is not true, as stated, that it was found in a tilled field near Finnea. It belonged to my ancestors back at least for 200 years.

The name I heard it called was pocket dial or ring dial. Its origin must date back very far. It must have come very soon after the sun dial, as the watch came after the clock. There is a name engraved on the bottom of the ring—"Handcock." Whether this is the name of the instrument or the maker I cannot tell.

Hoping that this imperfect description will interest and assist,

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
J. DONNELLAN.

DIRECTIONS.

Move outer ring till the pin hole is opposite N. (This stands for November, the other initials are for the other months of the year, and the outer ring has to be moved for each in the same way.)

Let ring hang from string and hold it steady.

Face pin-hole till the sun shines through it and reflects on number inside ring. This tells the time.

This holds from 4 a.m. till noon.

Mr. Donnellan sent a neat diagram which explains how the ring gave the time from noon onwards till night. We are extremely grateful to him for his correction and description.

THE GREEN LAKE AND "ALT" ANNAGELLIFFE.

By JOHN SMITH, C.E.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

In the autumn of 1855 the subject of this paper first engaged my attention. From the consideration of things in connection with the Green Lake and their close resemblance to, or identity with, the results to be looked for in some whirling fluids, I was led to form, what appeared to me, a very reasonable opinion as to the comparatively recent origin of the Green Lake; that it is the result of a sudden inundation of the valley by a current making a considerable angle with its direction. The existence of a great chasm, or cut, upwards of forty feet deep, in the hill above the lake through which the Annagelliffe river flows at present before entering the valley of the lake, strengthened the opinion which I had formed as to the origin of that lake. To test the correctness of this opinion I wrote some letters to the local journal—"The Anglo-Celt"—setting forth my opinion and reasons for that opinion, also expressing a wish that its correctness should be tested by actual observation of things which I stated should be found to exist if my opinion was correct. One of the things which I particularly pointed out for observation was a beach shelf in the Annagelliffe valley. The publication of those letters failed to excite that interest I had wished for. Unexpectedly, circumstances brought me to the locality about the end of that year, and I availed myself of the opportunity to make an examination of the Annagelliffe valley for the beach shelf which I readily found. With a levelling instrument, in proper adjustment, I traced the shelf for a considerable distance along the hillsides, which shelf I found to be a perfect contour. The shelf being there, a perfect contour, on the same level as the former outlet from the valley, and lower only by a few feet than the hill-top adjacent to the cut, furnishes evidence, sufficiently clear, to warrant the conclusion that a lake at some former time filled the valley of the Annagelliffe river up to the beach shelf.

Subsequently, I traced on a map of the locality which I compiled for the purpose almost the whole of the shelf. On this map I also recorded the outlet from the former lake previous to the formation of the cut already referred to. That outlet entered the Green Lake valley below the present lake. It would be seen,

by reference to the map, that the former lake covered a very large surface, many times larger than that covered by the Green Lake, the former lake extending from the rocks of Tirquin to near Stradone. This large lake, having its outlet through a confined channel in the clay slate rocks, must have had its surface level considerably raised in flood times, because of the quantity of water which fell into it in long-continued heavy rain seasons and the insufficiency of the discharge channel to vent the extraordinary floods with sufficient rapidity. As the hill, at the cut, has only a superior elevation of very few feet, above what I consider as the ordinary flood water level in the former lake, the flood water level on extraordinary flood occasions must have been raised above the lowest part of the retaining hill, and the excess water on those occasions must have made its escape by this auxiliary outlet. The overflow, or excess water, falling down the lower side of the retaining hill, into the valley of the Green Lake, cut a trench, formed of several cascades, insignificant at first, but by repetition enlarged and continued to the very water margin, of the overflowing lake; and thus was a second channel of discharge opened into the former lake. The retaining hill, in which the second, or new, channel of discharge was opened, being composed of drift clay and small boulders, easily yielded to the action of running water which every moment became more powerful and violent. Into the lower, or Green Lake, valley, the discharging, or former lake, threw its waters through this rapidly enlarging vent, and the effects produced in that valley by the fall of such a large body of water in a brief period, falling down a height varying from about forty feet downwards, must have some relation to the magnitude of the grand waterfall. The valley which received the falling water, and on which its force when falling was spent, was but ill-adapted to resist without yielding the action of the waterfall. To the action of the falling water the valley yielded—most where the force was greatest—and the Green Lake is as clearly the effect of this cause as is the cut which vented the water of and drained the former lake.

The particular period at which this phenomenon occurred is an interesting subject for inquiry. Although comparative effects do not give in all cases a precise clue to the exact time in which those effects were produced, still it is important to have comparative effects as indicating the period in which they may be supposed to have been produced. If we assume the action of the water of a lake on its beach to produce effects, increasing as time elapses, we may approximately fix the time by the amount of effect produced—and the more closely if we know the amount of effect which corresponds to a known period of time. Applying this to the Green, and other small lakes near Cavan—Beaghy, for instance—we conclude that as compared with Beaghy Lake the Green Lake is quite modern: and the same conclusion would

be come to by comparing the Green and Swellan Lakes, Swellan being referable to the same period as Beaghy.

In the alluvial deposit of the former (Annagelliffe) lake the antlers and some other bones of an elk were accidentally discovered. The skeleton was deposited near the outlet from the former lake, adjacent to a rock shore. It is to be regretted that the parties who made the search, after the accidental discovery of one of the antlers, under the direction of the Rev. Wm. Prior Moore, M.A., had not directed their observation to the position of the bones *in situ*. All the information that can now be obtained on this subject is contained in Mr. Moore's letter which is given below :—

“ THE ROYAL SCHOOL, CAVAN,
May 7, 1859.

“ SIR—In reply to your favour of the 5th, I beg to state that some years ago a tenant of mine making a ditch in the low grounds north-east of the Green Lake found a large elk horn. I then employed some men to search for the remainder of the bones, etc., but only found the other horn, one of the vertebrae of the neck and the head with the exception of the lower jaw, all in a state of the greatest preservation. The antlers are, perhaps, the largest in the kingdom, with the exception of those in the Dublin Society House ; they measure upwards of eleven feet from tip to tip, without a single defect. I searched in vain for the rest of the skeleton, but I presume it cannot be very far from the locality where I found the horns. The horns were found in the alluvial deposit. The most remarkable circumstance in connection with the district in question is the immense cut in the hill by which the water was introduced into the valley where the present lake is. This cut, in regard to its enormous dimensions, may well vie with any of the great engineering works of the present day ; and yet it is of such remote antiquity that no trace or record of it is anywhere to be found. Previous to this great cutting the whole of the low country up to Stradone must have been constantly under water.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“ WM. PRIOR MOORE.”

It is true, if we suppose the legends of the Green Lake to have no reference to the formation of the cut, that there is no account or tradition referring to the formation of this great chasm, preserved in the locality. If, however, we consider the formation of the cut in connection with the drainage of the former and the formation of the present lake, the legend of those lakes may be taken as referring not only to the lakes, but also to the cut. And, indeed, it seems manifest that the latter is the correct construction of one of the legends. “ The lake moved from the upper to the lower side of the Annagelliffe hill in one night,” is a legend preserved in the neighbourhood. “ And,” it might be added, “ in its passage formed the cut in that hill.” This legend

speaks of a lake drained and a lake formed in a single night, which, considering the antiquity of the event, is not over-exaggerated. The other legend has no reference whatever to the former lake, but only to the Green Lake and the ancient town of Cavan. "The ancient town of Cavan is beneath the water of the Green Lake," is this other legend, which, if strictly true, would give the date of the formation of the Green Lake in the historic period. The legends taken together speak of the whole phenomena and are confirmatory. JOHN SMITH.

Mr. Reid said Rev. Mr. Crowe had sent him the following note in reference to the paper:—

ERCK—ECCLESIASTICAL ANNALS. In Library, T.C.D. Published 1830. Kilmore Diocese, 1629, A.D.

"ANNAKELLY.—As the ancient foundation was considered a most unfitting place for re-edifying the Church in this parish, being situate to the north-east, in the uttermost and remotest part of the Parish within an Island, which from the winter floods was almost inaccessible, and as the greater part of the Parish lay about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west of the said Church, on a poll of land called Gortneishe, where there is a plantation of British inhabitants resident; it was also found by inquisition taken in this year that the top of the south end of the hill of the said parcel of land would be a more convenient place for erecting the Parish Church of Annakelly or Annagaliffe; Roger Moynes, the proprietor of the said proportion, being willing to grant $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of same for the site of the Church and Churchyard, the residue of which was to remain to the use of the Parson of the said Parish for the purpose of erecting a parsonage-house."

In the discussion which followed, the majority who took part dissented from the opinion of the writer of the paper. Mr. Th. O'Reilly said that 30 years ago he had carefully gone over the ground. He, too, had found the strand of the old lake high up on the hill, and at the same level all round; but he came to the conclusion that the alt, which drained it away, was artificial.

The extract from Erck sent in by the Chairman would go to sustain this view; and it also suggests that the cutting was made in fairly recent times, *i.e.*, since 1629. There are still hopes that a definite entry of the doing of the work will be come upon in the County Records or elsewhere. That would end the debate.

The old river ran between the tlds. of Tierquin and Pollamore and crossed the road at Gortnakesh. It is still easily traceable. This road was the old coach road to Dublin.

SPECIMEN OF WRITING IN THE
BOOK OF KELLS, 7th C.

Nolite thesaurizare uobis thesaurō
in terra ubi ergo et tinea demolitur et
ubi fures effodiunt et furantur.
Thesaurizate autem uobis thes
auros in caelo ubi neque erugo neque tinea
demolitur et ubi fures non effodiunt.

The same Six Lines—Line for Line—in 20th C. Print :—

Nolite thesaurizare uobis thesaurō
In terra ubi ergo et tinea demolitur et
ubi fures effodiunt et furantur.
Thesaurizate autem uobis thes
auros in caelo ubi neque erugo neque tinea
demolitur et ubi fures non effodiunt.

The above is St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. vi, vs. 19 & 20, the final two words of 20 omitted. It is word for word as in the Vulgate except that the Vulgate has *aerugo* where the Book of Kells has *ergo* (2nd line) and *erugo* (5th line). The verses, it will be noticed, are distinct, but, unless this, there are no punctuation marks. The English translation is the same in all Bibles with verbal differences :

- VI. 19. "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth : where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal.
20. But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven : where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through [nor steal]."—Rheims Version.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE COUNTY CAVAN.

BY E. R. McC. DIX, M.R.I.A.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

The chief printing in the County Cavan was in the County town itself. But the first item of printing there immediately raises a question as to date. Many years ago I contributed to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (Vol. VIII.—1902—p. 23) particulars of the earliest item of Cavan printing, and its curious and uncertain date given in Roman letters, and for the information of the Society I reproduce that now in the Appendix. Since then I have found no explanation of the date. Perhaps some reader may be able to suggest a date. If one could trace the *Ireland* family in Cavan, the matter could be cleared up, no doubt, particularly as the second item of printing was done by William Ireland & Son, who must have been relatives of "Henry Ireland." I contributed to the *Irish Book Lover* in different sections the subjoined list of Cavan printing. It does not extend beyond the year 1867, and I hope that some member of the Society may be able to carry it further. Looking through that List, very much of it is rather uninteresting and ephemeral; still, it is necessary to record everything, good and bad, if we would judge of the printing in any particular place. Members of this Society will, no doubt, recognise local names in some authors of pamphlets, etc. It is interesting to see that the Newspaper Press began over a hundred years ago in Cavan, but apparently the first paper, "The Cavan Herald," ceased, and then reappeared in a different form. I believe the Journal entitled "The Anglo-Celt" has continued steadily ever since it first appeared in 1846, just before the Famine. I hope this List may prove of some interest to the Members.

COOTEHILL

But there was also printing in Cootehill at one time, more, in fact, than a century ago, when "Paul Parks" was given as a printer there. But nothing from his Press have I met. This was in 1816. Eight years later, in *Pigott's Directory* for 1824, "Sarah Parks," probably the widow of Paul, is given as a printer.

Then the only existing piece of Cootehill printing that I have met appears under the date 1829, of which, I presume, Sarah

Parks was the printer. The name of "Parks" as a printer appears in other towns in Ulster, for example, in Downpatrick, Newry, Dundalk, Dromore. So perhaps the Parks family moved up from Cootehill, or relatives were in the printing business. I hope some member of the Society in Cootehill can trace the matter further.

There was a printer also in Belturbet in 1894, according to *Slater's Directory* for that year.

THE TOWN OF CAVAN.

1813. Poems. James Martin. (William Ireland & Son). 12mo. 164pp. and 1 leaf (errata).
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1042/7.)
1816. Poems on various Subjects. 1st Ed. 12mo.
(*Vide* O'Donoghue's "Poets of Ireland" under "James Martin.")
1816. Poems on various Subjects. James Martin. 2nd Ed. (*James O'Brien*). 12mo. 200pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1097.)
1816. Song Book. An admired Song called "Cead Mila Fealta," to which is added, "Sweet Bridget Fumeau", "The Exile of Erin," and "The Soldier's Return." Woodcut. (*James O'Brien*) 12mo. 8pp.
(Brit. Mus : Nat. Lib./Dix.)
1816. An Explanation of the Church Catechism, intended more particularly for the instruction of young children. (*James O'Brien*) 8vo. 64pp. 1st. Ed.
(R.I.A./T. Box 592/16.)
1816. (*James O'Bryan*)—Sic—
(*Vide* List of Subscribers to Fallon's Geography, Newry.)
1816. (Song Book.) The Death of Abercrombie, to which is added Heigho, said a Maid as she sat at a Gate, Ellen a Roon, A Red Rose, The Birks of Aberfeldy, Green Grow the Rushes, and Wilt Thou be My Dearie. Woodcut. "Printed in the present year." 12mo. 8pp.
(Brit. Mus. ; Nat. Lib./Dix.)
1818. The Memoirs of Mrs. Dorothy Johnson, late of Lisburn, &c., &c. The Rev. Adam Averill, A.B. (*James O'Brien*) 12mo. 118pp.
(Nat. Lib. (Joly) ; R. R. Belshaw.)
1818. An Exhortation to a devout and constant observance of Family Worship, Addressed by a Clergyman to his Parishioners. (*James O'Brien*). 12mo. 38pp.
(Brit. Mus.)

1818. The Cavan Herald.
Dec. (*Vide* Dublin Journal of 9th
Dec., 1818.)
1819. Passages of Scripture referred to in the Explanation of
the Church Catechism. (*James O'Brien.*) 12mo. 86 pp.
(R.I.A./T. Box 400/2.)
1820. The Cavan Herald and Inland General Advertiser. Vol. 3.
Dec. 29. No. 526. Friday. (Printed at the "Herald" Office,
Farnham St. for Geo. W. Busted, Proprietor). Four
pages of four columns each. Twice weekly, Tuesdays
and Fridays.
(Nat. Lib./Scraps.)
1821. The Cavan Herald, &c. Vol. 3. No. 527. Tuesday. ("Herald"
Jan. 2. Office.) 4pp. of four columns each.
(Nat. Lib./Scraps.)
1821. An Explanation of the Church Catechism, intended more
particularly for the instruction of children. (*James
O'Brien.*) 12mo. 64pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1206/3.)
N.B.—2nd issue; see 1816.
1821. (*James O'Brien.*) (25) Printer and Stationer.* 161 Main
St. (Apprentice, Rd. Doakey (20).
Wm. Ward (18). Apprentice to the Printing Business,
72 Main St.
Joseph Livingston (16) Outdoor Apprentice to a Printer.
Thomas Livingston (14) do. do.
29 Bridge St.
(*Vide* Census Return.)
1822. The Cavan Herald.
(*Vide* Parliamentary Return.)
1824. The Cavan Herald. Vol. I. No. 2. Sept. 2nd. Tuesday.
Fol. (10 — 7) pp. 25-48. Two columns in a page.
Weekly. (G. Wright.)
(T.C.D.)
N.B.—A New Journal in smaller form.

* This firm flourished in Cavan for three generations. At a parliamentary election held about the 'fifties, on the very morning of the poll one of the candidates mysteriously disappeared. An election rhyme, wittily hitting off his supporters' chagrin, preserves the founder's name —

Lost, stolen, or strayed
From Father M'Quaid,
The Liberal Candidate Winter.
The Reward of a sovereign
Will be paid by M'Govern,
Or Shan na Boc,
Or Peter the Cock,
Or by Jimmy O'Brien the Printer.

The individuals referred to were among the most respectable and influential people in Cavan in those days. M'Govern was the well-known Attorney M'Govern.—Ed.

1824. Same. Vol. I., No. 4, Sept. 21st. Tuesday. pp. 73-96.
(G. Wright).
(T.C.D.)
1824. James O'Brien (Printer and Stationer), Proprietor of
Cavan Herald, &c., Main St., and Geo. W. Busted, and
Farnham St.
(*Vide* Pigott's Directory.)
1827. Leger Lessons: designed chiefly for the use of Schools,
&c. J. McCaffry. (J. O'Brien) 8vo. 50pp.
(R.I.A./T.: Nat. Lib./Dix.)
1827. Playbills of "Theatre, Kells." S. Shs. Fol. (J. O'Brien.)
Jan. to Mar. (R.I.A.)
1828. Report of a Meeting held in Navan on the 27th of Decr.
for the purpose of establishing a branch of the Reform-
ation Society. (W. Johnston.) 8vo. 42pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1420/1)
1831. An Easy and Close Exposition of the Church Catechism.
The Rev. James Collins. (James O'Brien) 24mo. 24pp.
plus cover.
(Nat. Lib.—Tracts.)
1831. A Defence of Roman Catholic Principles, or, An Answer
to a Pamphlet entitled "A Plain Statement of the
Doctrines," etc., etc. Michael Mooney. 12mo. 106pp.
(No printer's name is given.)
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1503/3.)
1837. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments Spring
Assizes, etc. (James O'Brien.) 8vo. 48pp. plus 12pp.
(Nat. Lib.—Pamphlets. Vol.
179/8.)
1837. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments Summer
Assizes, etc. (James O'Brien.) 8vo. 58pp. plus 14 pp.
+ 16 pp.
(Nat. Lib.—Pamphlets. Vol.175/3.)
1839. An Address to the Inhabitants of the County of Cavan
from the Committee of the County Auxiliary Bible
Society. (William Johnston.) 12mo. 12pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1742/6.)
1840. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments granted at
Summer Assizes, 1840. (James O'Brien at the Co.
Printing Office.) 8vo. 104pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1790/1).
1842. The First Letter to his Roman Catholic Parishioners.
Rev. J. Collins, B.D. (William Johnston) 12mo. 18pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1828/8.)
1842. Report of the County of Cavan Auxiliary to the Hibernian
Bible Society for the year 1841. (William Johnston).
12mo. 16pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1845/19)

1846. William Johnston and James O'Brien, Main St.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory)
1846. The Anglo-Celt. No. 1, etc.
Feb. 6 to 1900. (Brit. Mus./N.)
1850. Royal Descents from Henry III. and subsequent Kings
of England of Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley Marchioness
of Athole. 24cm. (William Johnston.)
(Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)
1850. Royal Descents of Henry Maxwell, K.P., Seventh Lord
Farnham from Henry III, Edward I, and the subse-
quent Kings of England, etc. (William Johnston) 8vo.
38pp.
(Brit. Mus.; Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)
1850. Seize Quartiers connected with the Royal Descent of
Henry Maxwell, K.P., Seventh Lord Farnham. (Wil-
liam Johnston). 8vo. 86pp.
(Brit. Mus.; Dr. J. S. Crone—
iv. and 85pp.)
1851. Report of the County of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society
(William Johnston). 12mo. 16 pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1852. The Sixth Report of the County of Cavan Protestant
Orphan Society. (William Johnston). 8vo. 26pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1852. Civil and Religious Liberty. The Case of the Madiai. A
Letter to the R.C. Clergy of the Diocese of Kilmore.
The Rev. Wm. P[r]ior] Moore, A.M.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2. 13/11.)
1852. A Reply to the Letter of the Rev. Wm. P[r]ior] Moore, A.M.,
on the Madiai Case. The Rev. M. McQuaid, P.P. (James
O'Brien). 12mo. 12pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2113/12.)
1853. A Reply to the Letter of the Rev. Mr. McQuaid, P.P.—
Revd. W. P. Moore. (James O'Brien) 12mo. 22pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2131/5.)
1853. Seventh Report of the County of Cavan Protestant
Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 24pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1854. The Anglo-Celt. 5th Jan., vol. VII., No. 309. New Series,
4pp. 6 cols. Price per ann., £1. Printed and Published
every Thursday by Zachariah Wallace, Main St., Cavan.
(Brit. Mus.)
1854. Eighth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan
Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 30pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1854. Third Address to the Parishioners of Belturbet. (The
Rev. A. McCreight.) (William Johnston.) 12mo. 32pp.
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1854. A Reply to the Letter of Rev. A. McCreight. (The Rev. P. Gilray, C.C.) (James O'Brien) sm. 8vo. 20pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2150/9.)
1855. Ninth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston). 8vo. 28pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1855. Fourth Address to the Parishioners of Belturbet. Rev. A. McCreight. 8vo. 38pp. (William Johnston).
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)
1856. Tenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 44pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1857. Eleventh Report of the Co. Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 42pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1857. The Anglo-Celt & Midland Advertiser. Weekly. Saturdays.
(*Vide* Layton's Handy Newspaper List.)
1857. The Cavan Observer. July 11 to Oct. 29, 1864. No. 1, etc.
(Brit Mus./N.)
1858. Twelfth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 42pp. & cover.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1859. Thirteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 48pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1860. Fourteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 48pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1860. The Form to be used at the Consecration of Churches. (William Johnston) 8vo. 20pp. and leaflet inset after the title-leaf.
(T.C.D./Gall. 2. t. 33/18.)
1860. Hope : An Essay. Charles Foy. (John Fegan) 8vo. 14pp. plus cover.
(R.I.A./T. Box. 544/35.)
1860. Farnham Descents from Henry III. and the subsequent Kings of England in three parts. Henry Maxwell, Seventh Lord Farnham. Large Fol. (Thomas J. Smyth.)
Part I. T.L. and four folded sheets of Pedigree plus 1 leaf.
Part II. T.L. and 21 folding sheets of Pedigree.
Part III. General T.L. and Separate T.L. and folding sheets of Pedigree and 1 leaf (Pt. of Pedigree).
(Lough Fea : Dr. Crone.)

Note :—Printed on one side of each sheet.

1861. Fifteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, instituted A.D. 1844 (being for 1860). (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 44pp. and paper cover plus 2 leaves printed. (Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1862. (John Fegan)
(*Vide Label*)
1862. Sixteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 44pp. (Rev. R. S. Maffett)
1863. Seventeenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth, 100 Main St.) 8vo. 42pp. & cover. (Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1864. The Cavan Weekly News. Dec. 16, to 1900. Fridays. No 1, etc. Wants one number
(B.M./N.)
1864. An Easy & Close Exposition of the Church Catechism. Fourth Ed. Rev. Jas. Collins. 24mo. 23pp. & 1p. (blank) & cover. (Jas. O'Brien).
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)
1864. Eighteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 48pp. (Rev. R. S. Maffett.)
1865. Opinions on Mr. Dalton's and Mr. Carden's Pamphlets on the Irish Question. Wm. Armitage Moore. Catalogue of T.A. Library, Philadelphia, Pa. (John Fegan) 8vo. 12pp. (R.I.A./T. Box 567/26.)
1867. Speeches and Letters on Tenant Right. The Rev. John Boylan, P.P.
(Catalogue of T.A. Library, Philadelphia.)
1867. Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the United Dioceses of Kilmore, Elphin and Ardagh. The Rt. Rev. Hamilton Verschoyle, Bishop of Kilmore. (John Fegan, 19 Main St. 19cn.) (Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)

APPENDIX.

Until lately the earliest item of Cavan printing I had met with was dated 1813, the printers of which were William Ireland & Son. An examination of the Joly Collection of Pamphlets in the National Library, Dublin, brought to light another item of printing in this town which clearly belongs to the eighteenth century, although the date—MDCCIXO—is at present somewhat of an enigma. On the title page someone has written "1709" under the letters, but I very much doubt if this date is correct, for the O after the X seems to me to be rather a mistake for some other letter. James Buckley suggests "1790" as the date. The pamphlet is an imprint of a transcript from a document which is said to have been made in "1699". There is otherwise no date contained in it to afford any indication of the exact year of its

issue. There is also written on the third page a vague reference to the "late Road Act passed at the last meeting of Parliament," and a Section of the Act is quoted in full. There were several Irish Road Acts passed during the course of the eighteenth century, and it might be possible, but a work of some labour (inasmuch as the date of the Act or the number of the Section is not stated), to identify the particular Act referred to by the Section so given. However, even judging alone from the printing, the paper, and to some extent from the quarto form of this pamphlet, there can be no question but that it was printed in the eighteenth century; whether early in it or late still remains to be definitely shown. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw light on the subject and also to explain what a "Carvagh" was.*

It is remarkable, too, that the printer's name should have been Ireland. I have repeatedly found that printing in our provincial towns remained in the hands of one family for two or three generations. Henry Ireland may, therefore, have been the father of William Ireland, mentioned as printing in Cavan in 1813.

"MDCCIXO" (1709 or 1790?) † A List of the several Baronies and Parishes in the County of Cavan with all the Denominations of Land in each Parish, Alphabetically arranged. Together with Carvagh's contained in each Denomination: Carefully extracted from an Original Manuscript.

(Henry Ireland) 4to. (cut down.) Title leaf plus 66 numbered pages.

Signatures A—R in twos or followise. No signature J.
(National Library—July.)

(N.B. Mr. J. J. Matthews, late of Virginia, also has a copy.)

COOTEHILL.

1816. (Paul Parks.)

(*Vide* List of Subscribers to
"Fallon's Geography":
Newry.)

1821. N.B.—In 1821 Sarah Parks, Widow, was living (with her children) in 47 Market Street.

(*Vide* Census Return.)

1824. (Sarah Parks, Market Square.)

(*Vide* Pigot's Directory.)

1829. Rockcorry *Brunswick* Constitutional Club. Resolutions passed at a Meeting on 6th Jan., 1829. A large Broad-side (or Poster). Printed on one side only. (Parks.)

(John Robinson) Comber.

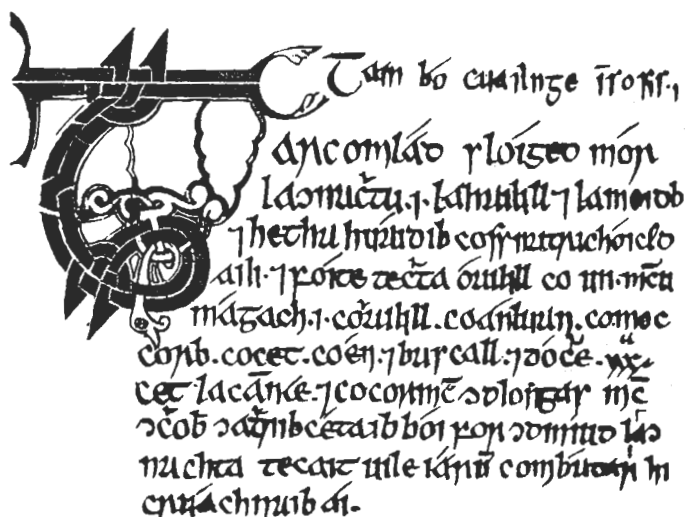
1841. Bernard McKenna (32) 10 Old Cavan Street. *Printer & Bookseller*, Native of Co. Monaghan.

(*Vide* Census Return.)

E. R. McC. DIX.

* See p. 187 this Journal. † See Article by "An Scoláire Bocht," p. 324

PART OF A PAGE OF AN IRISH MS. CIRCA 1100.



From "LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRE.

The existing MS. of the *Leabhar na h'Uidhre* [pronounced Lowar na Heera], or Book of the Dun Cow, is one of the treasures of the R.I.A. It is written on very old vellum. It is a fragment; but the fragment if printed would fill 500 pages of such a book as O'D.'s F.M. It was compiled about the year 1100 in Clonmacnoise by Maelmuire, son of Conn of the Poor. Maelmuire was killed in 1106 "in the middle of the great stone church of Cluainmacnois, by a party of robbers." (F.M.). The above is a specimen of his handwriting.

The MS. was in Connacht in the 14th c. Not unlikely it was in Dromahair, for Sigruidh O'Cuirnín, a member of the hereditary family of Breifnian historians, wrote something in it in a blank space in 1345. Accordingly, Sigruidh's penmanship is also extant. The O'Lonnells recovered the book—this identical book—from the people of Connacht by force of arms. (See O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* and Hyde's *Lit. Hist.*)

[For this illustration, as well as for the two of the Book of Kells, the Society is indebted to the great kindness of the Dublin Publishers, Messrs. Gill & Son.]

AN ANCIENT IRISH MS.:

"THE BOOK OF THE MACGAURANS OR McGOVERNS."

By the REV. J. B. MCGOVERN.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

In May, 1896, a paper, entitled "Ancient Gaelic Book or MS. of Thomas MacSamhradhain," was read to a Liverpool Literary Society by J. H. McGovern, Esq., L.R.I.B.A., Architect in that city, which appropriately appraised the MS. as

The muniment of title of the Clan MacGauran, or McGovern, to their Cantred or Barony of Tullyhaw (Teallach Eachdhach), and of supreme value to the genealogist and topographer as defining the ancient limits of the territories of the Clan.

This passage supplied me with the first intimation I had of the existence of this remarkable MS., and acted as a stimulus to a further investigation of its nature and history. Accordingly, I discovered at the outset of my quest, that a description of it (apparently the first) was contributed by the late Sir J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., to the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1871, p. 223, and runs thus:—

MS. in the Irish language on Vellum, fifty-four pages folio, in double columns, imperfect at beginning and end. The penmanship is excellent, but the Vellum is dark and defaced in some places. From a note on the first page, we learn that this book was transcribed by Adam O'Cianan for Thomas, son of Brian Mac Samhradhain, apparently the chief of the territory of Teallach Eachdhach, in the north-west of the present County of Cavan, whose death is chronicled by the Four Masters under the year 1343. The contents consist mainly of poems on the genealogies, achievements, and liberality of the Chiefs of Teallach Eachdhach and their relatives.

After enumeration by name of five chiefs, three wives, and fourteen authors of the poems, Sir J. T. Gilbert adds:—

The Volume also contains various pieces in prose on the territories, rents, and genealogies of the Sept Mac Samhradhain and the families with whom its members were allied. In it we likewise find miscellaneous writings, among which are tracts on the kindred of Christ, the parentage of Mary Magdalen, the names of the Twelve Apostles, the rites of

the Church, the letters of the alphabet, divination, etc. There does not appear to have been any account hitherto published of this manuscript. Some of the poems which it contains are the only productions at present known of their authors, and the volume may be regarded as a valuable accession to the collections of the native literature of Ireland of the 14th century.

Twenty-one years later (1892) Sir Gilbert referred to the MS. in the Thirteenth Report (p. 56), hoping, "so soon as the arrangements of your Commissioners will permit, to proceed." But well-nigh two more decades elapsed with still no sign of the promised Second Report when, at a meeting of the British Academy held on March 22, 1911, the much-lamented Dr. Edmund Crosby Quiggin, Lecturer in Celtic at Cambridge, read a paper on "Prolegomena to the Study of the Later Irish Bards, 1200-1500," which was printed later in vol. v. of the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, p. 102, in the course of which the subjoined paragraph occurs:—

Certain it is that in a number of cases we find a cycle of poems addressed by different authors to the ruler or rulers of one clan collected together. The earliest of such family books now in existence is probably the book of the Mac Gaverns or Mac Gaurans (Mac Samhradhain), a fourteenth century vellum, in the possession of the O'Conor Don, a fragment of a larger book.

And in the "Addenda" (p. 142) the Doctor further states:—

The Magauran Book was transcribed by Adam O'Cianan for Thomas Magauran, who, according to the Four Masters, was slain in the year 1343. A stanza on p. 50 affords the only literary evidence with which I am acquainted that the better-known families maintained books in which eulogies of their race were entered. I give the verse according to a transcript made by Joseph O'Longan in 1869, which the O'Conor Don kindly deposited for use in the Cambridge University Library in February, 1913:—

Ni hinarw duchar dhiunde
'Sdu daimh ri fleag findbaille
Seach dhau gach daime oile
I an dar ndaine a duanoire.

Ignorant at the time of Dr. Quiggin's paper, I communicated in the May of that year (1911) with the Right Hon. The O'Conor Don, and insert here a few sentences from his prompt and gracious reply:—

I had no difficulty whatever in identifying the MS. to which you refer. It is kept in a safe here (Clonalis, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon) and although very much discoloured is in a good state of preservation. I have, in addition, a beautifully executed facsimile copy of the original, which is an

exact copy, even down to the formation of the letters. The copy, which would of course be the easiest to work with, is on parchment, and I had it bound a few months ago. Some portions of the original are *now* so black as to be almost impossible to decipher, but have been reproduced quite clearly in the copy. I believe my father, with the assistance of the late Dr. O'Donovan, had the copy made so as to preserve the record, as the original showed signs of failing. . . . If suitable arrangements could be made, I would be willing to lend the MS., subject to provision for its safe custody.

In my next effort to bring this MS. into prominence and to the notice of the Irish Texts Society, I consulted, in the following month, Miss Eleanor Hull, its Secretary, by whom I was informed that nothing could be done in the matter [of editing an edition and translation of the Book] "until we get the report from Prof. Quiggin as to the value to the public of these poems"

Another interval of ominous silence of well-nigh three years transpired (during which, however, O'Longan's transcript had been deposited in Cambridge University Library). I again (Jan. 1914) approached Miss Hull, who supplied me with additional interesting items concerning the fate of our MS.:—

I don't think it is at all forgotten. Several poems from it have recently been published, and others will no doubt appear from time to time. Dr. Quiggin published a long poem from it last August in a collection of papers presented to Prof. Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday. The book was for some time lent by the O'Connor Don to Dr. Hyde. He may have it still.

In the following November I addressed Dr. Quiggin himself, and received the following reply, dated November 10th 1914, from Great Shelford, Cambridge:—

I examined it (the MS.) carefully at Castlerea in August, 1912. It is very difficult to read in parts, and is much stained. There are about forty leaves of Vellum. The present O'Connor Don's father had a transcript of it made about 1870 by O'Longan, of which I myself have made a full copy. But as the pages of the original are so hard to decipher in parts, my transcript will have to be very carefully compared with the original as soon as an opportunity arises. The earliest chieftain celebrated in any of the poems lived in the 13th century. These family books all contain poetry very difficult to interpret, and the compositions in this particular case are extremely tough. They will require a great deal of study, more especially as none of the pieces occur in any other collection, as far as I am aware. It is my present intention to publish the whole text of the book if we survive this war. I am only waiting for leisure to pay another visit to Roscom-

mon, and to traverse some of the region which your ancestors ruled over in order to familiarize myself with the topography. . . . At this moment my transcript is deposited in the strong room of my college.

Here, as I thought, the first goal of my ambition was reached, in that an admittedly valuable manuscript was in prospect of rescue from an inglorious oblivion, and of deliverance to the world by a competent hand. But, alas, for a frustrated hope, for the tragic death of Dr. Quiggin, at the early age of forty-four, on January 10, 1920, brought the prospect to an untimely end. Thus for two more years was the project unavoidably suspended, when I felt it incumbent upon me to make a final effort in this important and congenial cause. Accordingly, I again communicated with Miss Eleanor Hull and Dr. Douglas Hyde and, somewhat curiously, received their replies on the same day, October 6, 1922, from which I excerpt the subjoined passages.

Miss Hull says with regard to this MS.: "It is not now likely that the Irish Texts Society will undertake any special publication of its contents. We have had a long run of Bardic Poetry, and when Miss Knott's and Prof. O'Donoghue's collections are out we must turn to other works. A correct and full account of this MS. would, of course, be most interesting."

This was discouraging enough, but worse came from Dr. Hyde, who regrets that, owing to his eyes not being very strong, he could not undertake it.

There is not [he writes] the slightest chance of the book being published now, since Dr. Quiggin died. At least, I don't know anyone else who would do it. It was exceedingly difficult [to read]. . . . I did print a little prose extract on Divination (evidently from a Latin source) at p. 222 of the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie Band X*. If Dr. Quiggin made a complete copy, then whoever takes up the work, if anyone does, should get hold of it. I wish I could do the thing myself, but I cannot. . . .

Thus do my hopes and labours of some twenty-six years lie buried in the grave of Edmund Crosby Quiggin in far-off Surrey. Whether they will ever be resuscitated to renewed life and vigour is a secret that lies in the womb of futurity. Meanwhile, it is a considerable gain to be able to mark the places where this venerable MS. and its transcripts are housed.

As a complementary appendix to the above I add some interesting details relating to the first two authors of these transcripts.

I. *Adam O'Cianain (or Cianan)*. But little is known of this apparently diligent scribe beyond these curt obits, under date 1373:—

Four Masters:—"Adam O'Cianain, a Canon and learned historian, died at Lisgool [Abbey, beside Enniskillen.]"

Annals of Ulster.—"Adam Ua Cianain died this year a Canon after being tonsured by the Canons of Lisgabhail [Lisgool], on gaining victory from the world and from the demon."

Annals of Loch Cé.—"Adam O'Cianain, an eminent historian, died a Canon at Lisgabhail."

Applications to other sources for further items regarding this ecclesiastical Seanachie only resulted in the following note from Prof. Bergin, of Dublin University College :—

I am sorry I have not been able to find out any information about O'Cianain beyond what is in the Annals. He seems to have been the scribe of part of a MS. numbered 23.0.4 in the Royal Irish Academy, for at the foot of page 5 are the words *Adam O' Cianain do srib an duain* ('it was Adam O'Cianain who transcribed the poem'). O'Curry refers to this in his MS. Academy Catalogue, p. 30, but he gives no particulars about the scribe, merely referring to the entry in F.M. 1373.

O'Curry also was of opinion, according to the editors of Vol. II of *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, "that the law tracts in MS. Rawlinson, B. 506, in the Bodelian were written by O'Cianain in a fine clear hand, like that in the Book of Ballymote, but better." Mr. F. Madan, however, told me that in his opinion, "the connection of MS. Rawl. B. 506 with O'Cianain is a fanciful conjecture of Prof. O'Curry, who thought he recognized the handwriting, a very slippery form of judgment. There is no hint of the scribe's name, but the date would suit, being about A.D. 1400." I may respectfully venture to endorse the "judgment" of an Irish expert, so eminent as O'Curry, in preference to that of an English one who himself admits the suitability of the dates. The editors of the *Ancient Laws* further state that O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*, p. 102) says that he had in his possession two volumes in vellum, in the handwriting of this O'Keenan [sic], one of which was a copy of ancient laws. I have been unable to obtain any confirmation of this statement. In all probability this is about all we shall ever learn of this scribe's literary activities. Dr. Quiggin in his last letter to me (July 5th, 1915), wrote: "I know nothing of the MSS. transcribed by O'Cianain."

II. Another scribe of no less diligence, though more modern, was *Joseph O'Longan*, the first copyist of our MS. for the O'Conor Don in 1869. Officially connected with the R.I.A.'s Department of Irish Manuscripts, he transcribed, also in 1869, the *Leabhar na h-Olliabri*, and, in 1872-6, the *Leabhar Breac*, both edited and published by Sir J. T. Gilbert, who says in his Preface to the former work that it is "the oldest volume known entirely in the Irish language, and is regarded as the chief surviving literary monument, not ecclesiastical, of ancient Ireland."

I failed to discover any further reference to either O'Cianan, or O'Longan in Webb's *Compendium* or elsewhere.

Thomas Mac Samhradhain, according to Dr. Quiggin, is recorded by the F. M. as slain in 1343. But O'Donovan's edition (1851) simply states that "Thomas Magauran, Chief of Teallach Eachach, died [dece]."

The Annals of Ulster (Mac Carthy's ed.) has: 1343—"Thomas Mag Samradhain, unique choice of the chiefs of Ireland, died." In a note the editor explains that he was Lord of Tellach-Echach (barony of Tullyhaw, County Cavan).

The Annals of Loch Cé (Hennessey's ed.): "Thomas Mac Samradhain, Dux of Teallach Echach, quievit."

The last form of entry is interesting as a variant, and that preceding it as supplying a solitary scrap of biography, though the phrase (*aenragu taisac Ereann, mortuus est*) is obscure, possibly pointing to a ratification, under the laws of Tanistry, of the election of Thomas to the tribal chieftaincy.

It only remains to be added that the bulk of this paper appeared in *Notes and Queries*, July 22, 1916 (12S/ii/65) under the same title, though arranged differently and with less matter. Allusion was also made to our MS. in two articles I contributed to *The Antiquary* in October and November, 1901, under the heading "The Ancient Barony of Teallach Eachach", and heralded by a couplet from O'Dugan's *Top. Hist. Poem*, 1372:—

Magh Samhradain Snaidhn go neart
Air Theallach Eachaidh oir dheire.
Mac Gauran, the Mainstay of Strength,
Rules over the noble Tullaghaw.

J. B. MCGOVERN.

EXHIBITS AT SIXTH MEETING.

26th October, 1922.

A Carved Stone Head.—It was discovered near the old Church on Trinity Island. The face is life-size. It is like that of a young person or of a female. It may have served as the top or corbel of a pillar. On the extremities of a cornice over the main door of Ballinagh Church are two carved heads. They represent mitred bishops or abbots. One of these is said to have also come from Trinity, which is in the same parish; and then the other was chiselled to correspond with it. But for neither statement is there yet sufficient authentication.

—Shown by MR. REID.

A Bronze Celt.—It is of the flat or oldest type. O'Curry terms these Fírbolg Celts (*Manners and Customs*). The socketed Celt, which is a great improvement, he attributes to their successors, the Dedannans, whose ingenious craftsmanship, and consequent prowess, was ascribed to magic. The Celt exhibited was found this year in the townland of Crosserlough in the parish of same name by Mr. Henry Galligan.²

—Shown by MR. M'GENNIS, Kilnaleck.

A Wild Boar's Head.—This was discovered about thirty years ago in a boggy spot near Swellan Lake, beside Cavan, by young Mr. Fegan, of Glenlara House, who is well remembered as an athlete. A stone arrow-head, which doubtless caused the death, was embedded in the skull. This circumstance renders the find peculiarly interesting. The peat preserved the head. Its size and shape as well as the number of the sockets for the teeth and tusks (which have all dropped out) determine unmistakably the kind of the animal. Many heads of the Irish elk, an extinct Stone Age species of deer of gigantic size, have been come upon in the County Cavan, and they are valued for their immense antlers; few of wild boars' are known. In ancient Ireland, as the old tales show, chasing the wild boar was a favourite sport and a dangerous one. In England as late as the 11th century game laws protected it. In Germany and elsewhere, where there are still great forests, the sport continues to the present day.

The arrow end mentioned was sent to a Dublin museum, but the head has been carefully kept in Glenlara.

THE PARISH OF LURGAN AND THE TOWN OF VIRGINIA.

SOME NOTES ON THEIR HISTORY.

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

The present ecclesiastical parish of Lurgan coincides, except for a few legal adaptations, with the old civil parish of the same name. The Down Survey Map (1654) has Lurgan, Castlerahan, and Munterconnacht marked as separate parishes. The Commonwealth Grants (1669) group Lurgan and Munterconnacht together and give Castlerahan by itself. In this year Rev. Eber Burch was Incumbent of all three. He was living in Virginia in 1664, as may be inferred from the Hearth Money Rolls of that year. These records (1664) give the parish of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht as a unit and Lurgan separately. These parishes do not seem to have been definitely established as ecclesiastically distinct in the 17th century. We have already noted (Journal, p. 25) that Rev. George Creighton was appointed Rector of Lurgan and Moybolge on October 4th, 1619, and continued to hold these livings in 1643. His successor, Rev. Eber Burch, is seen to have been Rector of Castlerahan, Lurgan, and Munterconnacht in 1669. As many of the livings during this period were pluralities there was little need to fix definitely the parish boundaries. The Down Survey (1654) may be accepted as the surest guide in this respect. Munterconnacht, which was the older tribal division, appears to have been always recognised as a separate parish. Lurgan and Castlerahan were ecclesiastically one at the beginning of the 18th century, or at least in 1704 Rev. Edmund Smith was Parish Priest of both. Munterconnacht was then a distinct parish as Rev. Matthew Sheerin was P.P. in the same year.

In pre-Reformation times "Hospitals" existed in Lurgan, Munterconnacht, and Castlerahan and appear to have served as Parish Churches. The ruins of these three Hospitals, suppressed in the end of the 16th c. are still to be seen. Of the Church of Munterconnacht barely the foundations can now be traced, but substantial remains exist of the churches of both Lurgan and Castlerahan. Each of them was well supplied with Termon lands, clearly indicating that each represented a separate parish as early as the 15th c.

The exigencies of the times following the Reformation caused

some of the parishes to be grouped together. But this was merely a temporary expedient, and the relaxation of the Penal Laws was the signal for a reversion to the old order. The adjoining parishes of Lurgan and Castlerahan although ecclesiastically united at the beginning of the 18th c. appear to have been disconnected shortly afterwards. This is indicated by the old Virginia Register which commences with 1755 and records for the present parish of Lurgan alone.

In the 16th c. the O'Reillys were the proprietors of the greater part of the Barony of Castlerahan. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* mentions a castle of theirs at Ballaghanea. When Brian McPhelim O'Reilly's lands of Aghelerr were confiscated in 1590 (p. 219) this castle of Ballaghanea appears to have fallen into disuse. It is described as "ruinous" some years later in the Plantation Grants of 1610. The O'Reilly just mentioned most probably was the last of his clan to hold and inhabit the castle. The *Fiants of Eliz.* (1591) also record "Aghleere in the Barony of Castleraghyn, Co. Cavan, two polls or cartrons, forfeited by the attainder of Brian O'Relye, 2 shillings." The Inquisition held at Cavan on 19th Sept., 1590, (for a copy of it see the *Journal*, p. 216) to enquire into the lands "concealed, withdrawn, and unlawfully detained" from the Queen, has the following notice of same, "And they say also that the townland of Aghelerr in the Barony of Castlerahin containing two polls pertain and ought to pertain to the said Queen by reason of the attainder of Brian McPhelim O'Reyle and are worth two shillings per annum." Ballaghanea Castle was repaired and used as a residence by Capt. Ridgeway when he obtained the grant of this district in 1610.

The exact location of the principal families in the parish of Lurgan in the 16th c. can be ascertained by an examination of the *Fiants* of Eliz. (P.R.O. Dublin). These *Fiants* are of interest as being the earliest lists recording the names of the principal people living in the various districts. As the lists are very extensive we will limit ourselves to those of immediate interest. 1584. (24th November).

CAPPANY.—Brian McTurlagh McFarry O'Rely, Melaghen Boy McBriane O'Lynce, Brian McMahowna McDonell O'Lynce, Edm. Boy McBryen Moyle O'Rely, Ferrall McEdm. McCahill More O'Rely, Brian McRich. O'Rely, Philip McTirelagh O'Lynce, Cahill McGillepatrick O'Serrydane, Patrick McHugh O'Sladdy, Conoghor McHugh Duffe O'Lynce, Connor McCowchonnaght O'Lynce, Owen McBryen O'Rely, Brien McOwen, Bryan McShane McBryen, Donogh McShane, Hugh McShane McBrian O'Rely, Cahir McConnor O'Rely, Glassne McConnor McBryen O'Rely, Brian McConnor O'Relye, Ferrall McThomas McGarrot, Shane McThomas, Edm. McMulumory O'Rely, Thos. McEdm. O'Rely, Cahir O'Rely, Edm. McFeilim O'Rely, Shane McCahir.

PARTY.—Donell McConnor O'Rely, Catherine Beetaghe, Hugh

McGlassny O'Rely, Edm. McBryen, Turlagh Boy McBrien O'Rely, Cahir McJames Oge, Hugh McJames Oge O'Rely, Owen McShane O'Rely, Tho. McShane O'Rely, Hugh McShane O'Rely, Brian McMulumory O'Rely, Garret McMulumory, Feilym McMulumory, Shane McOwen O'Rely, Connor McOwen O'Rely, Gerrot McOwen O'Rely, Mulmory McOwen O'Rely, Edm. McOwen O'Rely, Cahill Boy McShane O'Rely, Ferrall McThomas Oge, Mulmory McTirlagh.

FARTAGH.—Glasne McCahill and Shane McCahill O'Reyle.

MINTERCHONACHI (Muinterschonnacht).—Thomas McShane O'Reyle, Hugh McGeralt O'Reyle, and Mulmory O'Reyle.

CARNE.—Feilim McJames, Owen McPhelim, James McPhelim.

EDENPORT.—Bryan McEdmond, Connor O'Multully, Hugh McBryan Bane O'Rely, Cahir McGillysa O'Rely, Mulmory McGillysa O'Rely, Donell McGillysa O'Rely, Shane McHugh O'Rely, James McHugh O'Rely, Tirlagh McGillisa O'Rely, Brian McGillisa O'Rely, Feilim McOwen, Donell McOwen O'Rely. 1586.

CORRELYNANE.—Redmund McDonell Macabbe.

AGHECHASLAINE.—Tirrelagh McGillecriste Macabe (gallowglass).

DROMINEADA.—Mahon McWm. Macabe (gallowglass).

DROMRADA.—Melaghlin McConor Gowe (smith).

AGHELERRE.—Patrick McTyernan McMahan Magernan (kern), Cuconnaght Glass McBreen McDuff McSymon (husbandman), Cuconnaght Glasse McSymon, Ferrall McShian Oge McSymon.

AGHLOUGHANE.—Turrelagh More McTho. McSymon.

CARGIAGH.—Cahill McDonell Duffe McSymon.

NENY.—Phelim McGillpatrick McSymon, Tirrelagh McDonell Brady (husbandmen).

LISLIA.—Brene McCahill McSymon (kern).

BALLEBRUSE.—Shyan McGillease McGlaisney O'Reily, Mulmore McGillease McGlaisney O'Reily, and Owen McGillease McGlaisney O'Reily (gentlemen).

KEILFENLAGH.—Hugh McGerrott McMelmore O'Reily.

MORMADE.—Cahill Oge McSymon (gentleman).

MAGHERREDOWNE.—Owen McBrien O'Reily.

EDENBERTE.—Brene McOwen O'Reilye.

ENNY IN BALLBRUSE.—Turrelagh McEllegert.

LOURGAN.—Ferrall O' Clearckane (clerk).

MONTERCONNAGHTE.—Coromuck McSymon, Patr. Duff McSymon (kerns), Turlagh Roe McFarrell, Gillepatrick McTurlagh McSheffry O'Lince.

KNOCKNEGIRTANE.—Mulmorie McEdm. O'Relye.

AGHOTEGILL.—Connor McBryen McShane O'Rely.

1592.

AGHOLIRR.—Myllagh McSymon.

AGHONDROG.—Hugh McBrian Bane O'Reilyly.

BEALLAGHNEE.—Shane O'Reighlie.

LISHLIE.—James O'Reighly.

DONANKERY.—Ferrall O'Reighlie.

MOINTERCHONATY.—Phelym McTho. McShane O'Reyly, Foly McTho. O'Reyly.

AGHOTEGILL.—Connogher McBrien O'Reyly.

COROCLOCHAN.—Edm. McBrian Brady.

DONANKERY.—Ferall McTho. O'Reyly.

MURMOD.—Glasne McTho. O'Reyly, Owen McBrian McFelym O'Reyly.

BALLAGHYNAE.—Shane McHugh McJames O'Reyly, Brian and Tirrelagh McHugh O'Reylie.

LISLIE.—James McHugh O'Reylye.

MOUNTER-CONNAGHT.—Mullmorie McTho. O'Reilie, Gerrot and Edmund McTho. O'Reilie, and Anably O'Reilie.

These lists may be accepted as recording the principal householders at the close of the 16th c. While they cannot at all be regarded as a census, yet they help to locate the principal families in the district on the eve of its confiscation. The *Fiants* were the warrants to Chancery authorising the issue of Letters Patent under the Great Seal, roughly speaking, the Irish equivalent of "signed bill" of English procedure. They were made for grants of land and office, leases of land, charters, commissions, pardons, presentations, etc. These *Fiants* were usually made by the Lord Deputy, either by virtue of his office, or by special instructions from the English Sovereign or the English Council. In cases of leases and wardships they were generally made under specially appointed Commissions with the approval of the Lord Deputy. When Lord Deputy Perrott formed Breffni O'Reilly into the present County of Cavan in 1584 many of the landowners, in order to comply with the new order, surrendered their leases for the purpose of getting new ones and thereby obtaining greater security in their lands. Letters Patent were issued confirming these grants and leases under E. law. This policy of "peaceful penetration" was the first step towards securing the success of the subsequent scheme of Plantation.

In these lists the most numerous names are O'Reilly (under its various spellings) and McSymon (Fitzsimons). MacCabe is of much less frequent occurrence. O'Multully is now Tully and is sometimes anglicised Flood. The change in Christian names had not begun at the time these lists were compiled. The numerous patronymics arose from the necessity of distinguishing the various members of the same clan. The lists will be of special interest when compared with the Hearth Money Rolls of 1664. (See p. 312.)

The townland of Lurgan, from which the parish takes its name, is situated on rising ground, hence the name *Lorga* or *Lorgain*. It means a hill supposed to resemble the shape of a shin (*lorga*). A rather fanciful folk-derivation explains it as connoting the

supposed burial-place of the shins of Fionn MacCumhaill's mother. The name Lurgan appears in practically the same form in all the 16th and 17th c. documents and State Papers; *Lourgan* (*Fiantis* of Eliz. 1586); *Lurgan-losty* (Plantation Map 1609 and Plantation Papers 1610); *Lorgan* (State Papers 1606), *Lurgan* (Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*; Books of Survey and Distribution, 1641; Deposition of Rev. George Creighton, 1643; and Acts of Settlement, 1668); *Largann* (*Excheq. Inquis.*, 1590); *Lurgen* (Friar O'Mellan's *Narrative*, 1643). *Lorgen* (Patent Rolls 1617. 15 Jas. I.) The D. S. Map (1654) has *Lorgan*. The parish church in pre-Reformation times was situated in the tld.* named. Its ruins are still to be seen in the churchyard. It was one of the "Hospitals" of Cavan and will be described afterwards.

The tld. of Ballaghanea, which adjoins Lough Ramor, was, in the year 572†, the scene of a battle between Aedh, son of Ainmire, and Colman Beg Mac Diarmaid, a turbulent King of Meath, in which the latter was slain. He had been reprimanded some time previously for his crimes by St. Canice of Ossory, Patron of Kilkenny City. Some years after this battle St. Canice was travelling in Breffni, in the winter-time, and rested at Ballaghanea. A cross had already been erected there to mark the spot where Colman Beg had been slain. St. Canice repaired to this cross to perform the devotion of None‡. He enquired whose cross this was and was told that it was here Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had fallen in battle. "I remember," said St. Canice, "that I promised him a prayer after his death." Turning his face to the cross he prayed with tears, until the snow and the ice melted around him and he delivered from torments the soul of Colman Beg.§ Although no trace of this cross now exists yet a small hillock called *Cnoc Fota* or "hill of blood" no doubt preserves the tradition of the battle.

It has already been indicated (Journal, p. 23) that in the general survey of confiscated lands in Cavan carried out by Sir John Davies in 1610 the district of Virginia was assigned to Capt. John Ridgeway. The tlds. constituting his grant of 1,000 acres are given as follows by Hill (*Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343) :—

Lislierty and Gallownegerod, one and a half polls; Carrig-neveagh and Coolemonie, one poll; Nenagh, one poll; Eadanport, two polls; Gallownegarrowe, half poll; Necar-rigy, one poll; Fertaghyeatra, half poll; Fertaghyowtra, one poll; Cloghvallymore, one poll; Lisleagh, two polls; Cloghballyowtra, one poll; Ballaghaneh, two polls with a ruinous castle; Cloyergoole, one poll; Aghanedronge, half poll; Rahardrume, one poll; Doonancry, one poll.

* Throughout the paper tld.=.townland.

† The *Annals of Ulster* record this battle under 592 A.D.

‡ Vide s.v. "None," in *Cath. Ency.*

§ *Life of St. Canice*, in *Martyrology of Tallaght*, by Rev. Math. Kelly, D.D., pp. 140-1; *Diocese of Ossory*, by Rev. W. Carrigan, C.C., Vol. II., p. 30.

Naperton, one poll ; in all 1,000 acres with the islands, fishings, water, and soil of Loughraver belonging or adjoining to the said lands. Rent, 8 pound English. The premises are created the Manor of Chichester with 300 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin in common soccage and subject to the conditions of the Plantation of Ulster. Dated 1610.

Ridgeway belonged to Devonshire. The work just named gives the following account of him :—

John Ridgeway—a brother of Sir Thomas,* the Treasurer. He was classed among those “servitors who were not in pay but were willing to undertake” ; and, it might have been added that such were not merely “willing,” but quite anxious to become undertakers. His name was returned on the “List of servitors thought meet to be undertakers,” a result of which, under the circumstances, he could hardly have a right to expect and which very probably was owing to his brother’s great influence at headquarters.

Captain Culme, in 1610, obtained the grant of the district adjoining Loch Ramor subject to the conditions already detailed (Journal, p. 23). He was also a native of Devonshire and was founder of the present town of Virginia. Hill (*op. cit.*, p. 457) gives the following details regarding him :—

This officer was the son of Sir Hugh Culme of Chamston and Cannonsleigh in Devonshire, and Mary, daughter of Richard Fortescuse of Filleigh, in the same county. Capt. Culme, who was knighted in 1623, married the daughter of a gentleman named Emerson of Derbyshire and died in 1630. His residence was Cloughouter in Cavan. By his wife (who re-married with a Colonel Jones and died in 1661) Sir Hugh left a large family of sons and daughters. His eldest son and heir, Arthur Culme, resided at Cloughouter and died without having children in 1650. One of Sir Hugh’s daughters, Anne, married John Edgeworth of Cranelagh in Longford ; and a second, Elizabeth, became the wife of George Bradshaw of Bradshaw in Derbyshire. The Irish branch of this family is extinct in the male line since the death of Hugh Culme, Esq., of Lisnemain, in the year 1700.

(See *Trevelyan Papers*, Part III, Culme Pedigree at the end of the volume.)

In the account of the original grant of the district to Culme and the foundation of the new town Pynnar (*Survey of Ulster*, 1618) refers to a “minister who kept a good school” in Virginia, after

* A letter of Sir Thos. Ridgeway, from Torr, Devonshire, to Boyle, “Great” Earl of Cork, and dated September, 1618, is preserved among the documents of the period in Lismore Castle. It gives a pleasant glimpse of this clever and tactful lawyer in his rural retirement in sunny Devonshire, “content without further troubling and tossing in an envious and misinterpreting world.” (*Lismore Papers*, ed. by Rev. Alex. B. Grosart, I.L.D., Second Series, Vol. II., p. 133. Privately Printed.)

its foundation, and was "a very good preacher." Hill (*op. cit.*, p. 458) says of him :—

This was probably Benjamin Culme, a brother of Sir Hugh, who came to Ireland with the latter and a third brother named Arthur who also resided at Cloughouter [and whom Clogy describes as Minister of Cavan in 1641]. Benjamin was, no doubt, "a good preacher" for, in 1615, he was appointed Prebend of Malahide; in 1616 Rector of Rathmore; and in 1619 Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He was a Commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in 1638. He returned to England in 1649, and remained there until 1657, the year of his death. He died at Mudghill, Wilts, where his monument records that he was "an excellent preacher and a good divine" (See *Trevelyan Papers*, end of Part III).

It does not appear that Capt. Ridgeway lived for very long in the Castle of Ballaghanea. Capt. Culme seems to have used it as a residence of secondary importance since his chief residence was at Cloch Oughter. Ballaghanea Castle is marked in ruins on the Plantation Map of 1609 and is described as "ruinous" in the 1610 grants (*loc. cit.*). It was repaired in the period between 1610 and 1618 as it was used as a place of residence in the latter year. It remained in the possession of the Planters until it was re-taken and occupied by the Irish under the Earl of Fingall in October, 1641. But it did not remain long in the possession of the Irish. Lord Moore went forth from Drogheda in Aug., 1642, and, having put the Earl of Fingall to flight, burned the castle. The Earl's two children were placed, for safety, on an island in Lóch Ramor (presumably the Big Island) where they were taken, together with thirty cases of new pistols by Sir Henry Tichborne and Lord Moore in a raid from Kells in March, 1643. The castle seems to have fallen into decay in the following years. It is not marked on the D. S. map of 1654, nor is it mentioned by Dr. Isaac Butler in his description of Virginia *circa* 1745 (*vide Journal*, p. 27). Only traces of the foundations now remain. They are in the small wood close to the edge of the lake.

The origin of the title *Virginia* applied to a town founded by a Devonshire man, seven or eight years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, is fairly obvious. Still Hill writes (*op. cit.* p. 458) :—

It does not appear why Capt. Culme selected this name for his town, but it has been ever since in use. The little town so-called, stands on the north-eastern shore of Lough Ramor, six miles south-west of Bailieboro'. It belongs to the Headfort Estate, the lords of which in their generations took pains to have the place duly cared for and made attractive. The inn at Virginia is spoken of as being the best on the whole line of [mail-coach] road from Enniskillen to Dublin.

The *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, published in 1846, is equally loud in its praises of the inn.

The division of *Murmode*, to the west of Virginia, was assigned

to Lieut. Garth in 1610. The grant is described by Pynnar :—

500 acres. Lieut. *Garth* was the first Patentee. Sir *Thomas Ash*, Kt., holdeth 500 acres called *Murmode*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Sodds ; but all the Land is inhabited with *Irish*.

The details of the tlds. included in the grant are also given by Hill (*op. cit.* p. 343) as follows :—

Grant to Roger Garth, gent. : Pollowtracorrada, one poll ; Polleightracorrada, one poll ; Aghikinerty, one poll ; Killychine, half poll ; Nacarran, one poll ; Nachollechill, one poll ; Lisnabantromy, one poll ; Cornacarha, one poll ; Aghnedronge, half poll ; Dollowe, one poll ; Dromeny and Agheygergy, one poll ; in all 500 acres. Rent, 4 pounds English. The premises are created the Manor of Garth, with 150 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin, etc. Dated 18th Dec., 1610.

The division of *Carvyn** assigned to Sir Edmond Fettiplace (or Phettilace) is described by Pynnar :—

1000 acres. Sir Edmond Phettilace was the first Patentee. Sir *Thomas Ash* holdeth this Proportion called *Carvyn*. Upon this there is built a very good Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 70 feet square and 12 feet high, with two Flankers ; but all the land is inhabited with *Irish*.

Hill (*op. cit.* p. 343) gives the particulars of the grant :—

Grant to Sir Edmond Fettiplace, Knt. Polleneheny, Carrickevey, Carrovadegoone, Mullomore, Dromhill, Cornakilly, Garurosse, Corvine, Aghanoran and Carmine, one poll each. Derrilurgane, two polls ; Kilcholly, one poll ; Killagagh, two polls ; Luggagoage, Lurganlostie, Killowran, Cornaran, and Rasodan, one poll each ; in all, 1,000 acres.

Rent, 8 pounds English. The premises are created the Manor of Mullomore, with 300 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin, etc. Dated 8 Jan., 1609-10.

In the lists of grants to Irish " natives " in 1610 (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 343) we find that Barnaby O'Reilly, of Nacorraghes, was allowed one poll in each of the tlds. of Nacorraghes [Coragh] Lysmine [Lismeen], and Lattoune [Lattoon], in all 150 acres, at a rent of £1 12s. 0d. per ann. Shane McHugh O'Reilly of Balaghanea was allowed, in return for the loss of his castle and ancestral home, one poll each in the tlds. of Killyfinlagh, Ballinecargie, and Correkeogan [Corracarrow], and half a poll each in Gallownebraher and Killyvally ; two polls in Lackan ; half poll in Gallownegappul [" Puttelenecapall and Lissinery." Down Survey] ; one poll each in Dromallaght, Fetawan [Fintavin], and Aghologhan ; in all 475 acres at a rent of £5 ls. 4d. Shane

* Carnin in the parish of Castlerahan. The Down Survey (1654) has *Carnine*.

McPhilip O'Reilly was granted one poll each in the tlds. of Pollemaledy, Kilmore, Nacarcragh [Curraghmore], Clonsocan (a "lost" townland between Pollamalady and Drumgora, marked on the D.S. Map) Corroneadan, Bracklone, Downe [Doon], Dromaghegolan, Clontikarke, Shranickmoyertie [Stramaquerty], Dromadiraglasse [Drumederglass], Lisagapull [Lissacapple], Boylly [Billis], and Lisgirr [Lisgreá]; Naburney [Burnew], two polls, amounting to 900 acres at a yearly rent of £9 12s. 0d. A grant to Mulmorie McOwen O'Reilly of one poll in each of the tlds. of Currabredin and Crosrowle [Crosserule], Aghenegeny [?] half a poll; half of Dromby [Drumderg?] and Aghogasshel [Aghacashel], one poll each, in all 200 acres at the yearly rent of £2 2s. 8d.

The Plantation in the reign of James I. did not at first affect the native ownership of the land as much as might be expected. The former possessors were generally retained as tenants. The original idea of the Plantation was to settle English and Scottish undertakers in about equal numbers. But, whether as tenants or labourers, the Irish inhabitants were found to be indispensable. Early in 1624 their stay was officially sanctioned, pending enquiry, and in 1626 there was a further extension to May, 1628, and after that for another year; but neither then nor later was the transplantation really carried out. The undertakers, or some of them, had, indeed, their own grievances. Having been unable to perform their covenants strictly, and being afraid of forfeiture, some of them offered to submit to a double rent and other penalties, in consideration of a fresh title, but this arrangement was not carried out. The result of this uncertainty was that hundreds of British families gave up the idea of settling and went away, while the Irish held on desperately whether the legal landlords liked it or not.*

James I. bestowed very large endowments of land to the Established Church and especially to the Bishops. "Of the whole land granted in the six escheated counties," writes Bagwell (*op. cit.* p. 89), "little more than one-tenth was given as property to the natives; the rest of them lived chiefly as dependents on the undertakers, and without legal interest in the land which they were forced to till for a subsistence."

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* for the Barony of Castlelahan show both the owners and occupiers in 1641 and to whom the forfeited lands were assigned by the Act of Settlement. In the following List the names of the Proprietors in 1641 are on the left; the names of the Grantees on the right. The numbers in the first column are the references by which the tlds. are indicated on the Down Survey Map (*Cf.* Journal, p. 129). As before, the letter C. signifies Termon (or Church) land; B, M, and L, bog, mountain, and lake respectively.

* Proclamation of Dec. 13, 1627, in P.R.O., Dublin, : Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*. Vol. I., p. 87.

LURGAN PARISH.

CASTLERAHAN BARONY.

		A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.							
NICHOLAS REILLY, Irish Papist	58	} Lismeene ...	...	143	0	32	} Nicholas Reilly in Fee by Decree dated 1668. Roll 3.	}						
	58.B.		Two Parcels on either side of same...	25	2	16				Unprofitable					
	59.	} Currach	134	1	8				} Lord Masserene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R.7.927. Christopher Plunkett. Left to law for a Mort. Decree, 17 June, 1663. Not in Roll. Lord Masserene by cert. ut supra. R.7. 927.	}				
	59.B.		Of the same ...	29	1	8							Unprofitable		
	59.L.	} Loghderregeel	...	150	3	8							} Alex Piggot by cert. 8 May, 1668. R.7. 927. Sir Robert Parkhouse left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Roll. Innoc.	}	
	60.		Luttin ...	120	2	0										Unprofitable
60.B.	Of the same	...	32	0	32	120	2	0							
JAMES REILLY, Irish Papist	61.	} Trintavan ...	...	107	2	32	} Lord Masserene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R.7.927. Christopher Plunkett. Left to law for a Mort. Decree, 17 June, 1663. Not in Roll. Lord Masserene by cert. ut supra. R.7. 927.	}						
	62.		Aghalohan ...	153	1	16									
	63.	} Gallonenabeare and Kilfinlough	157	0	15				} Alex Piggot by cert. 8 May, 1668. R.7. 927. Sir Robert Parkhouse left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Roll. Innoc.	}				
			...	157	0	15									
HUGH REILLY, Irish Papist.	65.	} Pulemullydy	...	124	3	24	} Lord Masserene by cert. ut. supra. Alex Piggot by cert. 8 May, 1668. R.7. 927. Sir Robert Parkhouse left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Roll. Innoc.	}							
	66.		Cloonsochan ...	103	2	32									
	67.	} Liskerry (or Kill- kerry)	166	3	24				} Lord Masserene by cert. ut. supra. Alex Piggot by cert. 8 May, 1668. R.7. 927. Sir Robert Parkhouse left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Roll. Innoc.	}				
	67B.		Of the same	...	132	0							0	Unprofitable	
													124	3	24
						103	2	32							
						166	3	24							

		A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
LUKE PLUNKETT EARLE OF FINGALL	70.	Cornaslea ...	121	0	0	121	0	0	Earle of Fingall in Fee Innocents Roll Foll. 4.
	70.B.	Of the same ...	10	0	0	Unprofitable			
	69.	Drumgore ...	118	0	0	118	0	0	
	69.B.	Of the same ..	26	0	0	Unprofitable			
	71.	Corgash ...	114	0	0	114	0	0	
	71.L.	Of the same ...	4	0	0	Unprofitable			
	71.B.	Of the same ...	109	2	32	do.			
	72.	Dunancare ...	118	0	0	118	0	0	
	72.B.	Of the same ...	44	2	0	Unprofitable			
	73.	Virginia and more ...	266	0	0	266	0	0	
	74.	Rihardrum ...	148	2	16	148	2	16	
	68.	Lisnafanny ...	219	0	0	219	0	0	
	75.	Balleine ...	145	1	8	145	1	8	
76.	Corneshuesky ...	117	2	16	48 0 0 69 2 16	0 0 0 0	Thos. Cooch by cert. 15 March, 1666. R.4. 171. Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Foll. 4.5.		
LUKE PLUNKETT EARLE OF FINGALL Irish Papist.	77.	Killikeene ...	31	0	0	31	0	0	Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Foll. 4.5. Christopher Plun- kett. Left to law for this as aforesaid, 17 June, 1663. Not in Roll.
	78.	Lislea ...	105	2	0	105	2	0	
	79.	Cargagh ..	69	3	8	69	3	8	
	80.	Enagh ...	89	3	24	89	3	24	
	80.B.	Of the same ...	423	1	8	Unprofitable			
	81.	Fhartagh ...	117	2	16	117	2	16	
	81.B.	Of the same ..	69	2	0	Unprofitable			

		A. R. P.			A. R. P.				
	82.	Lislurty ...	112	1	24	112	1	24	} Earl of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Foll. 5.
LUKE	82.B.	Of the same ...	13	2	0 Unprofitable				
PLUNKETT	83.	Edenburt ...	286	0	0	286	0	0	
EARLE OF	L.R.	Logh Ramer ...	1083	0	0 Unprofitable				
FINGALL	84.	Portan ...	103	0	0	103	0	0	
Irish	84.B.	Of the same ...	24	0	0 Unprofitable				
Papist.	85.	Gallan McGerrod ...	110	3	8	110	3	8	
JOHN ASHE,	A.	} Both the Murmodes and Aghanmadronke						John Ashe,	
Irish								Irish	
Protestant								Protestant.	
DAVID KELLETT,	D.	Droman ...	299	1	4	169	3	24	John Reade
English									No cert.
Protestant									or Pat.
						129	1	20	Lord Masserene by cert.
									10 July, 1668.
									R. 7. 927.
JOHN ASHE,	86.	Magherendowne ...	556	1	24	556	1	24	Lord Masserene by cert.
Irish Protestant	86.B.	Of the same ...	100	2	0 Unprofitable				31 Dec., 1668. R.7.
GARRETT	86.B.	Of the same ...	30	3	24 do.				1076. Sir Robert Park-
FLEMING,	86.S.	Of the same ...	126	1	24 do. (Shaking Bog.)				hurst. Left to law for
Irish Papist									a Mort. Decree. Not
									in Innocents' Roll.

LAURENCE	87.	} Killkunny ...	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	} Sir Tristram Beresford by cert. 18 May, 1666. R.l. 665.	
DOWDALL,	87B.		Of the same	... 105	1	8	Unprofitable	105	1		8
Irish Papist		} Aghencashell	...	139	0	32		139	0	32	
JOHN REILLY,	88.		Irish Papist								
			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.		
C.+1.		} Lurgan	228	0	32		228	0	32	} Church Land.
Church Land.											
Lord Bishop											
of Killmore											
			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.		
C.+2.		} Quillimoney and	...	187	0	0		187	0	0	} Church Land.
GEORGE CRETON			Lurginerin	...	187	0	0		187	0		0
Parson of the		} Curragh, Coppinagh	...	370	2	24		370	2	24	
said Parish of			and Drumderrig	...	370	2	24		370	2	24
Lurgan. Scotch											
Protestant											

The Church lands in the parish of Lurgan were both extensive and of considerable value. This is indicated by the details furnished by the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. The Inquisition of 1590 found that the Hospital of Lurgan was possessed of two polls or Cartrons valued 2 shillings per ann. This was confiscated to the Crown, and later was handed over to the Established Church. The grant to the Rector of Lurgan in 1626 is described by Morrin (*Cal. Patent and Close Rolls*, 1626, Vol. II., p. 188):—

To George Creighton, rector or vicar of the Church of Lurgan, is assigned the lands of Capanagh and Correagh, two polls, and Dromadrigge, half a poll, near the proportion of Deheran [Termon] in the Barony of Castlerahen; Culnagalchie and Lurgan Ichonhogan, alias Lurgan Ilobogan, two polls near the proportion of Cornegligh [Cornaglea].

In the Depositions of 1641, *i.e.*, 14 years later, Rev. Mr. Creighton makes a statement regarding his property at Drumgowrath, Cargagh, Ballibruse, and Virginia.* The tlds. of Quillimoney and Lurginerin are marked on the D. S. Map (1654) as occupying the area covered by the present tlds. of Bruse and Carriga-Bruse. The same area is marked "Culnagralchy," "Lurgan Ilanbogan," "Carignaviegh," and "Nacarigi-bruse" on the 1609 Plantation Map. The present Bruse Hill is situated about the centre of this area. Many of these tld. names have since died out of use. All these lands became known as "Glebes," and were so termed until the Irish Church Disestablishment in 1869.

The Deposition of Rev. George Creighton, or Creighton, dated 16th April, 1643 (vide this Journal, p. 25), giving a description of the state of affairs in the district of Virginia during the Revolution of 1641, may be set down as the longest in the T. C. D. Collection. It runs to 32 foolscap pages, closely written and containing about 16,000 words.† He is sometimes amusing in his ingenuousness and simplicity but appears to give a faithful account of his experiences, although manifestly writing under nervous tension. He tells how he was aroused in his house in Virginia on the fateful night of 23rd Oct., 1641, by the "sad news" of the Revolution. He had plenty of provisions and candidly acknowledges that "because he was a Scotchman he was not pillaged." "And the Irish would tell this deponent," he states,

* "Drumgowrath, 32 cowes; Cargagh, young and old, 12 cowes; Ballibruse, young and old, 69 cowes; Virginia, 31 cowes and 24 calves; horses, mares and foales, 18; sheep, 40; swyne, 10."

† *Cavan Depositions*, Lxv MS., T. C. D., F. 3. 3. The Deposition is printed by the late Sir John T. Gilbert in his *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* from 1641 to 1652, Vol. I., pp. 525-546. The portion of it quoted by Miss Hincson from the Harleian MSS., Oxford, occupies nine pages.—*Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., Addenda, pp. 368-396. An excellent summary of the history of the Revolution of 1641 by Sir John T. Gilbert, the most reliable authority on this period, will be found in the Appendix to the *Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, pp. 572-576.

“that the Scots were their kindred and had not oppressed them in their government.” The Earl of Fingall and his train arrived at the castle of Ballaghanea and established themselves there. The people of the district trooped into Virginia, and “the parishioners of the next adjoining parishes of Laway [Lavey] and Mullaghe came and drove away most of the cows and horses of Virginia (among which were some of the deponent’s).” He was advised “to flee to Parta wood, about a mile to the west* of Virginia.” However, his fears of molestation proved to be unfounded, and he was kindly treated by the Revolutionists.

Living on at Virginia, to the refugees passing through on their way to Drogheda or Dublin, Rev. Mr. Creighton behaved with great charity. “Colonel O’Reilly (*i.e.* Philip McHugh McShane Roe) collected together all the English from Cavan, Ballyhayes, Belturbet and any other towns throughout that part of the country and sent them all under escort [*via* Virginia] to Drogheda.”† A great number, says Mr. Creighton in his Depositions (*loc. cit.*), came from Ballyhayes, afterwards about 1,400, he states, from about Cavan and the parish of “Dun.” “All whom this deponent, by God’s special providence and through the favour of his parishioners and the O’Reillys (being left among them as yet not robbed, being a Scottish man) to his power having store of provisions relieved.”‡

Many of the Protestant inhabitants fled to the fields, but Mr. Creighton stood his ground and very soon a messenger arrived from Capt. Tirlogh McShane McPhilip O’Reilly to say that the Irish would harm no Scot. Mr. Creighton then had an interview with this chieftain at Parta wood. Although Virginia was taken by the O’Reillys no lives were lost, for no one made any resistance. “The canny Scots clergyman,” writes Bagwell, “managed to keep the Irish in pretty good humour, lodged nine families in his own house, and provided food for the fugitives from Fermanagh who began to arrive in a few days.”§ Sir Francis Hamilton, who held Keilagh Castle at Killeshandra, tried to organise resistance, but Philip McHugh O’Reilly took the settlers under his protection and they gave up their arms. Capt. Ryves with some thirty horse reached the Pale by O’Daly’s Bridge on the Blackwater and occupied Ardracran in Meath for the Lords Justices.||

When the O’Reillys were preparing to invade the Pale they mustered at Virginia where Mr. Creighton made friends with the

* Gilbert (*op. cit.*) reads “east,” an error which is repeated by subsequent commentators. A close examination of the original, which is now almost illegible in parts, shows that “west” is correct as local topography sanctions.

† *A Narrative of the Wars of 1641*, by Friar O’Mellan, O.S.F.—p. 1.

‡ *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Hinckson, Vol. II., p. 389.

§ *Ireland under the Stuarts*, Vol. I., p. 339.

|| *Relation of Rev. Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, 1642.* Contemp. Hist., I., p. 476.

mother of Philip McHugh McShane O'Reilly on the ground of common kinship with Argyle, "of which house it seemeth that she was well pleased that she was descended. This kindred stood me in great stead afterwards, for although it was far off and old, yet it bound the hands of the ruder sort from shedding my blood." The Scots were not molested in any way during the Revolution; in fact, none of the settlers were injured except those who offered resistance.

The Journal of the Earl of Essex,* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who took a "bird's-eye view" of this part of Breffni during his unsuccessful march northwards to meet Hugh O'Neill in 1599, gives some important reasons for his not having then established an outpost here as previously intended (*Cal. State Papers, 1599, Carew MSS.*, p. 321; "Proceedings of the Earl of Essex"). Describing his experiences from 28th August till 8th September, 1599, he writes:—

The 28th of Aug. the Lord Lieutenant departed Dublin with 100 horse; and, having appointed all the companies of horse and foot that were to go into the field to come to the Navan and Kelles, he lodged himself at Ardbracken (at a house of the Bishop of Meath's), betwixt the two towns. And, because the companies came not in till the 31st, his Lordship gave rendezvous to all the army on the hill of Clythe† half a mile from Kelles towards the Breiny [Breffni] and encamped that night at Castle Keran two miles beyond the hill. There also his Lordship was fain to stay one whole day till his victuals, that came from Dredaghe [Drogheda] overtook him. But that day he spent in viewing the Lord Dunsanie's country and part of the Breiny and appointed certain commissioners to view all the companies of horse and foot that he might know the true strength of his army and dispose them into regiments accordingly.

This day also his Lordship debated it in Council whether it were fit to place a garrison in the Breiny or not, and if in any part of that country where was the fittest place. It was concluded that no garrison could be placed in any part

* Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1567—1601) who became Elizabeth's favourite after the death of Leicester. Had he succeeded in his Irish campaign he would have been the hero of the Elizabethan age. Shakespeare, writing in 1599, ventures to suggest a possible comparison between him and the victor of Agincourt:—

Were now the general of our gracious empress
 (As in good time he may), from Ireland coming,
 Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
 How many would the peaceful city quit,
 To welcome him!

King Henry V., Act V.

† Hill of Lloyd, near Ceanannus (Kells). It is written *Mullach-Aiti*, or Aiti's Hill, by the *Four Masters*.

of this country. First, because about the Cavan and betwixt it and Kelles, the country is all waste so as there is nothing beyond Kelles to be defended, nor to relieve the garrison. Secondly, because all the country of Cavan is so far within the land and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dredaghe, so that all the victuals as are sent to a garrison there must be carried on garrons' [*i.e.* horses'] backs, which will be very difficult and subject to a great deal of hazard, the Pale not being able to furnish many carriages and the rebels of those quarters being very strong. And the third and last reason was that Tyrone [*i.e.* Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone] was lodged in Ferny [Farney] with an army and prepared to enter into the Pale and to have burned and spoiled to the gates of Dublin as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was gone as high up as the Cavan.

Essex then arranged that Kells should be his "frontier garrison towards the Cavan," and marched with his army through Robertstown and Newcastle to Ardee. He encamped at Ardolphe and met O'Neill at Bellaclinthe (Sept. 7) on the River Lagan near Drumcondra. Here he concluded his famous parley with O'Neill, which so enraged Elizabeth that she had him recalled, committed to prison in the Tower of London, and finally executed. He appears to have made a detailed inspection of the Cavan border and fully satisfied himself that it was impracticable to establish a garrison there for the three ample reasons which he specifies. At that time a very large portion of Cavan was waste land, as may be inferred from the extensive acreages marked "unprofitable" in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*loc. cit.*). The contrast between the extent of the areas then marked "waste" with the present conditions is strikingly illustrated by a comparison of the D. S. Map (1654) with the present Ordnance Survey.

NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664.

The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 (*Revenue Exchequer, Generals Collection*; P. R. O. Dublin) contains a list of the principal householders in that year returned as paying the Hearth Tax in accordance with Acts 14 and 15, Carolus II., c. 17. Only one Roll for Co. Cavan is now known to exist, viz., that of 1664.* As the modern history of the county and its people proceeds directly from this Roll it is of interest as fixing the location of the chief families of that time (see this Journal, p. 146). The following are the lists for "Lorgan Parish."

* Based on the Hearth Money Lists for 1732 and 1733 the number of families in Co. Cavan was then 8,206 (6,237 Cath. and 1,969 Prot.). This would give a population of 41,030. That of all Ireland is set down as about 2,000,000. (Abstract, printed in 1736, appended to Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, 2nd ed., 1736.) Cf. *Renhan's Collections*, Vol. I., p. 91.

MORMUD.—Conor O'Fferielly, Cormucke Fferielly, Murtagh Kenedy, Daniell O'Gowen, Ffarrell Goe, Thomas O'Fferielly, and and Thomas Garr O'Fferielly.

CARGAGH.—Cahir Relly.

DROMHEELE.—John Relly, William Donellan and Donell MacElire.

BURREN.—Thomas Relly and Phelym Magwigin.

CARRICKEELTY.—Cahir Relly.

FFARTAGH.—James Relly, Gilbert Brady, and Thomas MACGILDUFFE.

ENAGH.—Donogh O'Mullane, and Edmond Say.

AGHONEDRONGE.—Bartholomey Kellett and Hugh MacGillicke.

KILCONNY.—Terence Doyne.

LISLEAGH.—Tirlagh O'Mullan, James Willas, and Hugh Magra.

CARGAGH.—Tirlagh MacSymon, Edmond MacSymon, and Edmond MacSymon the elder.

VIRGINIA.—John Doughty (two hearths), Stephen Heard, Eber Burch (Clarke), Hugh Burn, John Ramsye, and Cale Relly.

PARTUE. Daniell Relly.

BALLAGHNA.—Charles MacFfaiden (two hearths) and Bartholomew Stanly.

DUNANCKRY.—Dermott Cusake and Daniell Cusake.

CORGARROWE.—Hugh Relly and Brien O'Heery.

EDENBURT.—Phillip Brogan, Shane Brogan, Patricke Lincy, Brian MacCahell, and Donell Brady.

DROMDERIGE.—Patricke Callaghan, William Roe Carwill, Tirlagh Brady, and Thomas Magnawide.

AGHOCastle.—Nicholas Callaghan, Daniel Mageehan, Conor MacSymon, and Owen O'Callaghan.

LISNAFANY.—Thomas Relly.

DRUMGOARY.—Philip Relly.

LORGIN.—Glasny Relly.

DRUMUNY.—Tirlagh Clerkan, Brien Relly, and Conor Clerkan.

AGHOWLOGHAN and GALLONNEMRAHER.—John FitzSymons, Thomas O'Briody, Charles FitzSymons, Shane MacConalty, and Murtagh O'Fflanegan.

LISMEENE.—Hugh FitzSymons, Conor Lincy, and Phelym FitzSymons.

LATTOONE.—Phelym FitzSymons, Nicholas FitzSymons and Patricke Corrigan.

FFYNTAWEN.—James Relly.

POLLEMOLEDY.—Tirlagh Ffloody and Patricke MacGillicke.

CORREAGH.—Daniell O'Mughan, Daniel Olvill, Nicholas Ffarrelly, Patricke Macumuskie, Gillisa O'Carreene, John Relly, Patricke Monaghan and Owen Relly.

Total, 84 Houses : £viii. : s. viii.

In this list only 30 Lurgan tlds. are recorded, *i.e.*, about one-half of the total number in the parish. This would represent not quite

even the half of the total number of householders. It is certain that many inhabited tlds. escaped payment owing to the inevitable difficulties of collecting the tax, which was as unpopular in Ireland as Macaulay tells us it was in England. Besides, both many tlds. may have been inaccessible to the tax-collectors, and, it may be assumed, many people successfully evaded payment, and there were several recognised exemptions. Hence the Hearth Money Rolls do not supply satisfactory data whereon to establish a computation of the population of the parish at the time. But the number of householders returned may be taken as about one-half of the total, and probably less.

The exemptions from the tax are specified in the Act as follows :

Those who live upon alms and are not able to get their livelihood by work, and widows, who shall procure a certificate of two justices of the peace in writing yearly, that the house which they inhabit is not of greater value than eight shillings by the year, and that they do not occupy lands of the value of eight shillings by the year, and that they have not goods or chattels to the value of four pounds.*

It may be assumed that many took advantage of this saving clause when they did not actually resist payment. In many tlds. only one person is returned as having paid the assessment. The tax-collectors appeared to have fared no better elsewhere. In the Co. Monaghan only 1016 tlds. out of a possible 1850 are recorded as contributing to the tax.†

“The only direct tax which was paid by the poor,” writes Lecky, “was hearth money, at the rate of two shillings a hearth, and, a few years before the Union, cabins with only one hearth were exempted.”‡

Only two householders are returned as paying for more than one hearth, viz.:—John Doughty, of Virginia, and Charles MacFfaiden, of “Ballaghna” (Ballaghanea). Both are returned as possessing two each. Naturally, the wealthy alone would enjoy such a comparative luxury in those times. Rev. Ebur Burch mentioned in the lists was then Rector of Lurgan and is returned as only paying for one hearth. With few exceptions those who paid for more than one hearth were the new settlers. In fact, in the lists for the entire Barony of Castlerahan only *one* householder is returned as possessing three hearths, viz.: Thomas Burton, of Lismacanegan. *Three* are returned as possessing two each, viz., the above John Doughty, and Charles MacFfaiden, and Abraham Clements, of Kilnecrott. It is of interest to note that barely six names are returned as contributing to the tax

* Young's *Tour in Ireland* (1776-1779), Vol. II., p. 121. Cf. George O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th Century*, *passim*.—

† *History of Monaghan* (1660-1860), by D. C. Rushe, p. 4. The Rolls for two years, 1663 and 1665, exist for that County.

‡ *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, Vol. II., p. 504.

in the tld. of Virginia, showing that in the fifty-three years that had elapsed from 1611 the development of the new town was inconsiderable. The evidence afforded by the Hearth Money Rolls is conclusive that, despite the confiscations of James I., and the penalising legal enactments of the Commonwealth period, the native owners were, as tenants at will, still in possession of the land, at least in the barony of Castlerahan.

In the lists the majority of the names preserve their original Gaelic forms. Fitzsimons occurs as "MacSymon," and also "FitzSymons"; Smith occurs as "O'Gowen," and in the more usual spoken form of "Goe." Dunne is written "Doyne." Many of the forms in which the names are written seem unintelligible, as the people spoke only Irish, and the names were entered phonetically. In most cases the Gaelic sounds could not be exactly reproduced in English. Lynch, for example, is entered as "Lincy." The use of second patronymics had begun to disappear before this time, but the older Christian names, e.g., Turlogh or Tirlagh (Terence), Cahir (Charles), Glasney, Gillisa, etc., had still survived. Foreign names, like James (Iago), had already been introduced from Spain by Pilgrims from that country, as well as by trade inter-communication.

In a letter to his wife, dated June 8th, 1651, published as an Appendix to Temple's *Irish Rebellion* (6th ed.—Dublin, 1724) Sir Henry Tichborne, late Governor of Drogheda, tells (p. 189) how, in August, 1642, Lord Moore went forth from Drogheda to remove the rebels from about Trim. Sir Henry had 500 choice foot. He continues:—

And that service ended by the Rebels firing the castle they possest, and retreating, and my Lord's taking of *Clone* in the County of *Westmeath*, burning the house at *Lough Ramor*, and *Virginia* [Ballaghanea Castle]; and taking of *Carrickmac-Cross* in the County of *Monaghan*, with great Store of Prey, and Destruction of the Rebels.

The Castle of Ballaghanea had been taken over by the Earl of Fingall* during the first days of the Revolution of Oct., 1641, but

* Christopher Plunkett, 2nd Earl of Fingall, who played an important part in the Revolution of 1641. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Rathmines, in 1656, and died shortly afterwards. His father, Luke Plunkett, who was an extensive landowner in Cavan and Meath, was created 1st Earl of Fingall in 1628, and died in 1637. In a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, dated Oct. 21st, 1656, Edward Plunkett, brother of the above Christopher, expresses the hope that "a small estate in lands called Drombarrow [Drumbaragh] and Callaghton [near Kells] in the County of Meath, of about the yearly value of £100, settled on him by his said father in his lifetime, . . . shall not be adjudged liable to forfeiture or sale." (*Ireland under the Commonwealth*, by R. Dunlop, M.A. Manchester University Press, 1913. Vol. II., p. 630.)

The Plunketts owned Loughcrew, where Primate Plunkett was born in 1629, and Clonabreany, in Co. Meath. The tomb of the Clonabreany Plunketts, in the old churchyard of that name near Crossakiel, is in a very good state of preservation: its inscription is in Latin (with old Roman raised letters): the dates 1581 and 1595. Cf. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. II., p. 322.

it seems to have been finally abandoned after the Cromwellian Plantations during the Commonwealth (1649-1660). The Restoration brought no relief to the dispossessed landed proprietors, the adventurers' ownership remained undisturbed. A tradition existed that on the approach of the Irish forces in 1641, the then occupier of the Castle had his plate and household utensils thrown into the lake at a point adjoining the Castle and close to the "Big Island." The tradition was verified when almost a century ago, about 1824, the summer being very dry and the waters low, some people bathing saw the vessels shining in about ten feet of water. The place was explored with drags and eighteen vessels were raised. A contemporary writer* who saw the articles describes them as "of a compound metallic substance, the nature of bell-metal, and of various forms and sizes, supposed to have been for culinary uses." The vessels, of which only four or five were extant, were then in the possession of the Marquis of Headfort (by right of seignior), Rev. Mr. Rowley, Rector of Lurgan, and a Mr. Blackeney. The last named was then owner of the farm adjoining the place where the articles were discovered. The remaining number of the eighteen vessels, had been brought secretly to Dublin by those who discovered them, and sold to the foundries at six-pence a pound! Such wanton destructiveness baffles the imagination. But tradition, in this case, was amply verified. It is to be regretted that the vessels were not deposited in a museum and preserved as antiquarian legacies for posterity. Lewis (*Top. Dict.*), it may be added, refers to the find. But with a not unusual unreliability, he suggests that "the curiously shaped brazen" articles were Danish. In his time (1837) the tendency was to attribute every rare and ancient object to the Danes.

ΔCΔΘ ΛΑΘΑΙΡ†, the older name of the tld., in which the present town of Virginia (now reverted to its original name) is situated, soon dropped out of use after the town's foundation in the period 1610-18. It was soon displaced by the newer name. This complete transformation of nomenclature seems to have generally occurred in cases where the older title had no important local standing. In a few years the new name eclipsed the older. Other examples in Co. Cavan, e.g., Bailieboro' and Cootehill, indicate that when a new town was founded by the Planters in a mere tld. the newer name immediately established itself and the older form was lost. Even locally the older name, ΔCΔΘ

* *Angling Excursions in the Counties of Wicklow, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, and Cavan*, by Gregory Greendrake, Esq., with *Additions*, by Geoffrey Greydrake, Esq., pp. 272, et seq. Dublin: 1832. Now a comparatively rare book.

† Pron. "Agha-leer." Cf. tld. names of "Lear" at Bailieboro', and "Camalier," near Belturbet, all of which are derived from ΛΑΘΑΙΡ, a river-fork.

Λαδαιρ, is not remembered. There is a pathetic interest in the attempt of our forefathers to "put Irish on" the new and strange name which passed into a local proverb: "Βειηγοριμξ βεδξ να ρριοναν," or "little goose-berry town" (?). *Achadh Ladhair* does not occur in the *State Papers*, as far as I can find, later than 1606 (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1606*, p. 60), when it is written (as pronounced) Aghaleere. Although marked on the Plantation Map of 1609 it is not mentioned in the 1610 Plantation Grants (*loc. cit.*). The arrival of the Undertakers and their train insured the complete abandonment of the original title. How successfully this was achieved is borne out by the fact that in 1641 (*Depositions, loc. cit.*), *i.e.*, about thirty years afterwards, the "ancient name of Virginia" was already to those mentioned a matter of doubt and conjecture. Ballaghanea, on account of its containing the Castle of the O'Reillys, the chieftains of the district, was of much greater relative importance than Achadh Ladhair. The



Lurgan's 16th Century Church in 1922.

district of Ballaghanea seems to have included a greater area than the present tld. of the same name. This would appear from the *State Papers* of 1611 which refer to the "proposed town at Ballaghanev." It is certain that the first wooden houses, erected in 1611, were situated close to the Castle of Ballaghanea about a mile south-east of the present town of Virginia. These houses were occupied by English tradesmen, as detailed in the report of

that year (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1611, p. 130*), and the wood used was brought from Co. Fermanagh. The present water-course which works the mill at Ballaghanea was constructed in the same year.

In 1654 the D.S. Map has "Virginia and Clanmore" which includes the greater part of the present tld. of Deerpark adjoining Virginia. This constituted the ancient ΔΕΔΘ ΛΑΘΑΙΡ. The name Clanmore, or Clonmore, meaning the "Big Meadow" (CLUAM MÓR) is still preserved in "Clonmore Gate," one of the entrances to the Deerpark. The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 (*loc. cit.*) have "Virginia."

Another of the now vanished tlds. adjoining Virginia is *Portann* or *Partann*. It occupied the western portion of the present Deerpark, with Lurgan Glebe adjoining Loch Ramor. In the *Fiants* of Eliz. 1584 (*loc. cit.*) it is written *Party*. The 1609 Plantation Map has the Irish plural form *Nahertune*, and in the 1610 Grants (*loc. cit.*) a similar form *Naperton* is used. The Books of Survey and Distribution, 1641 (*loc. cit.*) have *Portan* containing 103 acres of arable land and 24 acres unprofitable (bog). The Depositions of the same year (*loc. cit.*) mention "*Parta* wood, about a mile to the west of Virginia." The D. S. (1654) has *Partann*, and the Hearth Money Rolls (1664) *Partue*. The name does not appear to have survived. It is probably derived from πορτάν, meaning the little landing place on the bank of a lake or river. The present boathouse on the Deerpark demesne is situated in the ancient tld. of Portann. The suitability of the title will be apparent to those who row on Loch Ramor in the Summer.

The present tld. of Bruise (βρουζαρ—a farmhouse) is also frequently mentioned in the *State Papers* and Plantation documents. In 1585 (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1585, p. 553*) Henry Duke, Sheriff of Cavan, reported to the Lord Deputy that "Hugh McBrian Ban O'Raylle [O'Reilly] of *Ballebrewsse* is the chiefest and trustiest friend that Cahil (O'Connor) and his men have in the hither side of the Brenny [Breffni], from whence they do always come, in one night's travel, into the fastness of the 'Red Moer' in Meath." It is written *Ballebruse* (*Fiants* of Eliz. 1586), and *Ballibruse* (1641 Depositions). The 1609 Map has the plural form *Nacarigi Bruse* and the D. S. Map (1654) makes it *Cargagh*, as do also the 1641 Plantation Grants.

The hill of Bruise* seems to be marked "Culnagralchy" on the 1609 map. This appears to be CÚL NA ΓΡΕΑΛΛΑΙΧΕ or "the back of the swamp," and would be appropriate as, in the 17th century, the hill was almost surrounded by bog. The adjoining tld. of Enagh is described in the *Fiants* (Eliz. 1586) as "Enny in Ballibruse," to distinguish it from others of the same designation in the district. Other tlds. in the immediate neighbourhood marked on the 1609 map are Carigkilty (Carrakeelty-Beg and Carra-

* Not to be confounded with another hill of the same name near Arva.

keelty-More), Dromhil (Drumheel), Pollintample (Pollintemple), Tramata (Stramatt), Carignaviagh (?), Lurgan Clanbogan (?), Pollidoun (?) Aghnacloge (?), Nenah (Enagh), Fartagh, Keillcony, (Killacunny) and Eadanburt. Gallongaraue is marked adjoining Edenburt. Portion of the present tld. of Edenburt is marked "Lislurty" ("Lislierty," 1610 Grants) but this seems to be no longer remembered. The "Great Bog" of the D.S. Map, part of Fartagh, Killacunny and the surrounding tlds, is marked "Monuarogata Bog" on the 1609 Map (Μόνιφάτι να ζσατ—meadow of the cats). A comparison of the 1609 and 1654 tld. maps with the present O.S. Map is of special interest. Many of the older names seem to have since disappeared, but a complete discussion of their identity must be reserved for a future occasion. The D. S. Map (1654) gives "Quillimoney and Lurginerin" as a tld. covering both the present Drumheel and Carriga-Bruise, and comprising the Glebe lands of 1641. The names are not now remembered locally.

In the original project of the Jacobean Plantation of Cavan it was laid down that three Borough Towns, each with 250 acres for its support, should be created, viz.: Cavan, Belturbet, and a third Town "to be erected in or near the Midway between *Kells* and the *Cavan*."* Virginia arose there as planned but it alone was not made a Corporate Town. This cannot have been due to its smallness, for many Boroughs were much smaller. A letter of advice from Sir A. Chichester to "Sir John Davies, His Majesty's Serjeant-at-Law and Attorney General in Ireland"† may help to throw some light on the omission.

Noble Mr. Attorney,

In making of the borough towns I find more and more difficulties and uncertainties; some return they are but tenants at will and pleasure to certain gentlemen, who have the fee farm, or by lease for a few years, so they are doubtful to name themselves for burgesses without the landlord's consent; and the landlord is of the Church of Rome, and will return none but recusants; of which kind of men we have no need, and shall have less use. Some other towns have few others to return than recusants and others none but soldiers; so my advice on that point is, that you bring direction and authority to make such towns boroughs only as we think fit and behoveful for such service; and to omit such as are named, if they like [are likely] to be against us; and to enable others by charter, if we can find them answerable to our expectation, albeit they be not in the list sent thither by the Lord Carewe, nor returned as allowed there.

Dublin, 14th of August, 1612.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

* Harris' *Hibernica*, p. 118.

† Sir John Davies' *Discovery*, first published in 1612, Introduction, p. xxi.

Borough towns enjoyed the privilege of sending two Members each to Parliament, and it is obvious that their creation was simply a well-considered move or counter-move in the political game of which Chichester and Davies were able exponents. By suitable if quite arbitrary selections for the honour a majority of Chichesterians could be secured even though, according to Davies' own estimate, his friends were then "probably not more than one-fourth the population" of the country.* Thereafter they might pass what measures they pleased quite constitutionally. The object of the move was at once recognised. In Nov., 1612, before the General Election, six Anglo-Irish peers—Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Louth—sent a petition to King James I. complaining that many of the new boroughs consisted of "some few poor and beggarly cottages" and un-cloaking the design of packing the Parliament. His Majesty, of course, ignored the petition. Davies created as many as eighty new boroughs, most of them in Ulster, and enlarged the House of Commons from less than 100 Members to 232. He won the game. When the House first met on May 18th, 1613, after the strenuous election of 1612, in which Cavan took a prominent part, he tells us himself* that of the 225 Members returned, 121 Chichesterians were present and only 101 Recusants (though of the Recusants there was no abstenee), the former returned chiefly by the Boroughs† and the latter by the Counties. Probably he thought Virginia not likely to prove itself "behoveful" for his service, and so, the King's orders notwithstanding, it was passed over. The erection of the privileged corporate towns affected the whole

* Davies (*op. cit.*) p. xix.

† For the Borough of Cavan Captain Culme, founder of Virginia, and George Sexton, Chichester's secretary, were the Chichesterian nominees. George and Walter Brady were nominated in the Recusant interests. Capt. Culme proposed himself and Sexton and brought a mandate from the County Sheriff "that himself and Sexton should be chosen." But the townsmen refused to elect them. Four or five days afterwards the High Sheriff, Sir Oliver Lambert, held an election. He behaved with great violence and committed Walter Brady, one of the candidate burgesses, to prison. He then placed a guard of armed men at the door of the Courthouse, where the election was held, with "their pieces and burning matches, who suffered none to enter but whom they pleased." George Brady, who arrived to vote for his namesake, was asked by Lambert to vote for Culme and Sexton. He refused, whereupon Lambert, "with a truncheon struck him on the head and broke his head rather dangerously." Later on in the evening Lambert repeated his request to Brady, and on the latter's continued refusal he was sent to prison. Culme and Sexton were declared duly elected. A Petition was presented on behalf of the Recusant candidates and the Commissioners found upon the evidence that "the sheriff of the town and high sheriff of the county, betwixt themselves, have unduly returned the said Collom [Culme] and Sexton, neither of them having any residence in the said town." The return of Culme and Sexton was annulled, and the two Bradys were returned "by all the inhabitants, except a very few of the poorest." (Cf. *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1613, pp. 363, 443: Schedule of Returns in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, I., 212.)

subsequent life of the country until their extinction in 1800 by the Act of Union. "The rotten boroughs," writes the English historian, Green, "which had been originally created to make the Irish Parliament dependent on the Crown, had fallen under the influences of the adjacent landlords, who were thus masters of the House of Commons, while they formed in person the House of Peers*." This opinion is borne out by the history of both our boroughs, Cavan and Belturbet.

In the early 'thirties of the 19th century Virginia was much improved by the Marquis of Headfort. In 1831 its population was 930. In 1841 it was a town of 149 houses and 965 inhabitants. The line of railway from Dublin to Enniskillen as first laid out was to pass by the town. But the proposal was abandoned (*Parl. Gazetteer*). Virginia possessed an extensive malting and brewing establishment. The product favourably impressed a visitor in 1832 who has left the fact on record. This was Geoffrey Greydrake (an Irish disciple of Isaac Walton) who in his "Angling Excursions in Meath, Longford, and Cavan" (*loc. cit.*) describes the town and its surroundings. The town, the situation of which is "highly picturesque and pleasant," is entered "on the Meath side, over a bridge, under which flows a very pastoral stream called the *Moreen*, a tributary to the lake into which it falls, at a few perches distance, and is a nursery and repository for trout." He describes the town as "consisting of one street, which being very wide conduces to the health of the inhabitants." It contained "on the right, a brewery; a good market-house, etc.; on the left, an excellent inn; a boarding-school, under a well-qualified Protestant clergyman; a post office; and some private houses and shops." "Public coaches pass daily to and from Dublin." "The aspect of the country," he continues, "beyond a small circle, is repulsive, the soil stony and light, of the mountain character; yet the sterile-looking hills are densely populated, and covered with comfortable farmhouses and cabins, establishing the fact, that poor land at its value, and exciting the energies of industry, is paramount in its advantages to the tenant, to that of a rich soil at a high rent, yet encouraging to sloth. The labours of the agriculturist here are rewarded with excellent crops of oats."

Lurgan Glebe, the ancient Portann, then the residence of Rev. Wm. Rowley, he describes poetically as "a beautiful production of taste and cultivation, winning nature into smiles and self-complacency, and clothing her with the riches of her own hidden and neglected wardrobe." Its "beautiful and thriving plantations, shrubberies, and well-appointed gardens and orchards, are the sole creation of the present Incumbent out of a mere bog and moor." "Fort Frederick, the next adjoining mansion, seat

* *Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. MacMillan & Co., 1890. Part IV., p. 812.

of the late Alderman Sankey, colonel of the Dublin militia, appeared to me uninhabited, the windows being all closed. In fact, the Protestant clergy are, as a class, the only resident gentry; the only exceptions to the prevailing evil of absenteeism, under which the country groans and is perishing."

It should not be omitted that in the year of Greydrake's visit (1832) there was born in Virginia Dr. Thomas Fitzpatrick. Educated at T.C.D., he became a very distinguished physician in London and was a great benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

A boat race on Loch Ramor was an annual event. To it the lord of the soil contributed a silver cup of the value of 30 guineas. The race for the cup in August, 1831, is vividly described by Greydrake. The boats entered for the contest were three, belonging respectively to the Marquis of Headfort, Mr. Naper of Loughcrew, and Henry Sargent* of Eighter. "A great assemblage of spectators of all ranks attended; great decorum was observed, the day was most favourable, and it was a truly gay and happy scene, a band of music performing all the time." The race was won by Henry Sargent with his boat, "The Cadet," rowed by two capital oarsmen, the brothers Farrelly. The victors were eulogised in a poem entitled "Oarsman's Glee" written on the occasion by a local bard. In the evening dinner was served "at a point in the deerpark commanding a beautiful view of the lake." A poetical sketch of the scene written there and then by one of the gentlemen present is recorded by the author mentioned:—

The boat-race thus ended, "creature comforts" began,
 The several parties, each on its own plan,
 Retired to the shade, or else group'd along shore,
 Their baskets soon eas'd of their cherishing store;
 To detail the choice things that were eaten and said,
 Is more than the poet can draw from his head.
 Our spirits were cheerful, and abundant our fare—
 Our kind host left no want, and good humour no care;
 And beauty and wit lent their magical pow'rs
 To wing, in themselves, the too fugitive hours.
 Etc., etc.

One of the islands in Loch Ramor, "the largest and prettiest," according to the narrative, was named the "Dear Island," the term "dear" being applied on account of the litigation cost to Lord Bective and a Mr. Woodward who contested their rights in the Law Courts. The right was at length adjudged to Lord Bective. But the victory was a Pyrrhic one owing to the costs.

* Sargent, who was land-agent to the Marquis of Headfort, was an unenviable local notoriety in his day. He died in 1861. A cousin of his, Rev. Robert Sargent, had previously been land-agent. See "Céad se Céoltaibh Uladh", by Énní Ó Muirghearta. pp. 9 and 182.

On this island was a cottage where the ubiquitous Dean Swift is traditionally supposed to have taken periodical rests during his somewhat untroubled life.

The present Protestant church of Virginia, situated at the western end of the town amid a picturesque grove of yew trees, is a handsome structure in the Gothic style. A church had been built here mainly by a loan from the Board of First Fruits in 1818 at a cost of £2,000.* Soon after its completion a storm blew down the steeple, which, falling on the edifice almost completely destroyed it. The church was soon afterwards restored, but an accidental fire on Christmas Night, 1832, entirely consumed it. It was then rebuilt and a new spire added. In 1837 the glebe of the Union of Lurgan and Munterconnacht comprised 999½ acres valued at £694 per annum.† If we can trust Godkin, in 1867 it was the second most richly endowed living in either Ardagh or Kilmore, having, according to him, 994 acres of Glebe land. Killesher in Fermanagh was a long way first with 2,107 acres, and Fenagh in Leitrim third with 960.‡ And besides its endowment Lurgan had also its annual tithes until the Acts of 1832 and 1838. In the Diocese of Kilmore, according to Dr. Reeves, the custom was that "the rector of each parish received two-thirds of the tithes, except from the termon lands, the two-thirds of which belonged to the bishop, while the vicar received one-third of all."§

Rev. James Sterling—not to be confounded with "Parson" Sterling (who also had musical tastes)—who was Rector of Lurgan in the early 18th century—was an excellent musician and composer. He was a famed performer on the pipes, and was highly commended by Edmund Burke in 1754.

After describing the excellent fishing and shooting facilities provided in Virginia, Greydrake (*op. cit.*) pays a graceful and well-deserved tribute to the scenic attractions of the neighbourhood:—

From the rectory to the church, along the Virginia side of the lake, there is a beautiful walk, by the shore, through Lord Headfort's deerpark, and scarcely anything in sylvan scenery can be more beautiful. It is not as elaborately and artificially cultivated as Headfort, but it is superior in the

* See Lewis' *Topog. Dict.* s. v. "Virginia." But under "Lurgan" it gives the date as 1821 and the cost £2,492, etc., of which sum £1,846, etc., was a loan, and the remainder a contribution from the parishioners. According to the latter reference the Glebe House, built about 1814, cost £3,276, etc., of which £1,384, etc., was a loan and £92 a gift from the same Board. £3,276 is plainly an error. It should be £1,476, not an extravagant sum for a mansion erected in those days.

† Do. s. v. "Lurgan."

‡ *Ireland and Her Churches*, by James Godkin. London. Chapman and Hall, 1867. p. 483.

§ *Primate Colton's Visitation* A.D. 1397, edited by Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A., p. 115.

magnificence and wild luxuriance of nature : there are in it, some of the noblest oaks which I have anywhere seen ; the surface is diversified by an effective inequality furnishing subject for the taste which is now beginning to be exercised upon it by a beautiful drive, bringing into various points of interesting view, all its natural capabilities ; and through it runs a stream, eminently of a retired and pastoral character, and issuing at a boathouse, where is a wooden bridge, over a silvery pebbled bottom, into the lake. The wall, which once separated the park from the lake, being entitled, like many an old family, to the armorial motto "*Fuimus*," or, in plain English, being now no more ; the deer, which, feeding or in lair among the old oaks, would have given such finish and effect to the scene, were removed to an adjoining enclosure, and Shakespeare's Jaques, were he reposing and contemplating beside the stream in Virginia park, would have lacked that antlered illustration of his morbid and querulous morality.

The literary angler, delighted with his visit, then bids Loch Ramor farewell, "and farewell," he adds, "the kindly spirits that grace your shores."

I have to thank Father Meehan for much valuable help in the preparation of this paper.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

THE "HENRY IRELAND" PAMPHLET.

The "Henry Ireland" Pamphlet is a list of the townlands in each parish in County Cavan with the number of Carvags—a taxation unit—in each. It was published in Cavan town either in 1709 or 1790, the doubt arising from the fact that the printer makes the last three figures in the date of publication, which is in Roman numerals—IXO. The question, therefore, arises whether by—IXO he meant —90, or whether the final zero is an interloping misprint.

Messrs. E. R. McC.Dix and Seumas Casaide say without hesitation that 1790 was the date of publication. They state that 1709 would have been an impossibly early date for a work of the kind to have been produced in Cavan. Furthermore, it is known that the Ireland family was engaged in the printing trade in Cavan town as late as 1813, and a family engaged in an occupation of the kind for over a century might certainly have been expected to have left its mark in the way of tradition or in the records of the county. Of tradition there is apparently nothing to be learned nor from the records; all we can find is that a Henry Ireland had a vote in Cavan town in 1761.

Mr. Dix is, of course, the unquestioned authority on Irish bibliography, to the study of which he has practically devoted his lifetime, and Mr. Casaide's opinion is of such weight that when he differs from Mr. Dix the ordinary man is well entitled to conclude that the matter may be left to rest in doubt. In the present instance the two are of one mind, and the question ought to be outside the regions of permissible discussion.

Before I had read Mr. Dix's opinion, which originally appeared in the *Irish Book Lover*, I had, on purely internal evidence, come to the conclusion that the earlier of the two dates given should be accepted as that of publication. Strange to say, such further enquiry as I have since made seems to lend colour, if not confirmation, to that view. In a note such as this it is impossible to give more than the headings of the more important of the considerations which impelled me to the view I took.

(1) I know of two copies of the pamphlet—one in the Joly Collection of Pamphlets in the National Library, Dublin, the other in the possession of Mr. J. J. Matthews, Virginia. In each, strange to say, the year 1709 is written in ink under the date as printed. By whom or at what time this was done it is idle to speculate. That it was done in each case is certainly noteworthy.

(2) In the printed introduction to the pamphlet it is stated that its object was to set forth "the mode of applotting the

Carvaghs as extracted from the late Road Act passed by the last meeting of Parliament." Now in the *Statistical Survey of County Cavan* Coote says definitely that the Carvagh system of taxation was introduced into Cavan in 1699. Coote is notoriously unreliable, but he wrote in 1801, and I think he could be relied upon not to make an error of nearly a century in a matter which, were the pamphlet published in 1790 to elucidate a recent Act of Parliament, would have occurred in his own life-time. Moreover, I have been able personally to verify Coote's accuracy in the present instance. The old eighteenth century Vestry Book of Kildallan parish, of which the Rev. Canon King has kindly allowed me make a copy, shows that the vestry was engaged "applotting the Carvaghs" in the very year in which the records commence, 1719. Unfortunately, although I had a search made, I could not trace the Road Act to which the pamphlet refers.

(3) Regarding the lists of names of the townlands published at different times we in Cavan have been more fortunate than in other counties. We have fairly exhaustive enumerations, compiled at widely differing dates in the Elizabethan maps, the fiants, the leases of the Jacobean Plantation, the Down Survey, The Book of Distributions, the Hearth Money Roll, the Act of Settlement, the Census of 1821, and, finally, the Ordnance Survey; Careful examination of the name forms in the pamphlet shows that they are more like the Down Survey forms than those in the 1821 Census. In addition, there is in it a high percentage of townland names which are also found in the Down Survey and previous lists, and which had passed out of use at the time of the 1821 Census.

Unless, therefore, Henry Ireland resurrected and published in 1790 an old list which had lain in manuscript for close on a century I feel constrained to accept as a possible solution that Cavan town did have a printing establishment at least fifty years before any similar Irish county town.

Personally, however, I take very little interest in the bibliographical side of the question, but confess to a very deep, and hitherto unsatisfied, interest in the Carvagh system of taxation. This system was based not on the extent of the land held but on its productivity. For taxable purposes the county was originally divided into 8,000 units or Carvaghs, 1,000 to each barony. How long this original division held, I cannot say, but early in the eighteenth century we find Tullyhagh and Tullyhunco paying much less than the original 1,000 Carvaghs with which they were assessed; and by the time at which Coote wrote, 1801, Tullyhagh was paying instead of one-eighth of the total county taxation about one-twelfth.

The manner of applotment was interesting. Each barony had its total of Carvaghs assigned to it, and this total was further sub-divided into the number for each parish. When

the number for the parish was determined the parish vestry appointed applotters who made a careful estimate of the number of Carvagh's to be levied from each townland. This amount had no exclusive reference to the acreage of the townland, varying, if we may borrow the language of mathematics, jointly with the acreage and the productivity of the townland. Thus, a large mountain townland might have to pay only a fraction of a Carvagh in taxation, while a small productive townland might have to pay six or even seven Carvagh's.

It will at once be seen that if we had any data to go upon we might from the assessment of the Carvagh taxation at different periods deduce with absolute accuracy the growth of tillage and the rate at which land had been cleared and drained throughout the county. In addition to this, however, we could make more important deductions, partly of local and partly of a wider interest. From what we have said of the Carvagh it will be seen that it ought to provide at least a local solution to the much vexed question of the exact local meaning to be attached to the old Irish measures of land measurement, or at least to the Plantation system of land estimation. In neither was there much attention paid to the exact acreage: the quality of the land was the one thing looked to. Thus a "baile" on the mountain side would be a formidable parcel of land, a "baile" in the cleared level lowland might be little greater in extent than a modern townland. Similarly, a Jacobean or Commonwealth grant of 100 acres might contain anything up to fifteen or twenty times that extent in modern acreage if the land were barren, boggy or wooded. Many learned articles have been written on the subject, but none of them, not even the much-quoted R.I.A. papers of Reeves and Harding, take this fact into consideration at all. Similarly with our own local measurements, the Pole, Gallon, and Pottle in Cavan or the Tate in Oriel, the original grant often mentions the equivalent acreage of the Pole or the Tate and this fact has been fixed upon as showing that the Pole or the Tate did actually contain so many acres.

To obtain even a rough idea of the local extent of the Pole or the Tate we should have to apply the local corrective, a factor depending upon the productivity of the land. A study of the Carvagh's as estimated through the 18th century would enable us to frame a system of local and, of course, secular factors. Such a study is unfortunately impossible save in the one parish to which I have made reference.

I have never come across any printed reference to the Carvagh system except in the "Ireland" pamphlet and in Coote.

AN SCOLÁIRE BOCHT.

CAVAN COINS AND TOKENS.

There are a few Cavan coins which collectors are long in search of. If they be discovered anywhere, most likely it will be in the county.

The most important is the O'Reilly money. At a Parliament held in 1447, the third at Trim, an Act was passed against "Clipped money, O'Reilly's money, and other unlawful money." It was also prohibited in a Parliament held at Naas ten years later (v. this Journal, p. 115). No specimens of this O'Reilly coinage are, as far as can be discovered, in any museum or private collection; none are known to have survived. Most likely they were melted down and restamped. Still coins of them may have escaped destruction and, as "bad money," may be recognised any time. Keen connoisseurs have not despaired, but keep a sharp look-out for them.

Between 1653 and 1679 tokens, usually of copper, were issued in as many as 160 places in Ireland. None were put in circulation in Leitrim—there was no large town in the county—but in County Cavan the following individuals issued them:—

CAVAN TOWN.—John Ballard. A cast of a specimen of this token is in the Belfast Museum Collection. On the obverse of the coin is the name just given and the device of a swan. On the reverse—"In Cavan, 1667, I.M.B." On the reverse of many coins the initial of the wife's Christian name, as well as of her husband's, is given in the centre. Hence it may be conjectured that the final three letters, I.M.B., stand for "John and Mary (?) Ballard." As to the device, a swan was the sign of a very old house, No. 63 Main Street, which was burned down over 40 years ago. The token shows that the same sign existed, not improbably over the same house, or over a previous house on the same site, 200 years before that.

BALLYJAMESDUFF.—John Delin, 1668.

BELTURBET.—Robert Hares, 1d.; Richard Harrison, 1d.

KILLESHANDRA.—James Forrest, 1667.

Specimens of these coins are now very rare, if to be had at all; and, being rare, of course valuable.

Amongst the first merchants in Belfast to mint trade tokens were three brothers—James, John, and Michael Bigger. Each issued them between 1657 and 1666. The three brothers were

amongst the first enrolled as Belfast freemen, and the youngest was part owner of the first Belfast-owned merchant ship, the "Unicorn," in 1662. They lived in High Street, adjoining the old Market House, and had lands at Biggerstown, near Carnmoney. It is interesting to observe that the gentleman whose name heads our list of members is a descendant of these early settlers. It would be equally interesting to discover if any of our Cavan families can trace a connection back to any of the merchants above-mentioned, who must have been among the chief business people in the county eight generations ago.

J.B.M.

EPITAPHS IN DERVOR CHURCH- YARD.

PÁRISH OF LURGAN.

(Arranged in order of dates.)

Pray for the Soul of Patrick Fitzsimons
who died Dec. 27, 1725, aged 78 years.
Also James Fitzsimons who died Aug. 17, 1738
aged 57 years.

Pray for ye soul of William Keegan
who died March ye 7th, 1734,
aged 70 years.
Erected by Patrick Keegan

Here lyeth the body of
Charles Farrely who departed this
life April the 17th 1736 aged 58 years.
This stone was erected by his son
Edmond. Pray for his soul.

Here lieth ye body of James
Fitzsimon who died April 22nd 1739
aged 60 years. Erected by M F.

Here lyeth the body of James Farrely
of the family of Andrew Farrely who
departed this life November the 29th 1739
aged 20 years.

This stone was erected by
Matthew Farrely his son.
Pray for his soul.

Here lyeath the Body of
Catherin Feagan who Departed
Life the 17th Day of July 1740
aged 45.

Pray for ye soul of
Owen Lynch who died
March ye 5th 1749 aged 29 years

Pray for the soul of Catherine
Lynch who died February the 15th
1753 aged 82 years.

Here Lieth the Body of
Laurence Everard who departed
this Life June the 28th 1756,
aged 63 years.

Pray for his soule.
This stone was erected by his
son James Everard.

Here lyeath the body of
Michael Smith who Departed
this Life the 19th day of December
1757 aged 64 years.

Pray for the soul of
Margaret Cane who died
March ye 4th 1760
aged 25 years.

Pray for the soul of
John Connel who died September
ye 6th 1762 aged 57
Also for Margart Farrely his wife
who died Oct. ye 12th 1762.

Pray for the soul of Catherine
 Mulvany who departed this life
 January ye 7 : 1767 aged 52 years.
 Erected by her son
 Michael MaCabe.

Pray for the soul of Mary Reilly
 who departed this Life
 May ye 26th 1770 aged 35
 Also for Terence Lynch.

Pray for the soul of
 Rose quin who died Dec. ye 25th
 1782 aged 72 years.

This Monument was erected A.D. 1793
 by Conner Martin for him and his posterity
 and in gratefull memory of his father
 Charles Martin whose remains is here interred
 He departed this life May 23rd 1787
 aged 42 years.

(On the reverse the following is inscribed.)
 Remember man as you pass by
 As you are now so once was I,
 As I am now so shall you be
 Then think of death and pray for me.

Erected by Patrick Moynagh in memory
 of his father Chrstr. Moynagh who
 died 3rd Dec. 1796 aged 92 years
 also his mother Ann Moynagh
 alias Reilly died 20th Oct, 1788
 aged 80 years. Also his son
 Thomas Moynagh died 3rd April 1797
 aged 16 years.

I H. O'C.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY RENT STRIKE.

Among the long notes in Connellan's *Four Masters*—each note a book in itself—is a translation of an ancient History of Fermanagh from an original Irish MS. (pp. 633—40). This History was compiled, it is thought, about the year 1740 from still older sources. It confines itself to the 14th century. As it contains references to Clogh Oughter Castle both as a prison, apparently well-known even beyond Breifny, and as a home of the O'Reillys, and also to Knockninny, in Kilmore diocese, it has a special interest for us. The central incident is the non-payment of his rents to the Maguire of the day and the troubles that arose out of it. Though 14th century, the narrative has such a 19th (not 20th) century flavour that it now and then provokes a smile. It can be given only in barest outline. Surely seven folio pages, double columned, of the smallest print, can hardly be presented otherwise.

Manus Maguire, son of Donn More (who appears to be the Donn More recorded under the year 1371) was the Chieftain of Fermanagh in those days. "His regal residence was Purt Dubhráin at Cnoc Ninne (Knockninny)"* (p. 634, column 2). Regularly, once a year, for thirty-five years, he started from Purt Dubhráin and went his rounds through his seven territories (now baronies) of Fermanagh, gathering his "regal rents"; and punctually they were paid him. Then, growing old, he became so crippled with rheumatism that he was unable to leave his home. He had even to be carried to table and carried from room to room. No longer, of course, could he make his rounds. The rents ceased. For three years not a penny (or its 14th century Irish equivalent) was paid (Do.).

The O'Flanagans, the O'Muldoons, the MacGulsenans, etc., etc., were as submissive and deferential as ever to their overlord; but "they put on the resolution not to pay rents to anyone, until he himself should come to receive them in the usual manner" (p. 634, c. 2), knowing perfectly well the impossibility of his doing this. Manus was indignant at the no-rent manifesto, for that is what it amounted to. He insisted on his legal rights. As a representative or agent was no use, he at last ordered his "retinue troops" to go and collect his arrears and rents up to date. O'Flanagan of Tura, barony of Magheraboy, was the first

* The Hill of St. Nennidh (pr. Ninny) or St. Ninny one-eyed. He was founder of the famous Abbey of Innismacsaiut in Lough Erne and died, according to Archdall, in either 523 or 530. Some say he lived at the hill.

called upon. He replied in the exact words of "the resolution," chopped logic, and refused. Whereupon the retinue (not revenue) troops made a seizure of the cows and cattle, etc., on the land and drove them off. But they were pursued and overtaken. While the mêlée was raging—a mêlée in which fifteen of the collectors or bailiffs and at least as many more of the O'Flanagans were killed—the light-footed O'Flanagan cowboys came along behind backs and drove back the cattle (p. 634, c. 2).

If Manus was wroth before he was ten times more exasperated then, when he heard of the rescue, the breach of the peace, and the death of his friends. His sons were young and feeble. He had a younger brother, however, Gilla Iosa, who was strong and active. Gilla Iosa was then staying with his grandfather, O'Reilly of Breifny (at Clogh Oughter). So Manus wrote to him to come at once to Knockninny, and make no delay. Gilla Iosa obeyed. Manus despatched him to Ballyshannon to their half-brother O'Donnell (son of the same mother) for assistance. O'Donnell forthwith sent back with him his trusty Constables, O'Boyle, O'Gallagher, and the three MacSweenys, and besides 700 well-armed Tirconnell men (p. 636, c. 2).

Thus reinforced, Gilla Iosa began anew the rent-collecting round-up.

The first place he visited was Tura, the O'Flanagan territory. He was stern. He would hold no parley about rents or arrears with peace-breakers, but then and there hand-cuffed or clapped into chains every head of a house and sent them all under a strong escort to Knockninny (p. 636, c. 2).

Next he came to Lurg. O'Muldoon and the other sub-chiefs of that district hastened to call on him, and profusely welcomed him into their country. They came, too, loaded with presents, mead and ale, eatables and choice drinkables. Gilla received them most courteously. Not to be outdone, he entertained them lavishly with "delicious palatable meats, and well-flavoured exhilarating potations." But he was not to be cajoled. They proffered the rent. But no rent could be accepted under any consideration unless at Knockninny. And to Knockninny they had to go (p. 637, c. 1).

Gilla and the Constables then started for Tir-Ceannfhada (now the barony of Tirkennedy) inhabited by the clan MacGulsenan and "other tribes." The MacGulsenans were equally overjoyed to see him and equally hospitable. "Choicest meats and all sorts of liquors" abounded "until the rising of the sun on the morrow." More, they were willing, nay, anxious, they declared, to pay the rent due, and why not, since he was his honoured brother's representative. But they were so sorry, "they hadn't it at present." On the spot he made prisoners of them, and read them a long lecture on the iniquity of their proceedings for the last three years in withholding lawful rights. But he soon mollified,

the lecture over, and took their word for it, that they would go like another before their liege-lord, Manus, at Knockninny. So he released them on *parole*; and to Knockninny the Mac-Gulsenans, too, had to march (p. 637, c. 2.)

In this fashion "he did not halt or stop until he went the circuit of those seven territories of Fermanagh (Do.)."

Every man of them kept his word, turned up before Manus at Purt Dubhráin House, Knockninny, on the day appointed, paid his rent and arrears, and was let off with a caution. "Bind yourselves by an oath and a pledge," Gilla commanded, "that . . . you will pay your rents periodically as it behoves you to do, and if you do not I shall send you to Lough Oughter, and I swear to you by the solemn oaths I am accustomed to make that you shall not leave that until you are glad that sureties be taken on your behalf . . ." And they solemnly pledged themselves on the Duibhenach (p. 637, c. 2).

The ring-leaders of the no-rent combination, the O'Flanagans, had been kept apart, still in custody. They were not let down so easily. The rent was graciously accepted from them as "they had it with them"; but that and all, nothing but Clogh Oughter stared them in the face. At last the Tirconnell Constables pleaded for leniency. Gilla Iosa could not well refuse. But he turned to the arch-offenders and assured them that were it not for this intercession "I would not be a day older until you should be on Cloch Oughter, where you might get enough of law." He left the decision of the case to the Constables. The fine, or eric, for the killing of fifteen men in the riot, they imposed was heavy enough—700 milch cows. They promised to be good for the future, and all ended well (p. 638, c. 2).

Gilla Iosa, his work well accomplished, was for returning to his "grandfather's house in Brefney." Should he be again needed, "Cloch-Uachtair," he reminded Manus, his brother, "is near* you to send me an account and I shall be with you without delay" (639, c. 1). He was, however, prevailed upon not to leave Knockninny, and eventually he succeeded his brother as Chief or Prince of the Maguire country.

From this history it is a fair deduction that Clogh Oughter Castle was a dwelling-place as well as a strong and well-known prison. MacRannall's Castle of Lough Scur was exactly the same. The authority is not so safe as the *F.M.* themselves or anything like it; but it is sufficiently reliable. The narrator was probably an ollave of the Maguires. James Maguire, a Fermanagh man, is supposed to have compiled the history about the year 1740 from very old MSS. of the O'Clerys of Donegal (p. 633, c. 1.) The work of this learned scribe is also extant in a MS. Life of St. Mogue. (See p 344.)

W. R.

* It is within a dozen miles of Knockninny.

OLD IRISH LAND MEASURES.

The *Carvagh* as a unit of land tax is very ancient in Ireland. The term is derived from *CEATPAHΛO*, signifying a quarter from *CEATPAH*, meaning four. It was used to designate the quarters into which the Ballybets were divided (see Journal, p. 206). It is written in various forms as "carew," "carucate," "carrow," and "carhoo," the latter of which gives the correct pronunciation very closely. In Cavan place-names the form *carvagh* occurs, e.g., "The Three Carvagh," a townland near Bailieboro'; elsewhere it is usually "Carrow" or "Cartron."

The four quarters were usually distinguished by their respective natural characteristics, e.g., shape or quality of the land. After the Anglo-Norman invasion the acre was introduced as the principal standard of land measurement. The term *cartron* (French *quarteron* from the mediæval Latin *Quarteronus*) meaning a quarter, then came into use, and was adopted mostly in the districts under Norman influence. It occurs in Cavan in the townland name *Cartronnagilta*.

In the absence of an absolute standard of measurement, it is not easy to establish definitely the extent of a Ballybet. Joyce (*Soc. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 372), following Keating, places it at 3,600 English acres. Reeves and Harding (*Trans. R. I. A.*, Vol. XXIV.) by the method, obviously unsound, of taking the number of Ballybets in the whole country, as recorded by Keating, and calculating the average value, obtained 1,000 to 1,200 acres as a probable value. But as Joyce (*op. cit.*) remarks, "All this is on the supposition that in the old estimate the whole surface was included, waste as well as arable land." It is evident that all calculations based on such an assumption must be very unreliable. The Ballybet (*DAITE DIAOTAC*) was a tract of arable land allotted to the public victualler, free of rent, in return for which he was bound to dispense hospitality to travellers, and to the chief's soldiers whenever they might be passing by. It was calculated, according to the Brehon Law, to suffice for the upkeep of 300 cows. The extent of land allotted for this purpose varied with the quality of the country and the bogs, woods, rivers, etc., were thrown in. Only the profitable or arable land was counted.

As the work of reclamation went on from century to century, the total acreage of the Ballybet continued on contract. Hence a Ballybet in parts of the county where only a little of the land had been profitable, would cover a much greater area than in districts where the work of clearing had been carried out on a larger scale. It is evident under such circumstances that the method of averages adopted by Reeves and Harding must fail to yield any reliable results.

The smallest political unit in ancient Ireland was the *Tuath* or *Triucha*, and was sub-divided, according to Keating, as follows :—

- 1 *Tuath* = 30 *Ballybets*.
- 1 *Ballybet* = 12 *Seisreachra* or ploughlands.
- 1 *Seisreach* = 120 Irish acres.

The term *Tuath* (which Zeuss translates as *populus*) appears to have been originally applied to a tribe and thence to tribal territory. The modern Baronies, often translated “Cantreds,” more or less nearly represent the ancient *Tuatha*. The *Seisreach* (derived from *seisreachra*, six, and *ead*, a horse) denoted the extent of land which a six-horse plough would turn up in a year. The *Carvagh* was equal to three *seisreachra*. The acre, calculated on the same basis as the other units, is equally difficult to determine. According to Keating (*Foras Fearda Air Éirinn*, ed. by Joyce, p. 37) : “The acre of the measure of the Gaels is twice or thrice greater than the acre of the division of the Galls or English now.” In the Plantation and Commonwealth confiscations, only the arable land was counted. The present (so-called) *Irish* acre was introduced at the period of the Plantations in the early 17th century, and is about once and a half the size of an English acre. In ancient times all Ireland contained 184 *Tuatha*, which would give the old Irish acreage of the whole country as roughly eight million. The present English acreage is nearly 21 millions, which would yield approximately Keating’s estimate. But the fact that only the arable land is included in the estimate of the *Tuatha* invalidates the final result.

The *Annals* have frequent mention of the *Biadhtacha* or public hospitaliers. The *Four Masters* record A.D. 1225, “Auliff O’Boland, Erenach of Drumcliff, a wise and learned man, and a general *biatach*, died.”

The areas of sub-divisions of the Ballybet, viz., the Poll, Gallon, Pottle, Pint, etc., would depend on the extent of the major unit, and can only be deduced when the arable, not total, acreage of the Ballybet is finally determined.

P. O’C.

NOTABLE BREIFNY INDIVIDUALS

I.—VERY REV. HUGH CANON BRADY (d. 1669),

Rector of Louvain.

In reply to inquiries about the above-named Rector the following letter appeared in *The Tablet* of Oct. 14, 1922 :—

“ THE IRISH COLLEGE, LOUVAIN.

“ To the Editor of *The Tablet*.

“ SIR,— Brady was a native of Brefny (Breniensis). He entered as a student at Louvain on December 18, 1620, among the “Castrenses Pauperes.” He tells us himself that he did his course of Humanities at the College of the Most Holy Trinity. In what year he passed to the Irish College I cannot say, but in 1637 he received his Orders “vigore indulti concessi Seminario Ibernorum Lovanii,” and “titulo missionis Hiberniæ.” On the occasion of his ordination to the Diaconate, December 19, 1637, he was described as “Jurium Licentiatus.” In 1639 he was appointed “extraordinarius professor Legum” in the University, becoming, at the same time, a Minor Canon of St. Pierre. Later, but at what precise date I cannot say, he became “Professor Ordinarius” and a Major Canon. About the year 1643 he was appointed President of the College of St. Anne, a position which he held for twenty-six years. In August, 1660, and again in August, 1663, he was elected Rector of the University, his predecessor in that office having been his countryman Sinnich, and his successor, another Irishman and Canonist, Thomas Stapleton. It is interesting to note that Sinnich was Rector of Louvain twice, and Stapleton seven times. On April 16, 1663, Brady succeeded Jacobus Santvoert as “Professor Primarius Juris Pontificii,” and held that chair until his death in 1669. He was buried in the church of St. Pierre. In the church of the Irish Dominicans, to the left of the High Altar, a memorial window, no doubt erected by himself, bore the following inscription :—

“ Claritate Dextrae.

“ R^{dus} A^{dum} Illustris. Amplissimus ac Clarissimus Dnus D. Hugo
Brady, eques, Juris utriusque
Doctor et Professor Primarius
Prothonotarius Aplicus, Collegii
Stae Annae Praeses, insignis Eccles.
D. Petri apud Lovanienses
Canonicus, Toparcha de

Corgave, Dronihu . . . Balahes . . . Dromlif. 1666.

" I transcribe the last names of the inscription as I found them in my sources. Perhaps some one well acquainted with the topography of Brefny may be able to throw some light on them.

Brady had some difficulties with the University authorities in 1649, and for a short time was obliged to leave Louvain. He presented his case, however, to the Spanish King, and returned "summo triumpho et frequentibus bombardarum explosionibus in suo Collegio, affixitque publice ad valvas Sti Petri quod die crastina resumit lectiones aliquamdiu intermissas."

"Yours, etc.,

"BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

"Merchants' Quay, Dublin."

This year (1922) there was published at Nieuport a learned work whose principle title is *Erin*. It contains a very full account of the Irish College, Louvain ("Collegium Pastorale Hibernorum"), as well as those of Antwerp, Tournai, Lille, and Douay, and also of the Irish Dominican and Franciscan Colleges in Louvain. The author is a Belgian Premonstratensian whose pen-name is "A. O'Flanders." In it Canon Brady is described as "one of the most brilliant professors of Law at the University."

—*The Tablet*, Oct. 7 and 14, 1922.

II.—ALEXANDER NESBITT, LISMORE, CO. CAVAN (d. 1885).

"He came of an ancient Scottish family long established in Ireland, and was distinguished in many branches of archæology. His first attention seems to have been attracted to Gothic architecture, especially in connection with the domestic buildings, of which but scanty remains exist in this country [England]. With his pen and pencil he assisted J. H. Parker in his well-known work on *Domestic Architecture*, and to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* he contributed the articles on "Church," "Baptistery," etc.

In 1859 (when his address was above and in Sussex) he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and contributed papers on "The Brick Architecture of the North of Germany," "On the Churches of Rome earlier than 1150," "On a Box of Carved Ivory of the Sixth Century," "Wall Decoration in Sectile Work as used by the Romans," which were printed in *Archæologia*. [He was High Sheriff of Cavan in 1862]. His memoirs on "St. Peter's Chair" and on the "Jewelled Covers of the Ashburnham Evangelia Quatuor" appeared in *Vetusta Monumenta*. He was a frequent contributor to the Journals of the R. Arch. Institute and of the Sussex Arch. Society, of both of which he was a member. He died 21 June, 1885."

—Proceedings Soc. Ant. Lond., 1887, p. 372.

III.—PATRICK DONAHOE (1811—1901).

Donahoe's Magazine is a well-known monthly periodical of light literature published in Boston, U.S. It was founded by Patrick Donahoe who was born in the townland of Munnery, in the parish of Kilmore, Cavan, on 17th March, 1811. This parish's records go no further back than 1845, so his name is not to be had. In 1821, when a boy of ten, he accompanied his parents to Boston. There he became a printer and publisher. In 1836 he established the Irish-American newspaper, *The Pilot*.* He was wonderfully bountiful to all the charitable institutions of the city and especially to those for destitute children. The University of Notre Dame, Indiana, confers annually a medal of honour on the American citizen who has done signal service in the cause of religion and country. This, the Laetare Medal, has the merit of being generally more appropriate than an honorary degree. In 1893 it was bestowed on Mr. Donahoe. He died on 18th March, 1901. He was a fine type of the able, kind-hearted Irishman, on whose character is engrafted American push. He attained great wealth and influence in Boston, and all the city mourned his loss.

—*Donahoe's Magazine*, April, 1901.

IV.—JOSEPH HENRY MCGOVERN (1850—1922).

The late J. H. McGovern, I.R.I.B.A., was of Breifny origin, but was born in Liverpool on October 24, 1850. As one of the leading architects of that city, he wrote many articles and four important works. Outside of his professional duties he had a keen, almost passionate, interest in Irish history, more particularly in so far as it affected the Breifny clan from which he sprung. On his favourite subject he published:—

- I.—*An Irish Sept*—1886. This was written conjointly with his brother, Rev. J. B. McGovern, one of our members.
- II.—*How one of the McGovern or McGauran Clan won the Victoria Cross*—1889.
- III.—*Historic Notices of the MacGauran or McGovern Clan*—1890.

Besides writing the professional works and the three books just mentioned, he frequently contributed articles and notes to *Notes and Queries*. Among them the following bear on Breifnian questions:—

- (1) *Heraldic: McGovern or McGauran Clan*—Feb., 1887;
- (2) *McGovern Castles*—Aug., 1889;
- (3) *Royal Cemetery of Clonmacnoise*—May, 1891;
- (4) *Irish Bells*—July, 1891 and Oct., 1892;
- (5) *Gavelkind*—April, 1892;
- (6) *O'Rourke's Feast*—Sept., 1893;
- (7) *The Three Septs of Gauran or Govern*—April,

* John Boyle O'Reilly (1844-1890), born at Dowth, near Drogheda, became its editor in 1870 and part proprietor from 1876 until his death.

1893, pp. 282 and 382 ; (8) Pedigree of Major Ed. McGauran—October, 1893 ; (9) Primate McGauran or McGovern—Dec., 1893, Jan., Feb., and May, 1894 ; (10) St. Mogue's or St. Ninicu's Island—Feb., 1894 ; (11) A Martyr Bishop of Armagh—June, 1899.

Among the numerous other notable labours of his pen there should not be omitted : "Legends, Traditions, and Customs of Historic Tullyhaw," a paper read to the Liverpool Literary Society in 1896 and printed in *The Crescent* ; and "The McGovern Name in Eccl. History," article in the *C. Herald*, June 5, 1909. His last traceable production is on Magh Sleacht and appeared in *The British Architect*, September, 1915.

He was a genuine antiquary and all his work bears the stamp of painstaking research. He died at his Liverpool residence on Nov. 24, 1922.

V.—MARGARET OF NEW ORLEANS (1813—1882).

Margaret was a large-hearted, deeply religious woman, a woman of surprising business ability as well as of unsurpassed charity. In her adopted home, New Orleans, she founded and endowed Orphanages and Industrial Schools, and there she was known as "The Lady of the City," and "The Mother of the Orphans." Her work remains. On her death, 10th Feb., 1882, she was accorded a public funeral. It was an unprecedented demonstration of respect and gratitude. Children of her three Catholic Homes, of as many Protestant ones, as well as of German, Jewish, and coloured Orphanages followed the bier. The Mayor of the city and the Governor and ex-Governor of the State were among the pall-bearers ; U. S. Generals and a host of representative men, regardless of sect or colour, were among the throngs of mourners. On the spot the citizens set about erecting a monument to her memory. It was unveiled amidst great civic pomp on July 10th, 1884. It is said to be the first statue raised to a woman in America.

Margaret was born beside Killeshandra* in 1813. She was the fifth child of a farmer, William Gaffney. Her mother, another Margaret, was of the O'Rourkes of Tully, parish of Carrigallen. Her parents emigrated in 1818 taking with them Margaret, then five, an elder brother and a baby sister. The three eldest remained with their uncle, Matthew O'Rourke of Tully.† About 1840 one of them, Thomas, married a Miss Cath. Healy of Ardlogher (Holles), the marriage ceremony, as was then not unusual, taking place at the bride's home.‡ Subsequently he and his family also

* Probably in Tully, parish of Carrigallen, but the point is under investigation.

† A man of this name died in this townland in 1856 and another in 1859 (Carrigallen Parish Records, which go back to 1830). They were cousins, and one or other is the uncle referred to.

‡ Their child, Mary, was baptised on 3rd October, 1843. (Parish Records).



Margaret of New Orleans.

(Photograph of an Oil Painting in New Orleans)

went to America, to Baltimore. The oldest two-storied house in the townland of Tully was built by him and was for a time his residence. It is now occupied by Mr. Pat Briody.

Margaret's parents, on landing, had also settled down in Baltimore. Four years later, in 1822, both were, within a few days of each other, carried off by a plague, and all their effects were burned as a precaution. The infant had died, her little brother got separated from her and was never heard of again; so at the age of nine Margaret, the future celebrated Margaret, was alone on the waves of the world—a homeless, friendless orphan, in a strange city.

She was reared by a Mrs. Richards, but apparently was never sent to school. She somehow learned to read, but could never write even her name. In 1835 she married Charles Haughery and they went to live in New Orleans. The next year he died and her baby soon followed him.

From her infant's death all the affection in her mother's heart was transferred to the little waifs about her, the scores that nobody cared for in that southern metropolis. Her thoughts and indefatigable labours were for them alone. Her efforts were blessed with success. Soon everything she touched seemed to turn to gold; but all her gains were for a single object—the help of the poor and the support of her beloved destitute children. She was a mother to all of them. In her Will, to which she affixed her mark, she bequeathed her wealth to the Orphan Asylums of New Orleans. She forgot no one, Catholic, Jew, or Protestant, white or black. "They are all orphans alike," she said, "and I was once an orphan."

Her statue bears no laudatory inscription, nothing but her name MARGARET. It needs none. On the occasion of its unveiling, the city Press with one accord, voicing, as they said, the universal opinion of the people, proclaimed this almost illiterate woman as "the most deservedly eminent, the most justly famous of all the women of New Orleans of our own generation or of any other in the whole history of the city." These are the very words of a leading New Orleans paper's editorial. It added a quotation: "Many daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all."

—Her Centenary Biography, 1913, communications from her niece, from her nephew in Baltimore, and from others.

J. B. M.

(To be continued).

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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LITERARY NOTES.

There has been published this year (1922) *Bethada Náem nEreenn, Lives of Irish Saints*, edited from the original Irish MSS. by Rev. Charles Plummer, M.A., Hon. D.D. (Durham), Fellow and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The work is in two volumes (£2 2s. 0d. net). Vol. I has the ancient Irish texts, Vol. II their translation into English, minutely annotated. The production is of special interest to our Society as it contains two independent Lives of St. Maedoc or Mogue, a saint who in Southern Ireland is usually called Aidan (b.c. 555—d.c. 632).

They are of unequal length. The shorter, 7 pages of text and 7 of translation, is from a Stowe MS. in the R.I.A., Dublin. The other is by far the longest Life given, and occupies a third of the entire work. The Irish text, 101 pages, is a faithful transcript from one of the O'Clery MSS. housed in the Royal Library, Brussels. This particular MS. Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan lay-brother, and one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters, wrote down in 1629. He copied it from the book which Fintan O'Cuirnín wrote for Partholan (Bartholomew) O'Fergusa. Of this he informs us in a note appended to the end of it; and then he goes on to tell how Fintan himself had compiled it from still older books. The O'Clery MS. is collated by Plummer with two others, an Irish MS. Life of the Saint in the R.I.A., written by James Maguire in 1721, and a similar Irish Life preserved in T.C.D., which was written by Hugh O'Daly in 1737.

The O'Cuirnins, it should be mentioned, were hereditary ollavs and historians of Breifny and of the O'Rourkes, its overchiefs. In 1416 their MSS. were burned by a disastrous fire in Church Island, Lough Gill (F.M.)—an irreparable loss to Breifnian early history. The O'Fergusa (or Fergusons) were hereditary erenachs of Rossinver, an abbey church which occupies a large space in this Life. Their descendants are there still.

The sentence printed on the title page of this No. of the Journal is not an excerpt from either of the Lives just described. It is taken from a 16th century Irish MS. Life of St. Mogue in the possession of one of our members, Mr. R. V. Walker. Mr. Walker also furnished the translation and it was made long before the appearance of Plummer's work.

The circumstances in which the blessing was uttered are worth recalling, and we take them from Plummer's Life, No. II. Accord-

ing to it, when it was revealed to Mogue by an angel that the end of his days was approaching he left Ferns and came back to Drumlane. Having appointed his friend, Faircellach, coarb of Drumlane—and Faircellach's descendants, the O'Farrellys, ever afterwards filled the office—he went from thence to Rossinver “to the sod of his burial and resurrection.” Then “he sent a messenger in haste to Kildallan to fetch Dallan Forgall to be witness to his (testamentary) disposition and will” St. Dallan was his first cousin, he and Mogue being children of two brothers. On Dallan taking his departure from Rossinver he sent with him “eastward,” the general blessing to all Breifnians quoted. Moreover, he also commissioned Dallan to convey a special blessing both to “the descendants of Dunchad (Tullyhuncu), the pleasant friendly band,” and to “the house of Eochaid (Tullyhaw)—

The hardy plundering host,
They have as sod of possession
The well-known sod of my birth.”

A year after this, “on the last day of January precisely,” 626,* Mogue passed to his reward at Rossinver, and there he was buried.

It has to be observed that almost all the second-hand authorities on the point—Usher, Ware, Lanigan, etc.—have it that the saint died at Ferns and was there interred. The ultimate authorities are the ancient MS. Lives, Latin and Irish. The O'Clery Irish MS. Life of 1629 (corroborated by four or five other MS. transcripts of O'Cuirnin that are known of) is the sole one that states clearly and explicitly where he died and was buried; and it says Rossinver. “The other Lives certainly give the impression, though they do not actually state, that Maedoc died at Ferns”† Should Rossinver fail to be generally accepted, in any future debate on the question it will not be found easy to set aside the positive and circumstantial evidence of the O'Clery MS. About Rossinver Mogue's name is as familiar as St. Patrick's.

This place, it may be mentioned, is in N. Leitrim on the S.E. angle of Lough Melvin, in the present parish of Ballaghameehan. Rossinver graveyard, in its centre ruins of a church and monastery, marks the spot. The whole parish (of which the one just mentioned was but a part) once took its name from it, as did also the Kilmore Lower Deanery. The extensive civil parish of Rossinver still remains and the name is used in all legal documents. But ecclesiastically it has disappeared; it is unheard nowadays.

* So Plummer—Introduction, p. xxxiv. Neither of the two Irish Lives names the year. The F.M. gives 624; Lanigan (Eccl. Hy. II, p. 339), following Usher and Ware, assigns 632. All of them, however, agree on the 31st Jan. O'Curry goes minutely into the question (*MS. Materials*, p. 107) and shows that the so-called *Annals of Boyle* support Usher's date, 632. The best evidence available places his birth between A.D. 550 and 560.

† Plummer, II, p. 356.

and cannot be found in any accessible R. C. Ordo. About the beginning of the 19th c., Rossinver was sub-divided into three parishes, namely, Kinlough (=head of the lake), Glennade, and Ballaghameehan, the latter two assuming and perpetuating the time-honoured titles of their districts.* Neither in the 1705 list of Leitrim Priests and their Parishes nor in Bishop Richardson's list of 1750 † does any one of the three terms occur. Rossinver parish is mentioned in both, and more than once in each—an indication of its 18c. extent and importance. In the latter document the name "Rossinver Deanery" is also recorded. But this ancient title for the N. Leitrim deanery has also fallen into disuse; and so is history cloaked and hidden away and a link dropped connecting this portion of the Kilmore diocese with a Kilmore saint, and he perhaps its greatest. A stanza of one of the poems in the Brussels MS. reads, when translated:—

“The high churches of Maedoc are these,
Drumlane and Ferns,
And virginal Rossinver,
Heaven to every one who shall honour them.” ‡

This is not Dr. Plummer's maiden effort in Irish hagiology. The book just described is intended as a supplement to *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 2 vols., brought out by him in 1910 (32s. net.). The texts are ancient Latin Lives. These are presented untranslated, but most carefully edited and annotated.

The earlier work is of equal interest to the members of our Society. It, too, contains two Lives of St. Mogue. One of them is a reproduction of a Latin MS. in the Marsh Library, Dublin. The shorter Irish Life in Plummer's later issue is an abbreviation of it but contains no trace of the other, an older Latin Life. The 1910 work has also a Latin Life of Molaise of Devenish, a saint closely connected with N. Leitrim. An ancient MS. biography of Molaise in Irish is also extant, but as it had already appeared in an English dress (in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*) Plummer did not think it well to include it in his later work. Molaise and Mogue were in life such close friends that according to the Brussels MS. "it is not right to supplicate or mention Mogue without Molaise, or Molaise without Mogue."

By a family the name of Ward, who lived between Rossinver and Garrison, there was long preserved an ancient MS. Life of one or other of these saints—it cannot be said which. About fifty years ago, the Wards say, a gentleman from Dublin took it away with him. No further trace of it can be found. Plummer's wonderful industry helps to reconcile us with its disappearance. Not unlikely it was a duplicate of some one of the Lives on the

* Cp. F.M., Index, and the Onomasticon.

† *Arch Hib.*, V, p. 133.

‡ Plummer, II, p. 271.

elucidation of which this erudite Fellow of Oxford University has spent a great part of his life-time and edited with such scrupulous and scholarly care.

Both of Plummer's works were printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. At the University Press, Cambridge, a few months after the appearance of his last, there was produced a somewhat similar work (Irish text and its translation) which owing to one circumstance also bears for us a special interest—*Togail ná Tebe, The Thebaid of Statius*, edited by George Calder (42s. net—the cost is an index to its elaborateness). The book is reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 19, 1923, p. 260. From the review we quote and condense what concerns us.

In the Middle Ages there were in Irish numerous versions of the classic epics, not to speak of other Latin and Greek writings, and the Story of Aeneas and the Tale of Troy Divine were as familiar to our countrymen as they are to-day. In those distant times Statius, a poet of the Latin Silver Age—he died A.D. 96—was everywhere in great vogue, and his Thebaid was rendered into all the cultivated vernacular tongues of Europe. Boccaccio (1313—1375) borrowed extensively from it, and Chaucer (c. 1328—1400) and John Lydgate (c. 1370—1460) re-borrowed from Boccaccio. "The Irish were early in the field of Statitian adaptation, . . ." The Thebaid was translated into their language "at a late 12th c. date," the reviewer thinks, but Dr. Calder, the editor, implies "not later than the middle of the 11th." At all events even the former date is two centuries before the time at which Boccaccio flourished. It is an extremely free translation, which "is not Statius, but something forceful and native put in his place."

This version of the poem was handed down in Ireland by the ordinary channels of MS. transmission. The Cambridge work prints it from two MSS., one a British Museum MS. "written in 1487 in the barony of Tullyhaw, Co. Cavan, by Diarmaid bacach Mac Parrthalain . . .", the other an Edinburgh MS. of somewhat earlier date, written by two scribes, one of them an O'Farrel, presumably a Longford man."

Dr. Calder thinks [the reviewer continues] that this MS. [the second, we take it] was written in a monastery; but this is very improbable at this date, when books were written either in the schools of poetry, history, and law, or by the hereditary doctors [ollavs]. So far as our evidence goes, the monasteries, once the chief centres of Irish culture, no longer in the 14th and 15th centuries maintained any activity in the native literature, which had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the hereditary castes.

We have failed to discover any particulars about the Tullyhaw scribe of 1487. That his labours deserve editing and translating in the 20th c. by a distinguished University man is a sufficient monument to him and his love of classic literature.

As the documents relating to Breifny housed in the P.R.O., Dublin, rarely dated further back than 1584, when it was divided into two counties, their destruction in the burning of the Four Courts is not quite so disastrous for us as it is both for the southern counties and for those interested in the general history of the country. It shuts up, however, one of our most authoritative sources of information. Hence, every scrap already abstracted assumes a ten-fold value, and no apology is needed for their publication no matter how long or apparently trivial they may be.

It may be mentioned that among the original Wills, once preserved in this repository, those of the five C. Bishops who succeeded each other in Kilmore from 1728 till 1798 were copied down over ten years ago and are reproduced in the *Arch. Hiber.*, Vol. I, pp. 182—190. They throw much light on their residence, means and character.

In a vacation search made in 1921, which unfortunately was not exhaustive, some Cavan Wills were come across and taken down. Three of them have already been quoted in this volume. Besides these and all the Coote Wills, a few others were noted. The letters of administration, for instance, of "Hugh Riley, Roman Priest, late of Lisnanaugh in the parish of Ballintemple" were rescued. They are dated 4th October, 1741. In the 1705 Registry of Priests a Hugh Riley, aged 32 and 6 years ordained, is given as P.P. of the same parish. There can hardly be a doubt but he is one and the same. In 1704 he lived at Garrymore and his two sureties for £50 each were William Cross of "Dromonum" and John Foster of Dromlyon. In the Kilmore *Will and Grant Book* II, 6—44, 1693—1727, there was also come upon the Wills of Owen Farrelly, "Priest in Bryan Reilly(s) of Drumaleis," p. 258, and of Thomas Cole. Nothing further is known of either. The latter's Will was signed by "Timothaeus, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, A.D. 1715."

This is Dr. Timothy Godwin. He succeeded in 1713 Dr. Edw. Wetenhall on whose famous Greek Grammar seven-eighths of the young classical students of Ireland were brought up for close on two centuries. Bishop Godwin was translated to Cashel in 1727. When dying, two years later, he left £20 to the Charity-School in the parish of Kilmore.* It seems probable that this was the School established by Bedell. The school-house still exists. Erected certainly before 1641 and probably not long after 1629 it is, as far as can be found out, the oldest building of the sort in Ulster. It is to the left on the old road heading by the Farnham side-gates for Lisnamandra. It is arched overhead, and so solidly, as well as tastefully, built that it is not unlikely to last for a second 300 years. Some time ago it was converted into a dwelling-house.

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 245.

An interesting Will, dated 1699, was that of Thomas Philips of Cavan. He directed that his mortal remains should be interred "in the friends' burying place called the Quakers' Burying Place at the Cavan town's end." Where this cemetery was no one can now say.

On the occasion mentioned there was postponed for future examination an Inquisition on Cavan Monastery, Eliz. No. 7, an Inquisition of 100 Reillys with titles, etc., Eliz., 4, 5, etc., and James I, etc., and Parliamentary Returns of Kilmore and Ardagh dioceses. These documents can now be made use of only, it is to be feared, at the Greek Kalends..

The Nesbitts, of whom one is mentioned at p 337, were long among the leading families of Co. Cavan. The list of High Sheriffs for the County from 1660 till 1895 is complete and without a gap.* It shows that William N. held this office in 1709, Thomas in 1720, Cosby in 1764, Thomas in 1769, Cosby in 1798, John in 1840, and Alexander in 1862. It is to be remembered that during his year of office the High Sheriff was in civil matters the most important individual in a county; within it he took precedence even of noblemen.

Cosby of 1764, who was also Member for Cavan Borough from 1750 till 1768 (see pp. 95, 98, and 105) and who resided at Lismore Castle, Crossdoney, married Anne (settlement dated 17th Sept., 1743) d. of John Enery of Bawnboy who was High Sheriff in 1738 and died in 1756. Anne's mother was d. of Thomas Nixon of Kingstown, Co. Fermanagh, and sister of Rev. Adam Nixon M.A., Vicar of Clontibret. Rev. W. Enery, D.D., Rector of Killeshandra (d. 20th Feb., 1764) was Anne's eldest b.† He voted in the Cavan election of 1761. In the same election Cosby Nesbitt was agent for Coote and Montgomery, and displayed great energy in objecting on their behalf. In 1797 Cavan had 94 Magistrates.‡ Among them are Thomas and Rev. Albert Nesbitt.

The Irish Quarterly, *Studies*, in its March and September issues of this year (1922) has an article on Cenn Faelad under the title "A Pioneer of Nations." The article is by Professor Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt., and is mainly inductive. It is of universal antiquarian interest; but as a contribution to the history of Tuaim Drecon in Breifny it would be a serious loss to miss it. A few things condensed from its 28 pages may give an idea of its special importance to our Society. For the considerations supporting the statements the reader has to be referred to the article itself.

Cenn Faelad [b. circa 618, d. 679] was of royal blood, eligible by birth to the kingship; but it is with him as a literary innovator

* List supplied by J. F. Bigger, Esq., M.R.I.A.

† From an unpublished MS. of Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A.

‡ List, taken from *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanac*, 1797, also supplied by Mr. Bigger.

and genius that Irishmen are mainly concerned. Like St. Ignatius of Loyola his career was due to an accident. At the battle of Moira, fought near Lisburn in 638,* he was laid low with a cloven skull. Forthwith he was hurried off for treatment far away from the County Down battlefield to Breifny O'Reilly to the greatest surgeon of the day, Briccine. Briccine, or Bricin, taught as well as practised at Tuaim Drecon near Belturbet. The name of this famous seat of learning, one of Ireland's early universities, is disguised—and, at least on paper, well disguised—in the present title of a Kilmore parish or half-parish, Tomregin.

The royal patient was hospitably received into the celebrated surgeon's own home. "At the meeting of the three streets [it was] between the houses of the three chief Professors."† The streets were doubtless students' quarters. In the town there were three schools, a school of Irish law and one of Irish learning, and a school of Latin learning. The first mentioned pair, flourishing in Cenn Faelad's time, appear to have been founded long before it for the propagation of native pre-Patrician erudition. Tuaim Drecon is but a short distance from Magh Sleacht itself,‡ Ireland's great prehistoric centre of pagan worship. Their professors (Dr. MacNeill ingeniously infers) were men of the highest eminence, masters of every branch of Celtic lore. They were, he states, in unbroken succession from the Druids, and carried out in the 7th c. the druidical method of imparting knowledge—no books or MSS. and no writing. The instruction was wholly oral and numberless versified maxims and dicta had to be retained in the memory. All the students, it may be supposed, were acquainted with Ogham; but under this system a man might be very learned and yet quite unable to read or write—so for that matter might a man be to-day. The *filid* or professors, conservatively cherishing their own traditions, ignored such adventitious aids to proficiency. They despised the Latinists with their slates and 'cutters' and copious note-scribbling, and studiously held aloof from them and their new-fangled ways. With them it could not happen that a man could pose as learned merely because he had a good library at his back.

The third Tuaim Drecon faculty, that of classic literature, was still better equipped. As to acquirements, they had the amassed experience of Greece and of both Imperial and Christian Rome, were "heirs to all the ages," and no doubt regarded themselves as "in the foremost files of time." Besides they had their books to draw upon, though in the 7th c. the best stocked library could find ample accommodation in a carpet bag. Essentially their

* So MacNeill. The F.M. record it under 634; but in a note appended O'Donovan quotes other authorities for 636 and 637, and states himself that 637 is the true year.

† Ancient Laws of Ireland, III, 88.

‡ For its exact location, see this Journal, p. 62.

teaching was such as in our modern colleges and needs no describing. They looked down upon the primitive methods in vogue in the twin sister institutions, and made little of their knowledge; in their eyes it was antiquated and useless if not positively tainted and "ungodly"; and their antagonism was countered and liberally repaid by antagonism.

MacNeill conjectures that their school had been superadded as a safeguard. It, too, was most probably a lay school, devoted to lay studies—law, medicine, history, classics; no record of a monastery or monastic teaching has been found. In later times, indeed, Bricin was honoured as a saint—the canonization, as in the case of all our early saints, being by popular acclamation—and this leaves but little doubt that he was an ecclesiastic. Archbishop Healy pronounces "St. Bricin" the founder of Tuaim Drecon.* Dr. MacNeill does not say so, and his careful inductions and more exhaustive researches point rather to his being the founder, or head, of the school of classic learning alone.

On being committed to Bricin's professional care the wounded warrior, Cenn Faelad, was probably a young man. His physical education had, of course, not been neglected, but mental training he had none, unless chess-playing be reckoned as such. However, by law and custom one with his specific injury had to remain three full years under his Doctor's care before it was permissible to dismiss him as cured; and that period he did not spend in idleness. Wandering about from school to school, as might the nephew of the high king of Erin, he swallowed up all the schools had to give. He became very learned, an historian, an authority upon the Brehon Laws, and a great poet. He is Tuaim Drecon's most illustrious pupil, and Tuaim Drecon would be famous if only for educating him, as Oxford would be if only for training Roger Bacon.

His achievements were manifold. He broke down a good deal of the antagonism between school and school. His aim was to join together the native and the foreign culture, or rather, to graft on the native culture whatever was good and useful for it in the other. In poetry, for instance, he took the pioneer's rôle uniting the two strands of (a) distinctively Latin and ecclesiastical culture, and (b) distinctively Irish and pre-Christian culture; and this is shown at great length in the article. Up to his time, throughout Western Europe Latin held the monopoly of literature. The Romance dialects, which had grown out of it, "were felt to be vulgar jargons beneath the dignity of literary culture;" and even for the Celtic and Germanic languages the educated had an almost equal lack of respect, and would no more dream of using them in prose or poetry than Macaulay would of employing dockers' slang. First in Western Europe the Irish had a literature in their own vernacular. But if they had, it was

* *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 2nd ed., p. 602.

Cenn Faelad that took a principle part in establishing it. Hence is he rightly called "A Pioneer of Nations." His Irish Grammar, in part yet extant, Dr. MacNeill supposes to be 1,000 years "older than any treatise on the grammar of any other European language, except Greek or Latin." The learned professor concludes by saying that Cenn Faelad's

distinguishing achievement was the breaking of the barriers of tradition and prejudice that separated the two cultures [native and foreign] and the admission of the *filid* and of all their lore to the franchise of the "Latin Alphabet." Initiated into a world-culture, at a time when Irishmen and Irish schools were at its head, he took his stand with the language, the laws, the poetry, and the history of his native land, and turned to their service the apparatus of their mighty rival [Latin learning].

Tuaim Drecon's great distinction is that it afforded him both the opportunity and the means for doing so much for the land of his birth.

As to Bricin, it should have been explicitly stated that he operated on the cloven head and the operation was successful. It was really trepanning, "a frequent practice in pre-historic Western Europe," MacNeill assures us. The story about the "removal of the part of the brain" with which one forgets things,* he explains away in a fashion that is very plausible, we are sorry to have to admit, and from the explanation much in the article is deduced. The great Breifny surgeon is well remembered. Gerald Griffin couples him with Columcille in beautifully worded lines which begin :—

When the Church of the Isles saw her glory arise
In Colum the Dovelike and Bricin the Wise,

It may be mentioned, too, that within the last year the chief Military Infirmary in Dublin has been named very appropriately St. Bricin's Hospital.

* See this Journal, p. 62.



The Loughduff Dolmen.

[Block kindly lent by the R.S.A.I.]

OBITUARY NOTICE.

At the opening of the year 1922 the Society had to regret the loss of one of its most distinguished members, the Right Hon. Thomas Lough, P.C., H.M.L., Killeshandra.

Mr. Lough was born on 28th March, 1850, at Killynebber House, beside Cavan town. He received his early education at the Royal School, Cavan, whose Headmaster was then Rev. W. Prior Moore, M.A., and from thence he went to the Wesleyan College, Dublin. From 1870 he resided mostly in London. After a time he began to direct much of his attention to politics, and for the last thirty years he was a prominent figure in political circles. He was one of the founders of the Home Rule Union in 1887, and five years later he also helped to found the London Reform Union. He was Member of Parliament for West Islington (London) from 1892 till 1918. On financial questions he specialised, and on the financial relations between this country and England he was a recognised authority. His book, *England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty*, is a standard work on the intricate subject. Largely to his efforts in the House of Commons was due the appointment of the Financial Relations Commission, and before it he gave valuable evidence.

Mr. Lough was Secretary to the English Board of Education, 1905-8, and H.M.L. for County Cavan since 1907. In 1908 he was appointed a member of the Privy Council. He passed away at his London residence, 97 Ashley Gardens, on the 11th Jan., 1922.

Mr. Lough's book, just mentioned, is of great force and clearness. It is based mainly on Government statistics, with commentaries on and deductions from them; and the masses of facts and figures are marshalled in a series of charts and coloured diagrams in an easily-grasped and most up-to-date fashion. One of its Tables—Table III, p. 203—starts with 1785 and shows (*a*) the population, (*b*) revenue, (*c*) local taxation, (*d*) total taxes, and (*e*) amount paid per head of the population in Ireland in the year mentioned, and in every succeeding fifth year up to and including 1895. This is a fair specimen of the contents, and makes it

apparent that the work appeals to the historian as well as to the student of the more abstruse science of Political Economy. But as a guide to the particular field of Economics dealt with—Ireland in the hundred years ending with 1895, as far as statistics are available—it is invaluable. Since its publication in 1896 several writers have taken up the theme* and extended the survey back to previous centuries. But, in modern times, *England's Wealth* has the signal merit of being the pioneer work of research. Though strictly scientific and uncoloured by party prejudices, it is frankly political; it may not be impossible to withhold assent to some of its conclusions, but it can hardly be denied that it is the most scholarly work ever produced by a Cavan man.

To us a striking feature of the volume particularly recommends itself. In making his points he takes his illustrations from his native county, of whose circumstances he had first-hand and accurate information. Thus, in discussing the regrettable disappearance from the countrysides of home-made goods, he writes (p. 30): “In the small town which is best known to me” a score of articles (which he enumerated) were made “within my own memory. Now there is not a vestige of any manufacture”; and from his own observation he traces the causes of their decline and extinction.

Mr. Lough's interest in the county was always keen and never abated. His knowledge of its past and present was full and could be gathered only in a life-time. To the efforts of our Society since its inception he gave warm encouragement, and he was one of its staunchest supporters. It goes without saying that in losing the honour of his membership the Breifny Society also loses about its best informed individual. To his wife and relatives it begs to proffer its sincere sympathy

* Dr. Alice Murray, for instance, in *Commercial Relations*, 1903; Mrs. Stopford Green in *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*, 1908; and Mr. George O'Brien, Litt.D., in *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th c.*, 1918. The last-named author also published last year (1921) *Ireland's Economic History from the Union to the Famine*.

BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Account for Year ending 31st December, 1922.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1922.		1922.	
January 1st.		December 12th.	
To balance in Ulster Bank, Cavan, as per last Account	15 6 5	Paid <i>Anglo Celt</i> Account for Printing Journal for Year 1921	67 1 3
Received balance in hands of former Secretary	1 2 6	Paid Postages on Circulars and copy Journals sent to Members	2 3 4
Received amount overpaid by Mr. J. A. Cole	0 10 0	Paid Charges on Bank Account	1 1 0
Received for Sale of Journals	4 5 9	Balance to Credit in Bank	25 17 3
Received Life Subscriptions, entrance fees and Annual Subscriptions and Sales of Journal	74 9 0	Balance in hands of Hon. Secretary	1 0 0
Received Interest on Current Account, in Bank	0 19 2		
	<u>£97 2 10</u>		<u>£97 2 10</u>

E. & O. E.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1922.		1922.	
December 31st.		December 31st.	
By Amount on Deposit Receipt in Ulster Bank as per last Account	140 0 0	By Balance	140 0 0
	<u>£140 0 0</u>		<u>£140 0 0</u>

E. & O. E.

William Reid,
For Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.
J. P. Gannon,
5th July, 1923.

ERRATA IN JOURNALS Nos. I. and II.

(Pages 1-230.)

- Page 9, l. 1.—For “14th century” read 1536. The date is given on the Shrine itself.
- Page 49, l. 15.—For “1280” read 1250.
- Page 49, 1st line of 2nd paragraph—For “1306” read 1356. “Conchobhag Mac Consnamhy, Bp. of the Breifne, died in 1355”—*An. of Lough Cé*, Vol. III, p. 11. He was succeeded by Richard O'Reilly. *Cf.* this Journal p. 114.
- Page 59, towards foot—The short chapter on snakes is not in *Cambrensis*, nor does it refer to Ireland, but to Iceland. It occurs in a book by Niel Horrebaw published in Copenhagen in 1750, and is its 72nd chapter. Dr. Johnson once declared he could give word for word a whole chapter of a book. And he did. He repeated “There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole island.” It forms the whole chapter. (Mistake kindly pointed out by a member, Mr. Kimmet, Glasgow, who says it is a common one.)
- Page 65—Instead of “Cloughoughter Castle, Dec., 1904,” read Dec., 1890.
- Page 69—In the epitaph the first blank can now be read as Ballinrink, and the second as ob' (=obit—died); the third is 1775 (the horizontal portions of the two middle digits alone remain, but no digit except 7 has a horizontal line at top).

Although the epitaph states, distinctly, that the bodies of three are lying underneath, still it is locally said there is but one, and it is conjectured that it is that of Col. Jn. O'R. The other tomb is the main O'R. one. A special avenue shaded by palms and copper beeches, leading from the right of the graveyard gate to the opening of the vault beneath it, is still traceable despite the neglect of a century. The opening is at the head and four yew trees face it. It is shut by a stone slab, and behind the slab is an iron gate. Stone steps lead downward and on either side are iron trestles on which the coffins rest. Exteriorly the vault is about 8 yards by 4, built of cement, but now so overgrown with nettles and weeds that its outlines can with difficulty be made out.

Tradition has it that the remains of a Lady O'R., whose connections were thought beneath the family, were removed from this vault, but so far respected that a special vault was built for them. It is pointed out beside the old church ruins.

Full particulars of the careers of all the O'R.'s mentioned in the epitaph, except Nathaniel, are given by O'D. in the articles already referred to (v. this Journal, p. 202, No. 4). Of Myles

he writes (p. 74) that "he died in Dublin on 4th Feb., 1775, aged 67 years, and was buried in the family vault at Kill, in the County of Cavan." This removes the last vestige of doubt about the correctness of our reading of the date in the inscription. It is a consolation, too, to see that in the articles O'D. himself makes many slips. For instance—assuming, as we may, that the epitaph is correct—Brian of Ballinrink was not the third son of Col. John, as he states (p. 74), but the eldest.

The Myles of the epitaph is fairly certainly the Myles Reilly mentioned in the Will of Dr. Hugh MacMahon, Abp. of Armagh and Primate (d. 1737), under circumstances which show that he was the Primate's trusted friend. Myles's uncle and namesake (d. 1731, in Dublin, but apparently not buried in Kill) was equally the friend of the Primate's father, Colla Dubh MacMahon of Bellatrain, Carrickmacross (d. 1723 or 4). The prelate was probably nearly related to the O'R's. His mother is said to have been Eileen O'R., a niece of Owen Roe. Philip McHugh O'R. (v. p. 43) md. Rose, Owen's s.; and Eileen, we take it, was their d. Another d., Mary, married Col. Lewis Moore of Balyna, Co. Kildare. Their g-grandson, Js. Moore of Balyna, had an only d. and heir, Letitia, who md. Richard O'Ferrall, and is the ancestress of the More O'Ferrall family.

(*Arch. Hib.*, Vol. I, pp. 151 and 154, n.)

- Page 92, 3rd par.—Cᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠ—is found in Dr. Dineen's and other Irish Dictionaries as Cᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠ. It means the prickly heads of the burdock and also the plant itself. In É. Cavan the burs are known only as marra roorals. Throughout Breifny and also in Inishowen cᵠ—(the easier sound) is often used for cᵠ—. Cnock (cnoc=a hill), v.g., becomes Crock or Krok.
- Page 100, No. (3)—Brockhill Newburgh, M.P. for Cavan 1715—1727, did not marry Frances, d. of John French. His wife was Mary, sister of Oliver Moore of Salestown, and d. of Col. Wm. Moore. But his grandson, another Brockhill Newburgh, did marry a Frances French, the d. not of John but of the Rev. Wm. French, Dean of Ardagh. (For the correction we are indebted to the Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.R.I.A., one of our members.)
- Page 112—For "scholarships" read scholarship.
- Page 119, l. 13 from foot, "punished." The Gaelic of the *O'Reilly Pedigree* is early 17th c., and it has many Keatingisms. The verb used here is ᵠᵠ ᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠᵠ —to expel—to confiscate, to destroy. It is now almost obsolete. "Expelled" or "dispossessed" might be clearer than "punished". In a 'free' translation it could be rendered "he was sent away to be got rid of."
- Page 127—For 3rd l. substitute, This is succeeded by the following notice of surrender in 1584.
- Page 127, lines 10 & 11. Delete "touné" and insert towghe (—Tuath).
- Page 146—The heading "Native Owners, etc.," which is the 9th line should be the 12th.
- Page 155, 2nd footnote, —For "Tour" read Jour. (—Journal.)
- Page 157, 3rd footnote—Read Jour. R.S.A.I. &c.

- Page 160, l. 3—The incised crosses are placed as shown in the illustration.
- Page 162, l. 7—For “triangle” read angle.
- Page 192, l. 13 from foot—For “1700” read 700.
- Page 217, l. 8 of Latin document—For “due” read dne.
- Page 217, l. 15 of Latin document—For “bonum” read proborum.
- Page 218, l. 6 of Latin document—For “cadtr” read cartr’.
- Page 218, last line Latin document—Read apposuiimus.
- Page 223—For last word of 3rd par. read Brandubh.
- A few other mistakes on this and on next page are obvious.
- Page 224, l. 8 from foot—For “first” read just.
- Page 225—Only “No. of voter . . . Dublin” should be indented.
- Page 226, l. 2—For “Brose” read Brosc.
- Page 227, l. 2 from foot—Between “been” and “identified” insert long.

As the last No. of the Journal (p. 230 to end) has not yet had the benefit of the members’ scrutiny it would be impossible at this juncture to supply a list of the faults it may contain. For pointing out any such flaws, either in it or which have escaped detection in the two previous Nos., the Hon. Sec. will be extremely grateful. It will be borne in mind that mis-statements alone are regarded as of moment. Errors in spelling (except in proper names), or in punctuation (unless the meaning is affected), or in the case of capital letters (about which there are almost always two tenable opinions) are looked upon as pure trifles and may be left to the reader’s indulgence.

In many instances articles were condensed and matters not of fairly general interest were either wholly excluded or reduced to a mere reference. Should a member desire fuller information on any such point the Hon. Sec. will be glad to communicate it if available, or else will do his best to procure it.

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